SOVEREIGNTY ASSESSMENT IN RELATION TO ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY

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ABSTRACT

Experience of democracy in Islamic states that has a particular look at changes in more pioneer countries such as Iran always demands in its depth the answer to this question when considering all religious and historic internalized traditions, how democracy should be dominated and strengthened. In these situations; answering to this inchoate Islamic democracy requirement is a necessity and every look at that is considered to be a paradigm.

One of the main questions in regard of people's dominance in its religious form is about the maximal of the most important indices of democracy due to availability of different notifications of Islam and democracy in Islamic states such as Iran and what would be approaches of each branches of Islam as traditional or modern to these indices. Since democracy under its historic concept has several fundamental mainstays, in this article we aim to pay more attention to one of these fundamental mainstays; "people's dominance" and assess its relationship with democracy and review mentalities of traditional and modern Islamist to this matter.

Fundamental assumption of this article is an existed notable gap between mentalities in regard of people's dominance issue where resulted in two different answers to fundamental contexts of people's dominance where in this article focus would be only on one issue of this set of issues which is called sovereignty. This article's attempt is to answer this fundamental question of how traditional and modern considerations of Islam into sovereignty issue used to be and what is their perspective in regard of this context.

KEYWORDS: *People's dominance, sovereignty, people, democracy, Islam, tradition*

1 – INTRODUCTION AND NECESSITY OF DISCUSSION

Democracy was a ruling method that was created in England for the first time and expanded amongst English language people and other nations (Bernard Lewis, "A review of Islam and liberal democracy", Pegah Hozeh, No. 13). Up to date of French revolution Democracy has

been undesired and unsuitable under view of political scientists and advocating of it has been generalized only during recent centuries (Bashiriyeh, "Democracy lessons for all", 2002, P. 196). It seems that in current days, democracy when has been merely an European phenomenon has been changed to be the most prevalent political system and many systems such as one-party, totalitarian and fascist have been replaced by it (Bashiriyeh, ditto, Introduction section). Nowadays, democracy has been changed into the best method of organizing political life and its desirability has been advanced to a level that the most non-democratic states also name themselves democratic governing system or strive to provide a democratic image of their political system or country to external world.

Dominance of democracy in the most parts of the world and endeavors of many Islamic states in Arabic region during recent years in order to access different governing systems from previous ones is not unknown to none of the experts. On the other hands, ideological tendency of most people in this region who demonstrate clear religious beliefs is also undeniable and both of these practices are introductions make necessity of focus on demanding democracy of Arab Muslim states in Persian Gulf and Middle East region reduplicate. On the other hands, experiencing democratic Islam in Iran is and focused issue for people and intellectuals as well as leaders of these regions and all of them well known that after three decades of democratic Islam entrance into Iran; there is not any consensus on different aspects of political Islam amongst Iran and world intellectuals and thinkers.

Some experts believe that after emergence of modernization in Iran whenever Islam and modernization has been addressed, the intellectual ones strive to avoid making these two compatible or showing compatibility between these two issues (Nassiri, "Islam and modernization", 2002, Introduction section).

As a matter of fact, while this question is addressed there also doubt is arisen that researchers may be intended to measure Islam by democracy, but first of all this measurement is not necessary and secondly it is not required to be resulted in a truth, thirdly the base of issue is wrong and measuring a divine context by human's findings is

wrong. In Islamic countries necessity of addressing discussions of democracy also has acquired importance due to several orientations as:

1 – Inefficiency of governing political systems in these countries makes their elites and intellectuals to seek for alternative solutions where one of these solutions is acceptance and promotion as well as interpreting democracy as solution of exit from these problems.

2 – Administrations in Islamic states try to show their outer and international appearance democratic one and it means in one hand, nobility of democracy and in other hand means globalization of democracy and inevitability of democracy in current era.

3 – International pressure on accepting some components of democracy by political systems have been increased.

4 – Increase in level of communications and easiness of utilizing widespread media have increased possibility of access and obtaining information regarding many types of rights and political systems of other peoples in the world as well as comparing these systems for citizens where controlling thoughts and minds of people became severely difficult for politicians and people increase their expectations of political systems through recognizing their rights.

5 – Comprehensiveness of western media promotions regarding some discussions such as the end of history (by Fukuyama) and … changes democracy from being mere a ruling method into a value.

