

Investigating the Processes of Revolutionary Rationality Formation in the Speech System of the Islamic Revolution

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Abstract

The present study aimed to analyse the process that caused revolutionary rationality. Revolutionary rationality supported extreme action in the years 1356-57. Shia political thought through the centuries has developed fertile and deep rationality in various fields of knowledge such as philosophy, history, mysticism and jurisprudence. "Philosophical Rationality" means that religion is interpreted with philosophy and given a philosophical form. "Jurisprudential Rationality" is the proven reason that establishes the goodness of religious rules and command. "Historical Rationality" identifies the principles and regulations behind the events of history, and "Mystical Rationality" is the expression of mystical meanings through rational style. Revolutionary rationality is rooted in the above principles. This rationality interacted with revelation and supported it, and had a relationship with other ideas, including the thought system in the old and new West, and emerged during the Islamic Revolution. Revolutionary rationality was manifested in the words of the revolutionary leaders in explaining the objective situation of society and politics, as well as in drawing the future of the revolution. The theoretical and methodological basis of this research is discourse analysis and its result, explaining the achievements of this rationality in overcoming the political order of Taghut and the birth of the Shia political order.

Keywords: Shiism, Rationality, Islamic Revolution, History, Philosophy, Mysticism, Jurisprudence.

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Introduction

One of the most critical issues in political studies is revolutions, which act as dangerous events that destroy the pre-existing political order and replace it with a new political order with extensive social consequences. In recent years, narratives have been produced by critics of the Islamic Revolution, mainly liberal forces, and have attracted colonial mentality through media production:

"The revolution was the result of the prevalence emotions derived from public dissatisfaction with the Shah's performance during his ruling, while this performance that it was fixable by some reforms, and there was no need for a revolution."

This pseudo-narrative is based on the dual concept of Romanticism Rationality. It considers the Islamic Revolution as an irrational and unnecessary phenomenon and the result of the ruling body's rigidity in accepting political and social reforms, regardless of the illegitimate structure of the Pahlavi establishment and its structural and inherent dependence on relations of domination.

If the Shah had acted to the Constitution and accepted the standards of liberal democracy such as freedom of election, press and parties, the revolution would not have taken place. This analysis misunderstands a political structure based on authoritarian power and lacks fundamental legitimacy, and ignores the "Rational" basis of the revolution, reducing it to a pragmatism based on emotion.

At the same time, this claim can be proved that the Islamic Revolution is based on the great rationality derived from Shia political thought, which was developed over the centuries and generally from the beginning of Islam and emerged during the revolution. The present study aimed to answer these questions; 'What are the rational aspects of the Islamic Revolution?'. 'What sources does this rationality come from?'. 'How was the determination of Shia rationality in the words of the leaders?' 'What was the purpose and intention of the Islamic Revolution leaders in using rational propositions in their speeches and writings?'

To give the shortest answer to these questions, consider both the historical lineage and the ideological and philosophical originality of the Islamic Revolution and the flexible policy of its leaders towards modern world ideas. The primary hypothesis is that Shia political thought is based on the interaction of reason and revelation. This interaction and connection have been manifested in Islamic sciences such as jurisprudence, history, philosophy and mysticism. Regarding the great emphasis of religious texts on the importance of "Intellect" and "Thinking," early Islamic thinkers began a rational dialogue with the East and West civilisations and reflected their achievements in their world. This intellectual capital flourished for centuries until, in the 1350s, when the illegitimate and inefficient nature of the Pahlavi regime paved the way for a general uprising, it was determined by the leaders of the Islamic Revolution in the form of arguments against that regime; and

emerged in establishing a new political system called the "Islamic Republic."

This idea was based on the synchronicity of "Intellect" and "Revelation" never denied the dialogue with the rationality of Western civilisation and others, either at the time of its birth in the early Islamic centuries or at the time of its resurgence during the Islamic Revolution and did not use its sufficient funds. The first part of the article, entitled "Historical Genealogy of Revolutionary Rationality," referred to the historical process of rationalism in different areas of Shia political thought. It means proving the historical presence of "Rationality" in Shia belief and practice. In the second part, we discuss the definition of this "Rationality" in the period of the Islamic Revolution. Its various aspects are explained by referring to the speeches and writings of the leaders of the Revolution. Before these two sections, the method, theory and concepts used in the text are described.

