



Impact on the political culture of national unity in the Islamic Republic

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ABSTRACT

In this research we try to demonstrate the national unity from the viewpoint of political culture in Iran and its connection with national unity on theory Internal Solidarity Diamond. On another word the main hypothesis in this research is the effect of political culture on national unity. Regarding that in addition to political culture there are other elements like economic structure, social, cultural and political structures are also influential on the regarding phenomenon. The main objective of this research is to study the effect of political culture on national unity in Iran. The research method in this research is also analytic – descriptive. According to the results of this research, in Iran, because of long existence of autocratic authorities, they have been the creator of a kind of culture that is based on distrust, autocracy, self-orientation, negative individualism, omission, destructions, aggressiveness and etc. the consistency and long life of this authorities result in strengthening of this culture type among elites and bulk of people in a way that during the development of this political culture, this has transformed into a independent variable. This kind of culture has a negative and not constructive effect on producing agreement between elites and national unity. Evolution in political culture in order to gain national unity is a necessity.

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Introduction

National Unity One of the most important accessories is current unity and continued existence of a link between the government and the people of the modern era has been thought to unity of the state where it is difficult.

National unity is important that the current government strategies and methods to achieve it all to work and sometimes they are willing to resort to force and violence.(Lunar , 2005)

On the broader issue of national unity and solidarity rather than consensus in Iran in various fields of economic, political, social and cultural elites from different layers of society, the dominant function of the political discourse of the period.

Discourse of traditional patrimonialism period , typically no need for the nation and citizenship concepts such subjects would suffice .

Modernist ideology divorced from the side of God, king and country, and with an emphasis on ancient Iran was used to achieve national unity .

With the victory of the Islamic revolution, the Islamic identity - was underlined Iranian reformists from 1376 to 1384 , the national unity through discourses such as civil rights , freedom of speech , etc., were searched .(Jalaeipour , 2002)

Policies to achieve national unity is needed to elites .Elite among different segments of society, reference groups are no empathy with their like-minded policy of national unity will remain unfinished.

The active engagement among ethnic elites , parties and different layers of society, creating solidarity, affinity , relationship, empathy and ultimately raises national security and unity.(Amaanian , 2003)

In this study try to influence of political culture on the national unity in the framework of theory diamond Coherence - internal Mahmoud Saryolghalam (2003) in the aftermath of the Islamic Revolution of 1979 to 2005 are studied.

Internal consistency of the diamond:

A framework Theoretical that has been developed in order to understand the problems of developing countries.

Based on this framework for resolving the legitimacy crisis, experts (representatives of different layers of society) reach consensus on various issues.

Then through a rational education system by altering the traditional political culture, political culture and rational consensus among different segments of society to convey that will eventually lead to the formation and social organization will be internal coherence.(Saryolghalam,2003) take a look at theory of internal coherence is to internal system development and fields in which development potential to bring.

In this framework, the current political culture based underdevelopment and development are based upheaval in the political culture.

The most important feature of the political culture of the subject's personality and current mood of our tribal and clan.

The problem of personality and mood, of course, is not the genetic structure of personality and mood have made. (Saryolghalam,2003)

If a society is with the culture and morals argument, there is a process in which public intellectuals and Tools (representatives of different layers of society), a consensus around the above definitions are in fact that society joint inference in different levels of thought and action. (Saryolghalam, 2003)

Habermas communicative action that is oriented to reaching understanding the agent knows consensus and cohesion.(salehi,amiri,2009)

The effect of social relationships is a common discursive space in which humans live in a particular area, sense of unity and consider their shared interest. And those who are living outside of the space-alien thought and thus their boundaries are

separated from the others, so it can be found through dialogue and Habermas argues that the attainment of consensus hope. (Kribe, 2007) scattered elite cannot create a coherent society. coordination of both environmentally friendly and introspection among elites (and groups and of the representatives of different layers of the society) is that the first and the most important social contract horizon fuel development and (national unity) considered.

