Social Justice and Government
A Case Study of the Position of the Poor and Oppressed with Emphasis on the Thoughts of Imam Khomeini

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Abstract:

Entering the fifth decade of the revolution, the issue of poverty in the country remains unresolved; And the issue of social justice in the sense of addressing the affairs of the poor and oppressed is one of the biggest challenges facing the Islamic government that can jeopardize the sovereignty of the political system. Considering that maintaining the Islamic system is the first approach of the government, it can increase the need to help these people. In this category, by examining the views of sociologists and political thinkers, emphasizing the ideas of the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the founder of the Imam Khomeini Relief Committee as the largest intermediary body of the government that is responsible for dealing with the poor and oppressed; Attempts will be made to answer the question of what kind of government model the position of the poor and oppressed in the thoughts of Imam Khomeini provides for the realization of social justice.

Introduction

In recent years, "information and communication technologies" have expanded and this has affected human life in various dimensions, including political, social, and cultural. Communication technology and its dominant aspect, that is the Internet, have undergone unprecedented changes in our age; So that it has become the most dominant aspect of the contemporary world. Manuel Castells refers to it as a "network society" (Castells, 2006: p.15) which has led to change in various political, security, economic and social aspects.

This network society with features such as information economy, virtual culture, and reducing the importance of time and place in social interactions, has given a unique feature

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to the third millennium, that its fundamental principle is the central importance of the individual's presence in the field of social, political and economic activities, using new communication and information tools.

In such a space that is described as cyberspace, the set of human internal communications is formed through computers and related telecommunications devices, without considering physical geography. (Castells, 2001: p.553) In general, new information technologies connect all kinds of near and far parts of the world in global networks. Computer communications create a set of virtual societies, following which all human material and ideal structures and processes are transformed. (Castells, 2001: p.48)

On the other hand, today the first and most important goal of countries in international relations is peace and the establishment of peace and security.

Until before the emergence of recent developments in international relations, peace and security from the military point of view which is called the Westphalian system was regarded as an observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality of rights, respect for the immunity of states, and their representatives, respect for territorial integrity, non - interference in their internal affairs, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. (Ashrafi, 2014: p.83)

In this view, international security has received little attention, which was limited to the borders of states. From this point of view, the most important element of international security was the sovereignty and independence of governments. If there was a threat, it was mainly military, and these threats were usually from other governments. In addition, governments or their allies were primarily responsible for providing security.

Therefore, peace and security in international relations mean stability in the international community. Security is generally referred to as a kind of psychological feeling in which peace and confidence are achieved due to lack of fear.

Many different reasons may cause fear and disturb the peace, but the passing of time they change, because over time, the structure of human societies has become more complex and the interdependence of individuals and different societies has increased. (Ashrafi, 2014: p.84)

The phenomenon of globalization and cyberspace as a cause and effect of each other have caused changes in the present era and changes in the concepts of peace and security, and have given distinctive features to the third millennium. In other words, the emergence and expansion of information, electronic and media networks, and in more precisely the waves of globalization, show that a new and more complex period in international relations has begun. The new information and communication technologies, developed since the early 1990s on the global scale, have accelerated institutional change, increased international interaction, and changes in the main concepts of political science and international relations, including threat, power, and so on.

Therefore, what is the place of cyberspace in today's world?! And how has it been able to change human life?! While it has made changes in the roots of economics, society, and culture, in a way that has achieved similar importance to the real world and is referred to as an independent indicator for defining a new era in the history of human evolutions and developments. The new era, of course, does not mean the complete loss of the past system;

The new world overlaps with the old world, and power is also dependent on geography-based institutions in this period. (Rezaei, 2012: p.2)

In any case, the result of such a space is the emergence of a world where the past traditional political boundaries are removed without the states getting involved in war and bloodshed and any changes that affect and transform our world. Thus, concerning the growth and development of cyberspace, we are observing its extensive effects on the process of power, sovereignty, and security, and finally the issue of peace and security in the international arena. So the main issue of this research is how does cyberspace affects international peace and security in the age of globalization?

Theoretical Foundations and Literature Review
Cyberspace

Cyber is a term derived from the word "kybernetes" and means steersman or guide. William Gibson, the author of science fiction stories, was the first person who uses the term of cyberspace, in the book of Neuromancer.

Some writers have defined cyberspace or virtual space as "a set of human internal communications through computers and telecommunications tools regardless of physical geography." Maybe it's better to define it, like this:

"It is a real electronic environment in which human communication occurs rapidly, beyond geographical borders, with specific tools, and in a live and direct way".

The adverb of "real" allows us to assume that the virtual nature of this space means that it is unreal; because this space also has the same features of human interactions in the outside world; while cyberspace is an environment where communications are formed, not only a set of communications. On the other hand, although these connections may not be online at all the time, they are live, real, and direct. Hence, this communication is effective. (Sediq Banai, 1385: p.3) Thus cyberspace is an electronic environment where a group of people meet and talk to each other. Technically, cyberspace is a type of information space, which connects to the mother of all networks, the Internet, through the computer systems of digital networks. In other words, any non-physical space that is created by "online" computer systems can be considered as cyberspace. In this regard, cyberspace has various effects on communities, in a real environment, so this space will appear with its set of advantages and disadvantages in society. Therefore, it can be said that these technologies are not just a tool, but also affect and overshadow human communication approaches, as well as his thought processes and creativity (Soltani et al., 2008: p.8) In other words, as for real space and cyberspace, it can be said that cyberspace is not a neutral space. This space consists of numerous opportunities and problems that individuals, groups, society, government, and states are dealing with and can disrupt country security and order, etc. (Janparvar and Mosul, 2011: p.146)

Castells Network Society and Communication Power

According to Castells, we achieve a pervasive conclusion by examining the newfound social structures in areas related to human activity and experience. As a historical trend, the dominant functions and processes in the information age, more than ever are becoming organized around the networks. Networks constitute the new social appearance of our societies, and the development of network logic creates significant changes in the opera-

tions and outcomes related to production processes, experience, power, and culture. While in other times and places there have been a network form of social organization, the new paradigm of information technology constitutes the basis for its inclusive expansion, in the whole social structure.

Moreover, network logic creates a social movement that level exceeds the specific social interests that have been expressed by the network: the power of flows surpasses the flows of power. Absence or presence in the network and its dynamism against other networks are important sources of domination and change in our society. In this way, a society can be called a network society in which social structure is superior to social action. (Ameli et al., 2016: p.94) Castells considers network society as a product of three independent historical processes, which are as follows: the information revolution that enabled the emergence of network society;

Revision of the structure of capitalism and economy relies on centralized planning from the 1980s onwards, to overcome the internal conflicts of the two systems; and the cultural movements of the 1960s and it's a continuation in the 1970s, movements like feminism and environmentalism. (Kazemi Najafabadi et al., 2018: p.202)

In the three-volume book of the Information Age, Castells considers a network society as a new society in which "power communications", "production communications" and "experience" are formed around the network, indicating a new morphology of society. In line with his earlier approach, Castells seeks to explain power communications in a network society, in a more precise manner; he had talked about its changes in general. Castells' argument is based on the concept of a network society. According to Castells, a global network society is a society in which

social structures are formed around the activated networks via digital information and communication technologies, and based on microelectronics.

In this society, the governance of networks is based on activities and people who are considered foreign relative to the networks, and in this sense, global networks lead to the destruction of local networks. In his definition of power, Castells refers to the two elements of "communication" and "meaning", and therefore Castells' attempt throughout the book is to show that the communication capacity is the most important factor that social actors possess and with its help and through the change in the process of semantics, they can influence the decisions of other actors. People who manage the communication capacity in the global network society are undoubtedly the owners of power in the networks. Castells has clearly explained the reason why:

The network is a communication structure between multiple points within a network or between multiple networks, and this communication structure consists of the patterns of contacts. So if you can control the communication issue in the network, you have the patterns of contacts, and that means the acquisition of power. Simply put, power in networks belongs to those who manage and control the communications and contact patterns between network points. (Divsalar, 2014: p.93-94)

There is one thing in common in Castells' theories, such as the theories of "network society" and the "power of communication," and it is an effort to prove the universality of these theories. However Castells tries to keep his distance from the beliefs of the modernist paradigm, but he agrees to this paradigm, which seeks to present universal theories. In the book "Power of Communication", Castells tries to prove that power and counter-power are embedded in the global communication networks: "Power is

applied primarily through meaning in the human mind and with the help of communication processes which are implemented in the global/local multimedia networks with a mass communication approach, including Mass self-communication." (Castells, 2014: p.743).

