

Iranian-Islamic Pattern of Justice in the Middle East Politics

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Abstract

The developments of the Arab Middle East and North Africa in February 2011 commenced from popular protests in Tunisia and spread to Egypt, Yemen, Libya and other countries, were influenced by obvious injustice, corruption and discrimination in the bureaucratic system and rulers of these countries acting as a triple lever. In other words, the structure of these regimes as one of important catalysts of shaping these uprisings has transcended these movements beyond Arab nationalism and, and they propounded justice and bridging the gap between the state and the nation as their basic demand in this wave of awakening. But in spite of many attempts at achieving justice in the geopolitics of the Middle East, it is observed that their basic demand has been frustrated facing challenges. On the other hand, the phenomenon of Islamic Revolution acted as the driving engine of these movements and uprisings for breaking the myth that dictatorship and imperialism are not invincible. We can discuss "the existence of an Iranian-Islamic pattern of justice within the framework of cultural lifeworld of the Middle East" in the shadow of contemporary era necessities. The pattern in question owes three historical-theoretical components: Iranshahri political thought and justice, justice in Imam Ali's thought, and Imam Khomeini's justice-seeking theory realized in the context of the Islamic Revolution discourse that acts as a road map in a turbulent world and satisfies the seekers of justice in the Islamic Awakening. This article has been written in a descriptive-analytical method within the framework of normative critical theory.

Key words: Justice, Iranian-Islamic pattern, Geopolitics of the Middle East, Imam Ali (PBUH), Iranshahri political thought, Imam Khomeini (PBUH)

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Problem statement

Realizing justice has been one of the most adorable ideals of most of cultures and civilizations during history. This means that since old times, there have been different interpretations about justice among different peoples and their ethical and legal texts. Meanwhile, reflection about the history of justice theory from ancient times so far indicates that in spite of failure in realizing the objectives in question, this important point has been proved that the ideal of a good and harmonized society has been the true demand of all great religions and philosophers in the entire world. Thus the question of justice is one of the most significant issues in political thought (in general) and in political philosophy (in particular) in Islam, the West and the East. Due to this reason, the first prominent work in the history of political thought is Plato's *Republic* and one of the most significant recent works in this regard is John Rawls' *Justice as Fairness*.

Also at present, the stage of political philosophy regarding justice is facing several competing discourses. This issue indicates live presence debate about different alternatives of the theory of justice. One of these theories is utilitarianism school which is rooted in John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham's ideas. They regard the principle of utility as the only origin of a just society. Within important theory presented by John Rawls, theory of social contract talks about fair justice under support of liberal state. Contrary to that, libertarian theory of Nozick and Hayek supports the notion of neoliberal free market and minimal state. But the most important challenge in this regard is the communitarian theory that supports "the right of being different" according to Otfried Höffe (Höffe, 2004: 101). In present world full of religious and ideological communities, it is obviously not acceptable to call for a theory for all people. Postmodern critical thought and post-colonial theory have called the stage of theory of justice in inviting the "other". Within the framework of mentioned objective developments and subjective changes, it is possible to provide new alternatives and theories on behalf of Islam World. Of course, enjoying various historical and intellectual layers, the lifeworld of Islamic societies can use historical capacity and welcome new patterns at the same time.

The authors of this article seek to point out the significance of justice in today's high-tension world and talk about the necessities of Islamic-Iranian pattern of justice within the framework of geopolitics of the Middle East. In other words, if we consider the realm of justice and just

society a diversified linguistic and ethnic community like Islam World and define justice as applying moderation, bravery and independence, then this question will be raised: How can existing capacities in the Islamic-Iranian intellectual tradition assist this ideal? In other words, may we think within the framework of Islamic-Iranian pattern of justice in order to reduce the challenge of injustice in the Middle East? If the answer is positive, then the next step will be to provide necessities and components of the theory of justice. Since this article is using the framework of critical normative theory, we discuss its principles and significance briefly here.

Critical normative theory: a theoretical framework

One of important spheres of applying normative theory is the topic of justice. Here, the critical theorists have targeted one of the most significant, continuous and controversial disputes i.e. justice in political life and influenced it.