Organization, unity and coherence at the elite level, the need for unity and community organizations are provided. (Saryolghalam, 2003)

Maykelman believes that consensus exists among the ruling class to accept the action is transferred to the lower classes. (Keshavarz, Shekari, 2000)

After the formation of the association and coherence of the elite (the representatives of the different layers of society) through a systematic education rational and process of socialization, new political culture and rational (such as trust, tolerance, understanding and dialogue, individualism positive, gregariousness, collective work, cash and competition instead of removing and destroying, relativism, etc) replaces traditional political culture (such as, distrust, pessimism, intolerance and lack of tolerance, absolute orientation, removal and destruction of authoritarianism, autonomy and self-centeredness, individualism and negative) are used.

As a result, the organization and its internal coherence and unity (the elite) are transferred to various social groups.

In this case, the closeness, harmony and love of country among various social groups are formed and the implications of national goals and national interests and etc Regardless of belonging to the tribe or religious, or co-particular stratum. (Saryolghalam, 2003)

Political Culture:

Max Weber at the book "The Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism" in his analysis, he knows the culture, the way people have lived on it, have directional and hierarchical to exist between the values are established. (Aleghafor, 2001)

In this definition, Weber on the material aspects of culture and life style of the people and the immaterial aspects of culture, which emphasizes values.

Two dimensions of the material and spiritual culture of each of society.

Aspects the material is applied to the phenomena of the visible and tangible and measurable quantitative and scientific standards, and this set includes tools and objects, which is built into the previous members of the members present, it have been, including techniques, tools applied.

Aspects immaterial include things that are not measurable with quantitative standards.

This collection includes customs and beliefs, sciences and arts that are deeply covered by language and script. In fact, this collection represents the cultural identity of the community. (Saryolghalam, 2003)

Political culture as part of a whole culture, a set of attitudes, attitudes and orientations of a nation toward the political system, elite and the political power and each other of historical related to events within the society takes shape and position the kind of relationship people between politics and others sets.

In other words, the political culture approach to individual or group to policy, political structures and their role in the political process is determined. (Pay, 1991)

The behavior and political practices of a given society, affected by the different elements of psychological, environmental, social, historical, political, and etc.

Scientists believe that the science of politics, political culture as a factor that plays an important role in shaping the political behavior of members of society.

Before all political culture studies related to development of the special political development to generally and national unity in particular has a close relation.

Since the political culture that includes a set of attitudes and attitudes about politics and power, therefore content political culture may be favorable or unfavorable to developing political and national unity. (Bashiriye, 1991)

A tradition of community, spirit public institutions, the emotions and the collective wisdom of citizenship as well as style and action secrets leaders, the results are not random historical experience, but as part of a whole meaningful together and the combination of a collection of proportion and and of reasonable relations create some.

In fact effective political culture and a society has made the system of values and considerations provided reasonable. (Pay, 1991)

Many of the battle of the political and cultural societies and at the domestic level the international can be of Perspectives knew that political culture to form.

If reflection culture public spirit society, are also attitudes form of mind and perception that society has been formed according to social action and any such an index is done. (Tylor, 1992) decision making in the realm of political and social on the basis of reflection attitudes. Thus emphasized that anthropologists to culture as the main determining factor human behavior focus. (Palmermonty and others, 1998)

Sociability and political change political culture

Called political sociability for the first time Edward E. Schattschneider (1951-1986) American in the nineteenth century.

In his research in the name of "social control" defines socialization as "the process in which feelings and desires are formed in such a way that the needs of individuals or community groups, to be consistent and coordinated.

Socialization is a process of education that in search of indoctrination the values, norms and trends in the minds of people so that they can find confidence in their political system. (Alam, 2001)

According to Ronald Inglehart's theory of culture, thus implying that the culture does not change overnight. Governors and laws can be changed, but the fundamental aspects of culture change takes years. (Inglehart, 1994)

The cultural transformation that occurs when a large enough change in the economic and or political and social environment, but also of changes should be done slowly, and usually through the Socialization of new generation will be realized and transition difficult and painful.

In other words, cultural change has the innate desire to environmental changes that cause it are left behind.

Sociologists in the analysis the transmission of political culture and metamorphic on the role of socialization particular socialization emphasize.

Socialization refers to the process through which people learn to Accustom with social norms and social stability, and transmission of culture from generation to generation it should be possible. (Aber Akrambi, 1991)

Almond and Powell believe that political socialization is the process of maintaining or transformation political culture.