1. Method and Theory

The paper explains a historical subject that from historical events, nothing remains but writings and documents. Exploring these documents, texts, and sources requires appropriate methodological tools to examine these texts accurately. "Discourse Analysis" is the best method, regarding its attention to the context and providing proper tools and techniques of reading and analysis. In this research, two different methods-discourse theory branches are more effective. The first is the method-theory, which pays attention to the genealogical and historical aspects of a text and examines the themes and discourse strategies that have been formed through historical ideas and events.

The historical-discourse approach seeks to integrate into a historical-political inquiry the extensive knowledge available about historical sources and the context of the social and political arenas in which discourse events are embedded to analyse the historical dimension of discourse actions (Wodak, 2005: 45).

This approach examines more extensive socio-political and historical contexts in which discourse practices are incorporated and related. It also has two practical implications for this research: "Intertextuality" and "re-Contextualism." "Intertextuality" are texts related to other readers, in the past and present. Such connections are established in different ways, explicit reference to a significant subject or actor, sources reference to similar events, refers or concerns, the transmission of critical arguments from one text to another, etc. The second way analyses the different types of rational arguments in a text and evaluates the style of the logical content of a text. Rationality is divided into theoretical and instrumental parts. Rationality is a tool that legitimises things by referring to their purpose, application, and effects.

Theoretical rationality legitimises things by referring to a natural order but is more direct and evident than moral naturalisation. In the case of

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theoretical rationalisation, the basis for legitimation is not that 'Is the action morally justified or not?', 'Is it purposeful or effective or not?'. Instead, it is based on that what the situation is. The combination of the above mentioned two theoretical approaches caused both to summarise the historical evolution of rationality in political thought and examine the emergence of this rationality in the lectures of the revolutionary leaders during the Islamic Revolution.

2. Primary Research Concepts

"Rationality" and "Revolutionary Situation" are two central concepts of the article that need to be explained and refined, which is more necessary about "Rationality."

2.1. Rationality

It refers to the perceptual system that exists equally among all human beings, which is the tool of knowing the world. A definition based on what Islamic philosophers and thinkers have mentioned is considered. Mulla Sadra in "Description of Osul-e Kafi" defines the distinguishing feature of man from the animal, knowledge of the prominent and certainties, the power that is obtained through practical experience, good understanding and quick access to the existing material, a complete single who is not material (Aboutalebi quoted by Javadi Amoli, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 123).

Allameh Tabatabai's definition is "Rationality is the power which man distinguishes between good and evil and right and wrong. In this sense, wisdom does two things. One is the perception of truths, and the other is the distinction between good and evil and right and wrong." (Yazdani Moghadam, 2020 AD/1399 SH: 181)

2.2. Revolutionary Situation

In 1356, simultaneously with a series of domestic, international economic, political, and social developments that made it possible to express opposition to the status quo, the deposited crisis manifested in the most objective form. A revolutionary position or situation was formed. The revolutionary situation refers to conditions and problems due to the conflict between the Pahlavi government and its opponents during 1356 and 1357.

3. Main Discussion

This section consists of two sections. The first part, entitled "The Genealogy of Revolutionary Rationality," explains rationality's historical roots and contexts in different Shia knowledge and thought fields. The second part evaluates the determination of revolutionary rationality in the extreme situation of 1356-57.

3.1. Genealogy of Revolutionary Rationality

The use of "Reason" as a force for knowing the world was emphasised in the Holy Qur'an. However, the use of rational methods to understand phenomena, affairs, justification and interpretation of the religion, after

Muslims informed of Western philosophy, entered Islamic thought and was used in various fields such as Islamic philosophy, history, jurisprudence and mysticism. We aimed to explain rationality and its function in these areas.

3.1.1. Philosophical Rationality

The Islamic philosophy is the religion interpreted with philosophy and has been philosophical, a philosophy that emerged in the Islamic period. Its owners were officially or indeed Muslims (Davari, 1980 AD/1359 SH: 289). According to the philosophical levels of Muslim philosophers, the first step is proving the incompatibility of reason and revelation. Then, regarded sense, along with revelation, as one of the ways of cognition; because the world of nature and the world above has a practical aspect and has been created based on rational principles, man uses this intellect to know this world. Instead, regarding the mere existence of intelligence, we cannot understand the whole place and unity; in addition, our mind has no way to understand some issues at all (Ghaffari, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 124).