When raising the normative theories of justice, particularly facing the contemporary world problems, three currents are of importance: critical liberal approach provided by John Rawls within the framework of "Justice as Fairness" theory which was developed by publishing "Theory of justice" (1971) is regarded as a serious progress. In this book, by showing his affiliation with social contract and normative thought, particularly Kant, Rawls seeks to raise a general theory emphasizing human's unified nature and essence, so that the notion of justice as fairness is realized not only at national level but also at world levels. After various criticisms and other considerations, he decided to provide the theory of justice in a more conclusive manner in which its western nature was explicitly expressed. By using the theory of social contract, Rawls decided to realize the possibility of establishing a fair or well ordered society. In Rawls' thought, the unjustifiable shortages of liberal democracy are not neglected from his critical vision.

The second critical current is communitarianism. Such thinkers as Alasdair MacIntyre, Charles Taylor and Michael Sandel criticize the justice claims of liberal democracy in their mechanical and atomist interpretation about human being as isolated abstract "individual" and owing "eternal rights". On this basis, communitarians define human being as a person belonging to various communities (including family, linguistic and cultural belongings) (Marsh and Stocker, 2008: 50-70). As

the third critical viewpoint, postcolonial movement has also presented its own specific interpretation about a sane and just society. At the same time, it will be possible to understand the postcolonial theoretical foundations whose theorists are mainly from the Third World by understanding the historical and epistemological nature of unequal relationship between the Western world and the subaltern worlds. They believe that the "white western man" have regarded themselves as enjoying a superior civilization so they merit to govern "non-white" civilizations. Thus the nature of political and economic action in liberal democracy during past two decades have been a kind of other-building which are marginal, the Third World, oriental and eventually Muslim communities, and they have considered them as subaltern ones (Gandhi, 2012: 18). It seems that the common point of these three viewpoints is that liberal democracy in its existent form cannot represent an ideal of justice at the world level in spite of the failure of communist myth.

At the same time, the main weakness of these theories including Rawls' theory is that Rawls' targeted notion could not succeed in the world by accepting "reasonable pluralism", unless by providing an alternative that covers the shortage. In other words, since Rawls regards his theory as a form of "realistic utopia" (Rawls, 2011: 23) he always hopes that the world governments move towards accepting his targeted principles and try to improve the world affairs gradually by observing the severe consequences of hostilities. As mentioned before, by adding some Western epistemological and historical foundations, he seeks to classify human societies into three groups: (1) liberal (good) nations (2) decent (acceptable) nations and (3) outlaw nations. In some critics' opinion, although classifying nations seems consistent with the principles of political theory but it is not consistent with establishing equality and difference principles that Rawls had emphasized before. In his book entitled "The Law of Peoples", Rawls interprets the concept of "difference" in an irregular and incorrect way thus he classifies international law and banishes it from the international community which is an authentic entity (Falsafi, 2011: 315).

In this article, the theory of justice connects a form of normative and adjusted model of justice, borrowed from Rawls' theory, to the plural cultural life-world of the Middle East. According to this viewpoint, the part of Rawls' viewpoint that emphasizes the necessity of reinforcing moral-political norms and relinquishes ultimate focusing on liberal notion

of democracy, is paid attention to. Meanwhile Rawls' civilization diversity and hierarchical order could be regarded as a departure for the plural context of Iranian-Islamic pattern of justice in the Middle East. But in the ultimate framework, this pattern avoids Rawls' theory shortages and problems. It means that even though in his book entitled "The Law of Peoples", Rawls has engaged in a broader concept of justice outside the Western meanness but his ultimate focus on that a just world is a world of liberal states; it is regarded as an obvious imperfection. After September 11th, some analysts have criticized Rawls and sought to show that Washington's just peace wants to combine Rawls' democratic peace with Fukuyama's end of history (Richardson, 2011: 62).

Thus such a pattern cannot spread justice in the Middle East region. Besides, imposing a pattern of justice for lifeworld of the Middle East will culminate in being monolog situation if it is not discussed in the public sphere. Since every monolog situation ultimately culminates in using force and obligation, the very situation will be unjust. The principles of justice are regarded as true, reasonable and acceptable if rational consensus is resulted from verbal situation and ideal selection by the members of the very society. As Habermas says there is no place for monolog and truth-finder reason for solving the problems. Thus given the importance of establishing an ideal verbal situation is a pre-requisite for justice and main faults of Rawls' doctrine including founding on agreement, epistemological relativism, ethical pluralism, considering virtuous and non-virtuous notions and so on are raised, it seems necessary to provide a native Iranian-Islamic pattern of justice in the realm of lifeworld of the Middle East which is inclusive and applicable.