6 – Islamic culture and Islamist groups inside Islamic countries themselves have important criticisms (regarding applicability) about democratic systems as well as fundamentals of democracy (regarding view) where lead to abundant conflicts in converging Islam and democracy. It is natural that proportional to each one of said necessities, there are advantages as well. For example, scientific and multi aspect assessment of this relationship lead to make clear the points of controversies between pro and con in regard of compatibility between Islam and democracy and …

If we talk about Islam as a historical phenomenon, we have talked about a society which has more than one billion members, a history of 14 centuries and about 53 sovereignty (Number

of Islamic conference's members) where purification of the relationship between Islam and democracy will differently influence these 53 sovereignties (Bernard Lewis, ditto). Meanwhile, there are always challenge of Islam sovereignty principles or democracy in rational and practical disputes amongst traditional thinkers and modern intellectuals and approaches to these two mentalities will form political and social flow in Islamic countries.

2 – Difficulty in definitions

To assess the relationship between two variables, first of all their definitions is required in order to prevent addressees from misunderstandings of different common verbal and meaning points. Therefore, examining any relationship between Islam and democracy requires providing a unique definition of both at least during one single research. Hence, assessment of any relationship between Islam and democracy herein requires at least during accomplishing a research to provide a unique definition of these two. What is objective of Islam? What is the meaning of democracy? Is objective of relationship assessment would be comparing Islamic ruling with democratic rulings? If democracy is considered to be a method of running society, is this relationship assessment would be comparing this methodology and method of Islamic management of society or would be assessment and valuation of democratic managing society against Islamic teachings? Moreover, if democracy is considered as an ideology, does assessment of this proportion mean valuation and evaluation its correctness under Islam's fundamental and teachings or we consider Islam as an ideology in this assessment and this assessment is comparison of two ideologies? If we accounted Islam as an ideology, we primarily should provide some reasons regarding being an ideology (against being a culture) and …

This type of questions apparently makes assessment of Islam and democracy difficult. Whereas if we talk about Islam as a religion and civilization; there would be many types and if we talk about that as a historic phenomenon, then we talk about a society which has fourteen years duration due to historical range and one billion live population due to spread

of population and regarding political diversification; it has at least 53 sovereignties and this assessment is derived further.

3 – SEGMENTATION AND DEFINITION OF ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY

To explain "Islam" as a vocabulary, it is required to note two completely conflicted views in defining Islam where one of those is traditional (and mainly dominated) definition which believes that religion is not speechless and understanding a religion should be requested from religion itself where the methodology is Islamic interpretations and jurisprudence and the other definition (which is belonged to modern intellectuals) under an epistemological approach and resort to principle of distinction between religion and religious epistemology and understanding (Soroush, "Theoretical monopoly and expanding of religion", 1994, third edition, page: 439) believes: 1 – Religion by itself is Godly, infinite, constant and sacred (Soroush, ditto, pages: 181, 203, 504, 248), 2 – Understanding religion is human beings endeavor and similar to other endeavors such as endeavor to understand nature thus religious understanding and virtue is not sacred (Soroush, ditto, pages: 208, 442, 504), on the other word religious acknowledge is variable, proportional and era dependent. Embraced presentation in this interpretation is speechlessness of "religion" about itself and expresses not a matter. We ourselves resort to religion and strive to understand it whereas this type of presentation is questionable under traditionalists' views. Apart from entering into these discussions, we can conclude a credential segmentation from this discussion where is each religion could be assessed within itself through three meanings. For example Christianity could be assessed through 1, 2, 3 meanings and Islam also could be assessed through 1, 2, 3 meanings.

Islam 1: The set of sacred religious and ritualistic texts which are belonged to Muslims and means Quran and credible narratives of sacred figures are called Islam one.

Islam 2: A set consisted of descriptions, interpretations, statements and explanations from Muslim theologians during previous 1400 years are called Islam two where is included of

jurisprudents, preachers, moral scholars, mystics works and the collection of cultural heritage. Islam 2 is monitoring Islam 1 and interpreting it.

Islam 3: Covers a set of actions which have been accomplished by Muslims during 1400 years along with related works and results of those actions (implemented Islam during history).

