

# Imam Khomeini's Leadership, a Rejection of the Theory of Charismatic Leadership

Bahram Akhavan Kazemi\*<sup>1</sup>, Zahra Rezazadeh Asgari<sup>2</sup>

1. Professor of Political Science, Shiraz University, Shiraz, IRAN.

2. Assistant professor, Department of Quran & Hadith Sciences, Tehran University, Tehran, IRAN.

(Received: 1 December 2019 Accepted: 14 December 2019)

## Abstract

Many local and foreign theorists and authorities have tried to present a theoretical elaboration of the nature of Imam Khomeini's leadership and its profound impact. Therefore, the basic question of this research foresees this fact 'What kind of interactions has existed between Imam Khomeini's personality and leadership method and the observation of human dignity?' Was this method of leadership and its immense influence on the basis of the rejected model of charismatic leadership and can it be interpreted on this basis? The findings of this research, based on the analytical-documental method indicate the complete interaction of Imam Khomeini's character and leadership method, with the theme of human dignity and specifies that the Imam-as the highest symbol of human dignity and particularly a perfect human being and in the position of an educated, pure and dynamic religious authority in the lap of the high Islamic and Shiite teachings during his life and periods of leadership-had a special and inexpressible attention to the subject of human dignities and basically one of the reasons for the immense influence of his leadership are attributed precisely to this fact. Attempts have also been made concerning the incompatible aspects of the charismatic leadership with human dignities and demonstrating the lack of conjunction of this model with the Imam's leadership style, as another document to be presented in support of quest for dignity and dignity-centered attitudes of his character and leadership. Indeed, the Imam was the symbol of dignity and the perfect divine human being and for this reason, he left his profound impact on the peoples' opinion and the majority of Muslims, the impact that has not become routine and afflicted with any defect.

**Keywords:** Imam Khomeini, Leadership, Islamic Revolution, Theory of Charismatic Leadership, Legitimacy, Dignity.

---

\*. Corresponding author: kazemi@shirazu.ac.ir

### **Introduction**

The profound impacts of Imam Khomeini's leadership are such that many local and foreign theorists and authorities have been pursuing to make a theoretical elaboration of this leadership and the cause of its deep impact. One of the most prevailing theoretical frameworks which have been selected by these thinkers for such an elaboration is the Max Weber's theory of charismatic leadership (Weber, 1971). Unfortunately, most of the local and foreign thinkers and in particular the authorities in agreement with the Islamic Revolution, have used this theoretical framework to describe the type and nature of the leadership of Imam and the method of its impact on people or reconstructing this theory, they have tried to provide it for such an application and agreement.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, in the theory of charismatic leadership-in particular in the aftermath interpretations-charismatic leadership and dominancy, has been considered as an irrational dominancy, in conflict with human dignity, a massive-oriented attitude, emotional, anti-democratic and in particular specific of totalitarian and fascist systems,<sup>2</sup> a type of leadership that instead of relying upon law, rationality and democracy, relies upon single lordship, dictatorship and the leader's exceptional and personal values. The function of the charismatic leader is to encourage and motivate the irrational or emotional dimensions of the people. The charismatic authority is intensively personal and based on the extraordinary leadership of a leader and the emotional and irrational relations between him and his followers.

This authority is found in the periods of pressure, mental, physical, economic, ethical, religious and political compulsions. The social conditions full of disappointment and crises add fuels to the illusions in which passive people and closed eye and ear disciples and involuntary massive people in anticipation of a divine savor and these conditions give rise to the emergence of charismatic power.

It is clear that with the removal of these conditions and return of rationality to the individuals in the society, erasing their emotions and excitements, the charismatic power diminishes, and the conditions are paved for the dominancy of two other traditional or rational dominances.

Considering the rarity of such a possibility and emergence of these types of leaders in their own countries, the westerners assume them specific of backward societies of the developing countries and having

---

1. For example, see: (Hazeri, 2001), (Hajarian, 1998), (Hosseini, 2002), (Abedi Jafari, 1998) (Mohammadi, 2009), (Izadi, 1992).

2. See: (Donna, 1988, 2004), (Kershaw, 2004, 2001), (Lerch, 1973).

humiliated these types of countries and this model of leadership, with an imperialistic attitude, blame many of the leaders of free movements with the stigma of charismatic leadership and bring them under question (Akhvan Kazemi, 2006: 59-79).

As in the most interpretations, the theory of charismatic leadership has been enumerated as the inhuman model, inauspicious and in conflict with the human dignities, so that freeing Imam from this rejected method of leadership, in a very enlightening way, will signify the exact elaboration of the position of human dignities in his character and leadership method.

In line with these ideals, the main question of this research has been posed in the following manner:

What kind of interaction has there been between Imam Khomeini's character and method of leadership and observing the human's dignities? Was this method of leadership and its immense influence based on the rejected model of charismatic leadership and can it be interpreted accordingly or not?

Proportional with this main question, the hypothesis or the claim of this research can be posed in the following manner: "Has there been a full agreement and interaction between Imam Khomeini's character and leadership method and human dignities and its observation? And Imam as the example of a perfect human-rather than a charismatic leader- has been intensively observing these dignities and for this very reason, his leadership has acquired the greatest rate of public impact". This research has re-developed its future discussion to respond to these questions and its own assumed test.

### **1. Academic and Practical Faults with the Theory of Charismatic Leadership**

Max Weber (1864-1920) is considered as the most basic theorists of the theory of charismatic<sup>3</sup> leadership. In the book entitled "Economy and Society" in the topic of explaining the types of authority, legitimacy, quiddity and quality of humans obedience, he has dealt with presenting this theory and has posed this abstract and mental model.

---

3. In the mentioned theory, the charismatic legitimacy is based on the unusual submission of people before a heroic character and virtue or exceptional values of a person and his/her commandments. Charisma is in fact the extraordinary and Meta human features of the personality with charisma which makes his/her commandments to be accepted by people like a messenger of God or a standard-bearer. In the view of Weber, the charismatic power apparently stands against the rational or traditional dominancy (Weber, 1971: 320-289).