Thus if we want to respond the question how much capacity the Iranian-Islamic pattern has to establish justice in the Middle East and whether we can think within the framework of Iranian-Islamic justice, the authors believe that Iranian-Islamic attitude can pave the way for this purpose. Because the scrutiny of different aspects of justice allows us to come out of unjust web we are embedded, and accept that two origins of Iranshahri thought (native tradition) and Islamic thought (emphasizing Imam Khomeini's postcolonial political theory) are necessary for spreading justice in the Middle East. Thus we have embarked on a particular selection among theorists of justice in order to analyze justice and provide a pattern of it. In this selection we have commenced from Iranshahri thought hitherto and on the same basis, on top of the list, we

have selected the first Imam of Shiites and after them three prominent thinkers of justice in Iranshahri thought (Farabi, Khajeh Nasir Tousi, Khajeh Nezamolmolk) and in the contemporary time, Imam Khomeini's theory of justice due to some particular reasons which will be pointed out. The authors believe that we can reach a theory of justice entitled "objective-humanly theory of justice in the framework of the Middle East space".

Iranian-Islamic pattern of justice in the Middle East space: a new theory of justice

Due to the impact of Iranshahri political thought on some political thinkers of Islam and given the fact that establishing Iranian-Islamic pattern of justice in the lifeworld of the Middle East is not possible without considering Iran's history, it seems necessary to use analytical-historical method in order to deal with summarizing the occasions of justice in the context of Iranshahri which is connected with the main thinkers of Islamic political philosophy (Farabi and Khajeh Nasir Tousi) and writing admonition (Khajeh Nezamolmolk). It is mentionable that these thinkers have invited kings and rulers to justice as the most pivotal element in establishing a good government. Thus in this section of the article, we discuss justice as the principal component of good government in Iranshahri thought.

In his writings, Farabi has discussed justice in three books: "Civil Politics", "On the Perfect State" and "Solitaires of Philosophy". In Farabi's view, human individuals are not equal and they are in a hierarchy of abilities and talents according to their merits. Considering this hierarchy is necessary for continuing government. In more precise statements, according to Farabi, the Almighty enjoys virtues and perfections and he has established the universe on the basis of his justice. The head of polis should also act as the most perfect and virtuous person in society in terms of virtues and rationality, including justice, and s/he should establish their government on the basis of justice so that the government functions. Due to the very reason, the head of the perfect state should have twelve attributes including enthusiasm for justice and standing against injustice and cruelty; enthusiasm for truth and protest against lie; and moderateness in satisfying his/her desires (Nazerzadeh Kermani, 1997: 315).

Farabi raises just division of public goods and ratifying laws in order to preserve the rights of citizens as the primary task of government and its survival (ibid., 142). In his opinion, justice means "to divide public goods belonging to all among all." Therefore "possibility of partnership" is the distinctive feature of public and social goods that makes them different from private goods. As these goods belong to all citizen and they are outside private ownership, no one, from the head of state to the lowest ranking person, can vest, occupy, recapture or abuse them. The important point is that there is equal share of goods for each citizen according to their competence and qualification. Each person has the right to enjoy a part of these valuable things consisting with their competencies, and every kind of up or down in peoples' shares in regarded as a kind of injustice (ibid, 58). Therefore injustice in this manner means getting upper or downer than this share, and if someone less or more than their appropriate share, they have not only violated their own right but also all citizens. Justice is that the remainder be backed to the owner (person or people). Thus each person owns their own right. In the perfect state (utopia), justice has such an importance that its role is to regulate relations among the components of the state. Justice connects these components so in Farabi's view, it is the cause of survival of state and government (ibid, 140).