"With the increasing influence of the Internet, a new form of interactive communication has emerged, and therefore the capacity to send many-to-many messages is specified in the present tense and with the possibility of using point-to-point communication, limited or extensive diffusion, and given the goals and features focused on communication action. I call this new form of communication historically "Mass self-communications". (Castells, 2014: p.144) Castells considers four types of power for the network: Networking power, Network power, Networked power, Network-making power (Ibid: p.117). In any case, Castells' main claim in the book "The Power of Communication" has two main aspects: First, the communication networks play a pivotal role in the rise to power of any network, including financial, cultural,

industrial, political, and scientific networks, and communication networks are the main networks for creating power in society. Second, network programmers and "switchers" who can establish multiple connections between different networks are the main owners of power. Castells even considers the origin of the counter-power process in the network society as the reprogramming of networks around alternative interests and values, by interrupting the dominant switching process while switching resistance networks and social change. In this way, in his own words, he has replaced the property of communication tools with the property of the production tools, to be able to explain the nature of power in a network society. (Divsalar, 2014: p.96-98)

Globalization can be considered as a process or a set of processes that lead to a transformation in organizing the space of social communications that ensures the expansion of social, political, economic activities, and communication beyond the borders, regions, and continents. It can also relate the extent, intensity, and speed of global interactions to their expanding influence in such a way that its effects can be quite evident elsewhere, and in that sense the boundaries between domestic and world affairs are increasingly smoothed. Globalization can be regarded as the expansion, intensification, acceleration, and growth of the world.

Some have called globalization shrinking and approaching globalization. Some consider it as a spatial-temporal separation and some consider it as the expansion of capitalism or liberation from the domination of the state-nation. (Nosratinejad, 2002: p.142)

Terms such as "the interpretation of the world", "dependence of different parts of the world", "Increasing global dependence and entanglement", "The process of global westernization and assimilation", "Integration of all economic aspects in a global scale" and "Expanding the scope of the affectivity and impact ability of social actions", are some of the definitions of globalization. (Shahramnia and Nazifinaeini, 2013: p.144).

International peace and security
The first and most important goal in international relations is the maintenance of international peace and security, which is the responsibility of the Security Council, under Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations. At present, even though there is no war between countries, but there may not be peaceful relations between countries, and this means that the concept of peace in international relations has changed. The word of

peace means reconciliation, friendship, compromise, etc. In political culture, peace means feeling the calmness in normal relations with other countries and the lack of war and threat. Peaceful coexistence in relations between countries means observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality of rights, immunity, territorial integrity of each country, big or small, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and terminating international problems. (Galtung, 1992: p.32)

But the term of security refers to a kind of mental sensation in which, a sense of calm and confidence is achieved, due to the lack of fear. In general, security refers to the avoidance of dangers that threaten human interests and values. After the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the formation of the nation-state system, the concept of national security was introduced in international relations, and the concept of international security has also emerged with the passage of time and the deepening of international relations. In the past, international security was commonly defined in the field of military security, but today it is defined in political, military, economic, and social dimensions. Since the concept of peace was limited, the concept of international security in the past did not go far beyond the borders of states and was based on the national security of states. Therefore, the independence and national sovereignty of states were considered the most important element of international security. (Ashrafi, 2013: p.86-87) Therefore, given the current situation in international relations and the changing world, the concept of peace and global security has two points to consider. First, international peace and security are not necessarily provided by the status quo; as the laws and legal structures of the ruling system, international relations may have a cruel and discriminatory nature.

Since peace is one of the concepts associated with justice, it cannot last without justice. Secondly, in the past, peace and security were some of the concepts that were used only in the military and political domain, but today, especially the term of security is used in political, cultural, economic, technological dimensions. Although military clashes and political conflicts are still the most important threat factors of peace and security, the interference of these territories, as one of the consequences of globalization has led to the crisis and insecurity in one domain be transferred to other territories. (Poorahmadi and Moradi, 2018: p.44).

Research methodology

In this article, we have used the descriptive-analytical method. Thus, in the theoretical discussion, the researcher has simply described the variables by extracting information from various sources and presenting them.

Then, in the findings section, he has analyzed the impact of the independent variable, i.e. cyberspace, on the dependent variable and its components, namely international peace and security, power, sovereignty, threat, and security, as well as globalization.

In this regard, Manuel Castells' view has been noted due to its compatibility with the influential component of cyberspace on national security, as well as we have used it for content analysis, indirectly. Thus, in the end, in line with the purpose of this article, the conclusion is analyzed; Data is collected through library and internet studies and process analysis has been done theoretically.

Findings and data analysis

The influence of cyberspace and changing the concept and nature of power in the age of globalization

The globalization and revolution of information and communication have increased the importance of networks and changed the area of power. Networks are the same relationships, and different types of networks create different forms of power. Nowadays, in the information age, information control in networks is an important source of power, and centrality (greater number of internal and external links) in networks can lead to power generation. Information and knowledge are important sources of the implementation of power.

Hence, it is important to know that today, technology has changed social and political processes and has led to a shift like interaction and communication and the acceleration of institutional change in the international arena in economic, political, cultural, and social dimensions. Therefore, in the age of globalization, success in the management of these public and private networks depends on talent, environmental intelligence, and new forms of power (Nay, 2008: p.315-330).

In the age of globalization, power is gradually removed from the monopoly of government and official institutions and is available to national and transnational corporations and other non-national institutions.

Foucault speaks of the shrinking of power in the postmodern era. He believes that the centrality of power has disappeared and power has become individual. (Toffler, 1996: p.378) Suzanne Nossel explained the term "smart power" for the first time in Foreign Affairs magazine, resulting from a rational combination of soft power and hard power in the age of globalization. This intellectual combination is based on the type of threats, the sources of national and transnational power under the control, and the operational conditions of the target environment, and it is a time-consuming process that requires accurate, exact, and well-timed information from the opponent, threat environment and space, correct and accurate possibilities, capabilities and sources of potential and actual power, with the national and transnational origin;

Also, the rationality of the actors with accurate recognition of their capabilities and possibilities, the correct choice of possible tools for the exercise of power, the rational composition of tools, is an example of soft power and hard power, correct assessment of results and consequences, aiming to complete the effectiveness period to achieve the desired situation and intelligent leadership of the security environment, appropriate to the type, intensity, scope and consequences of the security crisis (Nossel, 2004). This is

while the importance of hard power based on top-down imposition is decreasing day by day. The development of resources and communication networks has made image control and management very important. According to Gallarotti, the world is becoming a softer world.

In such a space, the legitimacy and credibility of a country's foreign policy depend on the soft power resulting from the economic growth and democratic system. (Gallarotti, 2010: p.38)

The impact of cyberspace and changing the concept of national sovereignty in the age of globalization

The equip ability of the local systems is weakened because of globalization and the authority of nation-states is in danger. In this regard, by weakening the traditional authority and sovereignty of the nation-state, a certain dimension of globalization does not come into play singly, but all aspects of globalization are effec-

tive in this area, and every aspect of globalization tries to undermine the control of governments. (Taghavi, 2003: p.134) In undermining national sovereignty, there are sextet components of globalization, which are:

1- Increasing economic-cultural relations reduces the power and efficiency of governments at the state-nation level. Thus, governments cannot control the influence of current ideas and trends beyond the borders. As a result, the efficiency of national governments is called into question.

2- According to the increasing impact of transnational factors, the power of the national government is constantly decreasing. As a result, new actors such as transnational corporations are exposing in the international arena.

3. The international system imposes itself on the national states and in the first step these states are forced to adapt to the world system.

4. Governments tend to redefine their national sovereignty in the form of larger political units such as the European Community or similar or multilateral organizations such as NATO and OPEC, or international organizations.

5- The uncontested sovereignty of the global system affected by superior culture, threatens the independent national powers.

6- To establish a comprehensive political-legal order, conflict occurs. (Eftekhari, 2002: 43)

The impact of cyberspace and changing the concept of security in the age of globalization

The traditional perspective of security, also known as narrow security, had three main features:

1- State-oriented and that the state is the only reference in the security-related analyzes

2. Military threats and war are the most important threats to the security of the country

3. Threats against the security of states have an external aspect;

However, in neo-realist security studies, security is also related to the domain of citizenship and has a direct relationship with citizenship, and governments are committed to providing the security of their citizens against the threats of other governments. But it is still the source of external threats and the source of government security. The state-oriented security perspective considered foreign military conflicts and ignored domestic violence. The mere focus on foreign threats had caused that the security of the people to be neglected within the countries in this view. (Vosoughi and Bazvand, 2013: p.141)

Gradually governments have changed their definitions of security and therefore are committed to transparency and accountability more than ever; In fact, globalization shifts security from the state of government-oriented towards the security of non - governmental actors and international organizations, that this process has reduced the power of governments and removed sovereignty from its absolute state.

