Examination of the Role of Imam Khomeini's Book Vilāyat-i Faqīh (Guardianship of the Jurist) in the Iranian Islamic Revolution in Terms of James Paul Gee's Discourse Analysis Theory[*]

Mohammad Rahimian [1] ; *Mohammad Ali Ranjbar* [2] ; *Asghar Hadavi* [3]

Abstract

The present study aims to examine the role of Imam Khomeini's book *Vilāyat-i Faqīh (Guardianship of the Jurist)* in the realization of the Islamic Revolution according to James Paul Gee's discourse analysis theory. The research method employed is discourse analysis, utilizing Gee's theory. The findings indicate that, in light of the seven components of Gee's theory, Imam Khomeini highlights elements in his book such as misunderstandings about Islam, the regime's lack of Islamic character, the clergy's dependence on the regime, non-Islamic laws, superfluous and non-Islamic institutions, the establishment of an Islamic government, the existence and necessity of a *valī faqīh* (jurist guardian) as the leader of

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1. PhD, Department of Political Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, Shahed University, Tehran, Iran (corresponding author). Email: m.rahimian@shahed.ac.ir

2. Assistant professor, Department of Political Science, Baqir al-Olum University, Qom, Iran. Email: ranjbar@bou.ac.ir

3. Assistant professor, Department of Quranic and Hadith Sciences, Faculty of Humanities, Shahed University, Tehran, Iran. Email: hadavi@shahed.ac.ir

society, the need for the rule of law and divine Sharia, the requirement for Islamic social and political institutions, the current undesirable political situation, and the emphasis on desirable governance. In other words, he first criticizes the current political condition and then introduces the people to an ideal political model and an alternative political system. The discourse analysis of *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* reveals that the author's strategy and tools to escape the Pahlavi regime and establish the desired Islamic government involved the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution. Furthermore, the victory of the Islamic Revolution opened a new horizon and path toward the realization of Islamic civilization. Considering the guidance of Ayatollah Khamenei and Imam Khomeini's strategy, it can be argued that *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* had a significant impact on the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution. Additionally, in light of the above discussions, *Vilāyat-i Faqīh*, as a proposal for an alternative political system by Imam Khomeini, contained all the necessary components for the formation of a political government, and it put to rest the hypothesis of the absence of political thought in Khomeini's discourse.

Keywords

discourse analysis, the book *Vilāyat-i Faqīh*, James Paul Gee, Imam Khomeini, the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Islamic government, political system.

Introduction

One of the less-explored topics by researchers of the Islamic Revolution of Iran is the role of the books that affected the revolutionary process. It is evident that for the formation of any civilization, one of the most crucial requirements is the availability of tools and ideas. During the Islamic Revolution, multiple discourses emerged, each presenting its own tools and ideas, attempting to play an effective role in creating the revolution. The most well-known of these were the leftist and religious discourses, each with its distinct audience, spokespersons, and promotional tools. Both the religious and leftist discourses had their own intellectuals and thinkers, whose works left a significant impact on readers and audiences. The books and writings pertaining to each of these discourses played a vital role in shaping revolutionary ideas among experts and revolutionary political parties. In the revolutionary atmosphere of the decade leading up to the Islamic Revolution, any work—be it a book, novel, poem, pamphlet, cassette tape, or speech—that psychologically and perceptually stirred the youth toward revolution was widely welcomed. However, during this period, books stood out as the primary source of intellectual nourishment for these discourses and served as tools for establishing the hegemony of revolutionary discourses among religious, nationalist, and leftist movements.

To understand the factors contributing to the formation of the Islamic Revolution, it is essential to examine the books and works of the discourses that impacted the revolution. According to analysts of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini's *Vilāyat-i Faqīh (Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist)* played a significant role in enabling the revolutionaries to achieve their goals. This book was important both intellectually and as an alternative model to the existing political structure for its audience and political actors. Imam Khomeini's *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* was one of the most influential tools in the victory of

the Islamic Revolution. Consequently, the hypothesis of this study can be presented as follows: since the triumph of the Islamic Revolution was influenced by Imam Khomeini's *Vilāyat-i Faqīh, it* played a notable role in the realization of Islamic civilization. The present research conducts a discourse analysis of *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* in terms of James Paul Gee's theory. In light of these points, the primary question of this study is: what role did Imam Khomeini's *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* play in the realization of the Islamic Revolution, according to James Paul Gee's theory?