### Imam Khomeini's Leadership, a Rejection of the Theory of Charismatic Leadership

This theory is suffering from the lack of theoretic integrity and a comprehensive, correlative and organized model (Aron, 1997: 122-123), and even some of the western thinkers have stated various faults with it (Giddens, 2002: 68-69). Charismatic dominancy is an ideal and abstract example incompatible with the external examples and even the Weber's methodological attitude deters it to be adapted with the external examples (Aron, 1997: 108-109).

At the same time, Max Weber had posed this theory with a view to the political arena of his own country and to solve the problem of leadership of Germany. On the other hands, most of those who are experts on Weber, have talked about the distortion and incompleteness of the Islamic studies by Weber and even have criticized his agreement of the model of charismatic leadership upon the Prophet of Islam (P. B. U. H.) (Turner, 2001: 5-12).

The critiques of the Weber's theory have lowered this theory to the level of illusionary and fable and lack of extension of the charisma from the viewpoint of attributes, examples and unreasonable attribution of charismatic leadership to the men, as some of its explicit academic weaknesses (Sheikhavandi, 1995: 21-23).

Beside these deficiencies, there has been disruption and distortion of the Weber's views too. It is to the extent that this theory has been deviated from its own bases and originality by the next interpreters-such as Talcott Parsons and has been stated with different and contradictory interpretations (Chilcote, 2009: 170).

At the same time, these new interpretations in the Weber's works and notes do not have an external and objective existence and these posterior interpretations of his works and theories have caused further disruption in Weber's views including his theory of charisma, which used to suffer the lack of integrity and a comprehensive expression earlier (Bashiriyeh, 1993: 59-60), while political sociologists at the complex and altering age of the modern states do not consider a noticeable role for charisma and believe in the absurdness and inefficient of the charismatic leadership in the present age (Naghizadeh, 2000: 160-161).

All these critiques on the mentioned theory indicate the incompetency of this ambiguous and in non-generalizing theory as an indicator and standard to evaluate the leadership models including the Imam Khomeini's leadership model.

## 2. Imam Khomeini, a Symbol of Dignity and Fulfillment of Perfect Human

One of the noticeable realities about the personality of Imam Khomeini and his leadership method is that the broad impact of this personality and model of mentioned leadership in the Islamic Revolution is not because of superstitions such as charismatic characteristics-which without comprehensiveness and restrictions- is in agreement with many of the murderers of the history such as Hitler and Mussolini etc., but it is resulting from this fact that with the confession of many authorities, he is an example of full human and self-made, purified personality and dignified figure which has had possibility of the growth of that personality only in the lap of the Shiite Islam culture.

In the words of Ayatollah Khamenei, "Imam made everybody understand that to become a perfect man, to live in the method of Ali (A. S.) And proximity to the borders of innocence is not a fable" (Statements, 1991).

Shahid Motahari is among those who have remembered Imam Khomeini with attributes such as the hero of heroes, spirit of nation and embodiment of high ideals of society (Vojdani, 1989: 38) and in this way, he has admired this complete human (Motahari, 2000: 71-72).

Imam was a complete human<sup>4</sup> who had arrayed his divine spirit with the truth of virtue. However, he was enjoying the best talent and proper ground to achieve all types of worldly symbols, but he never pursued the world and rather was avoiding it. Exactly for the same reason and based on God's providence, the world in all of its diverse manifestations directed towards him and he could achieve the climax of favorability, reputation, power and facilities of the world and in this stage, he also passed a successful exam.

Whatever he had acquired in line with virtue, purity and serving to God and His servants, he spent them only and only in the cause of God and any sign of slight or large dependence on the worldly affairs was not observed in him, because he had submitted the house to the landlord and had submitted the heart wholly to the beloved one. He did not assume a self for himself and a heart for himself to desire anything but God, or to love anybody but God. Rahimian, 1994: 58, as a quatrain of Imam, considers the poverty in the divine court and releasing from the self as a source of boast:

---

4. For further information about the views and intellectual system of Imam about "Perfect Human," see: Khomeini, 2002.

### Imam Khomeini's Leadership, a Rejection of the Theory of Charismatic Leadership

«فخر است برای من فقیر تو شدن / از خویش گسستن و اسیر تو شدن»

“It is a source of pride for me to become your beggar/ to release from self and to become captive of you”.

«طوفان زده بالای قهرت بودن / یکتا هدف کمان و تیر تو شدن»

“To be storm stricken of the plight of your authority / to be the only target of your bow and arrow” (Imam Khomeini, (n. d.): 203).

Ayatollah al-Uzma Fazel Lankarani in an article entitled, "Imam as an Example of a Perfect Human," while elaborating this theme, states, “In the course of history of the Shia and world of Islam, we cannot find an alternative for Hazrat Imam Khomeini. The great Imam was really an example of a perfect human, that is to say he had all human virtues. In all stages of his life, Imam was observing whatever was worthy of a perfect human towards his students, friends and family” (Lankarani, 1991: 1, 3).

Also "Yarvand Abrahamian" was among those figures that considered one of the reasons for the influence of the leadership of Imam and sincere correlation of his followers for this reason that he was a symbol of attempt, sincerity, political cleverness and in general the Imam Ali's (A. S.) virtue (Abrahamian, 1982: 533).

### 3. Source of Legitimacy from the Perspective of Imam: Divinity rather than Charismatic

As it was stated earlier, in Weber's views and interpretations, the charismatic feature was introduced as one of the legitimacy building sources to apply authority and dominancy and this belief was posed that the presence of these personality characteristics, gives legitimacy to the exertion of power by the charismatic personalities and leaders over the society and obedience of people depends on these charismatic features and their effects and popularity of their power and legitimacy of its application is subject to the leaders' charismatic features.

