

IMAM KHOMEINI'S DISPUTES WITH BAZARGAN'S INTERIM GOVERNMENT

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Abstract

When the Islamic Revolution in Iran reached the final victory and the Shah fled from the country in 1357, Imam Khomeini returned to Iran from Paris after 15 years exile, and formed the new government. To prepare arrangements for the religious government, he appointed Bazargan, who was a political and religious character as the prime minister of interim government and presented some tasks to him. Because of the political and religious differences with the views of Imam Khomeini and the Revolutionary Council, the interim government failed to implement its tasks; therefore, it resigned shortly after. This paper describes the roots of intellectual and political differences between Bazargan and Imam. Certainly, Bazargan's viewpoints at 30 years ago have some very interesting aspects, which in itself can be analyzed.

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1. Introduction

Islamic Revolution of Iran is the only historical example of a cloth Muslim mass uprisings against corrupt rulers, based on the ideals and aspirations of religious schools, so that the ultimately in the path to realization of the social system of Islam, it achieved the 'Islamic state'. In fact, it is exclusively the only instance in the history of Islam and the world in recent or last centuries (a group of authors). The revolution triumphed in 1976 under the leadership of Imam Khomeini and the Shah of Iran was overthrown and the new Islamic government was formed. To form a new government after the revolution, the founder of revolution and its leader Ayatollah Khomeini appointed Mr. Bazargan as the prime minister of the interim government. It is said that the interim government is formed in the state of political limbo, after the transfer of power from one political system to another political system (eg, a monarchy to a republic), until the adoption of a new constitution and establishing new institutions in charge of the political affairs of the country. (2) In Imam's order there were items such as preparations for a referendum to change the regime, and holding a constituent assembly and parliamentary elections. In fact, Bazargan's task was to provide the legal context for the revolution. As the name implies, the interim government and its task was temporary, but because of the problems and differences with the views of Imam Khomeini and the Revolutionary Council, in a short time the government has submitted its resignation, and virtually disappeared from the political scene. Since it is the transition period in which the imperial government changed to the Islamic state and the fact that this was a new type of government which had no significant history it has particular importance in both academic and practical terms.

2. Bazargan and revolutionary character

Mehdi Bazargan was born in 1286 in Tehran. His father, Haj Abassgholi Bazargan (Tabrizi) was of religious businessmen, intellectuals and celebrities of his time. He was among the first group of outstanding students in 1306 was sent to France to study. After graduation, he returned to Iran after 7 years. In 1315 he was teaching as the first professor in the Faculty of engineering in Tehran University, and was the Faculty president for two consecutive terms. In 1330, by Dr. Mossadegh was elected as he head of board of directors and the managing director of National Iranian Oil Company, and with the popular support, deposed the British and succeeded to manage the oil industry by the Iranian experts. After the infamous coup in 28 Mordad 1332, due

to a written protest against the illegal election of the National Assembly, in Bahman 1332 was dismissed from government service and academics, and until 16 Bahman 1357 when took over Prime Minister post in the interim government he was only engaged with the private sector in industrial production activity and creativity. Bazargan wrote more than 100 religious and 16 Qurani writings. Bazargan was also active in scientific and technical areas, and in August 1320 founded the "Engineers Association". Bazargan was active in national and political campaigns and establishing the second national front, and in spring 1340, along with Ayatollah Taleghani and Dr. Sahabi founded "freedom movement of Iran". He made the National Resistance Movement took power again, and empowered National and religious forces in the organization. His fault was seeing the horizons other people are not able to see. These people remain alone during the enthusiasms of the revolutions. They may taste the torment and harassments since they are beyond their time horizon.

In 1356 he played an active role in forming "Iranian population for defense of liberty and human rights" and the coalition of forces and the formation of the people's struggle against the oppression of the Shah. In 16 Bahman 1357, before the revolution, he was elected as prime minister, organized strikes in the oil industry and formed the interim government, and for 9 months, the government managed the revolution's conditions and did everything he could for implementation of the rule of law and peace building. Finally, when departing Iran for cure in 1373, Bazargan was died in the middle of the trip (3). Bazargan was appointed as prime minister when still his opposing government of the Bakhtiari was working.

2-1. Bazargan views on the link between science and religion

Although he was educated in Western Universities, and studied the new science, he was strongly concerned about religion, and was trying to prove religious issues through the modern science. In fact, he formulated an approach based on originality of modern science to religion. Bazargan had two concerns, he always thought why the Iranians are undeveloped and why religion could not be the basis for development and has always been at odds with the modern world. Familiarity with the West, made him as a "Muslim believer" to dominate thinking about the causes of backwardness and decline of Iranians. Reviewing his publications shows how he tried to show the compatibility of science and religion. Bazargan tried to link the

modern Western concepts with local concepts. After returning from France, under the impact of order, technology, work ethics and sense of duty, freedom, democracy and human rights in the West, he attempted to link Islam with modern values.

