

The Principles of Criticism and Rethinking of Inefficiency in Political Parties of Iran (after revolution)

Meysam Darabi*

Master student of political science, Allameh
Tabatabai University

Meysam.darabii@yahoo.com

Dr. Abbas Ali Rahbar

Associate Professor, Department of Political
Science, Faculty of Law and Political
Science, Allameh Tabatabai University

aa.rahbar@atu.ac.ir

Abstract

The history of activities of political parties and phenomena of factionalism in Iran, is very well represented in the functional failure of this important political phenomenon in recent century and even at the moment. Political researchers have always following to express the causes of these inefficiencies and have recounted different causes in the political, historical, economic, cultural and legal fields for this problem. One of the important issues of political parties in Iran is non-embeddedness. In spite of open political space in some period of time, as yet, has not formed any defined parties or structured and party specific work in Iran. The historical evidence and the results of limited studies carried out in recent years represents significant distrust of people and youth to political parties. People don't have positive opinion about parties in recent century and mainly are unwilling to party participation for the reasons such as power seeking, elitism, self - being, dependency on government and foreign powers, deviation in promises of parties and announcement programs and some items like

this. People consider the parties generally authoritarian and indifferent to the people and the collective material. This study aims to investigate the principles of criticism and rethinking of inefficiency in political parties of Iran by descriptive - analytical method as well as using library resources. Regarding to the obtained findings from the research, the problem that parties encounter with it is that after revolution in Iran, although the number of parties has increased and they operate in the political fields, but if we compare these parties with democracy - based countries, we see that even in Iran after the revolution, the parties are pale and they have not been institutionalized. However, the space is prepared for their activities, but in a country that is based on the people's opinion and the republic, the political parties must have enough activity in different fields. It is therefore imperative that the political parties in Iran receive special attention, and of course their activities are not incompatible with the regulations of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Key words: political parties, inefficiency, participation, partisanship

Introduction:

The party contains a set of people who formed based on national and macroscopic statute and manifesto, and seek to achieve political power and maintain mentioned power via the electoral mechanisms. The formation of parties is usually affected by political events and external realities, such as elections,

revolutions, protests and subjects like it. For instance, in most cases the formation of the party is that the followers of an election candidate are gathered together to activate the electoral campaigns of the person, and the campaigns are represented in the mentioned in the process, which means that the statute and planning is passed into a party to get power. Therefore, the roots of party's formation has closely relationship with electoral systems. The above - point of view based parties are divided into two categories. Today, parties are one of the necessities of the life of human societies in the modern era, so that one of the most influential institutions operates on the country's decision - making and executive processes as a link ring between the people and the political administration. In modern societies and political systems, there is almost complete rethinking for the necessity of partisanship, and the parties are referred to as the wheels of the machine of democracy. In the Islamic republic of Iran we have witnessed the emergence of different parties and political groups with aspirations and opinions after the victory of the Islamic revolution, but over three decades since the victory of the revolution, yet political parties have become embeddedness in a real meaning, and none of the parties could have real special work for parties such as political participation, political socialization, political connections and ... Although the names of the parties have been heard so often, the overwhelming majority of them only carry the name of the party. Despite the unsuccessful experience of political parties in Iran, it is still believed in the necessity of systematic, organized, formal, legal, and targeted institutions that remains strong. If the sick structure of political parties is improved and the Injury and obstacles to be solved, the political parties by heating the election space through advertisements, discussion, conversation, and discuss about important issues and serious problems and

presenting solutions have made indifferent citizens to responsible and agile citizens that provide greater participation in elections and one of the fields of realization in political development (Zibakalam and Moghtadaei-2014:8). In this thesis, we attempt in this way to study about the Islamic republic political parties in the whether the party activity has developed after the revolution or not? If it is increased, in what fields and if it is not increased, what is the reason of that and what solutions can be presented to enable the parties? Thus, we will have an escape to the activity area and the amount of activity of the parties before the Islamic revolution and then we will study the activity and function of the parties after the Islamic republic of Iran.

