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# The Qur'anic Doctrine of Islamic Awakening in the Discourse of Ayatollah Khamenei

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**Abstract:** Utilizing a descriptive-analytical methodology grounded in discourse theory, this study investigates the foundations, elements, and strategies of the Qur'anic doctrine of Islamic Awakening within the intellectual framework of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei. The research employs the Qur'anic paradigm of the confrontation between Istikbār (arrogance/hegemony) and Istidʿāf (oppression/subjugation) to analyze this phenomenon. The findings suggest that Islamic Awakening is a multidimensional Qur'anic process defined by five core components: 1) a timeless foundation rooted in the prophetic struggle against Ṭāghūt; 2) a nature centered on the mobilization of Islamic consciousness; 3) directives based on taqwā (God-consciousness) and resistance; 4) a mission aimed at achieving Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah (a wholesome life); and 5) a strategy focused on establishing a civilization based on divine revelation. Ultimately, the study concludes that Islamic Awakening transcends mere socio-political movement, representing a spiritual and identity-driven process of resisting domination and realizing a divinely-grounded civilization.

**Keywords:** The Qur'an; Islamic Awakening; Islamic Revolution; Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei; Istikbār; Istidʿāf.

## Introduction

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Islamic Awakening is one of the most significant intellectual, social, and political phenomena in the contemporary Muslim world. At the epistemological, identity-related, and political levels, it has given rise to a process of rethinking the relationship between Islam, power, justice, and political order. This phenomenon cannot be reduced merely to political developments or protest movements; rather, it can be understood as a process aimed at reconstructing Islamic identity, revitalizing Muslims' political and social consciousness, and rejecting relations of domination and dependency (Jahangir & Melli, 2015, pp. 307–310). From this perspective, elucidating the Qur'anic foundations and theoretical logic of Islamic Awakening, as well as examining how it is articulated in the thought of the intellectual and political leaders of the Muslim world, occupies an important place in the study of Islamic political thought.

In this regard, examining Islamic Awakening within the intellectual framework of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei (former Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 1989–2026) is of particular significance. The roots of this conception can be traced back to the pre-revolutionary struggle against the Pahlavi regime (1925–1979). Following the Islamic Revolution, this line of thought continued to develop through concepts such as the revival of Islamic identity, the rejection of domination, opposition to global arrogance, support for the oppressed, and resistance (see Siyahpoosh, 2020). Accordingly, Islamic Awakening in his thought is not an isolated concept; rather, it constitutes an integral part of a conceptual constellation in which its Qur'anic, religious, political, and social elements are systematically interconnected.

The central problem addressed by the present study is the reconstruction of these semantic relationships and the identification of the internal logic of the Islamic Awakening discourse. Accordingly, the inquiry is not merely concerned with his views on Islamic Awakening; rather, it focuses on how this concept is discursively articulated, the position of its foundational concepts, the mechanisms of the construction of otherness, and the relationship between awakening, opposition to global arrogance, the eradication of oppression, and resistance. Within this framework, the Qur'anic dichotomies of truth

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and falsehood, the oppressed and the arrogant, faith and disbelief, and divine sovereignty and the sovereignty of Ṭāghūt provide significant analytical potential for examining the identity-based and political boundaries of this discourse.

On this basis, the study advances the hypothesis that Islamic Awakening in the thought of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei is articulated as a Qur'anic-political discourse centered on the antagonism between "Divine Sovereignty" and "the Sovereignty of Ṭāghūt." Within this discursive formation, faith, divine guardianship (*wilāyat*), God-consciousness (*taqwā*), divine promise, and resistance are articulated within a chain of signification organized around a central signifier, while global arrogance (*istikbār*), domination, corruption, and oppression (*istidʿāf*) are positioned as elements of the rival discourse. Drawing upon the discourse theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, the present study seeks to reconstruct the nodal point, signs, logic of antagonism, mechanisms of the construction of otherness, and hegemonic configuration of this discourse, thereby elucidating the Qur'anic logic underlying the doctrine of Islamic Awakening.

## 1. Theoretical Framework

### 1.1. Discourse Theory and Islamic Awakening

Among the three major approaches to discourse analysis, namely Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Discursive Psychology, the approach developed by Laclau and Mouffe is more compatible with studies of political thought due to its emphasis on the construction of meaning, identity, and political boundaries (Behrouz Lak, 2007, pp. 552–553). By examining the role of ideas and social practices in political life, this approach analyzes the processes through which meaning is produced, stabilized, and reproduced in various discursive formations (Howarth, 2009, pp. 195–196).

Drawing upon Foucault's conception of power, Saussure's linguistic foundations, and the anti-foundationalist and anti-essentialist perspectives of Rorty, Derrida, and Lyotard, Laclau and Mouffe reject the notion that meaning is fixed or predetermined.

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Instead, they regard meaning as the product of relations among signs within a discourse (Haqiqat & Hosseinizadeh, 2008, p. 104). Accordingly, understanding any social phenomenon requires identifying the discourse within which that phenomenon acquires its meaning (Howarth, 2009, p. 202). The fundamental concepts employed in the present study are as follows (Khwajeh Sarvi & Naderi, 2013, p. 29):

**Discourse:** A structured totality of meaning constituted through the articulation of signs, which organizes the ways in which social and political reality is perceived (Haqiqat, 2008, p. 535).

**Articulation:** The process of establishing relations among elements and signs and integrating them into a semantic system through which they acquire a discursive identity (Howarth, 2009, p. 202).

**Antagonism or Otherness:** Discursive identity is constituted in relation to the "Other." Through the demarcation of boundaries between the "Self" and the "Other," collective and political identity is consolidated. At the same time, this process indicates the contingent and non-fixed character of discursive identities (Haqiqat, 2008, p. 544; Howarth, 2009, p. 205).

**Hegemony:** A process through which a political-discursive force seeks to establish a dominant meaning and consolidate its preferred social and political order. This process necessarily entails the demarcation of political boundaries between competing forces (Howarth, 2009, p. 205).

**Nodal Point:** An organizing signifier around which other signs are articulated and through their relationship with which they acquire their respective positions and meanings within a discursive formation (Haqiqat, 2008, p. 535).

Applying this theory to studies of Islamic political thought does not require accepting all its philosophical premises. Rather, through methodological adaptation, its analytical potential can be employed to identify relationships among signs, processes of articulation, identity boundaries, and mechanisms of the construction of otherness (Alikhani, 2007, p. 545). This distinction is essential because the Islamic intellectual tradition, with its specific epistemological, axiological, and ontological foundations and its

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affirmation of a truth independent of discourse, differs from certain anti-foundationalist and anti-essentialist premises of discourse theory. Accordingly, in the present study, discourse theory is employed exclusively at the methodological and analytical levels.