Therefore, the intellect is the revelation and can discover its command (Aboutalebi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 76). The intellect has no access to and awareness of all human beings' spiritual and material dimensions. If left to their own devices, men pursue sensual desire and seek their interests. Therefore, the presence of the Prophet in this world is necessary, and after him, we need an intelligent leader. Since the survival of the species in its entirety requires a system and the system needs planning, we invariably need a leader to maintain and establish the status rules by the Prophet. In the time of absence, we need a leader due to the necessity of communication with the active intellect (the essence of Holy God) and the inability of the human mind to access the details of worldly and otherworldly matters and its need for revelation. He implements the traditions of the first ruler and, in cases of ambiguous affairs, deduces the rulings; therefore, he needs the science of jurisprudence (Aboutalebi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 138).

Mulla Sadra believes in this, "Regarding the necessity of connecting the first ruler with the active intellect, which is the source of divine grace, and the attribution of the head of the Sunnah to jurisprudence, the right of sovereignty is created for them by God." (Javadi Amoli, 2003 AD/1381 SH: 130). The determination of philosophical rationality in the Islamic Revolution highlighted the concept of "Velayat." In practice, the Imam united thought and practical reason with "Velayat" to remove the veil from the realm of intellect. As Allama Javadi Amoli describes it in the historical letter description of the Imam to Gorbachev: "The practical intellect of the Imam was united with the Velayat; as his theoretical intellect was united with jurisprudence, and because he was on the high horizon of freedom, the veil between thought and action was removed." (Javadi Amoli, *ibid*: 70)

3.1.2. Jurisprudential Rationality

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"Jurisprudential Rationality" is the intellect that confirms and proves the goodness of religious rules and regulations. It is used to know the entity of rules of religion and to demonstrate the necessity of their existence for the well-being of human beings and to ensure their happiness. The process of rationalism in jurisprudence was mainly formed from the third century, AH and with the emergence of Akhbarians (Ismaili, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 27). From the time of Mulla Sadra Shirazi (1050 SH), philosophy entered the science of Osul. It flourished with Mohaghegh Thani and Mohaghegh Khansari. The peak of mixing Osul with philosophy and logic can be seen in the "Kifayah al-Osul" of Mohaghegh Khansari (Amirzadeh, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 36).

Jurisprudential propositions are based on the fundamental doctrinal teachings of religion; it is the general argument expressed using the rational method to confirm jurisprudence rules. If they are aligned with those propositions, considering the rationality of believing in those fundamental propositions, we can also accept the rationality of getting these propositions (Noei, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 810).

One of the essential products of rationalism in the science of jurisprudence is the theory of expediency. This theory, which has a historical character in the jurisprudential knowledge of Muslims, was established by Sheikh Mufid in Imamiyyah jurisprudence. Shahid Avval, by examining it in jurisprudential rules, made it organised and generalised. The writer of the "Javahir" shows the relationship between Velayat-e Faqih and expediency.

Imam Khomeini proposed a comprehensive plan and turned it into a theoretical basis for political action by expanding it. In Imam's worldview, the most critical field in expediency theory was political jurisprudence. He viewed political processes and practices from jurisprudence, based the new political order on its propositions and rules, and revived commands such as justice, consultation, La Zarar and expediency. Restoring the law of practicality is the culmination of rationality, jurisprudence, and rationalism based on jurisprudential propositions. In this regard, his approach was based on a complete source of theories that have been produced and compiled for this concept in the history of Islamic jurisprudence.

One of the early scholars, Imam Muhammad al-Ghazali, defined it as "Gaining Profit or Repelling Harm." The ruler aims to protect religion, life, intellect, generation and property, and whatever about the protection of these five principles is expediency (Salmani, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 56).

According to Allameh Tabatabai: "Expediency is an action that has a good aim that is arranged on the aspects of that action." He said: "The issue is about Islam and the Muslims; the interests of Islam and Muslims. We cannot be negligent." (Khomeini, 1982 AD/1361 SH: 290) It means that the political structure of the monarchy did not serve the interests of Islam and had to be destroyed.