However, is the source of legitimacy and authority in Imam Khomeini's theoretical and practical life justified and defined in the same way? It is clear that the response to this question is negative and this negative response is one of the strong reasons for the lack of correctness of comparing the Imam's leadership model with Weber's charismatic leadership model.

In general, there is an inherent difference between these two Shiite leadership and charismatic leadership, including the fact that legitimacy of charismatic leadership is based on personal features and motivation of people's emotions, whereas the legitimacy of Shiite leaders is based on

the decree of religious laws and intellect and its origin is the divine regulations and in the second rank the people's will and desire.

The source of legitimacy of Islamic government from the perspective of Imam Khomeini is neither personal nor charismatic but it is exclusively a divine issue and is not the right of people and the source of sovereignty is merely the glorious God and nobody but He has the right to govern. For this reason, the fully qualified jurist, prior to the election by people or their representatives has a guardian position and has been assigned earlier by the Infallible Imams (A. S.) in a general form.

Therefore, election by people in determining, proving and analyzing the position of leadership of jurist does not have a noticeable role and is not sharing with jurist in the source of its sovereignty and its application. Thus, as Guardianship of Jurist is a divine deposit, the vote and election of people does not have a role in proving it. It is not such that if people do not give vote, then he will not be an Imam and spiritual leader and considers his interfere in affairs as a usurping action. From this perspective, the people's view and vote in detection of Islamic legal guardian (spiritual leader) is a predicative rather than constitutive issue and discoverer of his ruling rather than appointing him.

In other words, it is the condition of existence rather than condition of obligation and causes the rule of jurist to be put into effect and prove its people base. Therefore, by accepting the right of divine rule of the jurist, Islamic government at the stage of implementation will have two divine and people aspects and will be put into effect and takes a step from the world of legislation and mental plot into the external objectivity. Based on this viewpoint, The impact of presence of people in the scene of action and their votes in the realm of thought not only will guarantee the application of Guardianship of Jurist but also will be a source for the success of the origin of religion, sovereignty of the Quran, rule or holy prophet (P. B. U. H.) and leadership of the innocent Imam (A. S.). There should never be a confused reasoning between the external impact of the people's presence and their impact in creating the right of ruling and causality towards the principle of Guardianship of Jurist and with the pretext of glorifying the public views, to consider the right of ruling a product of creatures and leave its divine aspect.<sup>5</sup>

---

5. Do they, then, not reflect on the Qur'an? Or are there locks on their hearts? (Mohammad, 24).

#### **4. Austerity, Denial of Egocentrism, Ambitious of a Position and Lack of Cult of Personality**

Having the cult of personality is almost considered to be an ordinary thing among many of the great leaders of the world including charismatic leaders. Egocentrism, self-praise and ambitious of a position of a main part of these leaders- in particular the recent group- so much to the extent that the social psychologist have blamed them for having inferiority complex in childhood time and attempting to compensate them in adulthood- in the trend of application of leadership over the others.

In particular, the charismatic leaders of totalitarian movements and also many of the glorious leaders have been identified by these psychologists as the imbalanced and mental patients with the disease of masochism and sadisms (Sado-Masochism). Can these findings and claims to be extended to Imam Khomeini's leadership and personality? Definitely, the response to this question is negative and in this area, another distinctive feature can be added to Imam's other distinctive features as compared with the charismatic leaders and other leaders.

In the Imam's mystical vision, one of the main obstacles for the correct understanding and covers of perception of truth is worldliness, self-praise and selfishness. Interest in the world from the mentioned perspective causes human blindness and closing down the gates of real perception (Imam Khomeini, 1999: 201, 212, 202).

Imam is one of the incomparable leaders of the world that not only in the climax of perfection of personality is in lack of cult of personality but in a down-to-earth manner refer to him in a very modest literature. As in the beginning of his own testament, he calls himself as a humble religious pupil (Software of Sahifeh Imam, 2007, vol. 21, 401). Or in his correspondence with his own son, he enumerates his life as "Gone with the Wind" and "Ninety Years of Futility" and belittling the world and considering himself as a rebellious and addressing his pure self as "Lower than Nothing" and intensively emphasizes on the necessity of denial of self-praise, megalomania, and love of position and any kind of egotism.

#### **5. Position of Religious Authority, the Source and Guarantee of Human Dignities**

During the political history of Islam, the Shiite school of thought has undertaken the leadership of many of the revolutionary and peoples-



based movements due to justice-seeking attitude and fighting against despotism<sup>6</sup>.

It is clear that many of the Shia clerics and leaders, in particular in recent hundred years, have directed and led these types of movements against the local despotism - like the Constitution Movement - and against the foreign colonization - such as Tobacco Movement. The clerics in particular the Religious Authorities have arisen from the poor and deprived classes of the society. They have felt the sufferings of the social mass people and have grown up with them. On the other hands, opposite to the clerics of Sunni who have been employed by the state and their livelihood depends on the wage which is received from the state, the Shia clerics enjoy financial independence from the political system and their livelihood supply depends on different aids which are supplied through religious funds received from the faithful people.

Naturally financial independence from the political system and supply of livelihood by the people had helped with the Shia clerics and their leaders - including Imam Khomeini- to be able to do their own political and religious activities based on the teachings of revolutionary Islam of the Shiite, far from any kind of concern and preoccupation and to be always the advocate of human dignities, shelter to people and guarantor of their interests vis-à-vis the despotic ruling systems. It is clear that the Shia religious authorities with tends of years of self-attempts and divine and academic life enjoying such a position. On this very trend, despite the charismatic leaders, the Imam Khomeini's leadership legitimacy, not only due to having merely persona attributes, but due to location in the religious and referential position which the Shia Muslim had accepted their commandments by heart and assumed obedience to him as an obligation, for this very reason, in the very beginning of the Imam's movement, attributes the ability of religious authorities to mobilize the mass people to the feature of Islam pursuance and people-oriented attitudes of the Islam jurists (Rouhani, 1983: 202).