On the other hand, in the history of Iranshahri thought, Khajeh Nasir Tousi's status is significant in political philosophy, and his definition of justice matters. Although Khajeh's opinions about justice like other Islamic philosophers are affected by Plato and Aristotle's thought but they are mainly rooted in Quran and Islam. But by following Aristotle and Moskuyeh, he has provided some details which are specific to him among successive philosophers. Khajeh's different views about justice in his masterpiece are as follows: Justice means realizing competencies and talents and considering deservedness and hierarchy, not absolute equality. Like Farabi, Khajeh Nasir believed in some definitions of justice including "giving right to the rightful", "placing all things in its right place". He denies absolute equality but regarded erasing discrimination against those who deserve equality. This definition of justice which is one of the most prevailing Islamic and Platonic interpretations of the concept is very significant for Khajeh and he starts defining this concept by examining the meaning of equality.

Following Farabi, Khajeh Nasir talks about just division of public goods among all citizen and believes that everybody should have a share according to their competencies and deservedness. He expresses the issue when he describes "king's laws and prerequisites of moderateness". In Khajeh's opinion, as the survival and stability of state and government are dependent on moderateness, the king must consider the subjects' conditions and preserve the laws of moderateness. Then he explains the laws and prerequisites of moderateness: The first prerequisite of moderateness is that to stabilize the crafts of people. A moderate society is divided into four crafts: craft of pen, craft of sword, craft of business and craft of agriculture. Justice is that none of these crafts departs from its deserved position and no craft tries to overcome other crafts, because this departure leads to the violation of moderateness and social affairs turns into corruption. The second prerequisite of moderateness is that the king must consider the citizen's conditions and actions and determine their position according to their deservedness and talent. The third prerequisite of moderateness includes the necessity for equal division of public goods among people (Tousi, 1994: 308). Thus Khajeh Nasir recalls repeatedly these three prerequisites to the king as the required and sufficient conditions of lasting government.

On the other hand, when we are talking about the position of Iranshahri thought, it is necessary to mention Khajeh's book "Siasatname" (Politics Letter). In this book, the substantial concept of "justice" as the vital element of government has been mentioned repeatedly. In other words, justice causes government to be last because the kingdom is the God's gift and the king should thank God by establishing justice. Applying such a justice would bring about people's good wishes which in turn, stabilizes government and causes salvation after death. So the survival of political power depends on justice and its ruin depends on injustice. Thus Khajeh confesses by mentioning a hadith from the Prophet "Power may last with infidelity (kufr), but it cannot continue with injustice (zulm)" (Nezamolmolk, 1993: 6). On the other hand, Khajeh Nezamolmolk considers placing everything in its proper place and respecting competencies and deservedness and hierarchies as the substantial component in lasting government, because according to this definition of justice, social order is ruined as the result of displacing crafts and classes and by dissolving the frontiers between "the low class and high class" people. Therefore lasting power is based on preserving

hierarchy or in a more precise words, it is based on justice because by dissolving social order and the hierarchy of crafts, the state will be corrupted and the kings will collapse. Thus for providing and preserving government, Khajeh repeatedly uses the concepts of "justice" as "truth" as synonyms in *Siasatnameh*. "During history, from Adam (PBUH) hitherto, those nations that have established justice and equity and sought truth, their power has lasted for many years" (ibid, 42).

By examining various works (political philosophy and essay writing) of main figures of Iranshahri era, it is known that justice is the focal point of political thought of Iranshahri era. In other words, the role and significance of justice has been regarded as the survival of government and consequently it has acted as a criterion for implementing internal and external controller of authoritarian rulers. Therefore it did not lose its manner as a criterion under pressure of authoritarianism. Thus we deal with in order to provide a conclusive pattern of justice in the Middle East space, we deal with examination of Shiite justice as a pattern for the Middle East lifeworld against socialist and liberal discourses (as dominant world paradigm).

- **Justice as negation of discrimination and consideration of deservedness and equity: motive of Shiite thought of justice in Imam Ali's views**

The category of justice as meta-historical element is the permanent question of divine religions, particularly the Islamic thought. In the Islamic thought, justice in itself has a fundamental position about which many have discussed both in Quran and tradition. Consequently justice as one of the most controversial religious concepts has been discussed and scrutinized by Muslim thinkers including clergymen and philosophers. The Shiite thought has regarded justice as one of its religious principles and Shiite historical culture and belief has always considered it as its inseparable element. The Shiite thought not only explains divine prophets, Islam Prophet and Imam's vocation within the framework of spreading justice, but also depicts its utopia which will be realized by emerging Imam Mahdi (PBUH) solely in the shadow of justice.