3.1.3. Historical Rationality

"Historical Rationality" refers to reason recognising the principles and rules of historical events. This rationality is the product of the researcher's transcendence from the transparent surface of history to its hidden and deep layers. What became the basis of revolutionary political action as a rational approach to history can be traced to Sadra's wisdom. Mulla Sadra believes that man inherently benefits from a continuous movement and enjoys a constant individual and social life despite stability. Therefore, human life history is ongoing and extensive in multiple and numerous periods. The evolution of his personality instability and constant change will be fully understood.

Accordingly, the social developments of nations should be reviewed and pondered in the past social traditions and their historical evolution (Omidi, 2017 AD/1395 SH: 139). Allameh Tabatabai believes that the whole world is moving in this regard. This movement is fundamental and leads to transforming all existing moving truths. This existential transformation aims for primary motion (Yazdani Moghadam, 2020 AD/1399 SH: 143).

The theory of the essential motion of transcendent wisdom and Allameh Tabatabai's discussion on the concept of nature became the basis of Shahid Motahari's view of history philosophy regarding Islam. Motahari's genius helped him confront the Marxists' materialist historical philosophy with a positive religious interpretation of human historical destiny based on human innate talents and nature. In this interpretation, although the inevitable destiny of human beings was liberation from oppression and achieving happiness, it also required the mobility and dynamism of human beings themselves. Allameh believed history is not a collection of random and unrelated events but an evolutionary path.

He analysed the theory of nature and the concepts of "Movement" and "Continuity of Movement" by his teacher, Allameh Tabatabai, in the context of the philosophy of analysis history with a Shia recitation. He believed that human movement in history is based on evolution, not a few human beings, but all humans have these talents to move towards perfection. There are two categories of knowledge that human beings need to move towards the model. The first is natural knowledge and then religious knowledge, per nature. According to the Holy Qur'an, through the guidance of God, the general flow of history is to overcome the right over the wrong. Because man, due to his inner guidance and the power of will and choice, can overcome the false current (Motahari, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 293).

The ultimate happiness will come to man with the advent of the Promised Mahdi (AS) and bring humans to the final transcendence and will pave the way for the origin of the "Perfect Man." This scientific and intellectual approach to history became the cornerstone of Imam Khomeini's revolutionary action. "Since the beginning of human civilisation, weapons have been in the hands of the unrighteous, and it

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was all human problems. Until these disarmed gunmen are disarmed, human work will not end. The prophets came to disarm these incompetent unarmed gunmen." (Khomeini, 1983 AD/1362 SH: 19)

3.1.4. Mystical Rationality

Mystical rationality is considered equivalent to Mulla Sadra's intuitive knowledge, which expresses esoteric meanings through rational style. The entrance of reason to mysticism dates back to the perfection of the mystical thoughts period in the third century AH. According to Allama Javadi Amoli, Abu Hamid Torkeh, for the first time, bypassing through the conventional peripatetic intellect, presented a new field of mind which is called "Enlightened Intellect" or, in the words of Ayatollah Javad Amoli, "Pure Mystical Intellect." (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 28)

After the emergence of Sadra's transcendent wisdom, philosophy could enter mysticism and use the intuitive knowledge of mystics to strengthen its epistemological foundations and raise the peripatetic intellect to the intellect of Sadra's philosophy (Ahmadi Saadi, 2001 AD/1380 SH: 36). The ease of entering mysticism is regarding the emphasis of the Holy Quran on the importance of reason in cognition. On this basis, in magical thinking, since the discovery of the non-innocent, unlike the discovery of the innocent, may be erroneous and slippery, it must be examined by criteria. One of these measures is intellect. Based on this approach, the concept of "Imam" was introduced as a guide of followers in transcendent wisdom, which was used in the Islamic Revolution for the salvation of this world and the transcendence of human biomaterial.

As Leily Eshghi says, Shia mysticism, which seeks the knowledge of God, needs an "Imam" as a leader to lead a group to its destination. Amid the Islamic Revolution, this group was not the followers of a monastery or individual beings who chose seclusion to discover truth and manner. Still, this group is a "Nation" that also can become an "Ummah." At that time in the history of Iran, the election of Ayatollah Khomeini as the "Imam" made him a link between the known and objective dimension of truth (knowledge of this world) and the possibility of achieving that nation to the ultimate truth.