3. The appointment of Mehdi Bazargan in the interim government

Imam Khomeini in opportunity that a power vacuum was felt more than ever, and Bakhtiyar's government lost power, with the formation of the interim government made the last strike to the Shah's regime. It was full support of the people of the government appointed by Khomeini against the Bakhtiar government, provided the contexts for fall of the Bakhtiar government. Imam Khomeini announced on 26 Day with Shah's departure that "we will soon introduce a government », and immediately after the Shah left Iran, he said in a message addressed to the "The interim government would be elected to prepare the conditions for Constituent Assembly soon. (4). Ministries and agencies should accept and have sincere cooperation with them.

When Imam Khomeini returned to Iran, in BEHESHTEH ZAHRA Cemetery gospel to people that "I determine government. I determine government by support the people", and finally Imam Khomeini appointed Bazargan and in the inaugural speech reiterated that Bazargan appointment had been by the proposition of Council for Islamic Revolution. Imam Khomeini on the fifteenth day issued Bazargan's order as follows:

Mr. Bazargan, on the proposal of the Council, in terms of the legal and legitimate right of the Iranian nation, the overwhelming majority of votes, within communities and across multiple massive demonstrations to the support of Iran's leadership and for the trust to your faith to Islam school, and what I know about your Islamic and national background, regardless of your political relations, I appoint you as the prime minister of the interim government to arrange the affairs of the country and especially the referendum on changing the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran and forming the assembly for approval to form a new state constitution, and choose the new constitution to establish the parliament of the nation. It is appropriate that the members of the interim get introduced as soon as possible. Government and military employees and citizens should cooperate fully with the interim government and you. I ask God success of you and the interim government in this critical point in history. (5).

Then Bazargan shared his views and said: I thank God for such credit and reputation, which I do not deserve, and the same grace that brought Ayatollah confidence and refer to my attention and

pressures of such a mission. The mission of the interim government is very difficult in such dangerous conditions, and it is the greatest job and task, yet it is the greatest honor that I have been granted. During the 72 year history of the Iranian constitution it is the most difficult mission not given to the other candidates and agents. Presumably due to my defects and flaws I should not accept that responsibility and should not have been in quite such a charge; but the one hand, for the necessity and duty of the normal responsibilities and expectations that I had, I was forced to accept. Particularly that of Ayatollah traditional practice around the management and leadership is the same, accepting the responsibilities with full faith and trust in God and determination to succeed. It is the first lesson I got from the ayatollah. I applied the Imam Ali's words saying "when you are in difficult situations do not hesitate, and face it, God will be solving problems." So with hope to God and appreciation of the Ayatollah and the Iranian nation and the nations of the world, I accept the solemn commitment to the mission and service. I'm ready for risks and problems and will do my bests in this regard.

Bazargan with accepting responsibility for did strenuous efforts to improve the conditions. But the newly formed revolutionary government on the one hand suffered lack of experience. Moreover, the Islamic government and Islamic republic were new concepts of modern day society. It should definitely exchange were all foundations require deep thinking and a lot of time. The revolutionary atmosphere dominated among most of the normal people who were excited and happy of the victory. The Revolutionary Council consisted mostly of spiritual forces of revolution and Bazargan who was an educated technocrat had different views which shaped a conflict.

4. The reasons for appointment of Bazargan

There are various factors and incentives for Bazargan to get into power including the followings:

4-1. Lack of desire to get empowered for clergies

Clergymen led by Imam Khomeini did not intend to make any government and become engaged in implementing and legislative affairs. But preferred other people to manage these affairs, and just have observation on them. In particular Imam in his speech repeatedly pointed out this, and clergymen like Motahhari and Beheshti did not desire to get empowered in executive affairs. (6).

4-2. Religious-political history of Bazargan and meeting Imam in Paris

When Imam Khomeini was in exile from Iraq and moved to Paris, in order to fight the Pahlavi regime political figures and activists went to visit him, and Bazargan was one of those who went to visit him. At this meeting, Imam Khomeini referring to the political situation in the country which moved progressively to weaken the government side, told Bazargan that we should think of the parliament and the cabinet, and urged him to introduce people of the Muslim faith and identity and put the idea into the realization. Bazargan with help and advice of others, prepared a list of revolutionary political activists and offered to Imam Khomeini. (7). On the other hand, previous adverse brilliant records of Bazargan who was a character with experience and whose most important executive positions was expropriation of the British oil company was very convincing. Other characteristics of Bazargan confided to him in the Imam to help fight history and strict fight with the puppet states. (8). And among other factors, Religious Thought of Bazargan was considered by Khomeini, during his 50 years in religious activities, he was trying to show the progressive face of Islam, and show it consistent with the scientific and technical progress. He believed in addition to be armed with Islam, non-religious and secular ideologies should be responded with their own weapons. (9).