In addition, human security and sustainable security are posed as the main concepts (kohara, 2005: p.39-40). On this basis, we can say that globalization has affected the political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental domains and consequently has created new security crises in these areas, which have caused concern to governments and, as a result, committed them to redefine the concept of security based on new condi-

tions. In general, there are two types of theorists in the case of the impact of information and communication technology or cyberspace on the concept of security. Some believe that this tool can best dilute the concept of security and replace it with the concept of peace, in the sense that it can give a positive and affirmative meaning to the concept of security. In this way, the concept of security leads to the security of companies, non-profit organizations, social movements, transnational networks, and individuals, so by changing the concept of security of actors, security also changes and the same actors are the supplier of security; But the main problem in this kind of definition of the change in the concept of security, under the influence with information technology, is that the information revolution turns security into a concern which is considered by all sections of society.

The second groups who are the classical realism theorists believe that although information and communication technology has spread, the classical concept of security, meaning government security, has maintained its position in military form and official information flows. (Eriksson and Giacomello, 2006: p.222-223) Although traditionalists reject the concept of security as a concept that should be changed and interpreted according to the conditions and adhere to their traditional definition, others believe that the concept of security should be more broadly defined to include new social, economic, and environmental threats and challenges.

Cyberspace and change of thread concept in the globalization era

One of the most important impacts of cyberspace on change of security concept has been creating different interpretations regarding a single phenomenon and making the concept of 'threat' distinct based on making mindset distinct against objectivity. Therefore, the abundance of media and virtual spaces has an important role as a threat factor or resolving a threat against another issue (Soltani Nejad et al, 2017: p.25). By expansion of cyberspace, we see that in the international relationships arena; threats of the information era are different from the threats of the cold war era. During the cold war era, a threat against nations was relatively concentrated on and emanated from a single source; it means that one of two sides or a single nation was involved whereas it was regarding a specific issue such as land or nuclear weapons. Hence, the security of nations is reflected in military and political securities. After the termination of the cold war; probabilities of conflict between superpowers, application of nuclear weapons, and struggles on land conflicts were decreased, but those are replaced with other kinds of threats which emanated from economic, political management, sciences and technologies, social stability, environment, terrorism aspects and so. Information revolution helps diversification of threats. During the cold war, it was a distance between potential and de facto threat and the threatened side had time to evaluate the situation and making the decision. But, in the information revolution era; the velocity of data transmission becomes more than before, and interplay at the international level increases while potential threat factors against the security of nations expanded and their destructive force also becomes further (Sadat Hosseini et al, 2017: p.136). Cyber threats are new phenomena that emerged during recent decades in the globalization era and along with information technology change as well as expansion of world communications via wide internet network throughout the world in such a way that nowadays; the challenges

of cyber threats are seemed important and complicated (Roknabadi & Nooralivand, 2012: p.168). Based on this situation, during the globalization era; we witness the changes in threat aspects where these changes have occurred in threat sources as well as the type of threats and the applied tools which all have been changed dramatically. Globalization makes nations and human communities aware of numerous security threats and susceptibilities which either were ignored or simply were not realistic. The globalization era causes the expansion of threatening issues circle and also fading of the borderline between external and internal threats and on the other hands; today we are faced to threat which are without borders. For fading of the borderline between external and internal threat, we should state that through new studies about security issues; it is said that we are living under those conditions that national security threats are not merely caused by the existence of hostile neighbors, but other issues such as economic recession, political suppression, cultural shortages and deficiencies, environmental corruptions, beyond borders terrorism, international organized crimes, natural disasters, diseases, and health problems are added to traditional external threats (Mohseni, 2018: p.116-117), while a threat within cyberspace would be complicated, multi-dimensional and intangible. Thus, threat factors or agents, threat tools, and threat aims will be changed. Governments are not any longer the only agents of threat in the global security sphere but information technologies and communications also provide the capacity of threatening global immensity and create insecurity at national and international levels for private actors. Furthermore, tools of threat are changing from military tools, force, and compulsion to exploiting those software tools which are

based on information technology and communications. Aims of threat also are changing from hard issues such as land territory seizure and invasion, destruction of economic and commercial centers to some issues such as culture, public opinion, values, norms, social identity, and political legitimacy. This change is called "soft threat" and is based on exploiting software tools and soft components while empowering states to achieve desired results and objectives within a long-term period. Furthermore, although formed threats under cyberspace have diversified spectrum; but there are common features such as lack of government orientation, generality and comprehensiveness and . . . connect all of those (Sadat Mohseni et al, 2016: p.137).

Cyberspace and war inside the arena of national actors' activities, international relationships, and expansion of cyberspace at globalization era eclipse contrast issue and war in arena of international relationships in such a way that we witness a new type of contrast amongst national actors as well as other actors of international relationship arena under cyber war criteria which embraces different dimensions and formations comparing to whatever we have seen before. Cyber war can occur without any physical attack, then depending on widespread software systems; it can be harmful to states under a war without any roughness. Cyber is used to explain those systems which utilize mechanical or electronic systems as a replacement to control and human supervision. The term 'cyber' in cyber war terminology includes the systems that utilize software as a 'control element' and apply that. By these descriptions, cyber war is an action or a measure of a government to make the enemy doing its demand through destruction or harming software control processes inside enemies' sys-

tem. This war includes; cyber penetration, cyber manipulation, cyber-attack, and cyber ambush. This event as mentioned in the report of 'Dartmouth College', includes organized units within governmental territories which during defense and attacking operations utilizes computers to attack other computers and networks through electronic tools (Philips, 2011: p.2). Cyber war can be used to describe different aspects of defense and attacking against informative and computerized networks within cyberspace as well as eliminating the capacity of an enemy in doing so. Cyber war under a wide perspective means the occurrence of war within cyberspace. By this expression, cyber war includes defending informative and computerized networks, preventing informative attacks and eliminating the capacity of the enemy to do so, conducting offensive operations against enemy or informative victory in this arena (Hildreth, 2001: p.5). War in cyberspace is operated by those actors who set to use this space to achieve their political goals (Khalilpour Roknabadi & Nooralivand, 2012: p.171). As Richard Clarke argues; cyber war is a new format of fighting that we still are not able to understand perfectly while it is clear that in the current world, the battlefield expanded to cyberspace and it must be considered as the fifth war field along with traditional ground, air, sea, and space fields (Cornish et al, 2010: p. 12-13).

Furthermore, one of the most important aspects in the international arena of war and contrast under the light of the development and expansion of cyberspace is the formation of psychological war at its ground. In the current world, the most important aspect of cyber threats is their psychological dimension. Psychological operations within cyberspace include planned activities to transmit information and selected indices to foreign receivers where the goal is influencing feelings, motivations, thinking, and reasoning strength and finally to change the behavior of organizations, groups, and their wills. Moreover, it may be seen that designing information rubbery operations under cyberspace is conducted to generate agitation and anxiety. The term 'psychological war' is one of the frequent concepts in corresponding texts and negotiations of strategy makers, political theorists, security authorized persons, and experts in the domain of social sciences. For example, the US military defines this term in its combatant bylaws as: "Psychological war is a war which the most important goal of that is influencing ideas, feelings, wills and characteristic behavior of enemies, unaligned parties or aligned groups to maintain supporting national objectives and goals" (Khalili Joulorestani, 2017: p.157). Hence, the technological revolution in the domain of social communications causes accessibility facilities to access millions of people's thoughts and influencing those minds whereas the same easy access is the reason for the creation of much more extended causalities in this communication featured war comparing to military wars. Furthermore, the bullets of media are much more fatal than the bullets of conventional weapons. Undoubtedly, nowadays the communication technology is one of the fundamental tools of policymaking. With this technology, it is possible to enter the political environment of states and change that towards their benefit. Communication technology provides mentioned ability to actors of international relationships domain to expand their maneuver field from national circle to the furthest international level and maintain their national interests through this communication war. Mass media in the current world, communicate subjective and unreal worlds to our real world and determine how

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world's people think about for example today coups d'état in the Philippines or tomorrow issue of the Ozone layer and the day after tomorrow Aids infection and next week another issue where all these agendas are determined for world's people by some people who have the control of mass media and cyberspace within the international arena. The role of news agencies and cyberspace specifically finds its real significance through a framework of the same highlighting activities (Bahmani, 2012: p. 86 - 87).