1. Theoretical Foundations

Discourse is a system that instructs the audience on how to understand and utilize language in practical situations or applied contexts (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 256). Discourse analysis refers to going beyond the visible forms of language and reaching the social contexts to uncover the reciprocal relationship between language and social processes (Fazeli, 2004, p. 84). In other words, discourse analysis is the study of language in its real use in the world; that is, the study of language that is employed not only to represent things but also to accomplish things. There are various perspectives on discourse analysis, some of which fall within the domain of linguistics and are closely related to the study of grammar. Other approaches to discourse analysis are not directly tied to the grammatical details of language but are connected to the ideas, issues, and topics expressed in spoken and written language.

One theory of discourse analysis is James Paul Gee's. His discourse theory is one of the most specialized and significant theories for explaining the structure of a text and identifying its linguistic elements and the relationships between them. James Paul Gee defines discourse analysis as "the analysis of language in its use." Gee believes that every discourse analysis theory is a set of tools that helps

us analyze language in its application (Gee, 2014, p. 106). According to Gee, discourse involves more than just language. In his view, discourses always entail coordinating language with ways of acting, interacting, valuing, believing, feeling, as well as with bodies, clothing, non-verbal symbols, objects, tools, technologies, time, and place (Gee, 2014, p. 109).

According to Gee, among other things, language is used to perform actions in the world. Performing these actions through language enables a clearer and more accessible understanding of things that exist in the world. Whenever something is spoken or a text is written, one or more of the following seven elements is always being simultaneously constructed in the real world. Often, several of these elements can be constructed at the same time. Gee refers to these elements as the "seven building tasks" of language, which are as follows (Gee, 2018, p. 261).

1. **Significance:** The audience uses language to highlight certain things in the world as valuable in various ways. There are things in the world, such as life and death, which hold significance for all humans. However, there are also other things that may be considered important by specific individuals, meaning that the significance of things varies among different people. Similar individuals may assign different values to things in various situations (Gee, 2018, p. 142). Therefore, we can ask how a piece of text functions to either ascribe meaning and value to something or diminish its importance.

2. **Activities:** Language is used not only to express things but also to perform actions; even informing and giving awareness can be considered a type of action. Humans carry out actions through language and with the help of words. In this regard, we can ask what action or actions this text seeks to delegate to others in order to be regarded as an achievement.

3. **Identities:** Humans use language to present themselves as having a specific identity or role in society. To utilize identity-constructing tools in text analysis, one must answer the following question: what identity or identities does the audience seek to reveal for themselves or attribute to others?

4. **Relationships:** Language is used to create, maintain, and sustain various types of relationships. These relationships are established between identities, thereby closely linking them with identity-constructing tools. To utilize relationship-building tools in text analysis, one might ask the following question: how does the text employ words and grammatical tools to create, maintain, or alter various relationships between identities (such as speakers, other individuals, social groups, cultures, organizations, and institutions)?

5. **Policies (Distribution of Social Goods):** When James Paul Gee talks about politics, he does not refer to government, political parties, or elections; rather, he refers to any situation in which social goods are distributed (Gee, 2014, p. 114). In this context, we can ask how words and grammatical structures are used to formulate a perspective on what constitutes social goods or how they should be distributed within society.

6. **Connections:** The relationships between things in the world can be viewed from various dimensions, and language can be used to create or sever connections between them. In this regard, we can ask how the words used in the text relate phenomena to one another, render them unrelated, or disregard the connections between them.

7. **Sign Systems and Knowledge:** A sign system consists of any specific language (such as Russian, English, Spanish, etc.), different varieties of a language (such as the language of legal

scholars, the language of biologists, and various dialects), or non-verbal communication systems (such as charts, images, etc.), all of which hold significance and value. In this regard, we can ask how the words and grammar used in the text grant or deny status to specific sign systems (Khaniki & Farahani, 2015, p. 211).
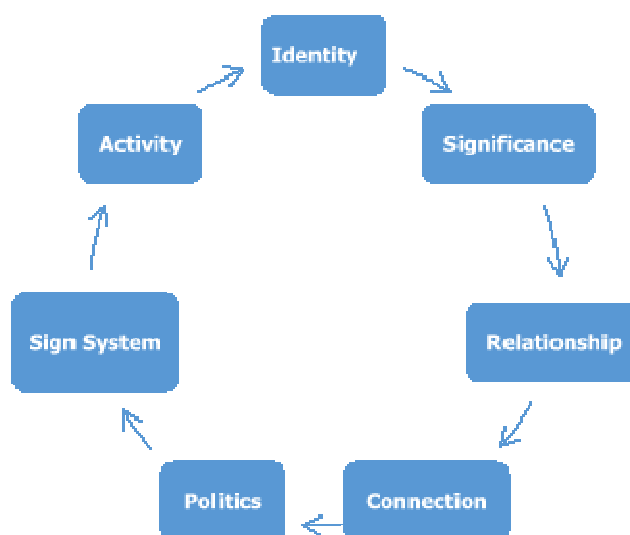