In this process people into political culture and direction to their political goal of the form. (Almond and Powell, 1978)

In addition to shaping the political socialization political views of the new generation is not limited but the process to dimensions a system as public order, social justice, legitimacy of, policymaking, political stability and national unity, choice leaders and Summary making and institutions and what happens in society to continually influence.

Traditional political culture and tribal sources in Iran

Political culture in any society is feeding from different sources. On the issue of why and how these traits and characteristics among Iranians developed to grow and stable are institutionalized, we did extensive research and deep.

But in between the social, historical, geographical, climatic, economic, political, cultural evolution, and growth and internal of this features are. (farkhojaste, 2007), We will continue to investigate these features.

Natural and geographic location:

Iran has always been in special geographical position was that the name events. "Rene Grousset" Iran land crossing in communities, groups and movements of various major history sees. (bayani, 2000)

This significant role in shaping the personality of Iran, and the structure of power, economy and the like, this country has had.

Interaction between Iran and the environment, one of the factors determining the behavior of the culture and identity, as well as a number of Iranian power structure is such a people from one side of the of thinking and an open mind and flexibility and adaptation with the conditions that have such a spirit ready for development.

On the other hand, it is the way that, for the destruction of cultural metamorphosis There is a higher risk. Therefore Occasionally continuity of historical and cultural continuity have been torn apart and has brought Iran to its alienation.

Making family:

Authoritarian political culture and the traditional family structure is patriarchal attend.

Patriarchal family structure, especially when the concentration of power, discipline intense and emotional relationship with cold is associated, father between absolute love and absolute violence oscillation and the child feels behavior of others to have no control over.

A result world seems to him irrational and unreliable. Thus attempts to provide elite security through obedience.

Thus a method that the child in dealing with dominance of the father has taken had lasting impact on his behavior with political power. (bashiriye, 1995)

David Mac Kolland American researchers during a study done in 1968 concluded that the construction of Iranian family is very authoritarian and hegemonic.

It seemed to him domination father's in different fields of life caused lack of confidence and this will causes that person to be very introverted or take revenge his father the government and the social and political life. (kamali, 1995)

Construction of tribal and tribal:

In political and social culture of the two-level of Iran we are facing, Behavior that is aspects of the urban and rationa Behavior that tissue of tribal, rural and traditional ,For the position of tribal culture in political culture has been accumulated is determine it is necessary at first tribal culture identified.

This is said that that relationship between tribal culture and political culture in Iran?

This reason that understanding of politics and government and culture associated with it what in pre-Islamic history and after what Islam Actually coming to power of tribes / Eilat.

coming to power one tribe Means to remove to another tribe, that period of growth, maturity and decadence was behind his.

Any Eilat came to power Other Eilat with force and intimidation dominated and Union lands of iran with the principles intellectual/mental and behavior his tribe to build Of the institution.

Concentration of political and unity of a land with the widespread invasion And sometimes massacre a people or inhabitants of a town and claimants power has been removed. (shaebani, 1990)

Individual group members and his tribe has trust and It puts outside the circle of distrust, This lack of confidence and a feeling of insecurity, causes the multiple job and roles of the sensitive or insensitive to the group loyal to, trustworthy and obedient through them that kinship these characteristics with their assigned to carry.

This effects of social relations in institutions and political organizations the government of Iran that generally principles of tribal and Ely This way appears that role and learning of political and coalitions based on kinship ties, tribal, local, and Ely will be realized.

Political culture Despite the developments remarkable economic and social and even urbanization of the Iranian people and governance structure the remained intact and the realm of politics of tribal characteristics such as distrust, violence, The consensus problem and etc has continued.

As the tribal culture of violence, distrust, unity, negation, hostility, and looted has been current,

In the system of the political culture political culture Iran divided and lack of a consensus and rejection and the elimination it is observed.

Islamic Revolution that tyranny was staged, but Iranians tribal autonomy and behavior did not quite and thus problem prevented Iranians having from the collective understanding and wisdom. (marashi, 2002)

Iranian political elite do not trust the environment and other elite rival.