One of the other distinctive features of the Imam Khomeini's exceptional and dignity-centered leadership as compared with many other revolutionary leaders or charismatic leaders of the world is the feature of public acceptance, pervasiveness and general attraction of his leadership to all walks of life and groups in the Islamic movement. This acceptability could even spread in a short time to some parts of Islamic Ummah and even the oppressed nations. At the same time, many of the

---

6. For proving this claim, see (Zibakalam, 1993).

so-called revolutionary and charismatic leaders, with various types of suppression methods and threatening confront with their own nations and have acquired their acceptability through various types of threat, allurements and demagogical propagations. The experience of the left totalitarian regimes in the former USSR and the rightist totalitarian regimes in the Hitler Germany and Mussolini Italy confirms this claim.

### **6. Denial of the Mass Public View towards People with a Divine and Civic View**

In many of the existing analyses about the charismatic leadership and even in the Weber's view, the disciples of the charismatic personality and in other words their followers and supporters were considered as part of the mass society rather than civic society. The mass society are in fact the public in lack of conscious and vision and passive people who are faithful to the mentioned leader blindly and listen to his commandments with even closed eye and ear and based on mere emotions to the limit of their own lives.

The patient individuals who remove their mental insecurities and their own political and social passivity by resorting to the supportive leader and by the cult of personality and savor hero. They submit their own intellect, emotion and practice to the leader, so that the leadership will lead them to false and saving utopias and in practice, they bring their own life and asset in this mirage-like a road towards annihilation. It should be studied whether or not the people who were under the leadership of Imam Khomeini as a part of mass society or vice versa, they were from the type of civic society.

The experience of the Islamic Revolution and active presence of people in more than one quarter of century after the victory of revolution and Islam-seeking efforts and performance of their religious obligations in all levels and ups and downs of the movement, indicate well the peoples' intellectual and practical growth and maturity. These informed, resistant and cultured people cannot be compared with the followers of the Hitler Germany Fascist movements and Italy of Mussolini and other followers of charismatic leaders, the people with many thousand years civilization with a dynamic and inseparable cultural continuity whose roots are hidden in the Iranian ancient civilization and Islamic flourishing culture. It goes without saying that such peoples cannot be termed as a diseased social and mass society. On the other hand, Imam Khomeini's attitude towards people in the best way confirms the previous claim.

One of the significant characteristics of Imam Khomeini's mystical behavior and viewpoint is its people-centered feature. In explanation of this matter, initially it will be necessary to deal with his optimistic and holy interpretation of human. Imam considered all creatures of the universe including human as a manifestation of God and if God is the light, human has also a manifestation which is taken from God and human is also light (Imam Khomeini, 1981: 101).

He used to see human as a heavenly creature and interpret the efforts of this creature as a struggle by someone who intends to return to his own origin and tries to remove the obstacles to attain this principle. Thus Jihad in Imam's intellectual system is an attempt which is done by heavenly human to remove the internal and external obstacles and covers which prevent him/her from elevation towards the source of light (A Collection of Articles, 1985: 168). From this perspective, the first human's step to exit from the house of self, is to rebel for the cause of God and ruling becomes an instrument to bring human to the divine rank. The purpose of the monotheistic schools of thoughts is to move people from the darkness of material to the light and from the captivity of self and Satan to Hezbollah (Party of Allah) and provide them with a divine and humane training and bring them to the highest ranks which cannot be imagined (Software of Sahifeh, 2007: vol. 9, 289; vol. 12, 59; vol. 8, 96).

In the discussions on clear sight and mysticism, many believe that the perfection of knowledge will not be attainable but through seclude and distance from people, whereas the Imam's people mysticism is opposite to this point. In Imam's mysticism, people accept all ranks of mysticism. Imam believed that the mystic's personality will be fertilized in this connection (Ansari, 1993: 156). In his view, the real mysticism is taking shape through the bed rock of communication with people. "Imam believed that service to people is mysticism. He considered understanding the peoples' spirit as mysticism and believed that if human could be at the service of people, that mystic will become more fruitful" (Ansari, 1993: 156).

One of the most important political outcomes of Imam's people mysticism, was trust and optimism on orienting all humans and their intellect, talents and understanding and paving the way of truth, as he also believed that viewing the servants of God in a humiliated way and undermining the peoples' actions are symbols of conceit and a cause for the annihilation of human (Imam Khomeini, 1997: 69). Imam considered that all creatures in particular humans are merit to receive affection and

## **Imam Khomeini's Leadership, a Rejection of the Theory of Charismatic Leadership**

grace, because they are under the affection of creator of the universe and lack of such a vision will be a source of shortage and short-sightedness (Software of Sahifeh Imam, 2007: vol. 16, 218).

These viewpoints compelled Imam not to be disappointed in line with the divine and secular interests of people in an optimistic serious way and a tireless effort to motivate the slept consciousness of people in the struggle periods and despite many of his contemporary scholars, considered their essence in fighting for the establishment of government as something reliable. For this very reason, in his viewpoint and practical life, people after the divine pillar shape the second column of the movement and its victory (Software of Sahifeh Imam, 2007: vol. 21, 448) and in order to have the association of people with the movement, their hearts need to be captured and with the resort and practice to Islam, it will be possible to attract them. (Ibid: vol. 21, 447-448).

In line with this ideal, Imam had a deep belief in the necessity of enlightenment and awakening the mass public. In his view, without dissemination of information to people - in particular on their familiarity with Islam and also the murders of the totalitarian regime of Pahlavi- it is not possible to expect struggle and uprising for keeping Islam and different interests.