The concept of "Otherness" constitutes one of the principal points of convergence between this theoretical framework and Islamic thought. In the Qur'an, Surah al-Kāfirūn emphasizes the distinction between two systems of belief, while Surah al-Tawbah underscores the concepts of disavowal (*barāʾah*) and the demarcation of boundaries between the camp of faith and that of polytheism. Accordingly, collective identity is constituted not only through affirmative elements but also in relation to the "Other."

In this regard, Imam Khomeini, by advancing the dichotomies of "Pure Muhammadan Islam" (*Islam-e Nab-e Muhammadi*) versus "American Islam," as well as "the Oppressed" (*Mustadʿafīn*) versus "the Arrogant" (*Mustakbirīn*), articulated discursive boundaries between the front of truth and the forces of domination (Behrouz Lak, 2007, pp. 568, 576). This pattern can also be traced in the discourse of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei. Within this framework, "Divine Sovereignty," as the nodal point of the discourse of Pure Muhammadan Islam, is articulated through signs such as faith, the guardianship of the divinely appointed authorities (*wilāyat of the awliyāʾ Allāh*), God-consciousness (*taqwā*), divine promises, truth and falsehood, oppression and arrogance, and Islamic resistance. By contrast, "the Sovereignty of Ṭāghūt" is constituted through signs such as Satan, the guardianship of the authorities of Ṭāghūt, arrogance, and corruption on earth. In this way, a process of othering between the two discourses takes shape, while the divine promise of the victory of the oppressed over the arrogant delineates the desired hegemonic horizon. Within this framework, Islamic Awakening is not an isolated concept; rather, it acquires its meaning through its relationship with the Islamic Revolution, the rejection of domination, opposition to global arrogance, the eradication of oppression, and Islamic resistance. It is thus articulated within the broader Qur'anic antagonism between the divine and non-divine currents, truth and falsehood, and the oppressed and the arrogant. Consequently, Islamic Awakening attains

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the capacity for social and political realization only when it transcends the level of awareness and becomes organized in the form of resistance and collective action. Within this intellectual framework, resistance constitutes the mechanism through which consciousness and identity are translated into political and social action, while also providing the necessary conditions for the realization of the divine promise concerning the establishment of the righteous in positions of authority. Accordingly, reconstructing the relationships among these concepts provides a basis for a more coherent elucidation of the Qur'anic doctrine of Islamic Awakening in the discourse of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei.

### 1.2. The Qur'anic Paradigm of the Antagonism between the Currents of Istikbār and Istidʿāf

A close examination of the verses of the Holy Qur'an reveals two broad currents—the divine and the non-divine, truth and falsehood, and the oppressed and the arrogant—which can be identified at various conceptual and narrative levels. Each of these currents seeks to organize itself and engage in collective action in pursuit of its own objectives and values, while following its respective leaders and accepted role models. In numerous verses, the Holy Qur'an elucidates the characteristics, relationships, and consequences of the actions undertaken by these two currents (see also Mahdavi & Naderi, 2011). Despite the fact that the truth has become evident to the arrogant through both rational and transmitted proofs, they refuse to abandon their arrogant disposition. Consequently, in their opposition, they engage in two courses of action: first, they struggle against their own innate disposition to seek God; and second, they prevent others from embracing Islam (Javadi Amoli, 2009, p. 188). Within this framework, the current of *Istikbār* consists of individuals who, as a result of the ascendancy of their carnal desires, have strayed from the path of divine guidance and become susceptible to following Satan. The Holy Qur'an states in this regard:

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"It has been decreed concerning him that whoever takes him as a patron, he will surely lead that person astray and guide him toward the punishment of the Blaze."[1]

As this process continues, following Satan may lead to accepting the *wilāyat* (guardianship and authority) of Ṭāghūt and positioning oneself in opposition to the camp of faith. The Holy Qur'an states: "Those who believe fight in the way of God, whereas those who disbelieve fight in the way of Ṭāghūt. So fight against the allies of Satan; indeed, the stratagem of Satan is ever feeble."[2]

The continuation of such a process may result in the emergence of forms of conduct that the Holy Qur'an characterizes as corruption on earth, a characterization that is also corroborated by historical experience (Tabataba'i, 1413 AH, vol. 2, p. 145).

"When he turns away [or assumes authority], he strives throughout the land to spread corruption therein and destroy crops and progeny; and God does not love corruption."[3]

Within this framework, the current of *Istikbār*, by exploiting resources of power and wealth, seeks to expand its own semantic and political order and endeavors to compel others to accept it as well. Accordingly, all forms of emotional, political, military, economic, and cultural affiliation with such forces are condemned in Islam (Qara'ati, 2004, vol. 2, p. 126). The Holy Qur'an states: "They wish that you would disbelieve just as they have disbelieved, so that you would become equal."[4]

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[1] Qur'an, 22:4 (Surah al-Ḥajj): *Kutiba ʿalayhi annahu man tawallāhu fa-annahu yuḍilluhu wa-yahdīhi ilā ʿadhābi al-saʿīr.*

[2] Qur'an, 4:76 (Surah al-Nisāʾ): *Alladhīna āmanū yuqātilūna fī sabīli Allāh wa-alladhīna kafarū yuqātilūna fī sabīli al-ṭāghūt fa-qātilū awliyāʾa al-shayṭān inna kayda al-shayṭāni kāna ḍaʿīfā.*

[3] Qur'an, 2:205 (Surah al-Baqarah): *Wa-idhā tawallā saʿā fī al-arḍi li-yufsida fīhā wa-yuhlika al-ḥartha wa-al-nasl wa-Allāhu lā yuḥibbu al-fasād*

[4] Qur'an, 4:89 (Surah al-Nisāʾ): *Waddū law takfurūna kamā kafarū fa-takūnūna sawāʾan.*

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In contrast, the community of faith, by following Almighty God and pursuing the path of purification and divine guidance, seeks to attain human development and spiritual elevation: "Through His permission, He brings them out of darkness into light and guides them to a straight path."[5]

Along this path, a group of believers, through their steadfastness and patience, attain the rank of those who strive in the cause of God, making the attainment of divine pleasure the ultimate objective of their actions: "Among the people is one who sells himself in pursuit of God's pleasure; and God is Most Compassionate toward His servants."[6]

Furthermore, another verse in Surah al-Nisāʾ explicitly articulates the antagonism between the two camps of faith and Ṭāghūt.[7]

According to this formulation, the current of *Istikbār* seeks to consolidate its preferred semantic and political order. By contrast, the community of faith, through adherence to divinely appointed leaders and commitment to righteous deeds, strives to realize religious values and injunctions within society. The Holy Qur'an describes the characteristics of divinely appointed leaders as follows: "Those who convey the messages of God, fear Him, and fear no one except God; and God suffices as the Reckoner."[8]

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[5] Qur'an, 5:16 (Surah al-Māʾidah): *Yahdī bihi Allāhu mani ittabaʿa riḍwānahu subula al-salām wa-yukhrijuhum mina al-ẓulumāti ilā al-nūri bi-idhnihi wa-yahdīhim ilā ṣirāṭin mustaqīm.*