Pessimism should be as a sign of the main executives and political leaders be considered, and that is why the government to society and social groups is suspicious and society also itself distrust of the government is expressed. (Gastil, 1950)

Making political:

One of the most important resources that can affect in the shape and type of political culture, Type of political system is dominated society.

Bilateral relationship between political culture and political structure, Caused deep the effectiveness these two have on each other.

The political system in shaping the political culture of a society is effective.

As political culture of creating principles that will determine the legitimacy of a system is influenced.

Iranian society with such historical legacy culture, could not open the riddle of despotism and anarchy and continuously Occurred from one to the other.

Although the political culture of a nation, influenced by the facts that various Takes Form and finds the transformation but

The facts of history shows that political cultural was highly influenced by dictatorship.(miri,2001)

Evaluate the political culture of the diamond framework internal coherence:

Based on internal coherence diamond theory required to achieve national unity, existence and the institutionalization of minimal rational political culture such as trust, tolerance, convergence and cooperation, consensus and the competition instead of remove and destruction, Team working, individualism positive and is Relativism.

In a society where people and elite of the such have a Being the cultural , elites or representatives of the various layers of society Thanks to such a culture around of national interests, national objectives, methods of government, foreign and domestic policy and other matters To engage in to communicate, discuss and dialogue.

As a result of these discussions,elites and representatives of the of the various layers society about foregoing, Subscribe to opinion and reach consensus.

Therefore at first with a social contract a kind of unity and cohesion between the elites in society is created And the unity of the elites in a process of socialization and institutionalization of rational political culture layers and lower level society is transmitted.

In this case, the various strata in society irrespective of the Which class, faction, religion and ethnicity have a common understanding and perceptions of the interests and goals of national identity.

As it was pointed out according to internal coherence diamond theory the first step to achieving national unity in Iran should be start of the elites this country and after the elites consensus, unity and cohesion through socialization, political, and replacing the political culture of rational instead of traditional political culture is a long process, the unity and coherence of national unity among the masses of the people to convert.

This is while the Iranian elites are derived from the text of this society and tribal culture and tribal politics. For this reason the Iranians not in the early stages and primary national unity and internal coherence have remaining.

And as long as political culture of the rational consensus and internal coherence and unity between elites and representatives of the different layers of society may not caused talking about of national unity will be Astray.

National Unity:

National unity is composed of two words unity and national. Unity meaning in the word is Coalesce and with Agreement and Coordination Has the same meaning.

National also can be sharing all the people of a nation in the Wishes and its purpose known.So that which are considered as a single set. Therefore national unity means of unity and agreement between the system components.(salehi,amiri,2007)

Of the perspective of systems thinking, Unity inhibitor are Imbalance and mortal.(badiie,1997)

If the unity of in the system of human, animal, plant and socially is has undergone instability Integrity and security systems are disrupted, Unity is the Synergistic and Rehabilitation Each set. (bayan,2007) national unity and solidarity, cause and factor of power and efficiency and Legitimacy of the system.

In the absence of the cause, also Caused is lost And authority and influence does not stay for the government, And

function and its key property that means govern and manage the affairs is fading. (moseghi,2000)

The importance of national unity in the Iran:

Special situation of Iran After ideological and geopolitical , constant concern for regional and trans-regional powers have caused. political conditions and Adoption policies Independent and different about regional and international issues, the underlying increase political pressure on Iran and the efforts by other countries to reduce the the legitimacy and international prestige Iran has caused.(hajiyani,1386)

For the further understand the sensitivity of the concept of unity in the Iran should keep these points in mind: 1- unity comparative category is because in reality, a society like Iran of different ethnicities and subcultures formed 2 - Iran is a land of varied and diverse.

The variety of different field of climatic, social, political, cultural, religious, and ethnic population is readily apparent. According to the diversity of opinions and tastes, social attitudes and political behavior and variety of demands is also found. (mirmohamadi,2001)

Unity only with intensive care by one group over other groups cannot be realized.the lack of overt conflict between people the reason is not solidarity and Unity.