According to George Jardagh, "the story of Ali regarding justice is one of valuable heritages that upgrades human status and human spirit" (Jardagh, 1996: 117). Thus, it should be stated explicitly that as one of most permanent and eternal questions of political philosophy, justice is

one of the most fundamental principles of Imam Ali's government without which his government could not be understood properly. Notwithstanding we should not regard justice in Imam Ali's thought and lifestyle is not merely a moral issue but it should be considered as one of most fundamental principle of sociopolitical management in his political structure. As George Jardagh puts it "justice in Imam Ali's view is not something learned from others, although it became a school afterwards, and it is not a plan necessitated by politics, although it became an inseparable component of government, but justice in his moral and spiritual school is a principle connected firmly to other principles and it has a nature that cannot act against itself so it is as if seeking justice is the constituting liquid of his corporal structure, it is the blood circulating in his heart and vessels, and a spirit without which corporal life could not continue." (Jardagh, 2006: 64).

A concept repeatedly mentioned in Imam Ali's speech is "negation of every kind of discrimination and consideration of deservedness". In Imam Ali's city of faith, paying attention to the deprived people's affairs indicate that he has tried to create a wide space for rehabilitating such damages. Of course it is evident that justice in this meaning does not mean absolute equality of individuals. Rather it is equality among equal deserved ones and because peoples' deservedness is different, differences among people are taken for granted in Islam. Imam Ali's interpretation of these differences is as follows: "Because the Almighty has created differences among people's wills and demands and other manners, and these differences are means of establishing life" (Nahjolbalaghe, 1962: 1004, Letter 53). In this direction, by considering economic and social gaps among Muslims in society and formation of a class-based society, Imam Ali pays special attention to the lower classes, namely those who have not any hope for continuing a reasonable and respectful life. In this regards, he says:

"I order you, Maalik, always to keep the fear of Allah in your mind. Regarding the class of the poor and the disabled persons, namely those miserable people who have not any hope in society, it is absolutely necessary that they should be looked after, helped and well-provided for. The Merciful Allah has explained the ways and means of maintaining and providing for each of these classes. And everyone of this class has the right upon the ruler of the State that at least minimum necessities for its

well-being and contented living are provided" (Nahjolbalaghe, 1962: 1019, Letter 53)

Thus considering individuals' rights and removing deprivation is the inseparable component of Alavi justice, because he "regards just Imam who is guided and guides people as the God's uppermost follower and regards an oppressor leader who is misled and is misleading as the worst people" (Nahjolbalaghe, 1962: 526). This attitude has been reiterated in Imam Ali's letter to his agents in a more widespread way. He emphasizes in his letter to Maalik Ashtar:

"I order you, Maalik, treat people in a kind and good manner. Never treat them like beasts and never regard them as an opportunity for misusing them because they are two categories; they are either brothers in religion with you or similar in creation like you" (Nahjolbalaghe, 1962: 992-993, Letter 53)

Therefore Imam Ali reiterates to Maalik "Avoid monopolizing and allocating everything in which all people are equal" (ibid, 1031). By this sentence, Imam means that the issues in which all people have equal rights should not be monopolized because in terms of creation, Imam is like all other people, and free from any kind of conditions, human beings are equal in terms of rights. Thus Imam considers right for all people, whether close or far, equally and says: Enforce right for the deserved people, whether close or far (ibid, 1026). Therefore in Imam Ali's thought, the concept of justice and right are closely intertwined, their meaning are connected and one of the most significant aspects of that meaning is to realize rights of humans and negation of discrimination in those spheres in which they are equal.

This section of article was an attempt at scrutinizing the concept of justice in Imam Ali's view. No doubt that his speech and performance regarding government is the reflection of human historical conscience regarding justice. Particularly that Imam Ali's government is the only case in Islam history that an innocent Imam had seized political power and led the Islamic society. Certainly, formation of Alavi state created a new political and spiritual lifeworld not only for the Islamic society but also for the human history. It provided required conditions for restoring the functions of a justice-seeking government among Muslims in the circumstances that the Muslim society had experienced two decades of despair. In this direction, Imam Ali's government should be regarded as the most prominent pattern of Islamic government after the Prophet's one

that provided a different definition of politics and used all powers for spreading justice, negating oppression and discrimination, and realizing equity in the Islamic society.