Research history

The problem of political parties, according to various functions in Iranian society, has always been in attention and contemplation of researchers. Several researchers have considered about this issue with different intellectual origin. So, nowadays, many written phenomena are available in the form of books and articles. Furthermore, numerous discussions and debates have been established with a number of visual and audio media. Political, sociological and historical approaches have been the most dominant approaches to Iranian research around political parties. In the set of these studies and researches, political parties are usually investigated prior to the revolution. We review a number of these studies according to the multiplicity of research topics in this part, while the difference of this research with the other research is that we will study the issue of political parties after the revolution and in the Islamic republic of Iran era: Basiri nia et al, (2019) performed a study which has been done by the title of "The Study of Efficiency and inefficiency of political parties after the Iranian Islamic Revolution".

One of the most important and main features of civil society is the presence of political parties that compete to get power. This is one of the major features and characteristics of democracy and systems with the democratic political structure in that community. Regarding to the importance and necessity of investigating the role of political parties in the process of development and expansion of the development of political society, the present study tries to analyze the characteristics and indexes of parties before and after Islamic revolution to analyze and evaluate the role and function of political parties in the frame of the political society of Iran. According to this, the results of this study indicate that the evolution process of party in Iran although in the development level of contract but has not stepped to institutional stage. The vast growth of parties in the country that many of them have not exceeded the early formation circle of the party, is evidence of the hypothesis proof. The results of this study also indicate that some political parties in Iran after the Islamic revolution have had the necessary efficiency but could not achieve a proper quantity and quality dimension. Sadeq Famian qadim and Tohid Fam (2019) a study has been done by the title of " the persistence causes of political parties in contemporary Iran in the of left - hand case study, with emphasis on party documents. The political parties are on the one hand encounter on political power and on the other hand rooted in human communities and action in civil society, and the political parties are eligible for continuation or non - continuity in relation to both sides. The left parties as the largest and most continuous political parties in contemporary Iranian history have no exception principle. This study attempts to compare the roots and causes of continuous persistence of the left parties in the period 1953 to 1983 and fulfill this important principle from the course of reviewing the party's intra - party documents.

The main question of this study expresses that from the perspective of the main political sociology, what were the causes of the persistence of the left parties from 1953 to 1953. Therefore, this study relies on documentary method to test the main hypothesis. The hypothesis of this study expresses that the social base of the left parties, corruption of the court, the struggle with imperialism and the supports of the Soviet Union within the framework of non - flexible bipolar systems is considered the main causes and factors of the continuation of the left parties in the activity era of these organizations in Iran. Azimi and Matlabi (2016) a study was done by the title of "inefficiency of political parties in Iran". one of the most important issues in the Iran political scene after the constitutional revolution, is parties and formations that despite the one hundred years history and existence of political open space in some time distances, no coherent and comprehensive party has been able to achieve optimal special work of parties desired by parties and the aims of establishing this political phenomenon. This article is to investigate the reasons for the lack of institutionalization and the inefficiency of the parties in Iran. Sardarnia (2014) a research was done by the title of sociological analysis of non-institutionalized and failure in partisanship of Iran from constitutional revolution till now? Research hypothesis: For reasons such as the involvement of parties in the power war, the elitism of the parties and their isolation from the masses and the lack of dedication to the political and social education of the masses, Irregular competition, non - Institutional and controversial parties, affiliation with government and foreign powers, lack of functional commitment of parties to collaborative culture and authoritarian rule prevents us from becoming Institutional and healthy. In this research, the failure of