The Imam led an "Ummah" to seek liberation from ignorance and guidance. Imam's goal was nothing but to achieve divine knowledge. He was to determine the Shia mysticism that had been practical in the objective world and change this world's temporal relations. He sought the truth and, in this way, led a great objective being called the nation, which had historical temporal and spatial aspects, to heaven. At the same time, the "Imam" had the theological capital of the pure Imams and was also a politician who sought to dress up the influence of the "Satan" (the West, the king) and the hostile relations (dependence, plunder, tyranny) of the soul of a nation. He wanted to bring together the prosperity of this

world (freedom, justice, independence) and eternal bliss and exaltation (living faithfully and divinely for salvation).

3.2. Determining Revolutionary Rationality

The rationality is hidden in Shia thought, which was formed over the centuries and was available to the Shias in four types of mystical, philosophical, jurisprudential, and historical rationality, which became verbal propositions at the time of the revolution. Proposals were declared by the primary opponents of the Pahlavi regime. The wise men who were previously scientific and social capital used that capital in politics during the revolution.

They used philosophical, mystical, jurisprudential and historical principles to challenge the existing objective and material order. That rich epistemological capital became the basis for producing deconstructive theological propositions against the current political system. Strong rational recommendations that explain the causes and factors of a political regime's illegitimacy in terms of functional weaknesses were themselves produced on a solid foundation of religious and divine beliefs.

Imam Khomeini was the leading actor in the revolutionary situation that practically emerged as the opposition leader. Along with him, we can mention Martyr Beheshti and Motahhari, who were Imam's students, played the role of the commentator of his ideas to the public. The results and effects of the application of rationality in the context of the discourse system of these leaders can be explained as follows. First, their reliance on rationalisation made it possible for them to present a realistic style of political analysis. In this sense, they represented political relations, events and phenomena, persons/ political/ social situations as they were, and established an accurate account of the current situation for society.

Then, they may have expressed a value-oriented and critical approach to these relationships and conditions at the next level. Still, their valuation has also been formed on an objective basis. Then, by considering "Rationality" in political analysis, they showed their seriousness and coherence in their political goals. By focusing precisely and rationally on events, they turned them into practical and causal chains through this analysis.

They gave a comprehensive and coherent picture of the current situation and the future ahead. Now we explain the inefficiency and corruption of the Shah's regime and the necessity of revolt against the Pahlavi regime and the establishment of Islamic rule. Rationalisation of speech has two kinds: theoretical and practical. First, the methods of theoretical rationalisation, which include definition, explanation and prediction, are survived, and then, practical rationality that is examined the goals, results and ends of the revolution that these people have expressed.

The theoretical and instrumental rationality used in the revolutionary leaders' speeches, texts, and statements derived from the four

abovementioned types forms the main branches of evolutionary rationality.

3.2.1. Theoretical Rationality

The revolution leaders, mainly through the strategy of "Definition," provided a rational explanation of what had happened in the past. This past included historical narratives from early Islam and the contemporary period.

In stating this history, the leaders' purpose was to represent a horizon in which the war of right and wrong was portrayed. This image answers questions such as 'Who deserves to rule?' and 'What kind of government is needed for prosperity?'

"Since the beginning of human civilisation, weapons have been in the hands of the unrighteous, and it is all human problems. These disarmed gunmen should be disarmed to human work will end. The prophets also came to disarm these incompetent gunmen, and they could not; they were bullies. In every age, the worthy people who wanted to take this weapon from the incompetent and take it into their own hands did not succeed, and this weapon was in the hands of the incompetent and the ignorant. It is all problems of humans." (Khomeini statements. 1356/10/19)

Martyr Beheshti, by "Defining" a part of early Islam history, by identifying the types of unrighteous and righteous guardianship, considers the governance of the righteous as the basis of religious rule.

"In the Islam history, four types of Velayat can be defined. The first type is unique and very similar to the Prophet and has all its aspects except receiving revelation. In this guardian, the pure will gather around him, the sinners will turn away, and the people will enjoy the best conditions to remain pure and have a happy life.