- **Justice, uprising against oppression and injustice, and preserving independence: motive of justice discourse in Imam Khomeini's thought**

Iranshahri thought and Islamic political philosophy experienced recession and weakness in a part of their history. In this period, the problematic of justice was forgotten, and as the result of Shiite Akhbari School accompanied by authoritarian rulers' repressions justice has been consigned to obscurity. But in our time, justice has been revitalized again by a concusive thinker i.e. Imam Khomeini, and his "just government" and "just law" and so forth were paid attention to, and justice-seeking and Islamic Awakening movement engaged a part of Islam World gradually. As a religious thinker with a comprehensive understanding about religion and with a rational-mystical look to religion and politics, Imam Khomeini considers establishing Mohammadian Pure Islam as the most reasonable practical way of realizing the oppressed people's rights. An Islamic government based on monotheism is a just government and all its consequences are just too. In this regard, Imam Khomeini says: "Islam highly regards law as an instrument for realizing the oppressed people's rights because considers it as means of realizing justice in society. In other words, law is for enforcing and establishing just social order in order to realize rights and nurturing elevated humans" (Vahdat, 2011: 227). In other words, from his viewpoint, politics is the knowledge of virtue, justice and guiding human being in a divine path. Thus Imam Khomeini could be considered as one of those who revitalized the Islamic political philosophy.

By scrutinizing Imam Khomeini's various books, we can find out that he explains the determining statements of justice in negating oppression and seeking independence in order to explain the general direction of Islamic justice. Thus he criticizes communism and capitalism in direction of the slogan "neither East, nor West". As he says: "We are now trapped in two currents: the first current is anti-communism according to which whoever talks about the oppressed and exploited people and the oppressors and exploiters, is regarded as communist. The second current says if you protest against division of lands and properties, you defend

capitalists and feudal. This is while Islam does not agree with neither capitalism nor communism" (Sahifeh Noor, Vol. 22: 292). "Islam does not agree with oppressor irrational capitalism that deprives the oppressed masses. Rather in its texts and tradition, Islam condemns capitalism and regards it as a system against social justice... Islam is not a regime like communism and Marxism-Leninism which is against private ownership and defends commune. Rather Islam is a moderate regime that respects ownership in production and consumption in a limited form. If principles of Islam are implemented, the wheels of a sane economy will move and social justice will be realized (Sahifeh Noor, Vol. 21: 200). According to this quotation, it can be said that in Imam Khomeini's political thought, justice does not mean neither absolute individual freedom for accumulation of capital nor pure equality in terms of using resources of society. Rather Islam regards equality in existent opportunities as justice.

In more precise words, Imam Khomeini regards justice as negation of capitalism in order to gaining independence: "Islam does not agree with cruel oppressor capitalism that deprives the oppressed masses. Islam condemns capitalism in its texts and traditions and regards it as against social justice. Although some who are trapped in misperceptions about Islamic government have shown that Islam is proponent of uncontrolled capitalism and tried to blacken the brilliant face of Islam and paved the way for enemies of Islam and introduced it as a pro-Western capitalism regime, Islam is a moderate regime that acknowledges private ownership. Islam respects ownership in a limited way conditioned to that it moves the wheels of economy and realizes social justice which is the required condition for a sane regime" (Sahifeh Noor, Vol. 8, 36). According to Imam Khomeini's view, the state should interfere in economic policy in order to support the deprived strata and the poor, control properties of capitalists and create equilibrium in society. On this basis, the state should organize the main parts of economic activities in society and takes the responsibility for managing economy (ibid, Vol. 21, 200).

Consequently, it is understood that Imam Khomeini regards justice a tool for preserving independence and preventing from injustice and corruption. In this regard, Imam Khomeini interprets justice in the shadow of gaining independence and believes that they will pave the way for the oppressed and Imam Mahdi's world government. Imam Khomeini regards supporting the oppressed people, serving the weak people, considering the deprived and emancipating them, eradicating poverty and

class gaps as the main tools for reaching peace. Of course, he considers suitable bed-building in the international system that culminates in destroying the West and East dominant systems, considering human values, establishing a just system in the world and eradicating poverty (Sahifeh Noor, Vol. 12, 63). Consequently Imam Khomeini regarded power and force politics at the international stage as an unjust and cruel system which is not acceptable for the Islamic Republic, and he denied such an attitude in Iranian foreign policy to which Iranian people cannot compromise (ibid, Vol. 18: 81)