partisanship and Institutional partisanship as dependent variable, factors, or historical and sociological factors are discussed in hypothesis as independent variables of research. Political sociological opinions related to prior Institutional, cultural and social conditions and related to Institutional partisanship are used to formulate hypotheses and respond to questions and proof of hypothesis. The overall result is that what has been seen in a century ago is largely unhealthy and non-Institutional political competition and party of basic powers that has led to the public mistrust of the parties. Akhavan (2007) carried out a research by the title of "The causes of the inefficiency of the political parties in Iran". The story of the recession of partisanship in Iran is not so complex, and its blind meshes are characterized and clears by scientific research, but despite this, it is as if its causes are so root and stable that we should not only regret the past of the parties but also always be worry about their future. Factor such as the political structure of power in Iran before the revolution which made the formation of ordered parties and unsafely of real space of parties, in the post - revolution era for reasons such as foreign influence on the political figure of society through parties, the effects of requirements of the imposed war, public pessimism about the position of parties and ... Whether the recession of partisanship in our land really has structural and historical causes, and if yes what are these causes? The following article is organized. As mentioned in the history, a study that has investigated the activity of parties after the Islamic revolution has been done as less or addressed transitory and has the greatest emphasis on pre - revolutionary parties, while the necessary bases for parties in their studies are less examined. Therefore, it is necessary to study a comprehensive and barrier study, which, in addition to considering the principles of political parties, should examine

the reason of their weakness. Below, we will investigate the principles of political parties in political books, what are the parties and what is their nature and what are their functions and special works?

Nature studying of parties

The term political party was applied by Edmund Burke for the first time. Before the term, the political league party was called. The application of the term (the political party) for some reason runs that we consider as short. Period King George III of the United Kingdom, succeeding of the bourgeoisie and its leader, Charles Rockingham, who was at the head of the country's organizational power as prime minister, ended the party's shutdown, and the Prime Minister's change and intervention in the elections. The King's intervention, repeated several times, challenged the political-social situation of England, in which Edmund Burke published a letter addressed to the King in a London massive newspaper, and in which he drew the King's attention to the Benefits of the Party, and the prohibition of his intervention in matters he did not relate to them. It was in this letter that Burke used the term 'political party' for the first time, and in the same year it seemed to politicians and statesmen, and in reality they welcomed the term, and then all parties are mentioned in all written texts with the same phrase (Bokharaei zadeh-2018;279).

Special work of political parties

Special works and the functions of the real parties have always contributed to political stability and security in any political system. One of the greatest and the best attitudes toward the function of the parties, systematic structural attitude is a function that this attitude in 1960s entered into political science and defenders such as Gabriel Almond, James Coleman and Bettgam Powell were found. from this view, the party acts as an individual

from the main system of political and social system and plays a role of the black box contains Inputs and outputs and feedback. The data or Inputs contains the collection of information and transmission demands into the party. And the findings and outputs contains all decisions, regulations, slogans, positioning, desires, orientation, tactics, and strategies and... that emerging from the black box (the party) and at the disposal of society, the state and other political, social, economic, cultural institutions. Feedback also contains the reflection of those findings, which are again entered into the black box in the form of the data emerge from it in the form of new findings, in which interpretation of the data are made. Therefore, the party is a machine that collects issues from the level of society and is offered after analysis and classification to decision - making bodies (government, parliament, etc.). Here are some of the most important functions of political parties.

1 - Parties can act as a tool for political employment and duct to exercise pressure from the bottom to the top.

2. The parties provide opportunities to form coalitions from owners of powerful political interests in order to preserve and sustain the government.

3 - Parties have a mobilizing role, they can mobilize people or participate in cooperative projects at the national level

Political parties in Iran

The party in Iran is no more than a hundred years old in the today's form and modern, but in the old days we saw military parties seeking military purposes like Sarbedaran in Iran. After the constitutional revolution, the party in Iran has established and parties openly and officially presented itself to the Iranian society. During the absolute tyranny of Naseroddin shah, we witnessed the formation of secret societies formed in groups of twelve to fifteen persons, concludes periodically in

the homes of the members. It was, in fact, the cause of these councils, ambassadors, students, uncertain people trips to Europe, and to observe the kind and method of government on that continent demanding reforms and a general improvement in the general conditions of the country. In relation to the role of these populations in the constitutional revolution, Ms Lambetan, a constitutional scholar, writes:

"It is not surprising to note that multiple populations in the first stages of the modernization movement of Iran which led to a constitutional revolution had important contributions, and the revolution was largely responsible for the activity of these secret societies (Bagheri Khozani-2004; 1) All four blocks of political forces and parties emerged in the following years of the revolution victory:

1 -Non-liberal and fundamentalism parties belonging to the political clergy, who called for the combination of religion and politics and the establishment of religious rule and the implementation of Islamic decrees through the political system.