Cyberspace and national security threat by cyber-crimes and cyber-terrorism

Cybercrimes are internet-driven crimes that include the generated crimes in the cyber environment. This kind of crime embraces cyber-attacks by spreading viruses, browse engines' spiders or crawlers, electromagnetic pulses, worms and so … under economic, personal revenge against public figures and agencies motivations and other incentives. Amongst these crimes, the most dangerous one is cyber-terrorism which can be planned mostly under political incentives along with generating widespread destruction in infrastructures of a government. The Internet has been entered into the existing arena as a structure that is free of states' control therefore it does not only provide destructive tools easily to unsatisfied people but also its structure is a suitable environment for criminal activities. Some of these activities that are called cyber-terrorism have been extended dramatically in such a way that its expansion causes weakening defense capacities of companies and governments which are exposed to hazard (Jahangiri & Pourghassab Amiri, 2011: p.118). The simplicity of hiding the origin and source of cyber-attacks and the fact that cyber-attack against a country can be originated from other countries means that cyber-crime and cyber-terrorism are international threats (Saed, 2011: p.109). The characteristic of cyber-terrorism and its distinct and fundamental difference with traditional terrorism is how to use its tool. Cyber-terrorism is referred to as a new phenomenon that has occurred within a different environment than traditional terrorism. Exploiting a computer in a cyber-medium is a unique and specified feature of this occurrence and an independent title is assigned to it due to this feature (Saed, 2011: p.98).

To summarize the reasons for resorting to cyber-terrorism attacks are abridged as mentioned below:

1. Cyber-attacks are less expensive than traditional terrorism attacks;
2. Tracking this kind of attack is very difficult;
3. Terrorists can hide their identity and used a location to set attacks;
4. Physical barriers or checkpoints are not available;
5. These attacks can be planned and operate from everywhere around the world;
6. By using cyber-attacks, there is the feasibility of attacking several targets synchronously;
7. The impact of these attacks can be on a huge number of people (Jahangiri & Pourghassab Amiri, 2011: p.122).

Cyber-terrorism is using computer networks tools to destruct fundamental infrastructures such as energy, transportation, state operations or apply force or threat to a government or nation. The fundamental theory of cyber-terrorism is described as the states and nations as well as fundamental infrastructures are going to be more dependent on computer networks to do their jobs, new susceptibilities would be created and a major electronic Achilles' heel emerges. Enemies of

a government and cyber terrorists can exploit these susceptibility points of states to penetrate weak and less immune computer networks and damage or even destroy fundamental applications. These infrastructures embrace the economy and also military domains of a government, which means that damaging the economic security of targeted government through injuring fundamental, economic, and informative infrastructures of a government and also corrosion of military capacity by damaging fundamental infrastructures (Structural and informative) of a government. Many believe that susceptibility of computer networks and susceptibility of fundamental infrastructures are the same and equivalent and also this susceptibility puts the national security of a government at significant risk. However, this context is not too amazing due to the emergence of computers and the internet not so long ago and its consequence of cyberspace formation. Nevertheless, many people also consider this belief to be false (James, 2002: p.24). After all these descriptions, cyber-terrorism is considered as a potential and de facto hazard for national security which ultimately weakens its power and strength.

Conclusion

Manuel Castells has provided a description and acceptable expression of the current world's technological changes and their impacts on community, economy, culture, politics, and nation-state institution along with emphasizing the fact that in the last decade of the twentieth century; the world witnesses important social, political and technological changes. His analysis of institutional, cultural, and technological changes in contemporary communities and emergence of new types of communities under the title of network communities and at a planetary level,

formation of some kind of network globalization together with network economy and network government provides helpful insight of the world that featured with changes of basic information. Castells emphasize is on the role of communication strength in the formation of politics whereas caused politics to be merely a controversy within media-oriented games and only dispute to be governing symbols on medium. Hence, by the development of cyberspace and entrance to the globalization era, we witness a change in the domain of international relationship actors. In this space, the most important traditional concepts of political sciences and international relationships such as sovereignty, power, and security have been subjected to important changes. Security at its military dimension is extended to other aspects of the economy, environment, and also social security. Moreover, the concept of power in the globalization era is undergone fundamental changes due to media development and cyberspace and increase in penetration and impact domains on ideas of targeted communities under the format of soft power became under attention as a new form of actors' power within the internal era as well as international relationships. On the other hand, the development and expansion of cyberspace and its tools under the format of networks and cyber media create a significant change in the national security of states which also has influenced international peace and security. Cyberspace as a double-edged sword in the forms of production tools and security threat within the national era and also international relationships is considerable. At the ground of this formation, crimes such as cyber terrorism are those problems which in addition to threatening the national security of political actors, influence international peace and security. Moreover, we witness the

formation of a new type of war and contrast amongst political actors under the framework of soft war that influenced security broadened dimensions (Military, political, economic, social, and environmental) of political actors, and also its range of impacts are extending because of cyberspace development. Hence, cyberspace has become the most important tool of belonged challenge ability to sovereignty political territories, weakening the power of government, a decline of national sovereignty, changing national security culture into global security as well as political legitimacy through the empowerment of decentralized secularists and other actors and activists, thus has influenced international peace and security that is affected by liberal democracy.

In a general category, the category of social justice goes back to the value criteria that govern society; in this sense, the elimination of poverty and inequality and the importance of supporting the poor and oppressed from social values are emphasized. Which obliges the government to do so, and in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the government is obliged to create the conditions for the establishment of social justice. Supporting individuals and families in need, employment, meeting the basic needs of life, stable prices commensurate with wages, equitable distribution of income and wealth, establishing security and order, and comprehensive rights of individuals are components of social justice and government duties; Part of which has been assigned to the Relief Committee as a government intermediary. More than forty years after the Islamic Revolution of Iran, social justice in the concept of dealing with the affairs of the poor and oppressed continues to face challenges; and this is one of the biggest challenges facing the government, which could jeopardize the so-

vereignty of the political system. Considering that maintaining the Islamic system is the first approach of the government, it can increase the need to help these people. In this category, by examining the theories of sociologists and political thinkers, the ideas of the founder of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the founder of the Imam Khomeini Relief Committee have been emphasized; And by adopting a normative approach and resolving the issue, an attempt will be made to answer the question of what government model the position of the poor and oppressed in the thoughts of Imam Khomeini provides for the realization of social justice. Because one of the most important tasks of political science researchers will be to address social and political challenges such as poverty and provide solutions for stability, security, and development of the country. Obviously, pursuing such a view in academic research can help promote the position of the university as a think tank in the country.

2- Research method:

To answer the main question of the article, we first try to process the views of political thinkers and sociologists on social justice and government by looking at the position of the poor and oppressed; Then, Iran-oriented views should be evaluated. Our focus in this article is a collection of 22 volumes of Imam Sahifa with emphasis on the statements, messages, rulings, religious permissions, and letters of Imam Khomeini (may God have mercy on him) about the poor and the oppressed; The interpretation of these works is done using the hermeneutic knowledge of Textual Reading, Contextual Reading, and Background Reading. Using the method of textual reading, the contents and content of the collection of works of the Imam's Sahifa are examined and understood; Based on the contex-

tual reading method, the views of other thinkers will be considered, and by using these two categories and emphasizing the thoughts of Imam Khomeini, we will try to present the model of government desired by the Imam for the realization of social justice. In addition, to achieve such a pattern, the Imam's statements about the Relief Committee will be used as an intermediary body of government that has been tasked with supporting the poor and oppressed after the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

3- The views of political thinkers and sociologists on social justice and government with emphasis on the position of the poor and oppressed

Some thinkers and sociologists consider the destitute to be marginal, illegitimate, and criminal elements, and consider independent destitute societies as a base for confronting modern experimental science and critique of new philosophy in the West; they believe that the wrong patterns and anomalies of this group are possible only by returning them to society and modernizing them. Other liberal theorists in the field of urban sociology have strongly criticized the theory of the marginalization of the urban poor, arguing that they are not only marginal but also perfectly cohesive with society. Despite their different views of this group of society, these theorists share a common prescription for returning the poor to modern society. (Bayat, 2018: p. 30-31)

Peter Lloyd, in his book The Working Class and the Urban Poor in the Third World, describes the urban poor as a heterogeneous mix mainly of the very poor workers, the peddlers, and the middle-class and self-employed. (Lloyd, 2014: p. 31) Lloyd emphasizes that the largest group of urban poor in the Third World are immigrants from rural

areas; explains the role of the poor in the process of entering and forming mass communication networks and the impact that these people have on the political system; for many urban poor, insecurity is the biggest problem; constantly searching for a new job, fear of illness, or other similar crises, cause insecurity among them. As a result, they rely on individuals or groups who can help them or provide useful information; therefore, each person's social network is the most valuable resource for him, in the conditions of extreme poverty, this is much more significant. (Mitchell, 1969, Singh, 1976 quoted by Lloyd, 2014: p. 150 and 356) The reaction of the poor to the obvious differences and discrimination they see in wealth and power can take two forms. Or that the existing social system, that is, the pattern of relations that determines the allocation of resources of wealth and power, and strives to maintain and improve its position within such a social system; Or inevitably seek to change the existing social system to perhaps modify and modify the existing conditions and laws governing existing situations and opportunities and make it possible to take advantage of it. (Lloyd, 2014: p. 189) Populist policies increase the demand for the poor to a level where the government is simply no longer able to meet its obligations to the poor. In such cases, the government continues its populist policies for popular leaders such as trade unions in the post-administrative system; in this way, the direct connection of the workers and the poor with the government is cut off, and the mobilization of the masses takes place from above, not from below. The important point is that in the Third World countries, the revolutionary mobilization of the urban poor from above is very small, and in addition, the revolutionary and radical political parties are very weak or do not exist at all. (Lloyd, 2014: p.