[6] Qur'an, 2:207 (Surah al-Baqarah): *Wa-mina al-nāsi man yashrī nafsahu ibtighāʾa marḍāti Allāh wa-Allāhu raʾūfun bi-al-ʿibād.*

[7] Qur'an, 4:76 (Surah al-Nisāʾ): *Alladhīna āmanū yuqātilūna fī sabīli Allāh wa-alladhīna kafarū yuqātilūna fī sabīli al-ṭāghūt fa-qātilū awliyāʾa al-shayṭān inna kayda al-shayṭāni kāna ḍaʿīfā*

[8] Qur'an, 33:39 (Surah al-Aḥzāb): *Alladhīna yuballighūna risālāti Allāhi wa-yakhshawnahu wa-lā yakhshawna aḥadan illā Allāha wa-kafā bi-Allāhi ḥasībā.*

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It may therefore be argued that the binaries of the divine and the non-divine, truth and falsehood, and the oppressed and the arrogant are represented in certain passages of the Holy Qur'an through a form of antagonism that operates at the axiological, identity-related, and practical levels. Within this framework, the discourse of *Istidʿāf* is articulated through signifiers such as divinity, truth, the condition of being oppressed, and submission to God. Led by the divine prophets and accompanied by the believers, this discourse seeks to realize divine values and commandments. By contrast, the discourse of *Istikbār* is constituted through signifiers such as non-divinity, falsehood, arrogance, and rebellion. Under the leadership of *Ṭāghūts* and their followers, it resists the sovereignty of religion and divine leadership.

The Holy Qur'an presents numerous examples of this antagonism in its accounts of the encounters between prophets and the peoples and opposing currents that confronted them. These include:

- "The people of Noah denied the messengers." [9]
- "The people of ʿĀd denied the messengers." [10]
- "The people of Thamūd denied the messengers." [11]
- "The Companions of the Thicket denied the messengers." [12]
- "The people of Lot denied the messengers." [13]

Within this framework, Sūrat al-Kāfirūn (Chapter 109, "The Disbelievers") also emphasizes the fundamental distinction between two systems of belief and values, delineating the boundary between the two camps on the basis of differences in their objects of worship and religious systems: Say, "O disbelievers! (1) I do not worship what you worship, (2) nor do you worship what I worship. (3) Nor will I

[9] Qur'an 26:105.
[10] Qur'an 26:123.
[11] Qur'an 26:141.

[12] Qur'an 26:176.
[13] Qur'an 26:160

worship what you have worshipped, (4) nor will you worship what I worship. (5) You have your religion, and I have mine." (6) [14]



From the perspective of the Holy Qur'an, the antagonism between these two currents follows a relatively discernible logic and set of patterns. Accordingly, in their encounters with the divine prophets and believing communities, currents of *Istikbār* have, on numerous occasions, exhibited similar patterns of behavior and argumentation. The Holy Qur'an states in this regard: Nothing is said to you except what was said to the messengers before you. Indeed, your Lord is the Possessor of forgiveness and the Possessor of a painful punishment. [15]

Ultimately, the Holy Qur'an portrays the outcome of this antagonism in terms of divine assistance and the triumph of the divine current over the current of *Istikbār*. One of the clearest expressions of this promise appears in verse 5 of Sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ (Chapter 28):
We desired to show favor to those who had been oppressed in the land, to make them leaders, and to make them inheritors. [16]

On this basis, a conceptual relationship can be established among three levels within the Qur'anic paradigm under examination. The first is the **identity level**, at which the divine and *Istikbār*-oriented camps are distinguished from one another. The second is the **practical level**, at which these two currents engage in antagonism within the social and political spheres. The third is the **teleological level**, at which the promise of divine assistance and the establishment of the righteous in positions of authority are presented as the ultimate horizon of this

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[14] Sūrat al-Kāfirūn (Qur'an 109:1–6): *Qul yā ayyuhā al-kāfirūn (1), lā aʿbudu mā taʿbudūn (2), wa-lā antum ʿābidūna mā aʿbud (3), wa-lā anā ʿābidun mā ʿabadtum (4), wa-lā antum ʿābidūna mā aʿbud (5), lakum dīnukum wa-liya dīn (6).*

[15] Qur'an 41:43: *Mā yuqālu laka illā mā qad qīla li-l-rusuli min qablika inna rabbaka la-dhū maghfiratin wa-dhū ʿiqābin alīm*

[16] Qur'an 28:5: *Wa-nurīdu an namunna ʿalā alladhīna ustuḍʿifū fī al-arḍi wa-najʿalahum aʾimmatan wa-najʿalahumu al-wārithīn.*

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antagonism. Within this formulation, *Istikbār* is not merely an individual moral disposition; rather, it can manifest itself as a sociopolitical current. Similarly, *Istidʿāf* does not merely denote a condition of deprivation; within the Qur'anic framework, it can also develop into a collective and historical identity.

Accordingly, the paradigm of antagonism between *Istikbār* and *Istidʿāf* can serve as one of the conceptual foundations for reconstructing the Qur'anic doctrine of Islamic Awakening in the discourse of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei. Within this framework, awakening is linked, on the one hand, to an awareness of domination and the condition of being rendered oppressed and, on the other, to the formation of a collective will to resist such conditions and establish the divinely ordained order.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, the theoretical framework of this study can be represented through the following conceptual model. In this model, the Qur'an's monotheistic foundations occupy the position of the theoretical foundation. Through the articulation of concepts such as the sovereignty of God, truth and falsehood, *Istidʿāf* and *Istikbār*, resistance, and the rejection of domination, these foundations lead to the formulation of the discourse of Islamic Awakening in the discourse of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei.