An important phenomenon that Makes conducive to Field of unity, This is members society In terms of perceptual to mutual understanding and consensus in the various areas of social, economic, political, cultural, can be reached. (nikgozar,1990)

This understanding and consensus in the developing countries such as Iran should first be shaped among elites and representatives of the different layers of society and Then, through the process of socialization and transformation of Rational political culture and institutionalized political culture, This consensus among themselves to the down layers and the masses transfer.(ghazimorad,1992)

Interesting to note that the integrity and national unity , Characteristic is not constant and permanent societies, which leaders and the elites Toward to feel leisure to take wing.

But always in the different time intervals should be revised and reconstructed. Because traumatic and threatened factors always present in the social environment and engaged in weakening and destroying. (rohani,2005)

Maintaining and strengthening and expansion of national unity is something permanent for each political unit. (ghezelbash,2005)

National Unity after the Islamic Revolution of Iran (2005-1979):

The revolution 1979 was led by the Imam of the popular uprising that ended the monarchy 2500 years in this country. This revolution with the slogan of Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic, strata, classes, religious minorities, and people with different political affiliations and ideological marshalled.

Effective factor that eventually led to the national covenant between major competitors powers, Among the topics Anti-imperialist and Anti-dictatorship in the form of institutions, images and concepts of Islam.

Alliance that emerged in the late fall of 1979 in Iran a clear manifestation of the unity Movement was popular. After the Islamic Revolution Various periods Emerged.

This periods were together like a chain of consequences and each governments, in contrast, have been formed rejected and criticized each other and national unity in each period was affected by dominant political discourses.

The revolution beginning until 2005, three periods of Dominant discourse be studied:

1-The first decade of Revolution (1989-1979), 2- Construction period (1997-1989) and 3 -reform period (2005-1997).(hoseinzade,2007)

First decade (the period of charismatic leadership of Imam):

Rating 98.2 percent of people to Islamic Republic of Iran be Indicative The depth of solidarity From this Revolutionary space.

Revolutionary space that had arisen in the early part of Revolution and causing Empathy all the political groups and classes of people were very temporary. (soltani,2005)

During this period (after the revolution) influential the opposing faction groups that toppled the Shah, Immediately after the revolution, were engaged in a struggle over power.(farson and mashayekhi,2008)

After the Islamic Party took power and Following the ouster of President banisadr in 1981 also came to the party. After leader of the revolution, the National fronts and the Freedom Movement described as enemies of Islam and Party infidels. (bashiriye,2002) Of the year 1360 other forces are also excluded.

At the time of the revolution, are faced with a range of sub-discourses that Started discourses Islamic traditionalists and to Secular or non-Islamic modernist discourses are terminated.

The strongest of these discourses, Was an Islamic discourse that focused on the person of Imam Khomeini Formed. (soltani,2005)

The ideological identity creation and strengthen it instead of national identity and public focus on mass mobilization, emphasizing upon Islamic and Iranian identity, emphasis on faith rather than citizenship, is characteristic of this discourse.(bashiriye,2007)

With the first decade of research developments and evaluate the internal consistency of the diamond can be stated this so. Although various groups and factions of the Islamic up to secular and National Front With the different tendencies fought in a fronts against Shah and In overthrow to leadership of Imam had unity.

But after the overthrow the autocratic and Pahlavi regime, pursued different goals and demands.

And instead of consensus through dialogue, negotiation and engage efforts in eliminating the Each other and sometimes violent acts armed conflict.

Although by eliminating seculars, the Islamists faction took power with the support of the people and the leadership of Imam. But this did not mean that there is complete unity among them.

With the removal of non-Islamic and factions groups, the Islamic faction fighting to honor among themselves that led to the split and the gap between them and the traditional left and the traditional right In contrast formed. Although until the late Imam was together coordinated and Pursued the same goals.

But this Islamist association did not continue and in order to change the political culture of traditional, tribal took no action and as a destructive and non- constructive elements of national unity still remains after the revolution.

And this domination of tribal political culture, several gaps were created. That later Islamist groups Even Tried to remove and destroy each other and National unity with the face of dangers.

Development period (1997-1989):

In this period of conflicts and honor between the traditional left and the traditional right reached a peak.

In the Society of militant religious due to Differences in tastes and lack of consensus and understanding, gap was created and in front of the opposition, it was Critique and negated.

This Modern Period (1997-1989) had two main characteristics. 1- lack of Charismatic personality of Imam in the politics scene 2- End of the war.