223-226) Hence, in some cases, the urban poor is referred to as opportunistic currents that will support those political leaders who promise to reward them; But if they do not keep their promises, they immediately give up their support and reject them. (Lloyd, 2014: p. 229-230)

Max Weber looks at the poor as a tool for capitalist growth. He opposes slavery and servitude to workers but says workers can only work for wages. They should not own their own jobs and have a chance to earn money. Weber sees the need for labor or the poor as food as an opportunity for the employer to impose harsh wages on workers. (Weber, 1947: p. 275 quoted from Craib, 2018: p. 217-218) For Weber, like Marx, class is defined by property. He acknowledges that the lack of property creates real weakness for workers, but he does not consider the lack of ownership of the workers to be important in it and says that the workers are forced to work. (Craib, 2018: p. 223-224) Weber is one of the main proponents and justifiers of the free market. He emphasizes that the free market imposes rational action on people. (Craib, 2018: p. 55) The constant need of the poor and the working class for life in Weber's intellectual structure is essential because of their role in the free market and the growth and development of capitalism. Weber's special attention to the free market and his belief that it is the rational action of the free market that is tolerated by the poor; justifies the difficult living conditions and needs of the poor workers.

John Rawls identifies the destitute as individuals, groups, or classes to whom justice has not been done; He attributes the poverty of the poor to the oppressive decisions and actions of the government or social organizations and institutions. (Rawls, 1971: p. 7 quoted by Nasiri Meshkini, Spring of 2003:

p. 266) Rawls says the poor as the least profitable should benefit most from government, institutions, and social organizations. (Rawls, 1971: p. 50, quoted by Nasiri Meshkini, Spring of 2003: p. 288) Rawls' view of justice is not utilitarian or rational. He has a moral view of justice with fairness; and introduces the utilitarian view as violating the most basic human rights (freedom and equality). Rawls sees the empty-handed as the product of rational and utilitarian justice; the initial distribution of facilities and the allocation of opportunities have not been done fairly. (Nasiri Meshkini, Spring of 2003: p. 267) According to Rawls, the government should distribute basic opportunities equally; In this case, the equality, adequacy, and merit of individuals will not be sacrificed. He believes that equal distribution is useless when unequal distribution benefits everyone and the poor. In Rawls' theory of justice as fairness, the government is an active actor; By guarding the freedom of individuals and creating conditions in which inequality benefits all and distributes inequality to the poorest members of society has a positive effect, protects the political economy from extremism in the path of freedom and equality by imposing proportional equalization taxes, wealth distribution, social insurance, free education, and preventing the concentration and multiplication of wealth. (Nasiri Meshkini, Spring of 2003: p. 271-272)

Karl Marx names the lumpen of the proletariat as a group of vagrants, traitors, pickpockets, crooks, gamblers, porters, junk buyers, freed prisoners, beggars, and, in short, all the indeterminate and incoherent masses who have no role in production; And they are mentioned as corrupt people who make a living through dubious means of unknown origin, alongside the corrupt and adventurous branches of capitalism. (Marx, 1968: p. 136-

137, quoting Craib, 2018: p. 179) In contemporary society, this class is somewhat at odds with what is known as the class of the poor or the poor, but there are some differences; the poor are not necessarily unemployed or beggars. Although there are unemployed and beggars among them, there are people among them who are constantly facing the challenge of the poverty line with low wages. (Craib, 2018: p. 179) The group or class considered by Marx was the proletariat or the new working class. For Marx, this group was the most extremist class that could achieve the freedom, equality, and fraternity that the French Revolution had failed to achieve; they were able to achieve true equality because no one was inferior to them in the social order, and they had nothing to lose but their chains. (Craib, 2018: p. 46) It should be noted that the poor, like Marx's group, were at the lowest social level; On the other hand, the wage-labor group, like the poor, was in some cases unemployed and forced to beg. In fact, it can be said that in many cases the group of workers considered by Marx had experienced the way of life of the poor or, given their wages and the employer's discretion to maintain or eliminate them, had their way of life ahead of them. Marx predicted that workers, based on their experience of inferiority or subjugation and exploitation, would reach a level of class consciousness that would enable them to launch a "proletarian revolution." (Lloyd, 2013: p. 224) Due to the worse living conditions among the poor and the possibility of self-awareness of this group of worse living conditions; their inferiority and greater exploitation of the working class, in terms of the leadership of middle-class intellectuals and the role of parties as a guiding factor, with a Marxist view, also enable them to stage a revolution. (Lloyd, 2013: p. 92) If we accept the poor

group at least as a small part of the working class or a group that has members in conflict with the working class; According to Marx, the class can be considered a role for the poor in the class struggle for political power, or at least influence over political power (Marx, 1968: pp. 170-171, quoting Craib, 2018: p. 173-174). Considering the role of middle-class intellectuals in the leadership of the working class in the proletarian revolution, and the interference of the working class with the poor in terms of members; the importance of this class in guiding the poor to influence political power can be realized.

Antonio Gramsci, in his "Notes on the History of Italy," mentions the lower classes as subordinates, which may include peasants, workers, peasants, and others; that have been deprived of power and exploited and subjugated by the ruling elite. (Mohammadi and Mohammadi, 2018: p. 460-461) The inferior man, according to Gramsci, is a marginalized man and not necessarily a poor man, a man who is incapable of exercising power in society; by this definition, groups of religious or ethnic minorities and women are marginalized in many societies and are considered inferior. (Razavi and Rahnama, 2017: p. 64) Gramsci argues that the history of the ruling class is realized through the state and dominant groups, and the history of the lower classes is fragmentary and periodic; the poor are subject to the activities of the ruling groups even when they revolt. (Ashrafat, 2016: p. 307 quoted by Mohammadi and Mohammadi, 2018: p. 461) Gramsci's research was to understand the past and present of the inferior to imagine the political prospects of the inferior and the possibility of a post-inferior future; this issue later led to the struggle of the Underground Studies Group led by Ranajit Guha (born 1923) in the

1980s. (Mohammadi and Mohammadi, 2018: p. 462)

With a fresh look at the place of villagers, tenant farmers, urban workers, and women in India's history, Ranajit Guha sought to establish a new way of writing history to restore the function of the underprivileged by leading the Underground Study Group in the 1980s. (Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 11) He believed that the colonial government had distorted Indian history with its literature in writing history, ignoring the real people of India and the role they played in Indian history; and it continues to criticize elite nationalist historians for collaborating with them. (Guha, 2001: p. 36 quoted by Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 111) There are many examples of the exploitation of the lower classes by the colonial government and their national collaborators. (Chakrabati, 2005: p. 467, quoted by Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 112) Guha sees the goals of the Underground Study Group as "opposing most of the common work in historiography because of its inability to accept the inferior as the creator of its own destiny." (Chakrabati, 2005: p. 472 quoted by Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 115) He believes that the lower classes played a key role in establishing their nation-state, although their conflicts and efforts were silenced by the repressive forces. (Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 115) Guha says that "people's politics" exists independently of the politics of the elites; According to him, elite politics acts as a vertical mobilization. (Guha, 1997: p. 90 quoted by Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 116) While the lower classes themselves have a policy, the realm of the lower classes' politics operates horizontally for political intervention; Movements in the politics of the lower classes are organized based on "kinship and regional relations" according to their class

consciousness; such movements are more violent and revolutionary than the elite movement; Therefore, the national leaders were able to use these revolts to their advantage by adopting special strategies and with the help of their affiliated organizations. (Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 117) By stating that the lower classes are not far removed from their time, and to show their opposition to the ruling class, they choose clothes, speech, and behavior that are completely in opposition to the ruling class. (Chakrabati, 2005: p. 473, quoted by Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 118)