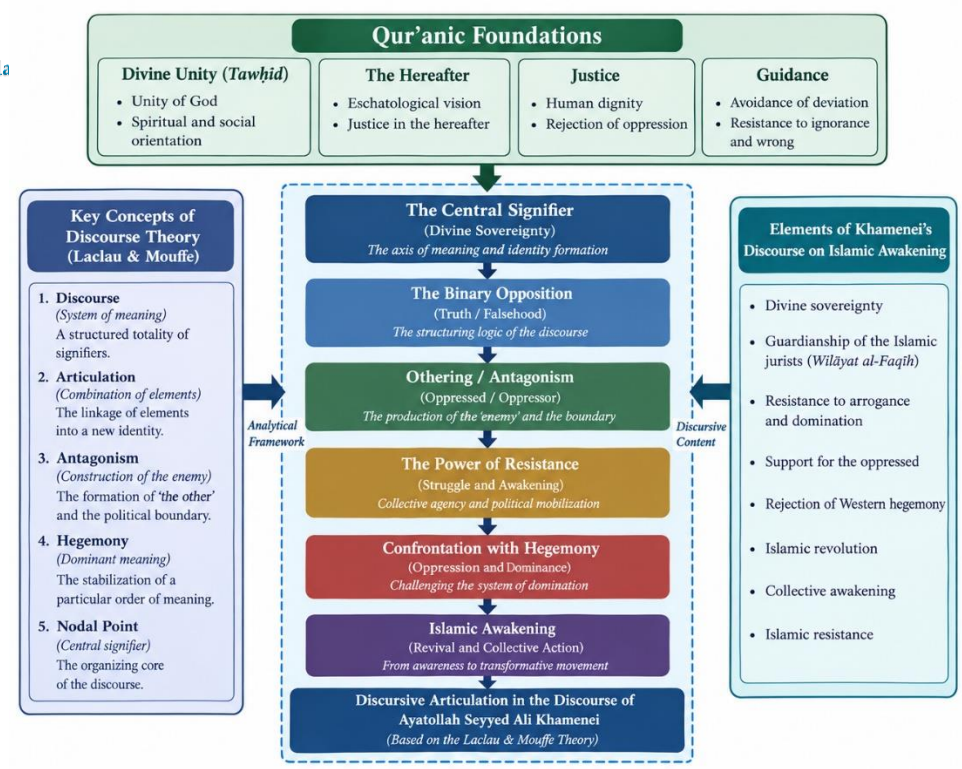



**Figure 1. Conceptual Model of the Research Framework**

***Note:*** *This conceptual model is developed based on the theoretical framework of the research and designed with the assistance of ChatGPT (OpenAI) for organizing and visualizing the concepts. The scientific, substantive, and final responsibility for the model rests with the authors.*

## 2. The Qur'anic Roots of Islamic Awakening

A close examination of the statements of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei reveals that, within his intellectual framework, Islamic Awakening is not merely a political concept concerned with contemporary developments in the Muslim world. Rather, it is grounded in a set of Qur'anic and hadith-based foundations that shape its epistemological, identity-related, and practical dimensions. His references to religious sources take place sometimes directly, through the recitation and interpretation of Qur'anic verses and references to hadith reports, and sometimes indirectly, through explanations of the divine laws governing history, the narratives of the prophets, and the obligations incumbent upon Muslims in their collective action. From

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this perspective, the Qur'an in this discourse is not merely a source invoked to substantiate a political analysis; rather, it is one of the principal sources of meaning-making and of determining the direction of Islamic Awakening.

Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei regards Islamic Awakening as an objective historical phenomenon that has manifested itself in regional uprisings and revolutions and has brought about changes in certain political equations in the Muslim world. Nevertheless, in his view, these developments do not mark the end of the process of awakening; rather, they constitute one stage in an ongoing and dynamic process that requires guidance and continuity. In this regard, he refers to the opening verses of Sūrat al-Aḥzāb: O Prophet! Be mindful of God, and do not obey the disbelievers and the hypocrites. Indeed, God is All-Knowing, All-Wise. Follow what is revealed to you from your Lord; surely God is fully aware of what you do. And put your trust in God, for God is sufficient as a Trustee.

Drawing on these verses, he identifies God-consciousness (*taqwā*), non-compliance with the disbelievers and hypocrites, adherence to divine revelation, and reliance upon God as fundamental requirements of the Islamic movement. Although the verses are addressed to the Prophet Muhammad, he considers their implications applicable to the Muslim community as well (Statements, 26 Shahrivar 1390 [17 September 2011]). From the perspective of discourse analysis, this reference is significant because it establishes an axiological boundary between "following divine revelation" and "obeying the disbelievers and hypocrites," thereby creating the conditions for the formation of a collective identity. Accordingly, within this framework, Islamic Awakening is grounded in an awareness closely linked to distinguishing the divine path from the path of domination. In interpreting these verses, some Qur'anic exegetes regard acceptance of the compromising proposals advanced by the current of *Istikbār* as one of the most dangerous forms of deviation for political leaders (Makarem Shirazi, 1374 [1995], vol. 3, p. 585).

Another fundamental component of this formulation is the historical continuity of the confrontation between the divine call and *Istikbār* and *Ṭāghūt*. Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei situates

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contemporary *Istikbār* within the historical continuum of currents that opposed the prophets. He maintains that opposition to Islam and the Qur'an in the contemporary era follows the same historical logic of domination and resistance to the divine call. On this basis, the Islamic Revolution of Iran is presented in his discourse not merely as a political event, but as an agent in the revival of Islam's social and political potential in the contemporary era. He regards the expansion of the discourse of Islam and the Qur'an across Southwest Asia as one of the achievements of the Islamic Revolution, emphasizing that the raising of the banner of Islam and the Qur'an in the Islamic Republic has caused the dominant powers to become apprehensive and unsettled (Statements, 8 Khordad 1390 [29 May 2011]).

From the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, a set of concepts—including Islam, the Qur'an, the Islamic Revolution, and Islamic Awakening—is articulated within a chain of signification and positioned in opposition to competing signifiers such as *Istikbār*, *Ṭāghūt*, and domination. The Islamic Revolution thus functions in this discourse as an intermediary between Qur'anic foundations and contemporary political developments, situating Islamic Awakening within a historical and semantic process.

Within this framework, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei identifies the United States as a prominent embodiment of hegemonic power and as the "Great Satan," analyzing the weakening of its position in the region in connection with the continuity of the Islamic Revolution and the developments arising from it. Referring to the transformation of the political status of certain regional regimes following the Islamic Revolution, he emphasizes the decline of the United States' position and influence in West Asia (Speech, 29 May 2011). Accordingly, in his discourse, the confrontation between the Islamic Revolution and hegemonic power is understood as part of the same historical dichotomy between truth and falsehood, which, in its contemporary form, has taken shape as the antagonism between resistance and domination.

Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei also interprets the process of Islamic Awakening in terms of the divine laws governing history. Drawing on Qur'an 29:55, he emphasizes the importance of attending to these divine laws and regards their realization as contingent upon

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the steadfastness and perseverance of believers. He extends this steadfastness to the intellectual, practical, political, social, individual, and collective spheres, stressing the responsibility of individuals to stand firm and make sacrifices in order to bring about the fulfillment of divine promises (Speech, 1 January 1992).

Within this formulation, "resistance" is not merely a political response to domination; rather, it becomes a religious obligation and a form of action grounded in divine laws (Zahedi Tir and Naji, 2019, pp. 226–227). From the perspective of discourse analysis, the concepts of divine laws, resistance, steadfastness, divine assistance, and awakening are articulated within a unified system of meaning. In this configuration, Islamic Awakening attains political and social consequences only when it moves beyond the level of awareness and develops into action and resistance.