Figure 1: Adapted Model of James Paul Gee's Discourse Analysis Theory

2. Research Findings

2.1. Vilāyat-i Faqīh: Imam Khomeini's Book on Islamic Government

Vilāyat-i Faqīh: ḥukūmat-i Islāmī (The Guardianship of the Jurist: The Islamic Government) is a collection of 13 lectures by Imam Khomeini on the subject of the guardianship of the Islamic jurist (*vilāyat-i faqīh*), written in February 1970 at the seminary in Najaf. This book was printed in Beirut in 1971 and sent to Iran, and in 1977 it was published in Iran with the addition of another lecture titled *Jihād-i Akbar* (the major jihad) and has been reprinted multiple times since.

2.1.1. In the book *Guardianship of the Jurist: The Islamic Government*, **what dimensions of reality (social and political) are highlighted?**

In the book *Vilāyat-i Faqīh*, Imam Khomeini views the objective of the prophets' mission as establishing justice in society. In this line, he emphasizes justice in his proposed government, seeking a regime founded on equity and justice. This crucial point is highlighted in part of his book regarding the formation of an Islamic government as follows:

> By the command of reason and the necessity of religions, the goal of the prophets' mission is not merely to communicate issues and state laws. It is not the case that, for instance, issues and laws were revealed to the Prophet through divine revelation, and that he and the Imams merely convey these issues and laws as designated by God, faithfully, to the people, and then entrust this responsibility to the jurists to convey faithfully what they received from the prophets. In reality, the primary duty of the prophets is to establish a just social order through the implementation of laws and regulations, which, of course, entails the dissemination of divine teachings and beliefs. The purpose of their missions is to create a society where people organize themselves based on just social relationships and uphold humanity, and this is only achievable through the formation of a government and the implementation of laws.
> (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 39)

Imam Khomeini believes that the passive movements of the Islamic seminaries over the past three decades (before writing his book) have led to the infiltration of secular and irreligious currents into the governing system and society. Therefore, unlike his predecessors, he sought a new initiative within the framework of Shiite authority. Particularly after the failure of the Constitutional Revolution, the general perception was that Shia Islam lacked a solution for

addressing societal issues in the political arena. Consequently, there was a shift from a negative and passive stance to a positive and active approach centered around Islam, the scholars, and the religious authorities. In his theory of the guardianship of the jurist and Islamic governance, Imam Khomeini asserts that in an Islamic government, the jurists must assume control of affairs, and their governance must be based on laws derived from Islam. He thus emphasizes the rule of law as a crucial aspect of the theory of the guardianship of the Islamic jurist:

> Because governance is governance of law, legal experts, and above all religious scholars—namely the Islamic jurists—should be in charge. They are the ones who oversee all executive, administrative, and planning matters of the country. The jurists are the custodians of divine laws. In essence, the law is the ruler. Everyone is protected by the law. The people and Muslims are free within the confines of Sharia regulations. Whenever an Islamic government is established, everyone will live securely under the law, and no ruler has the right to act against the regulations and the laws of the pure Sharia. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 53)

Imam Khomeini believes that the guardianship of the jurist is the governing authority of the Islamic state and the highest reference for a society during the era of the Shiite Imam's occultation (*ghayba*). The individual who can implement justice, law, freedom, independence, and Islamic principles in the present society is the jurist guardian. This authority operates solely under the will of God and seeks to steer society and the system away from the deviant ideologies dominating the world. In this context, he highlights the significant role of the jurists and their guardianship in establishing an Islamic government:

> We are obligated to strive for the establishment of an Islamic government. Our first activity in this endeavor is propaganda.

We must progress through propaganda. This has always been the case throughout the world. Individuals would gather, contemplate, and then make decisions, followed by propaganda efforts. Consequently, they would infiltrate a large government as a force or engage in battle to overthrow it. Initially, they would raise awareness among the people, making them understand that such oppression is wrong. Gradually, the scope of propaganda would expand, encompassing all segments of society. The people would awaken and become active, reaching a realization. Our duty as jurists is to start working toward the foundation of a legitimate Islamic state from now on. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 9)

2.1.2. In the Book *The Guardianship of the Jurist: Islamic Government*, Which Social and Political Identities are Presented?