### **7. Intensive Treatment with Discipleship and Building Followers**

In Weber's sociological literature and among the interpreters of his views, one of the most important features of the charismatic leaders is to increase discipleship and building followers. These leaders are placed at the top of the hierarchical pyramid of their attracted disciples and followers, which their position in proximity or distance from him differs depending on the rate of their respect to leader in this pyramid. The mentioned leaders and in particular their fascist and totalitarian type of them intensively add fuels to the discipleship of the closed eyed and ear followers and ask their absolute and unconditional submission. They employ them at the service of their ambitious and diseased desires and want these followers to be digested and melted in their ambitious, racist whims and cult of personality. According to Weber's interpretations, the reduction of this attachment will lead to the prevailing of the glory of the charismatic personality and diminish of the impact of these leaders in their followers and from this type of authority; it will be converted into another type, i. e. the legal authority. Imam Khomeini in this area has a basic and inherent difference either with the charismatic or other leaders of the world which will be referred to in below lines:

Fewer humans can be found in the course of history that in the position of orienting a big movement, avoid the notice of the society to themselves and discipleship. The most important type of avoidance from discipleship can be observed in Imam's treatment with the subject of Religious Authority after the demise of Ayatollah Boroujerdi and Ayatollah Hakim. Firstly, he did not organize any funeral service meeting for them, so that this assumption could not be shaped among people that the holder of lamentation service, he wants to display himself. After insistence of many of his disciples and their alert that lack of holding such a ritual might be interpreted as the dispute between him and that demised personality, he accepted to hold that funeral service meeting and emphasized not to mention his name. He also prevented from publishing any risalah-yi'amaliyyah or treatise on practical law and finally as the pressure of his imitators, he permitted his treatise to be published with the cost of the religious students (Rouhani, 1997: 39).

Once, one of the religious scholars of Tehran had given a message to Imam that "your indifference towards some of the clergies has caused many of Tehran clergies to refer to figures apart you after the death of Mr. Hakim on the issue of religious authority...." Imam replied, "Please convey my greetings to that person and tell that to the extent you make people far from us, we will be more relaxed, our duty becomes lighter and our responsibilities get less" (Sotoudeh, 1993: vol. 2, 325). On this basis, he hated discipleship or training followers for oneself and when in accordance to the prevailing tradition of the Seminary, upon the end of the class or for taking pilgrimage, the religious students were accompanying him; he was exclaiming "do you accompany a bride to her house? Don't you have any other job that you follow me?" and reminded his grandson who had versified a poem for him that "don't versify a poem for me anymore" (Rajaei, 2002: 123).

Escaping the disciples had made Imam move alone in his visits and interactions. He was not moving with any group and hated to have companions, polices and others around himself. Ayatollah Sanei narrates, "One day in Qom, Imam wanted to visit one of the religious scholars but he did not have the address and asked me about it. Whatever I insisted to accompany him as a guide to that residence, he refused" (Rajaei, 2002: 123).

Imam avoided the see-off of his companions, followers and religious scholars and seriously prevented from it. It was to the extent that some of the shopkeepers around his residence did not know his face well (Ibid)

## Imam Khomeini's Leadership, a Rejection of the Theory of Charismatic Leadership

72

and even to prevent from scholars standing round him in public passages, he used to respond to their questions in their houses and when he was leaving the class, he used to select a solitude route which were mainly the alleys leading to the residence and used to come to the residence. It had been seen many times that after the course, a group of scholars who liked to move along with Imam, were following him. But when Imam noticed their presence, he used to say "Tell the gentlemen to leave" (Soroush Mahalati, 1989).

Once Imam had told to the accompanying scholars, 'Do you have any commandment?' They had told, "No, we do not have any request, we only like to be with you and enjoy this job". In reply, Imam had said, "I appreciate your job. You are master. You are scholar and respectful. I do not like your personality to be lowered by moving after me" (Ferdowsipour, 1989).

Disciples of Imam have narrated that Imam was not satisfied with sending regards to the Prophet (P. B. U. H.) just for the sake of mentioning his name by people (Rajaei, 2002: 123) or he had objected to the programs of the Welcome Headquarter at the beginning of his arrival into Iran and had told, Do you assume that Cyrus is coming? So he prevented any luxurious and costly welcome programs (Rajaei, 2002: 123). In the memories of Imam's disciples, there are indications that in the exile period in Najaf, he used to do his pilgrimage unknown and without any protocols. Despite senility, he used to do this for about one and half hour without showing any dissatisfaction as a result of rush of population which used to make disturbances and mainly it was happening (Vojdani, 1989: vol. 2). In Najaf, in every meeting that Imam used to arrive, he used to sit in any place which was blank, whereas usually the spiritual leader and Ayatollahs were sitting in one row (Rajaei, 2002: 125).

His escape from disciples had created certain difficulties for his protection. It has been said the very big problem in the first days of his stay in Imam at Qom was the issue of protection and security, because Imam was preventing the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps members to be with him with arms and always used to say, "I do not want the armed agent. Nobody should come after me. People protect me" (Akhavan Kazemi, 1999: 82-83), whereas this feature had caused Imam to be far from many rituals which other religious authorities had such as interaction, kissing the hands, bowing, glorifying and leaving the door of residence open.

### **8. A Peaceful Leader with a Global Thought rather than being Restricted within the Narrow Ethnic, Race, Party and Class Angles**

The thought and practice of many leaders of the world in particular the so-called Charismatic Leaders has been restricted in the race, profession, party, class, and ideologically limits and they usually were not including the interest outside these limits. History has not yet forgotten that how Hitler and Mussolini with their cults of personality and racism used to enumerate themselves as the manifestation of the superior race and united party and that in line with their national and race ambitions, with ideological and racism imperialism made a bloody world. However, according to the evidence of history, Imam Khomeini was a distinctive leader and peacemaker apart from other leaders in particular the charismatic leaders whose lofty thought and practice had a global dimension beyond the narrow barricades of race, ideology, party, region, class, etc., and he has stated on this subject in his testament too (Software of Sahifeh Imam, 2007: vol. 21, 400).