The second type is related to the personal Velayat, who, although he does not have the enchanting and magnetic attraction of attracting pure elites, has some Islamic social discipline of Islam similar to the period of Abu Bakr and Umar. The third type is related to the type of Velayat; although it was not corrupt, it provided the ground for the unclean and corrupts. In the end, the one who has come to war with Islam openly and completely, not only there is a ground for the growth of corruption in society, but it is also the centre of power, corruption-seeking and promoters of corruption." (Beheshti, 2019 AD/1398 SH: 11-25)

These two texts transfer the historical concepts of "Velayat" and "Righteous Sovereignty" from early Islam to the present period. The narrators of these texts, by resorting to "Recontextualism," transferred these concepts from their previous context in early Islam to the present and introduced them into the discourse of the Islamic Revolution. These concepts were marginalised during the rule of the Pahlavi regime. Still, by recontextualising these concepts, these leaders provided a new political ground for the growth and re-development of marginalised Islamic political thought. Then, using these concepts in the current socio-political context, they created a coherent narrative based on history,

stating that "According to the early history of Islam, the prophetic tradition and the words of the Imams, political power should be in the hands of the righteous, not corrupt corrupters."

In this narrative, a historical mission was formed to fight against illegitimate Taghut, and a border was drawn between the righteous and the unrighteous. The righteous were the leaders of the revolution and the people of Iran, and the unrighteous included members of the Pahlavi regime. This alignment led to the creation of a political-historical identity for the revolutionaries. The revolution leaders' second type of production of rational speech propositions was based on "Explanation." In this way, the current state of Iranian society was analysed. "We remember the crimes of fifty years of Pahlavi's illegitimate rule and the bloodshed of these 50 years.

Reza Khan was armed from the beginning by the incompetent British criminals who had guns in their hands, and they brought this unscrupulous and unarmed man with weapons and ruled over the people. 'What crimes during the time that the bad man was at work happened?'" (Khomeini statements. 1356/10/19)

The essential functions of "Explanation" are explaining the physical and symbolic violence of the regime, explaining the regime's dependence on the West, showing the diversity of the regime's opponents and expanding the struggle from the political to the social field. In a revolutionary situation, the orators explained the consequences of the Shah's presence at the top of the pyramid of Iranian political power to explain the regime's corruption.

They blamed the king for killing innocent people during the years of his rule, especially during the revolution. Using the causal system they formed in their speech, they introduced the cause of a series of disorders as a definite and natural consequence of the Shah's presence at the top of the pyramid of power.

The third type of rationalism is "Prediction." 'What were the plans of the revolutionary leaders for the future after Pahlavi?' and 'How did they portray future events and developments?'. It seems that the "Reform" of affairs in all fields is based on the divine teachings and the creation of an "Islamic Society" were their predictions for the future of Iran after the revolution.

"In the Islamic terminology, "Reform" is the opposite of "Corruption," whether it is gradual and superficial and so-called transverse or fundamental and essential. The general aims of Islam in the statement of Ali (AS) are as follows: Return to true Islam. Islamic traditions are each a sign of the path to prosperity. The great reform of cities. The third goal is saving the oppressed. Our goal is getting rid of the oppressed from the oppressors." (Motahhari, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 30)

"Prediction" caused to draw a clear vision and horizon for the future and promise social reform if the Islamic Revolution wins.

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"We have reasonable ways to resolve the crisis by establishing a national-Islamic government and replacing extravagant traitors with God-fearing patriotic nationals and first, cutting off the hands of the looters of the treasury, headed by the Shah. It was second, cutting off the hands of ministers, lawyers and important managers of departments from abuses and betrayals. Third, eliminating many branches of departments that are trouble for the people and spending the treasury. Fourth, the correct use of agricultural force." (Khomeini, 1984 AD /1363 SH: 17)

Also, "Islam," as a whole that corrects the current situation and establishes a transcendent future, became the reference point of these predictions. Islam was introduced as a semantic reference to answer all questions. It created the capacity to make sense of oppositional actions, form coalitions, and, ultimately, depict the utopia.

3.2.2. Instrumental Rationality

Rationality was a valuable tool for answering three basic questions about the Islamic Revolution. 'What is the purpose of the revolution?' 'What should be achieved?' 'What is the effect of the revolution?' 'What is the result of the revolution?'. Some parts of Beheshti's speech answers these questions.

