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ايجاد يك دولت اسلامي: امام خميني (ره) و ساخت ايران جديد

اين كتاب كه در ۲۴۸ صفحه به قلم ونسا مارتين نوشته شده و نسخه‌اي از آن را به كتابخانه‌ي ملي جمهوري اسلامي ايران شخصاً اهدا کرده است، به نظريه درباره‌ي حكومت اسلامي از منظر امام (ره) مي‌پردازد و بر آن است كه به اين پرسش‌ها جواب دهد كه چگونه امام (ره) حكومت اسلامي را در عصر جديد تشكيل داد؟ ايشان و نهضت او چه تأثيراتي داشتند؟ از چه تشكيلات، ابزار و روش‌هايي ايشان استفاده كردند؟ دين و سياست در زمان قاجار و زمان پهلوي، عرفان در حيات امام (ره) و روزگار ايشان، شكل گيري نهضت، نقش امام در جنبش اصلاحات در قم، تشكيلات و شاگردان امام (ره) بعد از تبعيد، مرتضي مطهري و اسلام سياسي، فلسفه‌ي اسلام استاد مطهري، رسانه‌هاي غربي و انقلاب اسلامي از مباحث كتاب‌اند. در قسمت حق‌شناسي و سياس‌گزاري، نام برخي از محققان ايراني و غير ايراني به چشم مي‌خورد كه جناب آقاي انصاري و محمدحسن رجب‌ي از جمله‌ي آنها است.

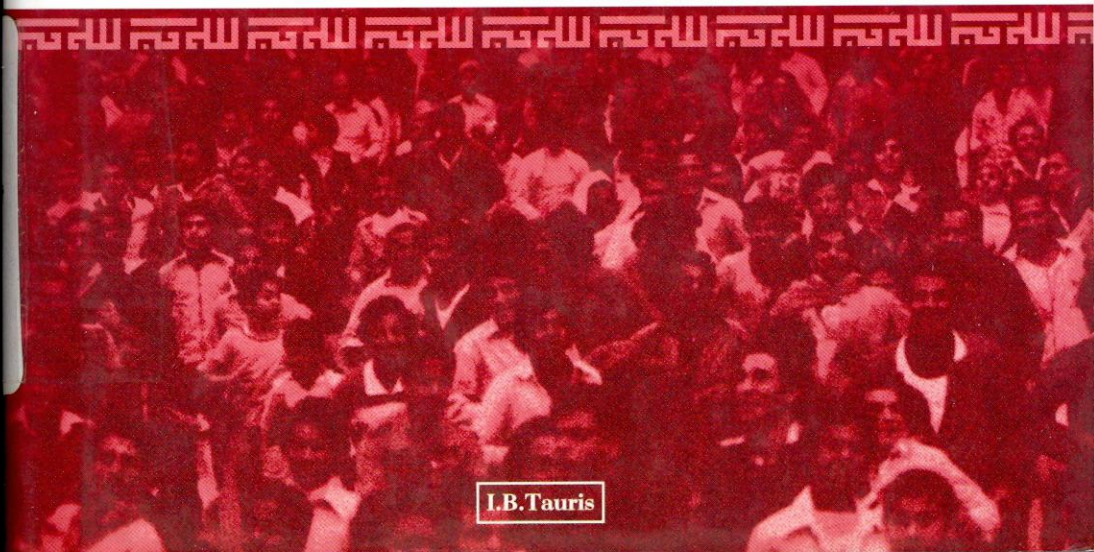
ممکن است خواننده گاه با آنچه در كتاب، طرح و شرح شده است مخالفت ورزد زيرا به هر حال، نويسنده يك محقق غربي است و گاه از گزند تحليل‌ها و روش نتيجه‌گيري غربي در امان نبوده است.



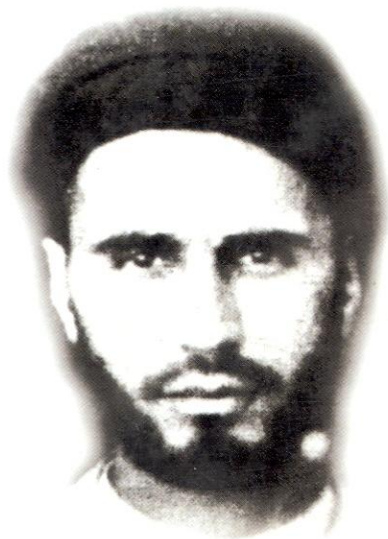
creating an
ISLAMIC STATE

KHOMEINI AND THE MAKING OF A NEW IRAN

VANESSA MARTIN



I.B.Tauris



Ayatollah Khomeini
as a student in Qum
in the 1920s.