In the last and important phrase of the testament, it is observed that giving the good news of the future Islamic global government, Imam considers it far from racism and egotism and has mentioned the non-Muslim countries as the modern federal systems with the interpretation of free and independent republics and this indicates his peaceful position and perspective in viewing to the world and inclusion of the interests and benefits of the people of the world (Ibid: vol. 21, 448).

On the other hand, the Imam's personality characteristics, made Imam be in lack of any need to a political party to gain social general position. Thus, for the victory of his uprising, he did not undertake to manage any party or group and did not restrict himself in any party limits. Some months prior to the victory of Islamic revolution, Imam says, "I would like to mention that I do not have any connection with any front and group and whoever or any group that does not accept our issues, we do not accept it" (Ibid: vol. 4, 336).

Consequently, the leadership of Imam was not limited to a profession or stratum or a group but it in practice, a broad spectrum of people in all walks of life were seen who stood at the back of him. This very issue was a very suitable feedback for the prevalence of Imam's people movement. As in the period of movement, he used to state, "The present Islamic movement of the nation of Iran has encompassed the whole society and moves ahead accordingly" (Ibid: vol. 4, 336).

## **9. Legal Positivism, Anti-Authoritarianism, Critique and Vulnerability**

Dictatorship, lack of vulnerability and ignoring legality, are the features which are usually mentioned for the charismatic leaders in particular their negative and totalitarian types. In this part, explaining that Imam was free from these attributes, efforts will be made to refer to the various distinctive features of his personalities as compared with the charismatic leaders and further elaborate the impossibility of comparing them with each other.

### **9. 1. Legal Positivism and Lack of Considering Himself an Exception from the Inclusion of Law**

In Imam Khomeini's political thought, what rules over everybody is the law and nobody is outside and beyond the sovereignty of law. From this perspective, the Islamic system is the system of ruling the law, a system in which everything and everybody is subject to laws rather than a government subject to the personal views and arrogance (Ibid: vol. 10, 310-311). In Imam's lofty thought and practice, the standard of all affairs and scale of all jobs, base of practice of every persons, organizations and institutions of a society is law and what supplied the health of affairs, the progress of jobs and benefit of the individual and society is legal positivism and as long as a society does not stick to legality, it will not see progress and enhancement.

In Imam's theoretical and practical life, the Supreme Legal Authority does not have a position beyond the law of God and obedience to the Islamic decrees is obligatory to him like other people. Calling the Supreme Legal Authority with terms such as leader and standard-bearer supposes that he has a position beyond the law and is an exception to its inclusion, whereas he has many times rejected this type of interpretation in his statements and practical life.

"Do not fear of The Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist (Velayat-e Faqih). Faqih does not want to suppress and make an illogical statement and if a jurist wants to do this, such a jurist does not have the guardianship. It is Islam. In Islam, the law rules. The holy Prophet also was subject to the law; he was subject to the divine law and could not make any violation. We do not want to be dictator. We want the government to be anti-dictatorship. Velayat-e Faqih is against the dictatorship rather than dictator" (Ibid: vol. 10, 29).

### **9. 2. Anti-Authoritarianism**

Many have an authoritative interpretation of the theory of The Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist (Velayat-e Faqih), whereas the



application of absolute guardianship of the Islamic jurist is posed vis-à-vis its relative guardianship. That is to say that the authorities of the Islamic Jurist should not be considered to be limited to specific affairs like that it is said that jurist merely has rights to interfere in judgment and appointment of a judge but he does not have right to assign a commander in war. So, there is not limitation in the areas of authorities of a just jurist with the exception of limit of benefits of people, divine rule and Islamic regulations and the concept of its application means the lack of relativity of guardianship for jurist in the framework of Islamic regulations (Imam Khomeini, 2002: 21).

The late Imam in his statements and also in his written works clearly has defined and outlined the borders of authorities of the Islamic Jurist (Vali-e Faqih) within the framework of divine rules and public interests (Software of Sahifeh, 2007: vol. 10: 58) which is the very borders of freedom.

On the other hand, The Absolute Guardianship of Jurist from the Imam's viewpoint means to have an active monitoring and control rather than the governance of ruler over the ruled people. Basically in the Islamic system, government does not exist in the meaning of dominancy of the ruler over the condemned. Vali-e Fagih is neither a part of the state and nor outside it but in an active shape, he is the director of the society and administrators of the country in the correct Islamic route. The state and political system, due to this type of interference and control of jurist finds legitimacy.

He believed, "We should give value to people ... and stand aside to monitor the jobs based on good and evil" (Ibid: vol. 19, 346). With these explanations, it is clear that Velayat-e Faqih is neither a narration of the religious despotism nor an instrument to pull it towards despotism of the institution of the state. According to Imam: "If the Islamic state to be under the monitoring of Faqih and Velayat-e Faqih, it will not impose any damage to anybody. It does not create any dictatorship. It does not do any job against the interests of the country. Faqih (Islamic Jurist) will control the jobs which might be done by the state against the route of the nation and interests of the country and prevents them". (Software of Sahifeh, 2007: vol. 10, 159). "If a Faqih makes a slight sin, he will be denied from the guardianship. The guardianship is not an easy task to be given to everybody. We want to have the Faqih to prevent the dictators, and does not let the president to act in a dictatorship way and does not let

the prime minister to be a dictator ... rather than making a dictatorship” (Sahifeh Nour, vol. 9, 17)<sup>7</sup>.

### **9. 3. Critique and Full Vulnerability (Taking Criticism)**

One of the basic concerns of the political thinkers during the centuries has been the quality of renewal and control of power of political administrators, because everybody admits that power in its essence has a tendency towards rebel and tyranny and in the event of lack of control, it will lead to corruption. Thus, history of a great part of the political thoughts and in particular its democratic ones is the history of quality of monitoring over the unrivaled power of two absolute powers of state and administrators and method of restricting them.