In order to assess Islam 2 and democracy, we concisely categorize all provided interpretations of Islam in three categories of traditionalists, modernists and fundamentalists. Therefore we conclude 4 attitudes as mentioned below so as to assess relationship between Islam and democracy:

1 – Relationship between Islam 3 and democracy

2 – Relationship between traditionalist Islam and democracy

3 – Relationship between modernist Islam and democracy

4 – Relationship between fundamentalist Islam and democracy

Here we can look at discussion under two scopes:

1 – Assessing situation of Islamic countries and the problem and ambiguity and limitation in political commitment of people and prescription of democratization of political system which is assessable in context of Islam 3 and democracy. We reach theory through action.

2 – Assessing Islamic communities' problems and providing solutions for those problems under all three scopes of traditionalists, modernists and fundamentalists and their approach to relationship between Islam and democracy.

Democracy also is a concept that we are not able to provide a precise definition of it. There is not any consensus amongst all presented definitions. Even by referring to thesauruses, they will not significantly help us because the contents of these thesauruses also are contractual or conditional definitions and were provided by those who are intended to specified political theories schools. Here are two solutions:

1 – Limit ourselves to a theory about democracy, then assess its relationship with four concluded categories.

2 – Do not limit ourselves to none of the prevalent theories about democracy and merely assess and focus on some relative main properties amongst all definitions under four categories.

The first solution is the one that traditionalists generally take in critic discussion about democracy and generally take ideal democracy or maximal democracy as a base for their critics under Islamic view. This approach has been resulted in wrong generalization of maximal democracy to all types of democracies and refusal of all in consequence of disagreement between maximal democracy and Islam and we choose the second approach in this text and set to assess main features of democracy. Hossein Bashiriyeh during his assessment of fundamental mindset of democracy expresses democracies by 11 separate clauses (Bashiriyeh, ditto, preface and introduction sections), we believe that all clauses are not independent but in some way interfering with each other and some of those may be concluded from the others or relegated to the others. His considered fundamentals are:

1 – Liberalism 2 – Pragmatism 3 – Law and legalism 4 – Contract originality 5 – General originality 6 – Relativism 7 – Personal autonomy 8 – Citizenship 9 – Human rights 10 – People sovereignty 11 – Originality of equality

Liberalism is undoubtedly the base and foundation of political philosophy relating to democracy. Liberalism ideology as concept of citizens' freedom under coverage of state is limited to law and its goal has been fight against absolute power and dictatorship from its beginning. Liberalism at its commencement was explained against absolute monarchy of the church in west and then against kings' absolute monarchy. Major components of liberalism as an ideology are (Bashiriyeh, ditto, Pages 20 - 26):

1 – Separation of powers   2 – Civil society 3 – People's control on government 4 – Priority of individual's freedom on social justice 5 – Distinction between private and public domains 6 – Facilitation of others' ideas and thoughts 7 – Resistance against power 8 – Right of private ownership

Nevertheless, liberalism requires ruling based on representative as foundation of democracy and knows that the only way to control political power, maintaining social contribution and assuring sense of governors' responsibilities against people.

There is not any doubt about the issue that democracy generates liberalism and liberalism is base of democracy, but other ten fundamentals may be relegated to 3 specified fundamentals or deduced from that. Therefore, democracy has four general fundamentals: 1 – liberalism 2 – Sovereignty and people majority government 3 – Freedom 4 – Equality

Pragmatism (against absolute thinking and absolutism), law and legalism, contract originality, public satisfaction originality, value relativism all return to people's government and government of majority of people. Pragmatism under the meaning that people seek to experience, test and frequent revamping themselves as well as releasing from past times is possible under their own government on themselves. Is also interpreted as eligibility of people's ruling on law changeability whenever people desire. Sovereignty of people is based on an self-created political system whereas this system is concluded from a contract amongst people and people's government should rule in accordance with people's ideas and this government seeks satisfaction of people. Government of people who live with each other under different ideas and values is only feasible to be substantiated and consistence through facilitating and value relativism. Freedom also has capability of aggregating individual's autonomy, citizenship, human right and relativism within. Equality also requires individual's autonomy, citizenship, human right and relativism.

To have an analytical look at democracy components, plain but deep definition of Abraham Lincoln is noteworthy that: "Democracy is people's government, from the people and on the people" (Forough Jahan, "Modernism in Iran", 2004, page:22)

Therefore, in assessment of relationship between Islam and democracy from each one, we concluded 4 categories for each and obtained a set of 16 separated cases to be assessable.