4-3 individual motivation and attempts of Bazargan for executive power

Bazargan in the Islamic Revolution saw the possibilities of peaceful goals has struggled for years to have them. He showed resistance against despotic Pahlavi regime for few decades, and then saw the end of tyranny. In his first speech after taking the new post, he said: Now I see my old dream in revolution realized. For 40 years I tried to link religion and knowledge, and now I find it realized, and I see the biggest news of the victory saving Iran (10).

5 -Positions of the Bakhtiar (the Shah) government to form interim government

The old Prime Minister, Bakhtiar interviewed with the Canadian Broadcast on the interim government formed by the Imam Khomeini and said: If he wants to establish a state in Qom it will be allowed. It would be interesting; we will have a little Vatican, but seriously, I am not willing to put up his real government, and he knows this well. But after finalizing the interim government, Bakhtiar said in an interview: I do not have any objection to an interim government, provided that the Government has the role of a shadow cabinet, and the provisional revolutionary government of Ayatollah Khomeini should not be opposed, provided that the Government did not announce a revolutionary step in the riot and disrupting public order overrides. And on the shadow

government hesaid: In mostdemocraticcountries,opposition parties selectPrime MinistersandShadowMinistersto be ready if gaining the power. However,Bakhtiar's government felland heranout ofIran.

6.Positions of the U.S. about Bazargan

Bazargan understood the complexities of the West and were familiar with the concepts of democracy in the West and comprehensive analysis of past revolutions and the belief in the process, so did not believe in revolutionary acts.Bazargan had experience of the previous administrations and was tested the Mossadegh government. The requirements of bipolar world and the influence of the U.S. in Iran, and the empirical ruling with 2500 years of deeply rooted in the culture and beliefs of the people, especially the military force which was loyal to the king, made him kind of a disappointed and he believed these will be very difficult to fight.So in Paris before coming to the Imam said sir! Iran has three pillars: the King, the Army and America. Suppose that the king is gone, and what do you do with America and Army? Have you thought about it? Imam replied with a smile: You say the king to go, become united withthe people, when he went, the Army would come back to the people and revolution. The United States would go too. You agree to the nation's stance that the Shah must go.

7. Bazargan disputes with the Imam and the Revolutionary Council

In this section the main differences between Khomeini and Bazargan will be discussed .

7-1. separation of religion from politics

As a religious leader, Imam Khomeini had religious thought and it was the prevailing atmosphere; while some cabinet members ofBazarganwere intellectuals who did not believe in the theocracy and Islam religion.Maybe they were significantly religious as individuals, but actually the bitter experience of the West and the government with the spiritual darkness and the role of religion, they did not believe in the theory of velayat-e faqih.Bazargan had agreed personally to accept the conditions, but the cabinet was to think inother ways. Most members of the interim government in terms of intellectual and political tendencies were liberal and nationalist- religious forces andBazargan had delegated the non-religious people the highest authority. For instance, Hassan nazihin 9 Khordad 1358on the impossibility of implementing Islamic law, said:"... It is neither possible nor useful and good to resolve all

political, economic and legal affairs according to Islamic rules and regulations. "The remarks sparked widespread criticism. Other members of his interim government, including Bazargan, Ezzatollah Sahabi and Abbas Amir Entezam also criticized the interference of religion and politics, and condemned it as a strategy for government formation. (11). On Religion and Politics, Bazargan wrote: Although there are recommendations in various fields of life sayings and words of the prophets, Nahj al-Balagha Sermons and Letters of Imam Ali, while including theology, religious studies and education, and include Ethics, social and governance issues, and the administration, But in addition to their duties, responsibilities and leadership, they were teacher and reformer, and an had obligation to serve and perform the good works ... These comments are from the same valuable training and excellence, but are not considered as religion .