Furthermore, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei does not explain the failure of hegemonic powers solely in terms of material power. In addressing why the opponents of the Islamic Republic have been unable to halt its consolidation of power or suppress Islamic Awakening, he emphasizes the limitations of material factors in the face of divine will and invokes the expression "فَكِدْ كَيْدَكَ، وَاسْعَ سَعْيَكَ"[17](Speech, 17 September 1997). Accordingly, power in this discourse is not confined to military and economic capabilities; faith, will, resistance, and the capacity for collective action are also regarded as components of power—namely, spiritual power (Lakzaei, 2026, p. 157).

Ultimately, the future of Islamic Awakening in Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's thought is linked to the concept of divine promise. He regards the resistance of Palestinian youth and the breaching of Israel's borders on "Yawm al-Nakbah" as instances of the fulfillment of divine promise, citing the Qur'anic phrase " وَلِتَعْلَمَ أَنَّ وَعْدَ اللَّهِ حَقٌّ" ("and so that you may know that God's promise is true"). He also invokes the verse "لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ" ("that He may make it prevail over all religion") to explain the eventual ascendancy of religion and the divine mission within the framework of God's promise. Nevertheless,

[17]Majlesi, 1403 AH, vol. 45, p. 135.

he maintains that the realization and continuation of this promise depend upon preserving steadfastness and avoiding weakness or complacency (Speech, 29 May 2011).

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In sum, the Qur'anic roots of Islamic Awakening in Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's intellectual framework cannot be reduced to a collection of scattered references to individual verses. In this discourse, the Qur'an provides a framework for understanding monotheism, Divine Sovereignty, truth and falsehood, *Istikbār* and *Istidʿāf*, resistance, and the historical future of the Muslim community. Within the theoretical framework of Laclau and Mouffe, these elements are articulated into a unified system of meaning: "Divine Sovereignty" constitutes its normative foundation; "truth and falsehood" provide its logic of differentiation; "Istidʿāf and Istikbār" function as mechanisms for the construction of otherness; and "resistance" constitutes its mode of action. On this basis, Islamic Awakening may be understood as the historical and political manifestation of the disruption of an order founded on domination and the attempt to establish an alternative order grounded in Divine Sovereignty, resistance, and justice.

### 3. The Qur'anic Nature of Islamic Awakening

Within Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's intellectual framework, Islamic Awakening has two dimensions: a positive and a negative one. In its positive dimension, awakening entails the rediscovery of Muslims' dignity, identity, capacities, and historical heritage, as well as their conscious return to the identity-forming and epistemological foundations of Islam. In its negative dimension, it entails the rejection of domination, despotism, and colonialism, and resistance to the power structures imposed upon Muslim societies. Thus, within this framework, Islamic Awakening does not simply mean an increase in awareness; rather, it is a process that connects awareness to the reconstruction of identity and, subsequently, to social and political action.

Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei defines Islamic Awakening as "a state of arousal and awareness within the Muslim Ummah" which, in the contemporary era, has led to uprisings and revolutions in the Southwest Asian region and has challenged the barriers erected by despotism and *Istikbār*. In this understanding, awakening has

transcended the mental and perceptual level to become a historical and social reality. Accordingly, the nature of Islamic Awakening must be understood through the interrelationship among awareness, identity formation, the rejection of domination, and collective action.

The origins of this conception of Islamic Awakening in Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's thought date back to many years before the victory of the Islamic Revolution. His struggle against the Pahlavi regime (1925–1979), together with his translated and authored works, indicates that the problems of neglect, passivity, and the backwardness of Muslim societies, as well as the need to reconstruct religious awareness, had long been among his principal concerns (see Behboudi, 2025). His translation and authorship of works such as *Fī Ẓilāl al-Qurʾān* by Sayyid Qutb [18](begun in 1969), *Muslims in the Indian Freedom Movement* [19](1968), *An Outline of Islamic Thought in the Qur'an* (1975), and *A Discourse on Patience* [20]can be analyzed within this framework.

In *A Discourse on Patience*, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei rejects a passive understanding of patience. He demonstrates that, in a society suffering from oppression and afflicted by forces of corruption and decline, interpreting patience as inactivity and acceptance of the status quo can turn it into an instrument serving the perpetuation of domination. By contrast, drawing on Qur'anic verses and hadith reports, he defines patience as a form of active resistance to obstacles

[18] Ayatollah Khamenei began translating this work in 1969, at the age of thirty. It is worth noting that he completed part of the translation while imprisoned in the jails of the Pahlavi regime.

[19] During the translation, the translator added material to the original work; consequently, the book was published as a combination of translation and authorship. See: Sayyid Ali Khamenei, *Muslims in the Indian Freedom Movement* (Tehran: Asia Publications, 1968).

[20] See: Sayyid Ali Khamenei, *A Discourse on Patience* (Tehran: 22 Bahman Institute for Cultural Services, n.d.).

and as conscious, deliberate movement toward a goal (Khamenei, n.d., pp. 5–9). From this perspective, a fundamental element of the Qur'anic nature of awakening is the rejection of lethargy and passivity and the transformation of religious awareness into social will and resistance.

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The same approach appears in a more systematically developed form in *An Outline of Islamic Thought in the Qur'an*, which was written in November 1974. In this work, *tawḥīd* (monotheism) is presented not merely as an individual article of faith, but as a principle with social and political implications. According to Khamenei's analysis, the prophets' call to monotheism is inherently linked to the struggle against forms of human domination, class divisions, exploitation, and oppression. The Qur'an, moreover, presents "worship of God and avoidance of Ṭāghūt" as among the earliest proclamations of prophethood, as expressed through the words of the prophets (Khamenei, 1975, p. 75). Thus, within this intellectual framework, *tawḥīd* becomes the foundation for rejecting domination and liberating human beings from non-divine forms of rule.

In another of his works, namely the introduction to *Muslims in the Indian Freedom Movement*, the motivation for translating and preparing the book is linked to the question of enhancing Muslims' intellectual awareness. In this work, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei states that his aim is to help dispel the accusation of compromise directed against Indian Muslims and to strengthen the "intellectual awareness of the Muslims of Iran" (Khamenei, 1968, p. 9). This approach indicates that the concerns of raising awareness and awakening Muslims were already present in his writings before the emergence, in subsequent decades, of the formal discourse of "Islamic Awakening."

It may therefore be argued that the nature of Islamic Awakening in Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's thought rests on foundations that extend beyond the experience of contemporary politics. He describes Islamic Awakening as a phenomenon with "firm foundations" and "deep roots," emphasizing that aspirations such as justice, freedom, democracy, and respect for human identity in Muslim societies have intellectual and ideological foundations within Islam. In his view, the realization of these objectives is impossible without an underlying intellectual foundation; for the peoples of the region, that

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foundation is Islam and Islamic Awakening. Accordingly, the nature of the regional movements must be understood within this framework (Speech, 3 June 2012).