"The government of Islam, the government of the Islamic Republic, should provide capital for every Muslim, Iranian, non-Muslim, and every person who has the citizenship of the Islamic Republic from the public treasury, oil revenues, other incomes, taxes so that no one has to sell his work for a small wage paid to him by others. In our view, the people's councils must be the real administrators and overseers of the revolution. Instead of inspections from above, we should create a monitoring and guidance system from the mass. We will not have political independence until we find economic independence. We invite all committed intellectuals, with all kinds of tastes and thoughts, to come and sit together and share their demands, to have a free discussion." (Beheshti, 2010 AD/ 1389 SH: 252)

His reliance on "Theoretical Rationalization" allows him to present a realistic style of political analysis. In this sense, he sees and represents political relations, events and phenomena, persons, political and social situations as they are. Of course, he may have a value-oriented and critical approach to these relationships and conditions in the next level, but that value is also formed on a factual basis. "The Shah's regime has used some Western press at great expense. To divert the minds of the West from the main issues, one of the most important of which is the departure of the Shah and his oppressive relatives and the shortening of the hands of foreigners, he has resorted to hollow propaganda." (Khomeini, 1983 AD/ 1362 SH: 17)

Second, incorporating "Rationality" into the political analysis will lead to seriousness and coherence in political targeting. In other words, the narrator and producer of the text show that the field of politics and its events has a pivotal and fundamental position for him. Therefore,

carefully and rationally focusing on events tries to turn them into practical and disabled chains, achieving a comprehensive and coherent analysis of the current situation and the future ahead. Finally, applying the method of "Rationalism" leads to careful attention to the tools and means available for battle in the political arena. Regarding these material and spiritual possibilities and tools, a political leader determines his micro, macro, medium and long-term goals and takes political action.

He also continues the subsequent efforts at the level of political theory and practice by measuring the results of his actions and those of the other party.

At the semantic level, the question arises 'Whether by examining these texts it can be claimed that they represent a semantic system or discourse?'. The answer is yes. We seem to be facing a political discourse with different components and concepts than the discourses of our time. This difference can be explained in several cases. According to the mentioned above, words, phrases and sentences of their texts reflect, based on the speakers of the revolutionary discourse, history is a scene of political conflict between righteous and non-righteous. The historical mission of the Muslim is to be on the moral front rather than using the weapon of power to save the world from corruption.

The distinction between one's front and another front and defining the position of the human actor means the creation of a new political identity. It is a genuine historical identity that takes an aggressive stance and defends itself against corrupt and dysfunctional imposed structures. As much as it is free against the set structure and has the power of action and freedom of movement to the point of rebellion to destroy, this identity is obligated to its divine mission.

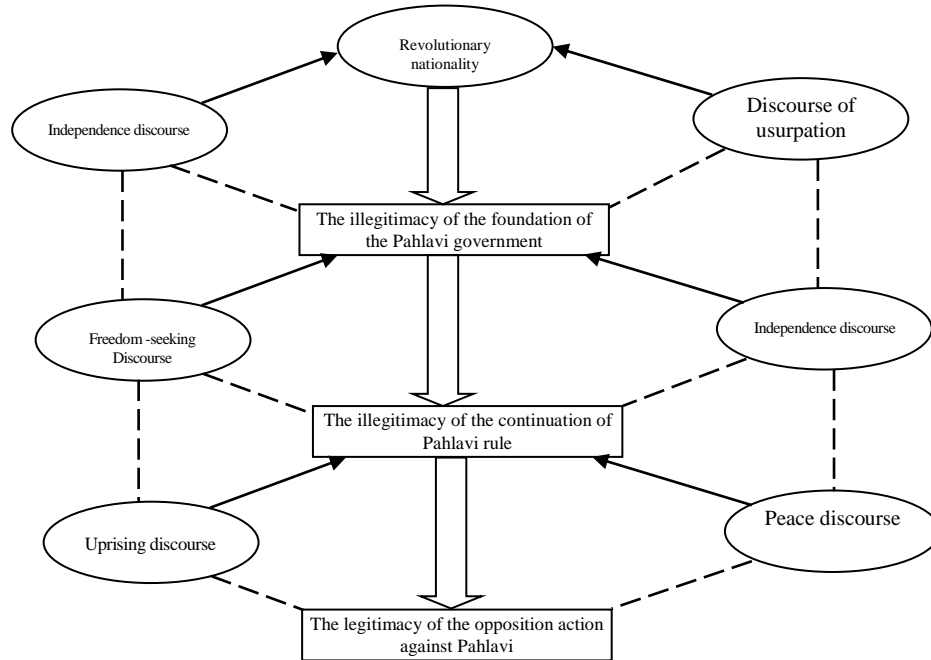
It must stand against oppression through his presence in the historical political arena and because of his holy duty, and ultimately achieve happiness and goodness. According to these leaders, the Shia identity is the same action within the framework of a moral, political and faith order that relies on the fear of God and obedience to the guardian to achieve salvation and prosperity.