7-2. differences in view with Imam Khomeini

Imam Khomeini as supreme leader was the country's first power the highest decision maker. Bazargan accepted leadership of Imam Khomeini, but disagreements arose between them over time. This was about the source of their thoughts and opinions. Essentially a religious reformer and moderate and prudent, Bazargan would not have the revolutionary vision and ability. In contrast, Imam had shown that he is decisive and revolutionary. (12). Some differences of Imam Khomeini with the interim government was about overall view of the interim government which did not believe in structural changes; for instance it did not change symbol of the Pahlavi regime, or still used header with the Imperial logo. So that finally Imam was forced to warn the interim government in this regard. Bazargan was a mild and calm individual who wanted things to go slowly.

Under the leadership of the revolution and set government policy, decisive and revolutionary confrontation with the regime, and movements in Khuzestan and Kurdistan, and the nations supported him for the revolutionary excitement, Bazargan's interim government believed in dialogue policy and mutual respect, However, the idea of tolerance, freedom of movement deep-rooted in Bazargan. He positions of the Freedom Movement against the monarchy, even in the years before the Revolution was the same. Procedures for movement compromise approach and decisive revolutionary Ayatollah Khomeini, is clearly palpable. For example, when the Ayatollah Khomeini calls people to disobey the law, Bazargan believed the Constitution as a complete unit.

Note that in this regard Imam Khomeini was forced to react repeatedly. The government could temporarily relying stances and views of Imam Khomeini effective support for them through the crisis. Imam's speech was undeniable influence on the masses and different groups of people over and it was fixed for the Bazargan. The partial loss of Imam Khomeini's support for the interim government that could mean losing a valuable opportunity to change the situation in favor of the government. Finally, Imam Khomeini, a few months after the fall of the interim government, said: "The difference of opinion and taste that we did not and perhaps should be considered the beginning of the revolutionary government and more young able to handle the situation in the country had to appoint. (13).

7-3. Using the motto of serving the Iran through Islam

Imam Khomeini and Bazargan had quite the opposite positions. Bazargan had a sense of nationalism based on religious traditions and interpretation to promote nationalism and ethnicity, and even believed in religion to serve as human. Bazargan tried to create the link between Islam and nationalism so that national-liberal policies were not damaged. In his book "The Iranian revolution in two motions" he says:

"The adopted goal of the interim government, serving the Iran through Islam, while Khomeini considered for Islamic revolution the mission of service to Islam through Iran (14). View implies that the Bazargan never believed in Velayet-e-Faqih. Bazargan, like many intellectuals, activists, accepted spiritual leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini for Islamic revolution, but never accepted Velayet-e-Faqih the way in which it was later extended to the Ayatollah. Another disagreement was over the drafting of the Constitution between Bazargan and Imam. Imam Khomeini called for public vote to approve or reject the draft. But the Bazargan would insist on the necessity of forming a constituent assembly. He was trying to write the draft legislation to conform to the French constitution, and ignore many of its Islamic principles (15). Imam opposed and strongly criticized.

7-4 disagreements with the Revolutionary Council

Council was formed to fill the vacuum caused by the lack of parliamentary. The interim government was lower in the rank. The main factor causing the difference between these two institutions was the lack of strict separation of duties and tasks in their interactions. As each

called the other as barriers to successful implementation of agreed programs, and this had led to conflict in practice. Another reason for pursuing the strategy of step-by-step interim government and its giving the orders and demands of the Revolutionary Council. Interestingly, the Council recommended the interim Government members and even Bazargan. Council members believed that the interim government should suffice to legislate, and in case of the difference between them and the administration, did not interfere, and when the conflict intensified, ultimately brought arbitration to Imam Khomeini. After that, though these differences abated somewhat, but they never did agree together. Until the fourteenth of Tir 1358, Revolutionary Council decided during a meeting to be entered into executive affairs. In this meeting was explicitly stated that the interim government is not reliable and it was an important factor in the interim government's resignation. (16).

7-5. the United States

Bazargan's policy was considered negative balance and was seeking no intention of fighting and tension between the U.S. and Iran. When students occupied the American embassy in Tehran, the interim government was totally opposed to this incident. Bazargan's government has repeatedly insisted on the protection of the U.S. Embassy. Exact at the same time, the interim government was engaged in talks with Brzezinski in Algeria. It came to mind that the student's action of occupying the U.S. Embassy is carried out to discredit the interim government for Americans. (17). The invasion made clear the interim government relationship with the government of America for the people (18). Exactly when U.S. has been called by leadership of Revolution as the Great Satan and the nations considered the United States as a great source of endless conspiracy against them, Bazargan, never knew their relationship with the United States as forbidden.