From the perspective of discourse analysis, the positive and negative dimensions of Islamic Awakening can also be understood as complementary to one another. The negative dimension begins with the rejection of domination and the repudiation of the despotic and colonial order; the positive dimension, however, leads to the reconstruction of Islamic identity and the establishment of values such as justice, freedom, and dignity. Thus, rejecting the existing order without offering an alternative horizon reduces awakening to a mere protest reaction. Within Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's intellectual framework, by contrast, awakening attains its full meaning when the rejection of domination is accompanied by the revival of Islamic identity and the formation of collective action.

Consequently, the Qur'anic nature of Islamic Awakening within Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's intellectual framework can be reconstructed through the interconnection of three fundamental components: awareness and liberation from heedlessness; the reconstruction of Islamic identity; and the rejection of domination and *Istikbār*. Through the process of discursive articulation, these three components become interconnected, transforming Islamic Awakening from a mental state into an identity-forming and action-oriented project. Within this framework, *tawḥīd* and worship of God constitute the epistemological foundation of awakening; Islamic identity provides its identity-related foundation; and the rejection of Ṭāghūt and resistance constitute its practical foundation. Islamic Awakening in this discourse can therefore be understood as a process that begins with Qur'anic awareness, is consolidated through the reconstruction of Islamic identity, and is realized through resistance and socio-political action against domination.

## 4. The Historical Roots and Qur'anic Directives of Islamic Awakening

Within Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's intellectual framework, Islamic Awakening is not a transient historical phenomenon confined

to the contemporary era; rather, it is rooted in the historical tradition of the divine prophets' mission. From this perspective, the prophets have consistently encountered social obstacles and resistance in their efforts to raise awareness, liberate human beings from domination, and guide societies toward monotheism and truth. Nevertheless, their occasional setbacks are not regarded as the ultimate defeat of the current of truth. In *An Outline of Islamic Thought in the Qur'an*, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei emphasizes the historical continuity of the prophets' movement and maintains that, despite its occasional victories, the current of falsehood has failed to establish the overall course of history in accordance with its own objectives. In the final analysis, the prophets' mission has succeeded in guiding humanity toward its divinely ordained end (Khamenei, 1975, p. 83).

According to this understanding, the temporary decline in the manifestations of guidance throughout history does not signify its complete extinction. Rather, the process of divine guidance continues until its ultimate purpose is fulfilled. Within this framework, faith and patience are two essential components for sustaining the movement of truth and overcoming historical obstacles. Thus, successive victories are explained in terms of the presence of these two qualities, while temporary defeats are attributed to their absence (Khamenei, 1975, p. 83). Accordingly, *ṣabr* (patience) in this conceptual framework should not be understood as passivity or passive endurance, but rather as the capacity to sustain purposeful action in the face of obstacles.

From the same perspective, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei regards the Qur'anic teachings concerning the history of the prophets as relevant to the contemporary challenges facing the Muslim world. In his view, sustained engagement with the Qur'an, accompanied by reflection and belief in the divine promises, can enhance the awareness and awakening of Muslim nations. He therefore considers the promotion of such an approach to the Qur'an a responsibility in the service of awakening nations (Speech, 24 June 2012). Accordingly, the Qur'an is not merely an epistemological source of awakening; at the discursive level, it also provides the semantic framework required to interpret existing conditions, identify domination, and delineate the direction of social action.

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Alongside these Qur'anic historical roots, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei also attributes a historical background to contemporary Islamic Awakening. In his view, major social transformations do not arise from isolated or sudden events; rather, they rest upon historical and civilizational foundations and the cumulative accumulation of knowledge and experience. Accordingly, the presence of intellectual and activist figures in Egypt, Iraq, Iran, India, and other parts of Asia and Africa over approximately the past 150 years is regarded as having laid the groundwork for contemporary developments in the Muslim world (Speech, 17 September 2011). In this historical narrative, the reformist and Islamic movements of the thirteenth century AH—from the Tobacco Protest and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution to Islamic movements in India, North Africa, and West Asia—are understood as successive links in a broader historical process. This process reached a stage of awakening and consciousness-raising in the fourteenth century AH and entered a phase of experience and practical action in the fifteenth century AH (Speech, 2 February 1992).

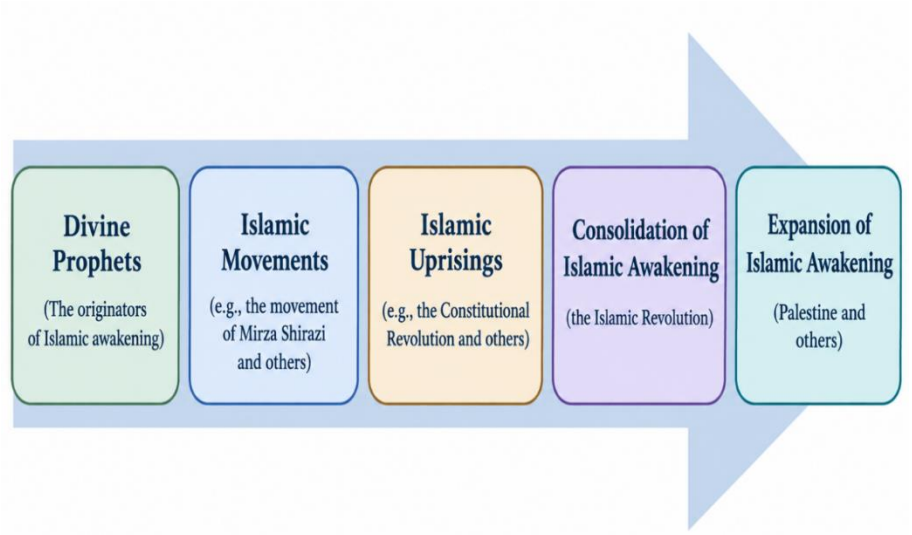
Within this formulation, the Islamic Revolution of Iran occupies a central position in the emergence and expansion of Islamic Awakening. Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei regards the Islamic Revolution as the "main center" of this movement and interprets its continuity in connection with the expansion of the wave of awakening throughout the Muslim world (Speech, 14 December 1998). On this basis, the resistance and steadfastness of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the face of foreign domination are understood, in his view, to have transnational implications and to be capable of contributing to the revival of Islamic resistance movements, including the Palestinian cause. In particular, he identifies the continuation of Iran's resistance as an influential factor in the revitalization of the Palestinian movement and the emergence of a new generation of awakened Palestinians (Speech, 18 January 1997).

From the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, this historical narrative can be understood as a form of historical articulation of the signifier "Islamic Awakening," through which the experience of the prophets, the Islamic reformist tradition, contemporary movements, and the Islamic Revolution are linked

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together in a chain of signification. Within this articulation, the Qur'an and the tradition of the prophets serve as sources of meaning, while concepts such as faith, patience, awareness, resistance, and the rejection of domination function as the elements connecting this chain. Accordingly, Islamic Awakening in this discourse is not merely a political response to contemporary developments; rather, it is a historical and Qur'anic process that begins with awareness and liberation from heedlessness, continues through resistance to domination, and finds realization in collective and social action.