On the other hand, the transition from the Stage ideological Cabinet to technocrat, the new Harvesting in the interpretation and explanation of political issues to the elites imposed. (azghandi,2001)

Some of these concepts perhaps the most important was discussing about the goals and national interests and foreign policy.

Discourse and the way which in this period for establishment of national solidarity, in addition attention to Islamic identity in its first decade , was conservative nationalism and culture.

In the ideology the main concern is not Equal observance of the rights but also the main concern is how to maintain public order and social cohesion by strengthened patriotic feelings and friendly country.

After a period study Periods construction and actions in order to achieve national unity is far from useless. To the evaluate and assess Based on the internal consistency of diamond theory, that in present study as a theoretical framework attempts to achieve national unity.

In the periods construction instead of Elite consensus interpretation and the discourse of a particular person or group and regardless of the implications and other groups were dominant and in the Goals and national interests and policies Basic rotation than previous round Found.

National solidarity must necessarily be based on a common goal and without purpose and common direction cannot be Correlations members of a group and in general ethnic and national communities have retained.

Second, pessimism and distrust and suspicion toward other groups and factions to the extent was that Mr Hashemi, president's administration had assigned to the his brother, sons and nieces.

Reform periods (2005-1997):

In the Content analysis of khatami's speeches, issue of political development his First priority among was the multiple objectives and greater emphasis on the characteristics of legalism, people orientation, pluralism, freedom of expression and the right to vote is.(hoseinzade,2007)

In front of the course opposition that Long before the Getting started Khatami their deep discontent of his political and cultural liberalization program had expressed, Criticisms and his attacks against the implementation this program began.

They Citing the some of the material contained in the press, Spread the Freedom makes dominance of liberalism, promoted civilian casualties, threaten religious values and dominance dissidents and It was considered a threat against the system.(fozi,2005)

In autumn and winter 1998 series of the chain killings against of writers and Political activists critical took place which shows political culture and Tribal behavior, even with the loss of Despotism after the revolution still remains intact.(marashi,2007)

Evaluating the reform periods with the internal consistency of diamond theory these cases can be noted:

In the reform periods like the pre-reform Domination there is a faction and discourse without the right faction or Fundamentalist and other groups and factions about different matters Consensus to be reached.

Thus In this period interpretation and understanding particular Reformers of the goals, national interests, internal and external policies and practices of government prevailed/ became ruling.

Although democracy, civil society, freedom, equality, in order to realize national unity is good and desirable but the establishment and creating this categories without changing the traditional political culture Only result would be chaos and It is like building on sand dune.

In fact the government of Khatami did not look at the issue of political development as a Cultural work.(sariolghalam,2003)

National unity of The internal consistency of diamond theory:

The internal consistency of the importance and giving priority to Development of domestic factors comes from.

Need for attention to Inside It is therefore that both of the decline of human, Civilizations and them Efflorescence, glory starts from within. Because real coherence is the result of intellectual integrity intellectual integrity and Center of intellectual integrity, are elites that must be among them to achieve common understanding.

Means common understanding between an elites to intellectual coherence and this Practical Cohesion and national unity is essential leads. (tohidfam,2006)

Creating association unity and internal cohesion among the elites in order to realization cohesion and unity in society is essential.

But more than that Venture to Cultural Reform more essential and more fundamental. (tohidfam,2006)

The theory a process for realization of national unity in developing societies underpins.

Thus theoretically, the communities where traditional political culture, such as mistrust, autonomy, absolute orientation, negative individualism, violence, exclusion and destruction, as well as a variety of political, social gaps and enabled reaching national unity will be difficult.

Why that national unity need for a sense, the intellectual understanding, agreement and consensus that are not compatible with the above mentioned characteristics and entails maintaining Rational political culture.

Traditional political culture, and its impact on national unity in Iran:

When a group of people in a particular geographic interact with time tendencies have found similarity.

The similarities all people of public classes and strata in the covers.

In many societies, cultural levels "above structure" In many societies, cultural levels "above" structure pervades on the similarities interactions and, them formed and directs. (sariolghalam,2007)

This set is effort up public spirit and political culture of Iranian as the foundation of behavior patterns to explore the structural.

Thus, Culture should be considered as the foundation of structure and Action of political in Iran.