Some remarks about the United States of America by Bazargan:

The past is the past, and the Iranians are men of action and there are many areas of cooperation. Iran will gradually require US agricultural products and technology". Revolutionary government of Iran is eager to resume good relations with the United States. We have had friendly relations with the United States and we want friendly relations with the United States and all countries "(19). In view of the interim government there had no means to fight the U.S., since the Islamic

Revolution was even thought the result of negotiations with U.S. Embassy officials? Bazargan and his allies in the interim government used every opportunity to normalize relations and negotiations with U.S. officials, while the religious revolutionaries had avoided any contact with U.S. officials.

Bazargan and his allies even though the Soviets more dangerous than the U.S. Ebrahim Yazdi, foreign minister of interim government, made Iranian foreign policy based on a negative balance in its relations with the major powers and positive neutrality or non-alignment policy on the international stage. Heightened dissatisfaction with the relationship with the U.S. government was when Bazargan and Yazdi who was sent to Algeria to participate in the celebration of the anniversary of the Algerian revolution had met Brzezinski, Carter's national security adviser. Iranian television broadcasted it and the people protest against it strongly.

7-6 Export of Islamic revolution

The first Bazargan government dispute with Imam Khomeini was with the slogan of exporting the Islamic Revolution from Iran. It must be said, one consequence of every revolution is the phenomenon of revolution export. That can be said of any nation to maintain and develop their revolutionary aspirations to export its values and ideals of the revolution. Islamic Republic of Iran followed the idea of revolution for two major reasons. One motivation was to promote religious belief in the universality of Islam. And the other was due to the humiliation and oppression that have shaped the history of contemporary Iran. (20). Thus the victory of Islamic Revolution and Imam Khomeini idea to export revolution, the Islamic Republic of Iran has been trying to introduce Islamic Revolution as an example of a courageous movement against domestic tyranny and foreign rule in other Muslim and non-Muslim nations. They also have to be aware of their rights and how to achieve their rights. The idea of revolution export was considered by politicians and revolutionaries since the Islamic Revolution. The important issue is the extent to which Article 154 of the constitution stipulates that "The Islamic Republic of Iran considers the prosperity of the whole human society as an idea land considers independence, freedom and the rule of right and justice for all people of the world as a natural right. (21). To promote and introduce the model of the Islamic Revolution Imam Khomeini said: "We shall export our revolution to the whole world for our revolutionist

Islamic one and until the shout of Mohammad Rasool Allah and La ilaha illa Allah exists, and fighting and fighters exist, we exist too"(22).

Also Imam said:

"We have not said that we would ride the airplane and occupy other countries, neither had we said it nor we can it. But it is that we are using our devices by the IRIB and our Presses.... to introduce Islam as it is."(23).

Reflecting and thinking on Arab Spring, Arab countries can influence the resolution of the Islamic Revolution and the movements can be seen in this area. Islamic Republic of placing on the agenda of the revolution, tried to reach out and support the movement, share your experiences of this movement will spread and could have a huge impact on the mental aspects of social, cultural, political aspects. And has been able to raise awareness of the poor and disadvantaged, and restore self-esteem, confidence and Islamic awakening among Muslim nations. The importance of freedom of movement, including anti-colonial Islamists as new actors in the international system. Thus, the balance of power in favor of a Popular Front party will figure in the international system. Achievements of the revolution can be briefly outlined: 1) Awakening and revival of Islam and the Muslim Voices; 2) creating political awareness; 3) the glory of Islamic civilization; 4) Expand the Movement for Freedom; 5) promotion of the independence culture; 6) introducing the original feature of Shi'ah and reviving Ahl-ul-bayt culture; and 7) to challenge authoritarian and colonial systems.

Other important factor is making religious front against Israel and its unity.

Conclusions

in examining how Bazargan reached the power, it can be concluded that his appointment as prime minister were based on historical imperatives. Since clergymen near the Imam had no experience and did not want to take power, among forces out of spiritual figures, he the freedom movement was the best choice, because of the close proximity both intellectually and politically to Imam Khomeini. After taking power by Bazargan, the opportunity was provided for his activity, but after a short period, profound political and ideological divisions occurred in the country. It was not only seen by politicians, but was also felt at the grassroots. It virtually polarized the country and society into the revolutionized majority and conservative minority. Another point is that these two groups also did not trust each other. Then relative cooperation and coordination gave way to

political and psychological controversy. Generally, as time passed, the government could not exercise sovereignty through the collection and preservation of the national territory and seemed more powerless. In addition to the issues mentioned above, there appeared to be no consensus on fundamental issues such as revolution export and support the freedom movements and fight against U.S. As revolutionary forces were trying to overthrow the government, they occupied America's embassy and it was the final blow to the body of the interim government. Students occupied the US embassy isolated Bazargan. Because of this incident, the people were reluctant about the government and the Americans were disappointed with the interim government too. Consequently, his interim government resigned.

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