2. The parties and liberal groups of the middle class, which formed the core of this category of parties, formed the former opposition parties of the king's regime, the most important of which was to provide political and social freedoms by restricting political power and creating a kind of constitution or republic.

3 - Islamic leftist parties that were developed by the spread of political Islam ideology among intellectuals and educated middle - class leaders prior to the revolution. Political Islam was radical intellectuals of quasi-socialist and anti-Western tendencies and the Islamic tradition was interpreted in a revolutionary method.

4 - Socialist and Marxist parties and groups. In the early years of the revolution, the left forces were composed of a series of small

groups and categories formed based on student movements. Their main demands were to nationalize the industries and banks, the rupture of the American imperialism, the creation of the people army and the self-determination of ethnic minorities (Bashirieh-2006;32). As it is observable, the history of the party in this century returns to a hundred years and the start of the first activities in a constitutional era. Since our issue is after the revolution, we have examined the four parties that have been formed after the revolution. "The parties, populations, Islamic and corporate associations and Islamic associations or religious minorities are free, provided that the principles of independence, liberty, national unity, Islamic standards and the foundations of the Islamic Republic do not break.

Party in Islamic Republic of Iran Regulations

1. The Party in Islamic Republic of Iran Constitution: If we tend to look at the comparative studies of various countries constitution, as usual one principle of principles of constitution pertaining to the nation's rights. The constitution of the Islamic republic of Iran, has dealt with generalities linked to the freedom of parties and associations and conditions and range of activity of them in 2 principles of 26 and 27. there is in principle 26 of constitution:

The parties, populations, Islamic and guild associations and Islamic associations or popular religious minorities are free, "No one can be prevented from taking part in them or forced to participate in one of them "in principle 27 came that:" Formation of societies and marches, without carrying weapons, in a condition that not to be disruptive to the fundamentals of Islam, is free.

2. Party in regulations and resolutions of the Islamic Consultative Assembly: The

regulation of parties , populations and political and guild associations and Islamic associations, or religious minorities activity was approved in two seasons, 19 articles and 9 categories in the Council of the Islamic Consultative Assembly at 29/08/1981 and was approved by the Guardian Council. On this basis, the party is enshrined in the constitution and its functions and its activities and must conform to the constitution of the Islamic republic of Iran. It is good to mention that the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran has legitimate freedom with the activity of such parties, but their function may be questioned by different political factions, which is one of the problems of the parties in Iran that should be explored and resolved. Therefore, it is suggested that the regulations and principles of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the activity of the parties should be formulated more sweetly and will not restrict the arena to the activity of parties.

Barriers and restrictions of parties in Iran

Acknowledging the basic point which the parties in Iran have a history of more than one hundred years and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the formation of novel political parties and groups enjoyed legal support like the constitution and other laws, why the factual parties were not formed? What are the barriers and restrictions? To reply to these questions, some considerable points are noted in brief: The formation of political parties from top to bottom (order of parties): In the democracies, governments are partisan, i.e. they have come to power via the party and electoral activities. Generally, mandatory parties in Iran have seemed in three forms:

A) The parties which rely on one personality and are formed on the basis of individuality.

B) The parties made by the order of ruling regime by the prominent agents of regime.

C) The parties which have emerged based on the special political circumstances, in other words, reactionary parties.

The mandatory parties have three major features: initially, they lack party originality; second, by losing an influential figure and achieving a purpose and gaining non-political interests, the party disappears; Political struggle teaches the people the ethics of compromise and the teaching of hypocrisy and hypocrisy and cunning, and it becomes a significant factor in the people's aversion and exclusion from parties and party activities.