On this basis, the "historical roots" of Islamic Awakening lie in the historical continuity of the monotheistic tradition and the struggle against domination, while its "guiding directives" are formulated through the interconnection of the Qur'an, faith, patience, awareness, and resistance. Within Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's discourse, this framework presents the Islamic Revolution as one of the most significant contemporary centers of this historical process.




The Process of Formation, Consolidation, and Expansion of Islamic Awakening in the Last Two Centuries

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## 5. The Qur'anic Mission of the Islamic Revolution in the Trajectory of Islamic Awakening and the Realization of Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah

Within the intellectual framework of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei, Islamic Awakening is a profound and multilayered phenomenon whose dimensions extend beyond political transformations and episodic revolutions. In his view, the changes of government and victories of popular movements in some Muslim countries constitute only one part of the broader process of Islamic Awakening and should not be equated with the process as a whole. This is because, in terms of both scope and depth, Islamic Awakening is an ongoing and comprehensive process (Speeches, 2/6/1391 [23 August 2012]; 21/9/1391 [11 December 2012]).

Within this framework, the victories of Muslim nations over despotic and dependent regimes carry a significance that, from a Qur'anic perspective, transcends that of a political transformation. Drawing on verses 20 and 21 of Sūrat al-Fatḥ, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei regards these victories as instances of the fulfillment of the divine promise and as "signs" for the believers. He emphasizes that, provided their movement continues to follow Qur'anic logic, nations have the potential to attain desirable outcomes (Speech, 10/11/1391 [29 January 2013]). Accordingly, in this formulation, Islamic Awakening is not merely the product of social and political circumstances; rather, it is a process grounded in divine and Qur'anic foundations.

This understanding can also be examined in continuity with the thought of Imam Khomeini. In his thought, the Islamic Revolution is regarded as a turning point in the awakening of Muslims and the Mustadʿafīn, as well as a model of resistance against the Mustakbirīn. From this perspective, beyond bringing about a political transformation in Iran, the Islamic Revolution carries a transnational mission: to advance the movement of the Mustadʿafīn and to present a model of resistance founded on faith and Islamic unity. On this basis, Imam Khomeini identified Iran as the point of departure and a model for the movement of the oppressed nations, and situated the fulfillment of the Qur'anic promise concerning the inheritance of the

earth and the leadership of the Mustadʿafīn within the horizon of this movement (Khomeini, vol. 7, p. 292).



This theme also persists in the thought of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei, in which the Islamic Revolution is interpreted as one of the principal centers of Islamic Awakening and the revival of Islamic identity. He considers the Islamic Revolution to have influenced the awakening of Muslims in various countries and even the revival of spirituality at the global level (Speech, 14/3/1374 [4 June 1995]). Within this framework, the Revolution has had two interconnected consequences. The first was the establishment of an Islamic system and the transformation of Islamic principles into the foundations of political organization. The second was the revival of Islamic identity among Muslims throughout the world. This latter consequence has enabled Muslims in different regions to move beyond a condition of passivity and subordination and to recognize themselves as possessing an identity, a sense of collective agency, and social and political power (Speech, 20/11/1374 [9 February 1996]).

From the perspective of discourse analysis, these two consequences can be interpreted in terms of a process of discursive articulation through which the signifier "Islamic Revolution" becomes linked to signifiers such as Islamic identity, resistance, independence, religious sovereignty, and Islamic Awakening. Consequently, within this discourse, the Islamic Revolution is not merely a historical event confined to the geographical boundaries of Iran. Rather, it functions as a nodal point for redefining the position of Muslims and articulating their collective action in opposition to domination and despotism.

Nevertheless, the ultimate goal of this process within Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's intellectual framework is not merely the attainment of political independence or a change in the structure of power; it is the realization of *Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah*. He understands *Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah* as a state of life characterized by the simultaneous attainment of goodness and felicity in this world and the Hereafter (Speech, 29/1/1370 [18 April 1991]), and interprets its realization as a continuation of the mission of the prophets, the awliyāʾ, and those who strive in the way of God. Accordingly, the historical endeavors of prophets and reformers to establish *Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah* continue in the present age through the social and historical responsibilities of Muslims.

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Thus, within this intellectual framework, the Islamic Revolution is regarded not merely as an instrument for confronting domination, but also as a means of realizing a model of human life founded on faith, justice, freedom, and dignity. By referring to the struggles of the prophets against Ṭāghūt and currents of falsehood, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei defines the mission of the Islamic Revolution as extending beyond the protection of national interests. He presents it as a struggle to realize an Islamic model of *Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah* on a human scale—a struggle that, while confronting the great powers, is directed toward transforming the unjust order prevailing in the world (Speech, 12/11/1368 [1 February 1990]).

On this basis, the Qur'anic mission of the Islamic Revolution in the trajectory of Islamic Awakening can be formulated at three interconnected levels: the revival of Islamic awareness and identity; resistance to domination and Istikbār; and movement toward the realization of *Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah*. Within this framework, Islamic Awakening serves as the link between awareness and action, while the Islamic Revolution constitutes one of the most significant historical and discursive centers of this process. *Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah*, in turn, represents the normative and civilizational telos of this movement.

## 6. The Qur'anic Strategy of Islamic Awakening

Within the intellectual framework of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei, the Islamic Revolution serves a function that extends beyond political change in Iran and carries a civilizational mission. From this perspective, the ultimate goal of this movement lies in the gradual realization of an Islamic society and an Islamic Ummah, culminating in the emergence of Islamic civilization. Islamic Awakening, in this process, is not a phenomenon separate from the Islamic Revolution; rather, it constitutes one of the mechanisms through which the Revolution's message is disseminated throughout the Muslim world.
Accordingly, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei regards the realization of Islamic objectives as a gradual and protracted process that requires steadfastness. He formulates its successive stages in terms of the "Islamic Revolution," the "Islamic System," the "Islamic Government," the "Islamic Society," and the "Islamic Ummah." Along

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this path, steadfastness—understood as maintaining the direction of the movement while continuously correcting its errors—is identified as an essential condition for its continuation (Speech, 21/9/1380 [12 December 2001]). In a further elaboration, he describes these stages as a logical and continuous chain, in which each link provides the necessary conditions for the realization of the next (Speech, 24/7/1390 [16 October 2011]).