We can conclude from this section that in spite of important theses about justice provided by elites and intellectuals, most of them were not provided within the framework of native thought and never popularized, thus justice (in both western and eastern versions) could not be effective and could not resolve the problematic of justice. While the dominant trends in the Middle Eastern geopolitics paid attention to only one dimension, some intellectual provided a complicated and multi-dimensional interpretation about the problems of Iran and Islam World. They had found out that the problem of Islam World is not political, religious or underdevelopment. They had realized that political, religious and underdevelopment are the consequences of a more basic problem which is the lack of political independence. Imam Khomeini was one of the prominent figures of the twentieth century who found out that the main problem of Iranian society in particular and Islam World in general is the lack of independence in its real meaning. He considered such independence in anti-Western ideology and confrontation with the US which is the symbol of individual and social independence.

Conclusion

It seemed that the advancement of liberal democracy predicted by Alexis de Tocqueville more than a century ago had reached its ultimate station; an event celebrated by some as "the end of history". But in the noises of this world event, we cannot ignore the opposite voices mainly propounded by ethnic, national and religious rivalries. These rivalries have different reasons. The new international Roman dominance (or the American international dominance) even when it conveys its blessings to non-western societies (and non-assimilated groups in the West) through non-violent means, these blessings are faced popular resistance due to that they are regarded as lights of imperialist hegemony. Thus in such

political and economic space which is indicating "emergence of a long iced night" according to Max Weber's famous quote, we are witnessing the formation of some theories criticizing liberal democrat structures and providing new patterns of justice at a global level. But by accepting relativism, these theories practically reached the pluralism of justice because if a kind of justice has not a constant base distinct from the demands, wishes and purposes of individuals in a society, then it cannot find strong bases for realizing itself and will move toward realism and conservatism and being the ideology of dominant systems. In addition, it cannot prove itself. Such theories soak in ideologies, miss their path and goal and practically move in a path contrary to their objectives for which they have been created. Thus Rawls' view about justice in the West has only effect in liberalism as much as Ash'arism in Sunni Islam, Akhbarism in Shiite Islam and Marx's relativism in socialism. Therefore one of the ways for preventing a theory from being ideological is that it be based on general and public principles which do not change during time and they are true for all humans in all history. So they are not historic. We call these general principles "absoluteness" which is against "being historic" and "relativity".

Given the permanent problematic of justice in the Middle East, we tried to provide an Iranian-Islamic pattern of justice which is consisted with its cultural and social situation and it can be used by others as an alternative because this approach is comprehensive i.e. the pattern includes all dimensions and spheres of human personal and social life and enjoys the potential for explaining and exploring all spheres of life and it does not neglect any dimension of human, society and its constituent elements. We can find out the widespread feedbacks of Islamic Revolution doctrine in the recent uprisings of the Middle East region. Reflection about Islamic Revolution discursive principles and constructs indicate that justice, in both conceptual and content aspects, as the most precise and comprehensive attitude has been propounded in Imam Ali's thought. The issue provided the beds for theorizing about justice but the bed that used these elementary seeds and provided the base about justice in Islam, in general, and Iran, in particular, was Islamic political philosophy and Iranshahri thought.

Therefore processing the theory of justice within the framework of Iranian-Islamic space is remote from the extremist approach (based on ancient values and irrational modernism) that regards Islam as not having

any pattern regards justice and recommends the western pattern of development and equality including liberal democracy and socialism. Given the importance of independence-seeking, it prevents the Islam World from passiveness against the patterns based on western doctrines and non-native pattern because mere imitation of liberal and Marxist models which are not appropriate for establishing justice and independence. Therefore Islamic experts and thinkers including Sunni and Shiite ones must use Iranshahri justice and Islamic doctrines by paying attention to the requirements of time and place for explaining and operationalizing justice and progress according to the Iranian-Islamic approach. If these components of justice are implemented in the Middle East, the Iranian Islamic system will turn into a successful pattern in the contemporary world. Such an issue will not be realized unless a public movement takes place in order to reflect about Islamic sublime concepts and Iranshahri doctrines, and through making it native, a model of justice is provided with an Islamic-Iranian approach to the Islamic Awakening movements.

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