In his theory of the guardianship of the jurist, Imam Khomeini presents social and political identities such as the ruler of the Islamic government, the guardianship of the Islamic jurist, and the conventional (*iʿtibārī*) guardianship:

Ruler of the Islamic Government Imam Khomeini asserts that the ruler must possess two essential qualities: knowledge of the law and justice to govern in the Islamic state. He states:

Because the government of Islam is a government of law, the ruler must have knowledge of the laws. The ruler must be superior in knowledge. The Imams also argued for their leadership on this basis, that the Imam should possess more virtue than others. The objections that Shiite scholars raised against others were founded upon the fact that a certain caliph could not provide an adequate response; thus, he was unworthy of leadership and Imamate. Another person acted contrary to Islamic laws, so he was unworthy of the Imamate. Knowledge

of the law and justice are fundamental conditions according to Muslims. The ruler and caliph must first know the Islamic laws, meaning they must be knowledgeable in the law, and second, they must possess justice and have a high level of faith and morality. Reason also necessitates this, for the Islamic government is a government of law, not of arbitrary rule or individual dominance over the people. If the ruler is unaware of the law, he is unworthy of governance. If he follows others blindly, the power of governance will be compromised, and if he does not act, he cannot be the ruler and executor of Islamic law. Monarchs must adhere to the guidance of the jurists, asking them about laws and decrees to implement them. In this way, the true rulers are the jurists. Therefore, sovereignty should officially belong to the jurists, not to those who, due to ignorance of the law, are forced to follow the jurists. The ruler must possess moral integrity and justice and must not be tainted by sin. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 37)

Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist

Imam Khomeini states:

If a capable individual rises and establishes a government, he possesses the same authority and guardianship that the Prophet had in managing society, and it is obligatory for all people to obey him. The notion that the governmental powers of the Prophet are greater than those of the Commander of the Faithful [Imam ʿAlī], or that the governmental powers of the Commander of the Faithful are greater than those of the jurist, is false and erroneous. Of course, spiritual virtues do not enhance governmental powers. The same authorities and powers that the Prophet had in organizing and mobilizing armies, appointing

governors, collecting taxes, and utilizing them for the welfare of Muslims have been granted by God for the current government. However, it is not assigned to a specific person but is based on the title of a just scholar. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 39)

Conventional Guardianship

Imam Khomeini says:

> When it is said that the guardianship held by the Prophet and the Imams is now vested in a just jurist during the occultation [of the Shiite Imam], no one should be under the illusion that the status of jurists is the same as that of the Imams and the Prophet. The point is not about rank, but rather about duty. Guardianship refers to governance, managing the country, and implementing the laws of the sacred Sharia, which is a heavy and important responsibility—not something that an individual comes to possess, elevating him to an extraordinary status above that of an ordinary human. In other words, the guardianship in question, which involves governance, execution, and administration, is not a privilege, as many people perceive, but a grave responsibility. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 39)

3.1.3. In the book *The Guardianship of the Jurist: Islamic Government*, **how are human relationships portrayed? What types of social and political relationships have been constructed?**

Imam Khomeini believes that the goal of establishing an Islamic government is to free the majority, who are oppressed and under the control of a tyrannical minority. He argues that oppressive economic systems have created two classes of people: the oppressors and the oppressed. To rescue the deprived and marginalized, an Islamic government must be established:

Colonizers, through their political agents who dominate the people, have imposed unjust economic systems that have divided society into two categories: the oppressor and the oppressed. On one side are hundreds of millions of Muslims who are hungry and deprived of healthcare and culture, while on the other side are a minority of wealthy and corrupt individuals with political power. The hungry and deprived people strive to free themselves from the tyranny of the plundering rulers. Islamic scholars must combat the monopolistic practices and illicit exploitation of the oppressors, ensuring that a large number of people are not left hungry and deprived while the corrupt oppressors live in comfort and luxury. It is the duty of Islamic scholars and all Muslims to put an end to this unjust situation and, in this quest for the salvation of all humanity, to overthrow the oppressive regime and establish an Islamic government. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 31)

He believes that the clergy's association with the Pahlavi regime has inflicted significant damage on the perception and interpretation of Islam within society, leading to irreparable harm to both Islam and the clergy itself. He views the presence of clergy aligned with the tyrannical regime as a scourge, noting that these individuals do not have the right to be part of the seminaries. Therefore, seminaries must purge themselves of clergymen who are in any way connected to the tyrannical regime. In his theory, a distinction is made between independent clergy and court-affiliated clergy:

The clerical seminaries are places for teaching, promoting, educating, and leading Muslims. They are the domain of just jurists, scholars, and students. This is where they act as trustees and successors to the prophets. It is a place of trust, and it is evident that divine trust cannot be entrusted to just anyone. A person who seeks to hold such an important position—serving

as the leader of the Muslims and deputy to the Commander of the Faithful [Imam ʿAlī]—and intervene in the affairs, wealth, and lives of people must be pure and not worldly. A jurist who engages with tyrants and becomes a sycophant in their courts, obeying their commands, is not trustworthy and cannot be a keeper of divine trust. When a jurist or judge enters the regime of tyrants, they give power to that regime and tarnish Islam. The entrance of a jurist into the governmental system of tyranny is akin to an entire community entering it, not just an ordinary individual. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 27)

2.1.4. In the book *The Guardianship of the Jurist: Islamic Government*, what types of meaningful connections are established between things (objects, events, phenomena, sentences, etc.), as well as between things and individuals?

Imam Khomeini points out that the jurist guardian does not want corrupt officials or their policies, which are contrary to Islam, to prevail. The jurist guardian is the guarantor of the Islamic and republic nature of governance, as well as implementation of Islamic laws. For this reason, Imam Khomeini compares the penal and legal aspects of Islamic laws with those of non-Islamic laws:

> Some write in their books and newspapers that Islamic penal laws are violent! One person has even shamelessly claimed that these were violent laws coming from the Arabs! It is this Arab violence that has produced such laws! I am astonished at how they think. On the one hand, if several people are executed for ten grams of heroin, they say it is the law. When these inhumane laws are enacted under the pretext of combating corruption, I am not saying they should sell heroin, but the punishment should not be this severe. There must be prevention. If a drinker of wine is punished with eighty lashes, it is considered violent, but if a person is executed for ten grams of

heroin, it is not considered violent. Many of the evils that have arisen in society stem from drinking alcohol. The accidents that occur on the roads, the murders, and the suicides are often the result of alcohol consumption. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 18)

He compares the Islamic government with other forms of government to examine the points of distinction and commonality between these two political systems, asserting the necessity of establishing an Islamic government over the current authoritarian regimes:

An Islamic government is unlike any of the existing forms of government. For instance, an autocratic government led by a tyrannical and arbitrary head of state, who toys with the property and lives of the people, can kill anyone at will and reward whomever he pleases. The government of the Commander of the Faithful [Imam ʿAlī] and other caliphs did not have such powers. An Islamic government is neither autocratic nor absolute; it is conditional in the sense that those in power are bound by a set of conditions defined in the Holy Quran and the tradition of the Prophet. The government of Islam is a government of law. In Islam, governance means adherence to the law, and only the law governs society. An Islamic government is not a monarchy, let alone an empire. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 36)

2.1.5. In the book *The Guardianship of the Jurist: Islamic Government*, what practices (social actions), both verbal and non-verbal, have been enacted in response to issues?

Imam Khomeini identifies the necessity of establishing a government based on the need for executive institutions, the traditions and practices of Prophet Muhammad, the ongoing implementation of Islamic laws, the practices of Imam ʿAlī, and the nature and quality of

Islamic laws. He argues that having laws alone is insufficient for societal reform, emphasizing that the Prophet not only conveyed revelation and interpreted the beliefs, laws, and regulations of Islam but also dedicated himself to implementing these laws and establishing the Islamic order to create an Islamic government. In this context, he writes about the necessity of establishing executive institutions within the theory of the guardianship of the jurist:

> The body of law alone is not enough for societal reform. For law to be a source of reform and human happiness, it requires an executive and administrative power. Therefore, alongside sending a comprehensive set of laws—i.e., the laws of Sharia— God established a government and an administrative apparatus. The Prophet was at the head of the executive and administrative structure of the Muslim community. In addition to conveying revelation and interpreting the beliefs, laws, and regulations of Islam, he worked towards implementing these laws and establishing the Islamic order to create the Islamic state. After the Prophet, Muslims also needed someone to implement the laws. Thus, Islam, as it legislated, also established an executive power. The guardian is in charge of the executive power as well.
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> (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 23)

He compares the period following Prophet Muhammad's passing, during which obstacles prevented the establishment of an Islamic government under the leadership of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, with the oppressive regime of his time—namely, the Pahlavi regime. He emphasizes the necessity for political revolution and the importance of Islamic unity:

> After the passing of the Prophet, the opponents prevented a government that was pleasing to God from being established. Consequently, they altered the foundation of governance. Their governance programs largely contradicted Islamic principles.