2- Dominant political culture: Generally, considerable and significant components of Iranian political culture and factors hindering political life and party culture can be regarded in the following cases:

A) Political reputation: tolerance culture is a political and social process which is one of the most basic elements of improvement and development of societies. Tolerance contributes to the realization of the law, encouragement and persuasion of people, rational dialogue and the creation of a rational atmosphere, and vice versa. He asks

B) The government must not be the only source of social culture: Governments ponder and pay more attention to power than various sections of society, but if there are no forces and moderating factors in society, the intellectual and cultural context of society will not be multidimensional. A society moves towards political development which accepts the diversity of sources of power and advantages from multiple dimensions of the human psyche and mind. If the government is the only one to handle these duties, different strata of a society will become attached to the government and become conservative. If a society gives rise to the emergence of population, guilds, associations and multiple intellectual, social, cultural and economic foundations, participation, feeling, motivation and ability to participate among the people

will be strengthened, social formation is understood and society moves towards producing thought and culture and discussion move (Sari al-Qalam, 2002: 111). Based on the author, the political culture of country considering parties must be reformed and more freedom must be obtained for the activities of different political parties and groups which we will witness more development of political, economic, cultural and social fields.

Causes of non-institutionalization of parties in Iran

Regarding more than one hundred years have passed since the establishment of the initial party in its modern meaning in Iranian society and the series of different parties has grown and declined through the last century, and some of these parties have posed for historical roles or they have handled something unintentional, but for the reasons that we briefly mention here, the parties can't be institutionalized in Iran. Parties can't institutionalize themselves in Iran. The term of non-institutionalization of parties implies that none of the members of the party community is accepted as a strong social institution and the parties do not have the ability and capacity to manage electoral activities, either from the perspective of people, the elites or even the party institutions themselves. They are not accepted and lucky. Thus, these factors can be grouped into problems like historical and structural causes, social causes, cultural causes, economic factors.

Historical and structural causes

Lack of formation of parties in their historical context

Political parties in the west are the consequence of the evolution of political struggles, some of which date back several centuries. In European societies, the

institutions and groups, associations and trade unions, and the like were first formed to formulate demands to secure and realize institutional and trade union rights. They went via a process of numerous struggles, and at last, it was from the hearts of these associations and trade unions, business associations, etc. which the political parties emerged if this process never occurred in Iran (Zakizadeh, 2009: 27).

Authoritarianism and the absolute structure of power

Absolute and centralist tradition and state-centeredness and authoritarianism have a long and historical background. Thus, Iran's historical experience with the Constitution so far proves that at the same time as the sway of absolute power and the weakness of the state, civic institutions such as the parties and the press, mushroom-like and unbridled, were established or activated. They are stripped of their clothes and shed like autumn leaves. At the same time, it shows that the emergence of civil institutions is in terms of the weakness of absolutist state, and in parallel by increasing tyranny and the absolutization of power structure, the scope and power of these institutions, involving parties, have reduced and declined, because the whole dynasty Government in Iran were common in the individuality and absoluteness of sovereignty and the lack or the intolerance of present or moderating powers or institutions (Akhavan Kazemi, 2009: 301).

Social reasons of non-institutionalization of parties Formation of political parties from top to bottom

One of the most significant obstacles to form the parties in Iran is the order of parties which we have witnessed via the history of political parties in Iran. In the democracies, governments are partisan. It means, they have come to power via party and electoral

activities. In non-democratic societies, on the other hand, the parties are created by the government. In reality, mandated parties have three major features:

First, they lack partisanship. Second, by the disappearance of an influential figure and the achievement of a purpose and gaining non-political interests, the party disappears. Third, their function, instead of promoting culture and political struggle, teaches people the ethics of compromise and the teaching of hypocrisy, and cunning, all of which go hand in hand which are a considerable factor in making people hate and abhor, it is regarded a party and party activities (Mohammadi et al., 1398: 140).

Religious delegations and communities and its impact on non-institutionalization of parties

From the recent past and at least in the last two centuries, forming the communities and participation in mass movements has taken on a religious color and form, and this problem is not unique to Iran. In all Islamic countries, Muslims collect on different occasions through the year and raise their issues and problems in addition to holding religious ceremonies. In Islamic Iran, religious ceremonies and rituals are present like Friday prayers, rituals and ceremonies, and the martyrdom of imams and many other cases which handle some of the purposes of political groups. Besides, religious organizations and charities which were formed since the distant past, somehow bring together members of community to listen to the preacher's speech and sermons.