Assessment of correlation and relativism Islamic societies (Islam 3) and mindsets of democracy is not covered by our discussion, because this assessment is related to a historical and sociological concept. While assessing relationship and relativism of three

categories of Islam and 4 reduced fundamentals of democracy, separation of thinkers and their ideas regarding being embraced in one of these categories is also difficult. Furthermore, thinkers sometimes during their thinking periods change their views and express their thoughts, moreover the three interpretations may lead to the similar or unique conclusions where the main reason of this case is inner nature of religious discussion. Now, we assess these fundamentals in Islam and democracy under a comparing approach and emphasizing on views and interpretations as well as emphasizing on sovereignty concept and government of majority of people.

4 – CORRELATION OF RELIGION AND POLITICS

The first point which is presented in commencement of political discussions of Islamic thinking or fundamental of Islamic political thinking is correlation between religion and politics. It means that "we have not anything in the world without impact on happiness and unhappiness, thus religion comments on all issues of life and can express views such as politics, can we state that the way Imam Ali (PBUH) lived has not any impact on his afterlife or the way Moaavieh behaved has not any impact on his afterlife, does it because those lifestyles were related to the world and politics has not any relationship with religion? None of wise people can state that the two styles of ruling are equal under religious aspect and religion generally has not any comment (Messbah Yazdi, "Series of Islamic discussions, politics and ruling", 1998, first volume, page: 93).

Our discussion of comparing Islam and democracy also is based on this default assumption that religion and politics have correlation and Islam presents a particular political idea. There is not any conflict amongst Islam 2 interpreters in regard of this issue and all have consensus. It means that Islam is completely interwoven with all stages of human life although democracy has not any correlation with religion.

5 – SOVEREIGNTY

Scope of Islamic thinkers that is based on interpretation of some Quran's verses indicates that God is the only legislator and absolute governor. As a matter of fact, God is eternal and

immortal legislator and nobody whether king or people and none of groups of them have the right of legislation through referendum or other similar mechanisms (Bazargan, "prophetic mission and ideology", 1967, Page: 100).

The principle of God's sovereignty monopoly has been stipulated in some verses of Holy Quran such as:

Anaam / 57 (An Alhakam Allah, ruling is only for God), Yousouf / 40 , Mommenoon /115, Shora / 10 , Al Omran / 154 and Anaam / 14.

Some verses also categorize rulers and lawmakers of any anti God act as pagans, cruel ones and adulterers such as : Maeaadeh / 44, 45 and 47.

Aallameh Tabatabaee and some others resort to dividing chain of laws so as to interpret these types of verses and believe in two categories of laws: 1) Constant and unchangeable laws 2) Situational changeable laws: The constant laws are God's verdicts which are given to prophet through revelation and are collected in book and tradition and would be imperative for all and all times (Tabatabaee, "Guardianship and being hieratic" a discussion about being religious guardian and hieratic, 2008, Page: 74). Credibility of law is actually belonged to God and then after prophets and innocent holy leaders are approved guardians by God and have credibility to ratify laws under permission of God whereas the administrator is also determined by God (Messbah yazdi, ditto, 1999, Vol. 2). Then Aallameh Tabatabee continues that situational changeable laws which their main foundation is the right and not necessarily in accordance to desire of people are required to be ratified within specified period of time. But in democratic societies; first of all the sovereignty is belonged to people and a ruling power which formed by people and is not belonged to the God whereas public contentment contribute originally in substantiation, eligibility and consistence of sovereignty. This ruling power is based on social contracts amongst citizens where two categories of laws are dominated. Fundamental constant laws which are articles of constitution law and enacted based on people's votes and the others are those which are ratified by parliaments or legislative bodies. Aallameh Tabatabaee believes that by considering two categories of laws; democratic and Islamic societies have similarities

because their constitution laws are similar to God's laws in Islamic societies are constant and are similar to human legislation where in Islamic are resulted of ruler's mind (Tabatabaee, ditto). Here are two major differences: firstly, constitution laws are correctable and changeable because have human foundation but Godly constant laws are unchangeable. Secondly, changeable laws of democratic societies are based on people's desire but in Islamic societies should be ratified under framework of Islamic laws and have not the least contrast and conflict with unchangeable Godly laws. Conclusion of this discussion leads to existence of a kind of absolutism and believe in regard of constant unchangeable principles in Islamic societies which accounted as value but in democratic system; pragmatism have been foundation of legislation (Bashiriyeh, ditto, Page: 26) and originality of benefit is dominated on it while value relativism is accounted as its fundamentals. However it is noteworthy that relativism is not present in fundamentals of democracy and some values such as freedom and equality have originality and accounted to be non-ignorable.