The regime and administration of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties were anti-Islamic. Even now, both religious law and reason dictate that we should not allow governments to continue in this anti-Islamic or un-Islamic state. The establishment of a non-Islamic political system means that the political system of Islam remains unexecuted. Therefore, we are obligated to create a favorable social environment for the upbringing of virtuous and faithful individuals. We have no choice but to eliminate corrupt and corrupting governmental systems and overthrow treacherous, corrupt, and oppressive ruling bodies. This is a duty that all Muslims in every Islamic country must undertake to achieve a victorious Islamic political revolution. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 30)

Imam Khomeini views the prohibition against seeking justice from illegitimate powers as a symbolic and civil action against the oppressive regime of his time:

Do not refer to the illegitimate government authorities, whether executive or judicial. The Islamic nation should not turn to tyrants, oppressive rulers, or judges who are their agents in their affairs, even if the right is well established and they wish to pursue it. In such cases, turning to the oppressor means endorsing illegitimate powers. If a person is a creditor and seeks to obtain their right through a reference or authority other than that which God has established, their claim is not permissible, and this is mandated by religious principles. This is the political ruling of Islam. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 66)

He believes that among the actions the people and youth must undertake is to expel the court-affiliated clerics from the Muslim community and overthrow the tyrannical governments:

These individuals are not true Islamic jurists, and many of them have been ordained by Iran's security organization to put on

turbans and pray. They will drive religion out of you. The people recognize them; they must be exposed. If they were present during the time of Imam al-Mahdī, they would undermine Islam. Our youth should remove these individuals' turbans—those of the clerics who create such corruption in the Muslim community under the guise of being Islamic jurists and scholars of Islam. Why don't they take off their turbans?! (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 105)

2.1.6. In the book *The Guardianship of the Jurist: Islamic Governance*, what kind of policies regarding the distribution of social benefits (goods) are presented? What things and individuals are deemed worthy, suitable, ordinary, good, or acceptable for obtaining social benefits (such as wealth, status, power, acceptance, etc.), and conversely, what is not? What things or individuals are considered good or bad (positive or negative; good or evil)?

The author of this book, Imam Khomeini, views the conspiratorial policy of the British colonial government at the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution, which involved removing Islamic laws from the judicial system and replacing them with legal content from England, France, and Belgium, as a negative and evil policy:

The conspiracy that the British colonial government initiated at the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution had two aims: first, to eliminate Russian influence in Iran, and second, to remove Islamic laws from the field of practice and implementation by introducing Western laws. Imposing foreign laws on the Islamic community has led to numerous problems and difficulties. If an individual becomes entangled in the current judiciary of Iran or similar countries, they must struggle for a lifetime to prove their case. The current laws of the judiciary offer people nothing but hardship, delays in work and life, and opportunities for illegitimate uses. Few individuals will

achieve their rightful claims. In resolving disputes, the quality of life and work of both parties should be considered, and the resolution should be as simple and swift as possible. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 18)

He considers the self-perception of weakness and self-denial among Iranians in the face of colonialism and Western advancements to be a condemnable attitude:

> When colonial countries accumulated wealth and luxury through scientific and industrial progress, or through the colonization and plundering of nations in Asia and Africa, they came under the illusion that the path to industrial advancement was to set aside their own laws and beliefs. For example, just because they reached the Moon, they believed they had to abandon their own regulations and decrees. Do you not see that countries with contradictory social systems and laws managed to compete in scientific and industrial progress and space exploration? They too reached Mars and ventured into the galaxies; yet, they remain devoid of happiness, elevation, and moral virtues, unable to address their social problems. This is because solving and addressing social issues requires solutions rooted in beliefs and ethics. Wealth, power, and space exploration need to be complemented and balanced by faith, conviction, and Islamic ethics to truly serve humanity. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 21)

Imam Khomeini believes that the policy of Islamic unity aimed at establishing an Islamic government is appropriate and commendable:

> Colonialists and tyrannical, ambitious rulers have fragmented the homeland of Islam. They have separated the Islamic community and turned it into several distinct nations. When the great Ottoman Empire was established, colonial powers separated it [into different countries]. To ensure the unity of the Islamic

community and to liberate the homeland of Islam from the occupation and influence of colonialists and their puppet states, we have no choice but to establish a government. To achieve the unity and freedom of Muslim nations, we must overthrow the oppressive, puppet governments and subsequently create a just Islamic government that serves the people. Establishing a government is essential for maintaining the order and unity of Muslims. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 18)

2.1.7. In the book *The Guardianship of the Jurist: Islamic Government*, which sign systems and epistemological frameworks are considered appropriate, valid, and advantageous?