The role of government and its performance in not institutionalizing parties

As an instance of civil society, the parties play the role of intermediaries between the people and government, and it is so evident that the

function and role of governments, both politically, economically, legally, and culturally, in the kind and degree of efficiency and institutionalization. The parties are so effective. In the history of Iranian partisanship, whenever repression by governments is high and the focus of statehood is increased, the activities of parties are decreased and a breeze of freedom is blown and more rights and civil liberties are granted by the rulers to the people and civil institutions. The wave of turning to party activities has also increased (Mohammadi et al., 2019: 140).

Cultural causes

About the cultural causes, we can refer to the problem of political culture. In reality, the political culture is one of the basic components in the formation and activity of parties. Furthermore, the lack of a peaceful political culture can always result in inefficiency and non-institutionalization of political parties. A problem which could be witnessed in relation to Iranian society. In reality, the most significant characteristics of Iranian political culture can be found in cases such as:

The culture of authority and lawlessness

Rooted in Eastern tyranny, the culture of domination contrasts with the culture of participation. Based on the culture of political power in Iran, it is a mysterious phenomenon. In this kind of culture, the ruler is regarded a superior being, a hero, unique and in a way sacred and even holy. The authoritarian culture locates the holders of political power as personalities beyond society, classes and law who, in a hierarchical system, exercise their power over others and others are obliged to follow it (Nazeri, 2002: 204).

Political reputation

The culture of tolerance is a political and social process which is one of the most basic elements of improvement and development of societies. Tolerance of law, encouraging people to engage in logical dialogue and creating a rational atmosphere, and vice versa, prevents the spirit of political intolerance and submissiveness from realism and rational judgment, and creates him subject to tolerance and militancy. Lack of tolerance certainly not help the institutionalization and efficiency of parties (Mohammadi et al., 2019: 140).

Personal and subjective thinking

One of the cultural obstacles which has overshadowed not only in Iran but also in the Islamic world is personal thinking and taste. The art of listening, the art of comprehension, the art of exchange and communication, the art of learning, the collective art of thinking and the public art of thinking are the instruments of social organization. If citizens are not aware of each other's thoughts and do not establish bridges of communication, how can they achieve form, cohesion and system (Sari al-Qalam, 2002: 44).

Economic factor Weak government economy

Fundamentally, the centralized state economy, by ignoring the private sector and not giving it the suitable location for it, causes the emergence and life and institutionalization of civil organizations like the parties, because when the economy is completely under controlling the government. It is natural which power and all political institutions are under controlling the government. Iran's economy in the past and now is mainly government economy and the private and cooperative sectors have not been strong enough so far and have not been present in the field of party activities (Akhavan Kazemi, 2009: 197).

Problems of parties in financing

Nowadays, one of the major concerns of parties is how to obtain financial resources and staggering expenses of this organization. In the countries like Iran which are centrally governed due to the economic structure and face a lack of growth in the private sector and, consequently, the weakness of civil society, parties have often become independent in the governing bodies of the government. Thus,

they seem inefficient, and in periods when independent parties emerged beyond the purposes and motives of non-governmental organizations, in terms of lack of financial independence and inability to finance various party activities, they weakened and collapsed after a short time. (Mohammadi et al., 2019: 140).

Table No. (1) Reasons for non-institutionalization of parties in Iran

Economic reasons	Cultural reasons	Social reasons	Historical and structural reasons
Weak governmental economy	The culture of commanding and avoiding law	The orderliness of the parties	Lack of formation of parties in their historical context
Problems of parties in financing	Political reputation	Religious delegations and communities	Authoritarianism and the absolute structure of power
-	Personal and subjective thinking	The role of government and its performance	Lack of fundamental changes in social formation and the opposition between tradition and modernity
-	The principle of weakness in reaching a consensus	Cross-sectional, seasonal and centralism of party activities	Pessimism and ignorance about the role of parties
-	-	Weak performance of parties	Weak civil society and inexperienced political participation

Reference: Mohammadi et al., 2019: 140).

In this section of study, different economic, cultural, and social problems of non-empowerment of parties were examined. Because gaining a superior position in the world arena needs the development of country in different fields, and the parties have a significant and effective role.