A government that is formed under these assumptions is a government that is based on votes of individuals in community and of course their relative majority. This government in respond to the question of "who must rule the community" is eligible because relies on votes of majority and this is in contrast with Islam teachings that consider some conditions for governors".

In brief, each one of the pragmatism (in contrast to absolute thinking and absolutism), legislation, contract originality, public contentment originality and value relativism where we have collected in sovereignty and government of majority of people is doubtable and reusable with existed sovereignty and government under Islamic teachings. Special situation of Islamic societies in nineteenth century and dominance of dictatorial systems along with its inefficiency as well as entrance of modern thoughts and ideas from west resulted in arising thoughtfulness and movement of thoughts. At second half of 19th century, Muslim rulers thought that constitution law is a set of laws that nations can't live without it, the first serious election in Islam world to form related parliament to constitution law was held in

1876 during Ottoman era (Lewis, ditto). Hence, if previously within Muslims political culture and particularly Shiite, fighting and stating rightful expressions against cruel ruler had some meaning, the partially remark changed into systematic remark and "dictatorship" was interpreted as main problem of Islamic societies which resulted in the discussions of limiting government and constitution law as well as vote and parliament to be addressed. The late Naeeini book under title of "Tanbieh Alaameh" actually has been accounted as a new approach to political and governmental discussion in Iran's Islamic community where strive to respond to Islamic community in orientation of Islam opposition to dictatorship. Modern responds still consider that sovereignty is only belonged to God and consider that legislation is permitted within convenience circle (however Sheik Fazlollah Nouri was disagreed) (Sheik Fazlollah Nouri, Alghafel dissertation, Bina, Bicha, Bita). Bazargan believed that dictatorship is idolatrous and paganism where it has critical consequences for individual and social morality … religion and dictatorship never agreed with each other and … dictatorship is mother of all obscenities (Bazargan, "Defaeeiat", Pages: 294-295, 259 and 271). Bazargan believed that religion and politics are inseparable but under his opinion politics should not interfere in religion because this situation lead to paganism, religion determines fundamental principles of government while politicians by no means should tamper religion to achieve their worldly goals (Bazargan, "Borderline between religion and social affairs", pages: 28 – 39). He also writes in regard of legislation: "Divine laws determine fundamental governing principles on Islamic society then legislative activities of people are limited to implementation of these fundamental principles within daily life and ratification of secondary and applicable acts (Bazargan, ditto, pages: 100 – 109). Ayattollah Taleghani also believed that Shiite is intrinsically opposed to dictatorship and agreed with democracy. Dictatorship is a kind of idolatry and resulted to human slavery. He separated sovereignty into four eligible levels. 1 – God's will is governing throughout the world which means the same slogan of "God's ruling power". 2 – Emergence of God's will in governing laws of human creation. 3 – Prophets and Imams sovereignties whereas their will is devoted to God's will. 4 – Government of "just wise men" and "return of believers" that means their

innovation as grant right of government to "return of believers" case and account this stage to be stage of election (Taleghani, "Introduction to Tanbee ol aammeh", pages 6 – 9).

Taleghani is generally opposed to individual dominance either in politics or religion (Aalam Mojtahedeen) and believes that issuing jurisprudence verdicts individually leads to religious dictatorship and is loss for Islam while his proposed solution in this domain is "Consultation" (Taleghani, "A discussion regarding reference power and spirituality", pages 201 – 202).

Basis of Taleghani's political sovereignty is title of God's caliphate where expresses the conditions of selected caliphs or Ollolammr (taleghani, "Lights of Quran", 1971, vol. 10, page: 118).

Bazargan also explain the concept of "Guardianship" in another way. Guardianship in his view and during period of absence is a power that people have granted to their representatives (Bazargan, "Prophecy and ideology", ditto, pages: 108 – 115). Under this concept of guardianship, there is assurance of Islamic state to be an absolutely democratic government (Bazargan, ditto, pages: 116 – 117).