The author of this book asserts that examples of Islamic rulings, such as financial laws, national defense laws, rights enforcement laws, and penal laws, are appropriate, valid, and advantageous for the establishment of an Islamic government:

> The taxes prescribed by Islam and the budget plan indicate that they are not only for alleviating the suffering of the poor and needy but also for forming a government and covering the essential expenses of a large state. For instance, khums is one of the substantial sources of income that is deposited into the public treasury and constitutes part of the budget. It is evident that such significant revenue is necessary for managing an Islamic country and meeting all its financial needs. The aim of khums is to address the financial requirements of a large governmental structure. Thus, the financial rulings of Islam imply the necessity of establishing a government, and their implementation can only be achieved through the establishment of Islamic institutions. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 28)

He then adds:

> The rulings regarding the preservation of Islamic governance

and the defense of the territorial integrity and independence of the Muslim community indicate the necessity of establishing a government. If Muslims had acted upon this ruling and had prepared extensively by forming an Islamic government, maintaining complete military readiness, no group of Jews would have dared to occupy our lands, destroy our al-Aqsa Mosque, or set it ablaze, while the people remained unable to respond promptly. All of this results from Muslims not adhering to God's command and failing to establish a just and worthy government. Many rulings must be implemented with the authority of the Islamic ruler, and they cannot be realized without the establishment of a governmental structure. All these laws pertain to the organization of the state, and only governmental power can effectively carry out these responsibilities. (Imam Khomeini, 1977, p. 29)

Table 1: Discourse Analysis of the Book *Wilayat al-Faqih* Based on James Paul Gee's Seven Components

James Paul Gee's Seven Components	Components of the Realization of the Islamic Revolution in the Book *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*
Significance	In Wil, yat-i Faqīh, the author identifies the purpose of the prophets' mission as establishing justice in society, criticizes the passive stance of religious seminaries, and notes the infiltration of secular and irreligious movements into the Pahlavi regime. The jurist guardian is portrayed as the leader of the Islamic government and the highest authority in society during the era of occultation.
Identities	In the book, social and political identities such as the leader of the Islamic government, guardianship of the jurist, conventional guardianship, and existential guardianship are depicted.
Relationships	The relationship between the oppressed majority and the tyrannical minority.

James Paul Gee's Seven Components	Components of the Realization of the Islamic Revolution in the Book *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*
Connections	The connection between the guardian jurist and the Islamic and republic nature of governance as well as the implementation of Islamic laws.
Activities	The reasons for the necessity of establishing a government are believed to be as follows: the need for executive institutions, the tradition and practice of the Prophet, the necessity of continuing the implementation of laws, the practice of Imam ʿAlī, and the nature and quality of Islamic laws.
Politics	The author considers the policy of conspiracy by the colonial British government at the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution, which involved removing Islamic laws from the judicial system and introducing legal content from England, France, and Belgium, as a negative and evil policy.
Sign Systems	The author considers examples of Islamic rulings, such as financial laws, national defense laws, laws related to the restitution of rights, and penal laws, as appropriate, valid, and advantageous for the establishment of an Islamic government.

3. The Role of the Book *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* in the Triumph of the Islamic Revolution of Iran

One of the rumors that has been circulating since the victory of the Islamic Revolution, particularly concerning Imam Khomeini as the leader of this revolution, is that he had no inclination, intention, or idea regarding government and the political system. This group believes that Imam Khomeini's departure from Tehran, the center of political activity and the country's capital, and his stay in the city of Qom was a sign of the absence of any idea or action regarding political governance. This group claims that Imam Khomeini's migration from Tehran to Qom was highly significant and fundamentally indicative of his disinterest in government involvement. In other

words, "Imam Khomeini had no intention of governing. I would even go further and say that after April 1, 1979, when the referendum was held, he left Tehran and moved to Qom. Despite the insistence of Mr. Bazargan, the interim government, and others for him to stay in Tehran, he left. Do you think that if Imam really wanted to govern, he wouldn't have realized that he needed to stay in Tehran, the center of governance and power? Therefore, his departure to Qom actually shows that he had no desire to rule" (Sadegh Zibakalam, March 14, 2014).