Conclusion

The presence of political parties in society is regarded a required and fundamental need, so that the government and society require a party. The cause why society requires a party is that today the demands of groups and strata have altered and their understanding of their class requirements has increased so that they

can increase this class requirement to the political system and because their education has increased. Also, their awareness has become more and more in the form of an organization that we call the party. The government also feels that it cannot continue without the party. Governments require to connect with society. One of these connections is the party. Thus, the participations that take place in the form of a party will be more democratic. Therefore, the mere presence of the party is not sufficient. The obstacles of party should be deleted. A serious pathology should be handled to reach an ideal point. The concepts of political development, popular participation, political legitimacy, legitimacy, tolerance, political order and stability are concepts that intersect at the emergence of political parties and groups.

Suggestions

- 1- The necessity of re-reading the record and performance of party with a pathological and critical view by the political parties and party leaders themselves and serious attempts to delete the present and investigated obstacles in this study on public trust and cooperation and participation of people in the parties through their channel.
2. The requirement to reform the attitude of parties via the nature of participation and alter the view of civil society from present state; In addition to striving for commonalities like national unity, respect for religious and national traditions, promotion and development of society, national security and the like;
- 3- The requirement to alter the view of parties and the government towards each other; from aggressive to the restrictive to cooperative and complementary. By the institutionalization of this type of viewpoint, we can observe the context of cooperation among the parties with each other and with the government and the

realization of unity while pluralism and competition in society in the future.

References

1. Akhavan Kazemi, B, 2007, Causes of Inefficiency of Political Parties in Iran, *Zamaneh*, No. 66.
2. Akhavan Kazemi, B, 2009, Causes of Inefficiency of Political Parties in Iran, Tehran, Islamic Revolution Documentation Center.
3. Bagheri Khozani, M., 2004, Party in Iran, pathology of the party in Iran, speech at the General Assembly of the House of Parties of Iran.
4. Bukharaizadeh, M, 1397, The position of parties in developed countries, *Qanun Yar*, Volume 2, Number 5.
5. Bashirieh, H., 2006, An Introduction to the Political Sociology of Iran, Tehran, Contemporary View Publishing.
6. Basirinia, A., Allah Javan, H., Geraminia, H., 1398, A study of the efficiency and inefficiency of political parties after the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the third national conference on innovation and research in humanities, management and Islamic education.
7. Zakizadeh, A., 2009, Interactions between parties and elections, Tehran, *Rahnama*.
8. Zibakalam, P., Moqtadaei, 2014, Political Parties and its Role in Iran's Political Development: A Case Study of Elections, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, Islamic Azad University, Volume 10, Number 29.
9. Sardarnia, Kh., 2014, Sociological Analysis of the Institutionalization and Failure of the Party in Iran from the Constitutional Revolution to the Present, *Historical Research*, Volume 6, Number 4.
10. Sari al-Qalam, M, 2002, Rationality and the Future of Iran's Development, Tehran, Center for Scientific Research and Strategic Studies in the Middle East.

11. Sari al-Qalam, M, 2002, Research Methods in Political Science and International Relations, Tehran, Farzan.
12. Sadegh Famian, M., Tohidfam, M., 1398, Reasons for the Continuity of Political Parties in Contemporary Iran: A Case Study of the Left, with Emphasis on Party Documents, Contemporary Political Essays, Volume 10, Number 4.
13. Azbami, R., Motalebi, M., 2016, The inefficiency of political parties in Iran, Spring National Interest Studies, No. 3.
14. Mohammadi, Z, Bavandapuri, M, Eivazi, M, 1398, Non-institutionalization of parties in Iran and its impact on the future of elections, Research Policy, Volume 6, Number 13.
15. Naderi, A., 2009, A Sociological Study of the Political System of Saudi Arabia, Quarterly Journal of Foreign Policy, Year 23.
16. Nazeri, M., 2002, Causes of party inefficiency in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Master Thesis, University of Islamic Sciences and Education.

Latin references

17. Salem, Paul, (2010), "The Arab State: Assisting or obstructing.