If these texts and discourses are considered as a complete example of phenomena-making discourse in terms of the comprehensiveness of the semantic and reasoning system as well as the time situation in them; their most important conceptual aspects can be summarised as follows:

- Emphasis on the illegitimacy of the basis for establishing a government. Here, the text emphasises the discourse of usurpation, a jurisprudential discourse and refers to political rule's illegitimacy without the jurists' religious authority. According to the lecturer, this basis has been provided by a foreign power;
- Emphasis on the illegitimacy of the continuation of ruling the current governing body. The dependent and independent construction of the regime and oppression and acts of cruel and illegal actions are the reason for the illegitimacy of the continuation of this rule;

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- Explaining the legitimacy of revolutionary action against the current ruling body. The uprising against the current government is inevitable regarding the religious duty to establish a righteous government and regain political power from the unrighteous.



Conclusion

The rationality of Shia political thought was manifested in four areas of philosophy, jurisprudence, mysticism and history. It answered equally with different approaches to ‘Who and why is worthy of government?’. These answers were determined in four historical, jurisprudential, philosophical and mystical narratives during the Islamic Revolution. According to historical rationality, the answer was that human history is a continuous history, and man is moving towards perfection during this history. While the world is a scene of confrontation and conflict between righteous and non-righteous, the government of the righteous must be formed through a revolution against corruption to facilitate this evolutionary movement. Jurisprudential rationality is based on this principle since, during the absence of the Imam, the need to establish order in society does not disappear; the ruler of the Islamic community, aware of the jurisprudence commands, should govern and through the Islamic Revolution provide "Velayat-e Faqih" ground. Philosophical rationality confirms the role of "Just Leader" and "Vali" in the transcendence of Islamic society, and mystical rationality emphasises the importance of leading a "Perfect Man" in the guise of "Imam." Amid the Islamic Revolution, the collection of these constructions was combined with modern society's social and political conditions, which required

independence, freedom, and legitimate government, to produce a theoretical and cognitive apparatus called "Revolutionary Rationality."

Despite its traditional base and critique of modernity becoming its "other," revolutionary rationality has never been and is not anti-modern. Instead, it uses modern tools such as bureaucracy, the military, and the university to achieve its ultimate goal of nurturing the perfect human being. However, this application is necessary, not absolute and unequivocal acceptance. This acceptance of modern tools is not accepting the intellectual principles of modernity and the prominent position and "Text" of the political field from that tradition.

Thus, this rationality is composed of an Islamic worldview and the tools of dying to meet the necessities of life in the new world. This rationality was not formed in the "Moment" and time of one or two years leading up to the revolution, but it is gradual, and a process and has fourteen-hundred-year in Shia history. Finally, the most critical sign of the preference of "Logic" and "Reason" over "Emotion" and "Excitement" in the Islamic Revolution. Revolutionary rationality seeks to explain "Conditions" and "Existing Conditions." Conditions that the governing body has made unacceptable and again tries to predict the "Future" by using "Rationality."

A "Ruined" future if the status quo continues, and "Bright" if you try to change the status quo. The present study aimed to recognise the complex and stellar rationality that formed the basis of the leaders' actions of the Islamic Revolution in publicly calling for an uprising against the Pahlavi regime. This article does not claim to explain what happened comprehensively but can introduce more profound research in this area.

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