In the studies of the lower classes, he tries to prove that the revolts of the lower classes are the result of their self-awareness. He gives examples of rebellions to show the subjectivity and agency of the lower classes as a symbol of their self-awareness. (Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 118) Today, studies of the lower classes are not limited to Latin America and India, and across borders, it has become a discipline in various departments such as sociology. (Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 112) In the studies of the lower classes, it is the poor man who makes his own destiny, not the government or the ruling power; as result, it requires strategies to show that the poor have self-awareness and that the rebellion of the poor due to self-awareness is the cause of change. (Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 118) It can be said that the main goal of the poor movements is to resist inferiority. The poor do not trust any kind of government because they have always been oppressed by domestic and foreign governments. (Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 117)

Michel Foucault also believes that the poor can speak directly and show their subjectivity and agency. (Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 120) According to Foucault, if

oppressed people are given a chance to achieve political unity through solidarity, then the poor can both talk and learn about their situation. (Spivak, 1988: p. 283, quoted by Zolfaghari and Nojoumian, 2010: p. 120) In general, Foucault in his thought and work challenges static, fixed, and modernist approaches. (Stanford, 2002: p. 227, quoted by Razavi and Rahnama, 2017: p. 65)

4- Perspectives on Iran

The influence of Islam in Iran did not destroy the classes, but they continued to interact with each other, although the manner of this interaction was different from previous periods; Group interaction and class relations of the Islamic period still formed the social and political system of Iran and maintained a large gap between the upper and lower classes. (Bill, 2008: p. 23-24) Merchants were one of the most influential social classes, says Sir John Malcolm on the importance of this group; Merchants are a large and wealthy class that no section of society has more in terms of individuals and security property than this class. Their business is necessary to generate income, some of them cannot be suppressed because looting one of them will warn everyone, trust will be lost and trade will fail. (Malcolm, 1829; p. 2-304, quoted by Bill, 2008: p. 36-37) With the proximity and dependence of the bazaar and the mosque in the structure of Islamic cities, merchants and the clergy are considered as two poles attached to each other; this is because government domination was seen as weak and more authoritarian. For centuries, with a fundamental union in Iranian public life, they created the conditions under which they organized their political alliances. In contemporary Iran, the market has been the basic financial and political power of Shiite religious institutions and a base for almost all

protest movements; and whenever the bazaar opposed the government, it sought refuge under the protection of the clergy; As a result, market policies have been mixed with support for the clergy (Ashraf, and Banu Azizi, 2007: pp. 118-124). The poor and the lower classes of society over the centuries, under the influence of the clergy and with the financial support of the market, could increase the influence and influence of each of these two groups on political power in the alliance between the merchants and the clergy. (Ashraf and Banu Azizi, 2007: p. 63-64)

In the book Government and the Underworld, Touraj Atabaki mentions industrial and non-industrial workers of cities, rural workers, and unemployed and migrant workers in the lower classes (Atabaki, 2011: p. 8). Atabaki says that history from below is a new trend in Middle Eastern historiography, which Abrahamian's research on the role of the people in Iranian politics points to (Abrahamian, 1986: p. 184-210, quoted by Atabaki, 2011: p. 5). Atabaki's view is that numerous studies have been conducted to study the implementation of modernization in the Middle East and in Iran in particular, but all these researches have carried out modernization from above and there is no news about the reaction of the society to this issue. (Atabaki, 2011: p. 7) The process of rapid and authoritarian modernization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the elites' view of the working class and the poor prevented the elites from taking a place in the modernization process for the non-elite, especially the working class and the poor; The reaction of the lower classes to the authoritarian process of modernization in contemporary Iran did not last for many years due to the presence of leftist parties during and after the constitutional period, and with the resignation of Reza Pahlavi in 1941, they were allowed to par-

ticipate in the country's political life (Ataba-ki, 2011: pp. 32-33). Touraj Atabaki takes a different look at the phenomenon of migration among the poor. The consequences of the political and social changes resulting from the spread of poverty and destitution resulting from two consecutive defeats of Iran from the Tsarist Empire in 1813 and 1828, led to a series of massive social displacements and migration to the city; The failure of the people to receive a response from the government to their demands for better economic and living conditions had paved the way for mass migration and urban and rural riots. (Abrahamian, 1982: p. 2-151, quoted by Atabaki, 2011: p. 68-69) With the decline of the traditional economy and the limited capacity of the new economy to provide work for the poor in their place of residence, the search for work by migrating to cities became a new trend. (Atabaki, 2011: p. 69) Atabaki examines the poor with a fresh look at other political thinkers and sociologists. Influenced by Gramsci, he lists the working class as one of the main groups of the lower classes; Inspired by Gramsci to the resistance of the underprivileged and the agency of the working class and the poor as history from below, tries to explain the position of the underprivileged in the face of modernization in Iran and the role of the poor in this process. Atabaki says that the authoritarian modernity imposed by the Reza Pahlavi regime caused different layers and sections of Iranian society to show complex and multifaceted reactions. He mentions important social groups, especially the lower classes, which pursued a strategy of avoidance, opposition, and sometimes resistance. (Atabaki, 2011: p. 149)

In the book Globalization of the Economy and the Structure of Social Classes in Iran, Hossein Abdollahi introduces the poor as one of the first groups to suffer as a result of Iran's integration into the world economy. His view of the poor is related to his explanation and analysis of Iran's entry into the world economy and the change in the structure of classes in Iran. He sees globalization as exacerbating poverty and increasing the number of poor. Abdullahi says that the historical developments in Iran were such that the process of modernization and globalization were intertwined; At the same time, social groups and classes have undergone the tensest changes concerning the global economy. (Abdullahi, 2018: p. 8) Iran's gradual integration into the world economy, the commercialization of agriculture, the entry of capitalist production relations, and the increase in relations with the West brought about important changes in the social structure of the country; And paved the way for the emergence of modern social classes, namely bureaucratic intellectuals, the modern bourgeoisie, and the fledgling industrial working class. (Abdullahi, 2018: p. 44, quoted by Ashraf and Banu Azizi, 2008: p. 72-73) Of course, the emergence of modern social classes was accompanied by an increase in involuntary migration from rural to urban areas, the prevalence of marginalization, and an increase in the number of urban poor. The expansion of the public sector of the economy also led to the growing growth of the middle class, mainly due to the increasing oil revenues at the disposal of the government and the accumulation of government capital, as well as the expansion of the administrative and military apparatus of the government. (Abdullahi, 2018: p. 159) The connection to the global economy led to the expropriation and weakening of many peasants, who were among the first social groups to suffer; The craftsmen were seriously injured by the replacement of Western

goods with handicrafts, and some members of this social class were driven into the ranks of the workers or the unemployed, losing the meager means of production. (Abdullahi, 2018, p. 72) The population of the country with an average annual increase of 3.89%, compared to 2.45% of the average annual increase of the country's employees from 1956 to 1976, explained the growth of the population much more than the increase of employed people in the country; A situation that was to the detriment of all classes, especially the poor of society. (Abdullahi, 2018: p. 147)

Katozian explains that the poor in Iran are the lowest social groups that, in addition to the government, are also dominated by the upper classes. In Katouzian's authoritarian rule, all rights belong to the government. The poor have no rights, and if they do, they belong to the upper classes; accordingly, the poor have no duty to the government and other classes. The behavior of the poor can be defined in terms of the short-term benefits that can be bestowed on them. Citing his studies, Katozian uses the theory of authoritarian rule as a model for Iran's historical sociology in the study of Iranian social events; Social classes had no rule of law independent of the state. The state did not derive its legitimacy from the law and no group or class. Because of this, the composition of the classes changed rapidly over time. Regarding the two revolutions in Iran in the twentieth century, Katozian says that these revolutions, for all their differences, were essentially widespread social uprisings against the ruling government to establish law; And if the nature of authoritarian rule in Iran is identified, it will be possible to explain and predict the behavior of classes by knowing their position and function in society. (Katozian, 2001: p. 1-2) He says that the lower classes or the poor, which were formerly under the rule of the government, were also dominated by the upper classes. When the government was weak and shaky, they either beat it or did not defend it. (Katozian, 1995: p. 7) During the constitutional revolution, the revolutionaries demanded a government in which absolute and authoritarian power was impossible; the elected representatives of the people should appoint executive officials and control and regulate their activities, and the judiciary should be an independent institution and act within the framework of the law. They fought for a constitution based on the separation of powers. (Katozian, 1995: p. 101) Given the nature and goals of the constitutional movement, the role of the poor in the movement can be defined at any time in terms of the benefits they could obtain. (Katozian, 2001: p. 29)