But traditionalists criticize these two points and stated that "humans are caliphs of God where must have its conditions and wish to implement God's justice on earth and it is not applicable for all two feet beings (Messbah yazdi, ditto, 1998, vol. 1, page: 136). The sought concept of guardianship for Bazargan is also criticized by majority of wise men and interpreters. As a matter of fact, the same way that title of being God's caliph is not confirmed for all human beings, guardianship title is also obviously requires particular conditions.

Imam khomeini also stipulates that Islam government is law government and understanding laws for governor is necessary and governor must have scientific virtue as well as two fundamental conditions are necessary for political leadership : first is understanding law and the other is justice (Khomeini, "Guardianship of jurisprudent", 2009, 18th edition).

Embossed in people contributions in political affairs, there are also intra-religious issues. Bazargan by citing verse 38 of Shora and verse 159 of Al omran chapters of Quran wrote: People's contribution in government and decision making process continue by monitoring

government's activities and based on Quran verdict of consultation and prophecy behaviors formalize these activities and control and monitoring are people's rights. He continues to present an unique and rare view when explains consultants to be normal and typical people in contrast to what interpreters claimed (Bazargan, "Prophecy and ideology", ditto, page: 146) and regarding majority and minority continues that: "the dominance of minority over majority is refused where there is no difference arisen by formation of minority (Bazargan, ditto, page: 157).

Traditionalist experts in criticizing discussion of majority believe that unconditional votes of people in majority is not acceptable by Islam and each vote and view from majority of people is not necessarily the right and number of votes has not any impact on righteous and countermand of an opinion. There are a lot of Holy Quran verses in blaming majority or expressing nescience and misdirection of majority and are referred such as:

Mommenoon/70, Baghareh/114, Youness/32, Sabaa/13, Baghareh/243, Hood/17, Ankaboot/63, Eraff/187 and …

Generally, in responding to dictatorship issue; resorting to consultation principle is referred as an element of Islamic tradition which is in accord with based political affairs on people's contribution and has been resorted to two Quran verses of 159 belonged to Alomran chapter and 38 verse of Shora chapter so as to express necessity of governing consultation. But, does consultation make obligation for governor? What are features of this consultation and must be consisted of whom? What is limited circle for their issues discussions? … All are controversial. The conclusion is focused that while consultation matter within theoretical discussions but this issue never becomes institutional, active, formal and independent and members of consultation board throughout the history of Islam have not been representatives of society in whole. However, new interpretations widened credibility and domain of consultation issue and if Sheik Fazlollah Nouri during some periods of times also accounted legislature in domain of discussions to be non-juridical, nowadays it is accepted by traditional jurisprudents. However, the consultation as a scientific aspect has been

activated in the form of legislation parliaments in most of the Islamic countries but their performance is still controversial.

6 – CONCLUSION

The perspective of traditional Islamic thinkers which is based on interpretations of some Quran verses claiming the God is the only real legislator and absolute governor and credibility of law principles is only belonged to God and then to prophets and innocent Imams as well as assigned guardians by God and if God permits then obtain credibility; people who enact laws also are determined by God. Government is based on a social contract in democratic societies. Aallameh Tabatabaee believes that by considering the laws both democratic and Islamic societies are similar because constitutional law of these societies are similar to God's verdicts in Islamic society where they are constant and secondly they are the same as human legislation where in Islamic societies emerge from guardian.

For modern Islamists, government is still belonged to God and legislation is permitted only inside domain of convenience. Whatever was meaningful within Muslims political culture and particularly Shiite, fighting and stating rightful expressions against cruel ruler, for contemporary modern thinkers a partial view becomes a systematic view and "dictatorship" is expressed as the major problem of Islamic societies and resulted in discussion of limiting government, constitutional law, election, voting and parliament; therefore apparent conflict between religious thinking and democratic methodology was able to be summarized and implemented. Sovereignty is belonged only to God as stating in one clause. Government of people majority in Islam is limited and conditional but government in democracy domain is based on dominance of people and the majority government is conditioned and limited to constitutional law again would be human law as well. These discrepancies in regard of fundamentals, goal and strength of people's votes influence lead to form two kinds of political systems against two different approaches.

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