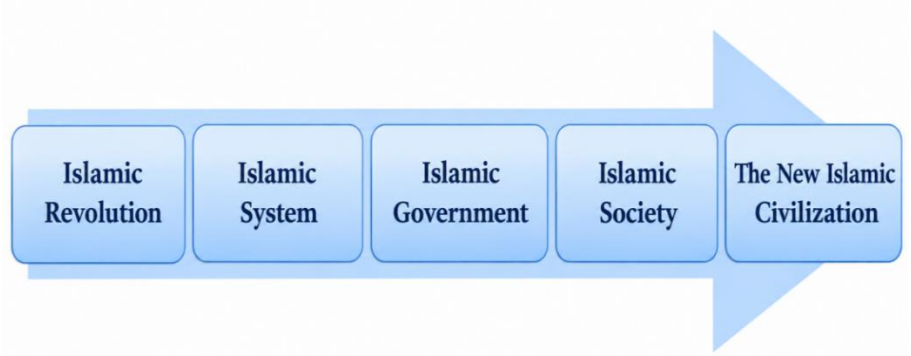



**Figure (3): The Five Stages of Achieving the Civilizational Goals of the Islamic Revolution in the Context of the Global Islamic Awakening**

From an analytical perspective, these stages can be understood as a process through which the Islamic Revolution advances from the level of a political event to that of institution-building, society-building, and ultimately the formation of an Ummah and the construction of a civilization. Within this framework, Islamic Awakening serves as the link connecting the domestic and transnational dimensions of this process. In other words, the consolidation of the Islamic model in Iran provides a basis for the reproduction and dissemination of the signifiers of Islamic identity, independence, resistance, and the rejection of domination in other Muslim societies.

Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei regards the scope of the Islamic Revolution as extending beyond Iran's national borders, in keeping with the universal nature of Islam's message, and characterizes it as a movement on a "global scale" (Speech, 11/8/1373 [2 November 1994]). From this perspective, the establishment of the

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Islamic Republic is not merely a domestic objective; rather, it can serve as a preliminary step toward strengthening the foundations of Islamic civilization in Iran and other Muslim societies (Speech, 6/2/1376 [26 May 1997]). Accordingly, the relationship between the Islamic Revolution and Islamic Awakening can be analyzed as part of a civilizational process in which the Revolution constitutes the point of departure, while Islamic Awakening functions as the mechanism through which this process is expanded and deepened.

Within this framework, the developments associated with Islamic Awakening in recent decades constitute, in Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's view, part of a broader transformation in the regional and global order. He identifies Islamic Awakening as one of the significant indicators of change in the structure and "geometry" of the world, emphasizing the role of Muslim nations in determining the region's future (Speeches, 29/5/1391 [19 August 2012]; 22/5/1391 [12 August 2012]). Four components stand out in his analysis of this transformation. First, a growing sense of identity and awakening has emerged in a considerable number of Muslim countries. Second, efforts by the West, led by the United States, to consolidate its domination over the region have failed, as illustrated by developments in Iraq and Afghanistan. Third, fundamental crises have emerged within European societies, which, in his assessment, are rooted in the intellectual foundations and worldview of Western civilization. Fourth, the United States has experienced a decline in its international standing and public influence (Speech, 22/5/1391 [12 August 2012]). Taken together, these four components present a picture of a global-scale discursive struggle in which "Islamic Awakening" is articulated in opposition to "Western domination" and the prevailing political-civilizational order. From the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical framework, the signifier *Islamic Awakening* acquires a particular sociopolitical meaning through its articulation with concepts such as identity, independence, resistance, and justice, while being stabilized in opposition to signifiers such as Istikbār, domination, and dependency. Islamic Awakening, therefore, does not merely describe a social condition; it also possesses the capacity to shape identity and mobilize collective action.

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Ultimately, the horizon of this strategy in Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's thought is not limited to transforming the region's political order; rather, it is directed toward attaining a civilization founded upon revelation and spirituality. He regards the ultimate goal of the Islamic Revolution and the movement of Muslim nations as the establishment of a civilization grounded in God, revelation, and divine guidance, and considers the realization of such a civilization conducive to human felicity (Speech, 31/4/1391 [21 July 2012]). On this basis, the Qur'anic strategy of Islamic Awakening can be conceptualized as the following chain of signification:

**Islamic Revolution → Islamic System → Islamic Government → Islamic Society → New Islamic Civilization**

In this chain, Islamic Awakening, inspired by the Islamic Revolution, functions as the mechanism for raising awareness, shaping identity, and expanding the collective agency of Muslim nations, ultimately laying the groundwork for the realization of the process's civilizational objective (Khorramshad, 1392 [2013], p. 127).

## Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that Islamic Awakening in the intellectual framework of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei rests upon a set of fundamental concepts drawn from the Holy Qur'an, including truth and falsehood, Ṭāghūt, Istikbār and Istidʿāf, resistance, divine promises, and the establishment of the righteous and the oppressed in positions of authority. Taken together, these concepts constitute more than a collection of religious teachings; they provide a semantic framework for interpreting the condition of Muslims, identifying relations of domination, and determining the direction of their collective action. Within this framework, the struggle of the divinely sent prophets against Ṭāghūt and Istikbār is regarded as a transhistorical model for rejecting the sovereignty of Ṭāghūt and establishing Divine Sovereignty. The Muslim Ummah, in turn, is understood as the recipient and bearer of the continued relevance of this Qur'anic message under contemporary conditions.

Accordingly, Islamic Awakening is a process that begins with awareness and the rediscovery of Islamic identity and, through faith, God-consciousness (*taqwā*), belief in divine promises, and resistance,

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culminates in the social and historical agency of the Muslim Ummah. This process is not exclusively negative in orientation. Rather, it also has a positive dimension and a civilizational telos, directed toward the realization of *Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah* and movement toward a society and civilization founded upon divine revelation.

From a historical perspective, the new wave of Islamic Awakening, in Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei's view, represents a continuation of Islamic movements and uprisings over the past two centuries, which entered a new phase with the victory of the Islamic Revolution. In this process, the Islamic Revolution has, on the one hand, provided a tangible experience of rejecting the sovereignty of Ṭāghūt and resisting domination and, on the other, assumed a pivotal role in reconstructing Islamic identity and strengthening the discourse of resistance throughout the Muslim world. Accordingly, the realization of the civilizational strategy of Islamic Awakening depends upon the continuation of this process at the level of the Muslim Ummah.

At the analytical level, the findings of this study can be explained through the concepts of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. Within this configuration, "Divine Sovereignty" functions as the central signifier, around which concepts such as *tawḥīd* (monotheism), Islamic identity, justice, resistance, and the rejection of domination are articulated. By contrast, "the Sovereignty of Ṭāghūt," associated with signifiers such as Istikbār, domination, and Istidʿāf, occupies the position of a rival discourse. Thus, the Qur'anic antagonisms between truth and falsehood and between Istidʿāf and Istikbār are transformed, at the discursive level, into mechanisms for the construction of otherness, identity formation, and the orientation of collective action.

Ultimately, the Qur'anic doctrine of Islamic Awakening within this intellectual framework can be understood as a Qur'anic-discursive process that begins with the rejection of domination and the revival of Islamic identity, continues through resistance and collective action, and is oriented toward the realization of *Ḥayāt Ṭayyibah* and a civilization founded upon divine revelation.

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