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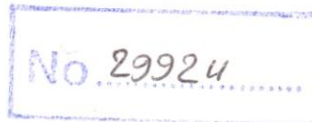
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Chapter III: Restructuring, Organization and the Emergence of the Nahzat

The main subject of this chapter is the role of organization, especially modern organization, in the emergence of Khomeini's movement, the Nahzat. The organizational reforms in the Qum seminary in the 1940s and 1950s assisted the 'ulama in the struggle with the state and paved the way for the rise of the Nahzat. The reshaping of the religious organization produced a divergence of opinion, in which Khomeini was deeply involved, on managing relations with the state. Both traditional and modern-style networks played an important role in spreading the influence of the movement and mobilizing popular support. The movement gradually established its character and identity, which crystallized in particular in the 15 Khurdad/5 June 1963 uprising.

Restructuring in Qum in the 1940s and 1950s

The resurgence of Qum and the religious establishment in Iran began with the arrival there in 1922 of Ayatollah 'Abd al-Karim Ha'iri Yazdi. Whilst Reza Shah was reforming and centralizing the state, Ha'iri quietly reorganized the Qum seminary. From the early nineteenth century its schools had become run down and had gradually fallen into disuse.¹ It was then known largely only as a centre of pilgrimage. Faced by the fact that Reza Shah was backed by a modern army, Ha'iri adopted a policy of quietism and patience. Although he was in reality covertly opposed to government policies, his aim was to be forbearing and impartial and thereby give no pretext for interference. He remonstrated with Reza Shah over exams for students, but only in such a way as not to provoke retribution.² Most of the clergy of Qum supported him in this policy, but Khomeini is reported to have considered that his quietism

facto illegitimate. He played skilfully on the fact that the attackers had been shouting pro-shah slogans. 'Love of the shah means rapine, violation of the rights of Muslims, and the commandments of Islam', he said.⁷⁰ He also now openly blamed the shah for the attack, and further endeavoured to win over the army to his cause. He moved to make immediate reparations to the Faiziyya school by opening a bank account in Qum for the proceeds of the collections from 'Ashura.⁷¹

Soon came Muharram, the month of mourning, when religious fervour is greatest over the passion and martyrdom of the Imam Husain. The ninth and tenth days of the month, Tasu'a and 'Ashura, mark the prelude to the tragedy and the death of the Imam at Karbala in an attempt to overthrow the usurper, Yazid, and restore just government. The religious ceremonies and dramatic performances (*rauza khwan* and *taziyya*), usually attended by large crowds, are a perennial re-enactment of courage, martyrdom and resistance to an unjust state. From the point of view of mobilization of opposition to the state, this period had always been recognized as potentially inflammatory because popular passions run high. Before 'Ashura intense pressure was brought on the quarter leaders of Tehran by both the shah and the 'ulama to take their part.⁷² In the event the principal such quarter leader, Hajji Riza'i Taiyib, previously an ally of the regime, joined the 'Ashura parade with a picture of Khomeini on his standard. He was later on taken prisoner as an example to other quarter leaders, and, in an indirect challenge to the 'ulama, tortured to make him confess to taking money from Khomeini, to which he would not admit. He was then executed. Ni'matullah Nasiri, the head of SAVAK, was keen to reduce the influence such figures traditionally exerted over the urban population as part of the extension of state control.

Following prior publicity, Khomeini delivered a sermon on 'Ashura, 3 June, in which he expressed his indignation at the regime's designation of the 'ulama as reactionary, and strongly attacked the regime, the USA and Israel. On 5 June (15 Khurdad in the Iranian calendar) Khomeini was arrested. Agitation began to appear in Tehran and Qum, and Khomeini was taken to prison in Tehran. Violent demonstrations erupted in Tehran, followed by Qum, Shiraz, Isfahan and Mashhad, and martial law had to be imposed. Hundreds of people were killed in the events, which gave the movement its martyrs and its popular legitimacy, as well as justification for its objectives of the overthrow of the regime. The uprising crystallized existing anti-regime feeling and revolutionary tendencies, and the legitimacy of the Pahlavis was correspondingly undermined.