Abrahamian considers the poor and the lower classes of the city as groups and individuals who normally seek the happiness of this world and its salvation; and they are historically influenced by the upper classes, the clergy, and the highest political power, but in difficult and decisive circumstances, their political behavior will be subject to their immediate interests. Regarding the poor and the lower classes in the Constitutional Revolution, Abrahamian emphasizes that they were generally monarchists and could easily become the tools of the upper classes and act against the revolution; it was the high price of bread that provoked the poor to confront the government. The poor and the lower classes of the city traditionally respected the local clergy and the king, so that either of them could mobilize them if necessary. Although they were no more than a minority, they played an important role in mobilizing their religious sentiments in their favor. The poor economic situation had led them to sup-

port the people's forces, and if the court gave them food and money, they were ready to face the revolution. (Abrahamian, 1982, pp. 506-508, quoting Foran, 1998: pp. 274-275)

Asef Bayat says that the poor are examples of people, whose field of work and activity is mostly on the streets, and in most cases, they do street work such as stall management, peddling, carpentry, and Wheel barrowing; And in this sense, it contradicts the will of governments, which consider the streets to be public areas. In the book Street Politics, regarding the poor as a social group, Bayat seeks to explain the dynamics of the "slow progress" movement of the poor and their mobilization and mass mobilization; claims that despite numerous claims of the active participation of the poor in the revolution, the urban poor were mainly on the margins of the revolution; But the same poor people have been involved in the quiet revolution in the back alleys of their neighborhoods. (Bayat, 2018: p. 2-7) However, when the extent of development and the impact of the poor movement become apparent, the government's reaction and repression are inevitable, but in most cases, repression fails; because it usually starts late, that is, the developers have expanded enough, become apparent, and have achieved enough. (Bayat, 2018: p. 38) In explaining his view of the poor, he cites the views of some of the theorists; based on Gramsci's theory of "passive revolution", he says that the poor group operates based on a conscious strategy; and ultimately targets government authority. And in James Scott's theory of "forms of the peasant resistance hole," he refers to slowness, secrecy, false grievances, slander, and obscenity, and the like, in which the peasantry, as a group of the poor, prefers to act individually and cautiously against the oppressors; and discusses survival strategies that explain the

poor's survival activities. (Bayat, 2018: pp. 19-25) According to him, the slow progress of the threat is a kind of policy and struggle for immediate and unmediated achievements, which is usually achieved through personal action with the two goals of redistributing facilities and opportunities, and gaining internal independence from the government regulations (Bayat, 2018: p. 29). Finally, it is noted that the constant, steady, and peaceful advancement of the poor is a fluid, fragmented, independent, and unorganized movement that is typically illegal and at risk of repression. (Bayat, 2018: p. 287-288)

5- Imam Khomeini

In Imam Khomeini's statements, the oppressed, the poor, the slum dwellers (Khomeini, 1999: vol. 18, p. 38), the slum dwellers, the barefoot, the poor (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 20: p. 334-332) and the lower classes are the low-income and deprived classes of society who have experienced the pain of poverty, deprivation, and impoverishment. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 21: p. 247-246) Imam says that in this situation where the clergy are at the forefront of the country's affairs and the danger of others abusing the status of clergy is conceivable, And maybe people with a 100% Islamic appearance want to damage their prestige and credibility, And even put the clergy face to face in addition to securing their own interests. Of course, what they should never deviate from is supporting the deprived and the barefoot; because whoever deviates from it has deviated from the social justice of Islam. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 21: p. 100-99) And he emphasizes that the basis of being Islamic is action (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 13: p. 489-487). He says in the book Velayat-e-Faqih that just imams and jurists are obliged to use the system and government organizations to implement the di-

vine commandments and establish a just Islamic system and serve the people. (Khomeini, 2013: p. 55) According to the Imam, the goal of the government is to establish Islamic social justice in the service of the people, especially the oppressed, the deprived, and the poor. He says on the birth of Imam Mahdi: What a blessed birth of a great person who purifies the justice for which the resurrection of the prophets was. And blessed is the birthday of the superman who purifies the world from the evil of the oppressors and swindlers, And He fills the earth with justice after it has been oppressed and oppressed, and oppresses the arrogant of the world, and makes the oppressed of the world the heirs of the earth. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 14: p. 472) As can be deduced from the Imam's political ideas in the above phrase, in the best kind of government, the oppressors and the arrogant are corrected and blamed, oppression and injustice disappear, and justice and fairness become common. This is the process by which the government must approach the promised form of the Imam, in which case the oppressed and the poor will be the main heirs of the earth; another issue raised by Imam Khomeini is the answer to the question of who should rule? Imam and leader is a person who is responsible for establishing justice because the resurrection of all the prophets (peace be upon them) was based on it; The phrase that the oppressed become the heirs of the world seems to mean that the oppressed will live in a world where Islamic social justice will be the basis of life for all. According to the Imam, the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran is due to the efforts of the lower classes of society, i.e. the oppressed. And he reminds us: You achieved this revolution and the groups that achieved this revolution throughout this country were the same men and women who were

deprived. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 14, p. 261) And he instructs others not to distance themselves from the barefoot, oppressed, and helpless people to whom all our honor is the hostage of their mercy and service (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 20: p. 38). It is our duty and that of all those involved to serve these people and share in their sorrows, joys, and problems; I do not think there is any prayer higher than serving the deprived. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 20, p. 342) Serve the oppressed, the poor, and the slum dwellers who are our blessings (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 18: p. 38). Only those with us to the end of the line who have experienced the pain of poverty and deprivation and impoverishment are with us. The poor and the poor are the real perpetrators of the revolutions. We must do our best to maintain the principled line of defense of the oppressed as much as possible; we will defend to the last drop of blood the rights of the poor in human societies (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 21: p. 86-87). Considering that the heavy burden of the revolution is on the shoulders of the oppressed; we have to focus on deprived areas, especially on the outskirts of cities, which were not considered in the previous regime (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 15: p. 273). Let you carry out the divine commandments. Laws must be enacted to restore the rights of the deprived and the poor; it is your duty (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 14, p. 304). We must plan to advance the goals and interests of the deprived nation of Iran. We must work with all our might to communicate with the people of the world and to address the problems and issues of the Muslims and support the fighters and the hungry and the deprived (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 21: p. 91). May God not bring the day when our policy and the policy of our country's officials will turn their backs on defending the deprived and turn to support the capitalists, And the rich to

have more credibility and care. God forbid that this is not compatible with the manners and methods of the prophets, the Amir al-mu'minin, and the infallible Imams (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 20: p. 341). The Imam also recommends the selection of agents and officials of the Islamic system to hold various positions; The rich should never influence the government and the rulers and administrators of the Islamic country because of their financial means; And to use their wealth as an excuse to be proud and to impose their thoughts and desires on the poor and the needy and the toilers. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 20: p. 340) If you are still doing things that divert people's attention and yourself from the material to something else; Instead, for these barefoot and weak, for those who worked hard to get you here and still do not expect much from you to provide them with water and food, and basic necessities. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 13: p. 202) The interest of the barefoot and the oppressed should take precedence over the interest of the rulers in homes and rituals and the wealthy and the affluent fleeing from the front and jihad and piety and the Islamic system; And from generation to generation and from generation to generation, the honor and prestige of the leaders of this holy movement, and the war of poverty and wealth will be preserved; And we must try not to tarnish the image of blasphemy and anti-poverty of our revolution by reaching out to the world and selling religion; And do not smear the stigma of defending the prosperous without knowing God on the shoulders of the officials. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 20: p. 333) Conscience demands that things everywhere be for the benefit of the country and for the benefit of Islam and for the benefit of these communities, and especially for the benefit of the poor (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 15: p. 122). I call on all those who have been promoted by this nation through their own efforts to do their best to serve these oppressed people and to serve these poor homeless people and to serve these slum dwellers; All of you, stand up with one voice and one voice and serve them for the oppressed and this nation that owes all of us and all of you the right and the right. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 15, p. 287-288) Think of this nation, the thought of these slum dwellers, the thought of these people who gave everything and put you in office (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 13: p. 200). We know that the majority of this group and the dear warriors of Islam were from the deprived and low-income classes, and the affluent did not burn their hearts for the revolution. But we have to be grateful for their efforts, and I do not want this gratitude to be limited to apparent praise; rather, they must be valued in all kinds of social, economic, and cultural privileges. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 21: p. 157) All managers, agents, leaders, and clerics of the system and the government of justice are obliged to have more gatherings, publications, meetings, interactions, introductions, and friendships with the poor than the affluent; And it is a great honor for the great people to be with the poor and barefoot and to know and place themselves in their midst. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 20: p. 341) The government and the Islamic Consultative Assembly and all those in charge of educational affairs are responsible to God and the masses of the oppressed nation, and we must know that one of the great responsibilities is the religious and national responsibility; Responsibility to the oppressed and the downtrodden, and final responsibility to the Creator and the people, throughout future history. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 17: p. 3) I advise the parliament, the government and those involved to appreciate this nation; And in serving them, especially