In response to the above claim, a discourse analysis of Imam Khomeini's *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* based on James Paul Gee's discourse analysis theory reveals that the author emphasizes key elements such as the establishment of an Islamic government, the necessity of a guardian jurist as the leader, misinterpretations of Islam, the un-Islamic nature of the Pahlavi regime, clergy aligned with the Pahlavi regime, non-Islamic laws, redundant and un-Islamic institutions, corrupt officials in the Pahlavi regime, the corruptive nature of government bodies, the necessity of enforcing divine law and Sharia, the need for Islamic social and political institutions, the undesirable current political situation, and the vision of ideal governance. In other words, the author first critiques the current political conditions and then introduces the people to a utopia and an alternative political system. The discourse analysis of *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* shows that the author's strategy and tool for liberating the nation from the Pahlavi regime and achieving an ideal Islamic government is through an Islamic Revolution. Furthermore, the victory of the Islamic Revolution paved the way for a new horizon and path toward realizing Islamic civilization. Considering Ayatollah Khamenei's views and Imam Khomeini's strategy, it can be argued that the book, *The Guardianship of the Jurist: Islamic Government*, had a significant impact on the triumph of the Islamic Revolution. In other words, *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* served as an alternative political system proposed by

Imam Khomeini, encompassing all necessary elements for the establishment of a political government, and this book refutes the hypothesis of a lack of political thought in Imam Khomeini's discourse.

Conclusion

The main objective of this article was to examine the role of Imam Khomeini's book *Vilāyat-i Faqīh (Guardianship of the Jurist)* in the realization of the Islamic Revolution, in terms of James Paul Gee's discourse analysis theory. *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* is considered one of the most influential works in the process of the Islamic Revolution. This claim is supported by the fact that Imam Khomeini was the first jurist to introduce an alternative political system based on his ideas in this book, ultimately leading to the establishment of an Islamic government in subsequent years. The method employed in this article is discourse analysis using James Paul Gee's theory. Gee's discourse analysis theory is one of the most specialized frameworks for explaining the structure of a text, understanding its linguistic elements, and examining the relationships among these elements.

Regarding the significance of elements in the book *Vilāyat-i Faqīh*, the author highlights several key points: he posits that the Prophets' missions aimed to establish justice in society, critiques the passive movements within seminaries, and addresses the infiltration of secular and irreligious currents into the Pahlavi regime. He emphasizes the importance of the rule of law within the theory of *guardianship of the jurist*. In discussing social and political identities, the author presents concepts such as the leader of the Islamic government, *the jurist guardian (valī faqīh)*, and both the conventional and existential aspects of *guardianship*. He states that the purpose of establishing an Islamic government is to liberate the oppressed majority from the grasp of the oppressive minority. In terms of connection, he asserts

that the *guardianship of the jurist* ensures the Islamic and republic character of governance, and the implementation of Islamic laws. The author views the formation of an Islamic government as an action aimed at achieving high ideals. He believes that one of the actions people and the youth must undertake is to reject the clergy aligned with the Pahlavi regime and overthrow tyrannical governments. The author also critiques the conspiratorial policies of the British colonial government at the onset of the Constitutional Revolution, which involved removing Islamic laws from the judicial system and implementing legal frameworks from England, France, and Belgium—deeming these actions as negative and harmful. He considers the policy of Islamic unity as a suitable and commendable approach toward establishing an Islamic government. The author regards patience, resilience, and endurance in the face of oppression as essential for forming an Islamic government. He emphasizes that the aim of establishing such a government is an action directed toward achieving lofty goals. Furthermore, in the element of symbolic systems, he considers various Islamic rulings—such as financial laws, national defense laws, rights restitution laws, and penal laws—as appropriate, valid, and advantageous for establishing an Islamic government.

The discourse analysis of Imam Khomeini's book *Vilāyat-i Faqīh* in terms of James Paul Gee's discourse theory reveals that the author emphasizes various elements, including the establishment of an Islamic government, the existence and necessity of the *guardianship of the jurist* as a leader, misconceptions about Islam, the un-Islamic nature of the Pahlavi regime, the clergy's dependence on the Pahlavi regime, non-Islamic laws, redundant and un-Islamic institutions, corrupt officials in the regime, the corruptive nature of governmental systems, the necessity of the rule of law and divine Sharia, the need for Islamic social and political institutions, the undesirable current

political situation, and the vision of an ideal governance. In other words, the author first critiques the existing political situation (the Pahlavi regime) and introduces a utopia and a model for an alternative political system for the people. The analysis shows that the author considers the strategy and tools for liberating from the Pahlavi regime and achieving the desired Islamic government to be rooted in the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution. Furthermore, the victory of the Islamic Revolution opened a new horizon and path for the realization of Islamic civilization. Given the directives of Ayatollah Khamenei and the strategies of Imam Khomeini, one can assert that the book *The Guardianship of the Jurist: Islamic Governance* played a significant role in the emergence of the Islamic Revolution.

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