Furthermore, with what mechanisms it will be possible to prevent from the violation of the high power of state toward the citizens ‘rights and other social groups? (Software of Sahifeh, 2007: vol. 18, 206). These mechanisms including the method of internal and external monitoring clearly exist in the Islamic political thoughts and following that in Imam Khomeini’s thought. For example, one of the most important elements of Imam’s political thought is emphasize on the internal monitoring. From his perspective, power by itself is a grace and as God is the absolute omnipotent, so that He has the absolute perfection. Thus, human’s inclination towards power is a type of seeking perfection and traverse towards the absolute perfection.

Imam considers the power as something dangerous and a threat to the society if it is under the control of unrefined persons<sup>8</sup> and therefore, the corruption is resulting from these holders of powers without virtue. With an emphasis on the significance of internal monitoring, Imam is not indifference to the significance of the external monitoring and emphasizes constantly on the peoples’ monitoring over the government that indicates the link between idealism and realism in his thought.

In Imam’s view, the external monitoring should be applied by the people to prevent from the deviation of the Islamic and humane route, since one of the factors for the political corruption is the lack of

---

7. It is worth noting that in the political thought of the west, in the topic of monitoring the political leaders and administrators, no approach has been forecasted to include the internal monitoring and this is one of the basic reasons for the lack of full success of the external monitoring mechanisms of these political systems in restricting the power, so that self-abandonment of the holders of power in these regimes are greater and the charismatic leaders are the examples of these corrupted powers. (Akhavan Kazemi, 2012).

8. If nation do not monitor over the affairs of the state and parliament and everything ... It is possible that it leads to annihilation. The nation should be monitor to the affairs, which are made in the state (Software of Sahifeh Imam, vol. 15, p. 17).

monitoring of people over the performance of the state (Software of Sahifeh, 2007: vol. 5, 323).

This monitoring is over performance of all organizations including administrative, legislative and judicial branches associated with critique and even it is the right of every individual of the members of Islamic society. The leaders of the society and even its highest position, i. e. the leader should be accountable vis-a-vis it.

### **Conclusion**

This research presented some evidence and documents in response to the questions asked and in line with the test of statements and hypothesis, whose product indicates well the full interaction of Imam Khomeini's personality and the leadership method with the theme of human dignity.

It was specified that Imam as the highest symbol of human dignity and in particular as a perfect man and in the position of an educated, purified and dynamic religious authority in the lap of the high Islamic and Shiite teachings, during his life and leadership period had inexplicable and specific attention to the issue of human dignity and general laws and basically one of the reasons for the immense influence of his leadership was due to these characteristics.

In giving a better response to the questions of the research and proving the claim, attempts were made to compare the method of Weber's charismatic leadership with the Imam's method of leadership and taking into consideration the incompatible aspects of this charismatic model with the human dignities, and proving the lack of conjunction of this model with Imam's model of leadership, to present another document on the dignity-seeking attitude and dignity-centered feature of his personality and leadership.

The other documents well indicate the basic fragility of Weber's theory of charismatic leadership academically and lack of its competency in comparing this model of leadership with Imam Khomeini's leadership model. It was proved that the claim of agreement between these two models of leadership is a kind of insult and accusation on Imam's leadership and movement of Islamic Revolution. This comparison is basically unscientific, undocumented and illusionary.

Among the reasons, for this statement was that the theory of charismatic leadership so far and most of the time has been employed to elaborate the totalitarian, fascist and undemocratic systems. The

### **Imam Khomeini's Leadership, a Rejection of the Theory of Charismatic Leadership**

irrational, emotional, racist, aggressive, repressive, discipleship-based systems based on the cult of personality that converts the passive masses with a massive view rather than civic vision into a toy for the personal desires of rulers and in their leadership, there is no news of the rule of law and the maintenance of human dignity and rights as the main bases for ruling and only the leader is the main pivot and finally, the rate of respect towards him is the factor that distinguishes loyalty in giving a privilege and get positions and promotions.

Whereas this research showed that the area of leadership of Imam, his personality and movement is free from such accusations. It was also clarified that many of the negative attributes of these leaders including the cult of personality, egotism, ambitions for leadership, despotism, lack of vulnerability, escaping the laws and considering oneself beyond the law has not found in his personality.

Opposite to the charismatic leaders and the mentioned theory, Imam considered the source of legitimacy- with the inclusion of stabilizing role of people- as a divine source rather than charismatic one and intensively opposed the discipleship, making followers and also the massive and passive attitudes toward people.

Imam Khomeini was an exceptional leader in an exceptional revolution. He was not a peaceful leader with a global thought that opposite to the charismatic leaders to be restricted in the ethnic, racist, party and class narrow angles. He was a leader whose scientific comprehensiveness and religious authority position, distinguished him from all charismatic leaders and other ones. Imam was in fact the manifestation of dignity and divine perfect human and for this very reason, he left a deep influence on the people's mind. An influence which after passing over a quarter of a century from the Islamic Revolution, is still prevailing and has not faced any defect and this influence has still remained among all stratum of Iranian Muslims and perhaps on the awoken hearts of many Islamic countries and the oppressed of the world. These characteristics have constantly kept the memory of that divine leader and global thinker in the mind of humans as a symbol, herald and protector of human dignity.

#### **References**

Abedi Jafari, H. (1998). *Charismatic Leadership*. Tehran: Office for the Dissemination of Islamic Culture.