the oppressed, the deprived and the oppressed, who are the light of our eyes; And the Islamic Republic achieved them and their sacrifices, And its survival is owed to their services, do not give up and know yourself from the people and them from you. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 21: p. 412) My testament to the ministers at the top in the present age and in other ages is that in addition to you and the employees of the ministries, the budget from which you spend belongs to the nation, and you should all serve the nation, especially the oppressed; Also, causing trouble for the people and opposing the duty of doing haram and sometimes causing divine wrath, you all need the support of the nation. With the support of the people, especially the deprived classes, victory was achieved and the oppressive hand of the country and its reserves were cut short. And if one day you are deprived of their support, you will be left out and, like the oppressive imperial regime; the oppressors will occupy the posts instead of you. Due to this tangible fact, you should try to attract the attention of the nation and avoid un-Islamic and inhuman behavior. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 21: p. 426-427) I call on all governmental and national bodies and all groups to avoid groups, categorization, opportunism, and carnal airs; and put themselves on the path of serving the nation and the oppressed people. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 12: p. 443) Another issue that all the armed forces, especially those who deal more with the people in the cities, such as the Revolutionary Guards, the Basij, the committees, and the police, should pay attention to; is their good and humane treatment of people, especially the oppressed. The people who support the Islamic Republic and the fighters of the fronts with all their might, the IRGC, and others must win their hearts and gain God's approval. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 16: p. 268) My dear brothers,

intellectual brothers, writer brothers, university brothers, esteemed students, clergymen, esteemed bazaars, dear workers, esteemed employees, let us unite; Let all our pens and all our steps and all our words be for the benefit of this oppressed class; Do not let the blood of these martyrs be wasted; Do not let our slum dwellers continue to a slum; Do not let the superpowers fall into the greed of devouring us again; Do not let the conspiracies of the superpowers and traitors grow. O intellectuals and writers, spend your pens and speeches in the way of these oppressed people; O our scientists, our students, our educators, our academics, strengthen your communities for the cause of these oppressed; You were the ones who served so much and gave so much blood and were imprisoned so much and suffered so much to get rid of the yoke of the enemies, to get rid of the plunder of the plunderers; Do not waste your efforts; Use pens to serve these people; Speech in the service of the oppressed, and deeds in the service of the oppressed "(Khomeini, 1999, vol. 10, p. 473). I strive to all in the effort for the welfare of the deprived classes that the good of this world and the hereafter is to take care of the deprived of the society who have suffered during the history of oppression and how good it is for the affluent classes to voluntarily provide housing and welfare for slums and slum dwellers. And be sure that the good of this world and the hereafter is in it. And it is far from fair for one to be homeless and one to have apartments. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 21, p. 445) When a man serves for the creation of God and because these people have been oppressed, kept backward throughout history, not allowed to grow spiritually, to grow materially, when you serve with this idea, you are in the service of Islam (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 18: p. 190). The important thing is that

they really feel that these servants who are servants feel that these masses are the deprived servants of God and you want to serve them and you are their servants. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 17: p. 79)

6- Causes of poverty and deprivation of the poor and oppressed in Imam Khomeini's thought

Imam Khomeini uses the terms he uses for this class, such as slum dweller, barefoot, and slum dweller, to indicate that the Imam's attention to indicators related to income, occupation, housing, and education, etc., is mainly due to environmental conditions. This means that this position is acquired and the abnormal situation of this class is not coercive but the result of their weakening by the arrogant powers. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 20, p. 334) The Imam attributed a large part of the problems to the betrayal and wrong policies of the government of the time (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 2: pp. 387-488-574). Plunder of resources was also considered another cause of poverty and dependence of the people. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 4: p. 154)

7- The importance of the poor and oppressed in Imam Khomeini's thought

According to Imam Khomeini, the poor and the oppressed are important from two points of view:

The Imam's first look at this group is important in that he mentions them as guardians of blessings for everyone, especially government officials and holders of government positions in the Islamic Republic of Iran; And he considers the Islamic Republic as their success and addresses them and tells them that you have achieved this revolution, the same deprived men and women and the same oppressed people. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 21, p. 181-182) Regarding the indebtedness of

the system and agents to the poor and oppressed, the Imam recommends to the Islamic Consultative Assembly that serious plans be made for the welfare of the deprived class so that you can pay some of your debts to this class (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 12: p. 121). The Imam's other view of the poor and the oppressed, which seems to be even more important in terms of jurisprudence than the first view, is the position of the oppressed in Islamic social justice, which God has made them heirs (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 14: p. 472). The government is the government of the oppressed, the government is the deprived. The characteristic of the government of the deprived, the oppressed and the people's government are that both the government and the ministers and its parliament understand what the oppressed and the deprived mean. When its president left school, he came to be president, meaning that those who were at the head of the government themselves felt the deprivation (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 18: p. 51-53.)

8- Relief committee in Imam Khomeini's thought

Considering that Imam Khomeini was the founder of an institution whose inherent duty was to support the poor and oppressed; It seems that the Imam's thoughts about these people can be found in his statements regarding the relief committee:

This relief committee has a very delicate, delicate, and honorable act, with which, God willing, they can eradicate poverty from all over the country with the help of the great nation of Iran and the efforts of the great government of Iran (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 17: p. 425). A sense of duty and humble service; you have come to their aid, and they deserve that we humbly serve them and serve them. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 17, p. 425) Your deed,

gentlemen, all over the country, is a very noble deed that will be pleasing to God, the Blessed and Exalted (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 17: p. 425). I pray to you that God will reward you well for your hard work (Khomeini, 1999 vol. 13: p. 6). Thank you for your very honorable and great service (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 17: p. 425). The relief committee must act independently to provide more services to the underprivileged, away from administrative formalities. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 19: p. 101)

9- Conclusion

According to what was discussed, the global and Iran-oriented views of political sociologists and thinkers were evaluated with emphasis on Imam Khomeini's ideas about the poor and the oppressed in the field of social justice and government. This category goes back to the value criteria governing society that in the years after the revolution in the Islamic Republic of Iran was influenced by the statements and ideas of Imam Khomeini; The eradication of poverty and inequality and the importance of supporting the poor and oppressed from the social values that the Imam had repeatedly obliged the rulers and statesmen to do. The establishment of the Relief Committee in the first days after the victory of the Islamic Revolution by the decree of the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran was a government strategy to achieve social justice to combat the phenomenon of poverty and deprivation. But the Imam's advice to help and the people were different from his address to the statesmen and rulers to support and help the poor and oppressed. This distinction has been recognized by the Imam from the very beginning; As mentioned earlier, the Imam was a believer. The relief committee should not become governmental and should act independently. Else-

where, he considers the action of the relief committee to be a very gentle, delicate, honorable, and God-pleasing act, and he prays and thanks to the aid workers for this. And he also advises the people: My dear brothers, intellectual brothers, writer brothers, university brothers, esteemed students, esteemed clerics, esteemed bazaars, dear workers, esteemed employees, let us unite; Let all our pens and all our steps and all our words are for the benefit of this oppressed class. Do not waste the blood of these martyrs, our scientists, our students, our educators, our academics, strengthen your communities for the sake of these oppressed people. But when the Imam addresses the statesmen and government organizations, it is not only a matter of inviting or encouraging them to help or take care of the poor and oppressed; Rather, the Imam obliges them to the extent that he obliges himself and the Imams and jurists to ensure the functioning of the system and government organizations to serve the deprived and the poor. Addressing the Islamic Consultative Assembly, he said that you should enact laws that return the rights of the deprived and the poor; He even urges the armed forces, including the IRGC, the Basij, the committees, and the police, to treat all people, especially the poor and oppressed, in a kind and humane manner and to win their hearts. In the government, the Imam is a basic principle of helping the poor and oppressed and rescuing them from poverty and deprivation; That social justice will not be achieved without it and whoever deviates from it is out of Islamic social justice. And all individuals, groups, and institutions, and in particular the rulers, the system, and the governmental institutions are involved; The difference is that the basis of the work of statesmen, government officials, and government organizations should be ordered to sup-

port the poor and oppressed to save from poverty and deprivation.

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