- Abrahamian, E. (1982). *Iran between the Two Revolutions*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Akhavan Kazemi, B. (1999). "Democracy and Freedom in Imam Khomeini's Viewpoint." *Epistemological studies at Islamic University Quarterly*. Vol. 3, no. 9 and 10, pp. 72-90.
- (2006). *Critique and Evaluation of Charismatic Theory in Elaboration of Imam Khomeini's Leadership*. Tehran: Center for Documents of Islamic Revolution.
- (2012). *Supervision in Islamic System*. Tehran: Research Institute for Islamic Culture and Thought.
- Ansari, M. A. (1993). *Imam, People and Protection of Revolution Values*. (Proceedings of the Third Seminar on Reviewing the Theoretical and Practical Life of Hazrat Imam Khomeini. Tehran: The Association of the Women of the Islamic Republic of Iran Publications.
- Aron, R. (1997). *German Sociology*. (M. Saghebfar, Trans). Tehran: Tian.
- Ayatollah Khamenei's Statements. (30 May 1991). Etelat Newspaper.
- Bashiriyeh, H. (1993). *Revolution and Political Mobilization*. Tehran: University of Tehran Press.
- Chilcote, R. (2009). *Theories of Comparative Politics*. (V. Bozorgi and A. Tayeb, Trans). Tehran: Rasa.
- Donna, A. (2004). *Le Lame ET de la cite. Cite Pupulisme Charisme ET Machiavelisme*. Paris: L' Harmattan.
- (1988). *Le Leader Charismatique*. Paris: Deselee de Brouwer.
- Ferdowsipour, I. (1989). "Memories of Hojat al Islam Ferdowsipour." *Keyhan Newspaper*, 5 July.

**Imam Khomeini's Leadership, a Rejection of the Theory of Charismatic Leadership**

- Giddens, A. (2002). *Sociology and Social Theory*. (M. Sabouri, Trans), second edition. Tehran: Nay Publications.
- Hajarian, S. (1998). "A Study of Revolutionary Leadership. Theories with an Emphasize on Imam Khomeini's Leadership." *Matin Quarterly*. Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 443-454.
- Hazeri, A. M. (2001). *Evaluation of the Charisma Theory in Comparing with the Reality of Iranian Islamic Revolution*. (Proceedings of Revolution and Thought. Tehran: Imam Khomeini Research Institute.
- Hosseini, H. (2002). *Leadership and Revolution, the Role of Imam Khomeini in Islamic Revolution*. Tehran: Imam Khomeini and Islamic Revolution Research Institute.
- Imam Khomeini, R. (n.d.). *Velayat-e Faqih*. Qom: Azadi Publications.
- (1981). *Interpretation of Surat Al-Hamd (Al-Fatihah)*. Qom: Islamic Publications.
- (1997). *Forty Traditions*. Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works.
- (1999). *Adab al Salat*, [Rituals of Prayers]. Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, Office of Int. Relations.
- (1985). *Sahifeh Nour*. Software of Collection of Imam Khomeini's Recommendations. Tehran: Center for Cultural Documents of Islamic Revolution, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.
- (1986). *Conditions and Authorities of Vali Faqih*. Translation of the discussion of the Book of Velayat-e Faqih from the Book of Albaya. Tehran: Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.
- (2002). *Imamate and Perfect Human*. Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works.

- (n.d.). *Divan Imam*. Versified Poems by Hazrat Imam Khomeini. Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, 203.
- Izadi, J. (1992). *A Comparative Study of Charisma Theory*, (in Weber's Concept). With Leadership of Imam Khomeini. M. A. Thesis, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, University of Tehran.
- Kershaw, I. (2001). *Hitler, Essai sur le Charismeen Politique*. Paris: Gallimard.
- (2004). *Le Myth Hitler*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Lankarani, F. (1991). "Imam, an Example of a Perfect Human." *Hozur Quarterly*. Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 76.
- Lerch, W. G. (1973). *A Devout Totalitarianism*. Fith, Force and Islam (Islam, Khomeini and Muslim Revolution, Encounter). Vol, 60 Iss. 2. (n.p.).
- Mohammadi, M. (2009). *The Relationship of Imam Khomeini and People in the Islamic Revolution*. Abstracts of the Papers of Congress on Imam Khomeini and the Thought of Islamic Government. Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works.
- Motahari, M. (2000). *About Islamic Republic of Iran*. Tehran: Sadra, thirteenth edition.
- Naghizadeh, A. (2000). *An Introduction to the Political Sociology*. Tehran: SAMT.
- Proceedings of the Third Seminar on Reviewing Hazrat Imam Khomeini's Theoretical and Practical Life, (1997). Tehran: The Association of the Women of the Islamic Republic of Iran Publications.
- Rahimain, H. (1994). *In the Light of the Sunshine*. Tehran: Institute of Guardian of Islam, fifth edition.

**Imam Khomeini's Leadership, a Rejection of the Theory of Charismatic Leadership**

82

- Rajaei, Gh. (2002). *Some Interpretations from Imam Khomeini's Life*. Vol. 2. Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works.
- Rouhani, H. (1983). *Imam Khomeini's Movement*. Vol. 2. Tehran: Cultural Unit of Shahid Foundation, Organization for Islamic Revolution Publications and Educations.
- (Compiled) (1997). *Shahid Mahalati's Memories and Struggles*. Tehran: Center for Islamic Revolution Documents.
- Sheikhavandi, D. (1995). *Max Weber's Sociology, (Disenchantment of the World)*. Gonabad: Marandiz Publications.
- Software of Sahifeh Nour, (2007). Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works.
- Soroush Mahalati, M. (1989). "Memories of Hojat al Islam Soroush Mahalati." *Islamic Republic of Iran Newspaper*. Special Issue for Arba'in Imam, 29 August.
- Sotoudeh, A. R. (1993). *Keep up with the Sunshine, (Told and Untold Stories of Imam Khomeini's Life)*. Tehran: Panjareh Publications.
- Turner, B. (2001). *Weber and Islam*. (H. Bustan, et al. Trans). Qom: Research Institute of Seminary and University.
- Vojdani, M. (1989). *Special Narratives from Imam Khomeini's Life in Quotations from a Group of Scholars*. Vol. 2. Tehran: Message of Freedom.
- Weber, M. (1971). *Economieet Societe*. Paris: Plon.
- Zibakalam, S. (1993). *An Introduction to the Islamic Revolution*. Tehran: Rouzaneh.