After this study was to investigate the fundamental and institutionalized characteristics of the Iranian nation (beliefs and Collective mentality)and the impact of these characteristics on national unity.

Distrust:

Trust Splicer of the different components of society and Creator social groups.

Trust lies at the foundation of all social relations. If there is no Trust in place, that is impossible imagine it a radical, society finds Hobbes's situation normal. (Ghayq zandi,2006)

Surveys undertaken by research centers in Iran, showed that elites and the citizens Iranian are placed in the state of distrust relative to each other.

In this connection, we are witnessing a process in which different forces, are considered as the fifth column of the enemy.

This process was such that brokers each of the political in Iran sets itself competing as advocate one of the most powerful countries the defendant therefore the Term anglofyl, rosofyl and amricanofyl was prevalent in the Iranian literature. (mosalanejad, 2007)

In this case, each of the elements of power, control politics and power national and does the government itself and cannot exist consensus.

Because each of the groups, the other does not accept and will not trust it, and relative to things that they say is suspicion and about working together is concerned.

Iranian autonomy:

The human tendency to live in the range meet the needs and Realizing the benefits and private and personal interests Unmediated instant as definition autonomy is provided.

In fact autonomy as The concept of the submergence "in my leaves in tact" or Is the in itself humans.

Individual and Enlightened autonomous of what actually recognizes as the absolute truth that we all have to follow it, Defines the people and Mere Following the people Of this fact a person is required,

In fact, autonomy, being prevented Iranians have collective understanding and Wisdom after the Islamic Revolution. Finally, the impact has been negative direction for achieving national unity.

Absolutism, Absolute Oriented encounter and black and white, another element of the Iranian political culture.

Absolute political culture, the culture of confinement, In two respects going to extremes Is the political spectrum.

Culture zero or one hundred, this political culture is based on logic or this or that and "this time and it" is not the way to this valley.

Or should be zangi or Roman, there is no space between the two of them, namely the closure of tolerance and incidence Culture of conflict and violence.(sharif,2001)

In such Attitudinal a person or group of knowledge, values, beliefs, and their perceptions about different issues entirely considers it true and right.

And others are completely false and wrong This Absolute oriented attitude their toward discourse, interpretations, and their understanding of politics, society and so on.

Each faction comes to power in Iran without considering of discourse and competing inferences and other groups, discourse and interpretation of his faction will prevail and it considers true and fact.

This mindset and attitude, even in the era of reform Was the dominant element.

Lack of Tolerance:

Tolerance protest attached to the reception. In other words, Tolerance to something that there is a negative attitude about it.(bashiriye,1995)

The main reason intolerant, absolutist's and 'S unique epistemic.

The Man who does not Tolerance thought that his interpretations of his opinions and various programs and policies, entirely true and others interpretation entirely wrong, the meaning of tolerance,

IS not tolerance of discord Rather means accepting the fact that it's different and tolerance in the legal framework, social and cultural that for all the right considers. Tolerance means not to suppress conflict, not abandonment it.(Katouzian,2001)

Even in Iran in the safest Fields individual, there is Instances of discord, misunderstandings, intolerance and authoritarian controversy.

In the many cases it is seen that there is limited political tolerance among friends, although some of the groups competing Iranian in the field of domestic policy, and rejects accusations of authoritarianism and intolerance but realities of political cultural indicate that the authoritarian personality is One of the main symbols of the behavior Iranian political and social areas.

Such a process exists, even among liberal intellectuals.(Horkheimer ,1972)

Conflict and violence:

Political violence means the use or threat of use of violence to achieve its goals by each group or institution within or outside the political order. (Robert Kee,1998)

In the political culture Iranian violence as a main The essential Legitimate in the political conflict Will look.

In other words, the concept of society consider the "political struggle" is based Violence and struggle.

In contrast within this Authoritarian structure only possible answer to this violence and repression, Has been violence.

And the results of both processes, Extension of Removal culture, conflict and violence in political struggles, rather than action and reaction was peaceful and Non-adversarial. (sharif,2001)

History of tribal government of Iran is clearly indicative the fact that at the beginning of each series a powerful person from a tribe with the incentive to power after a bloody war and violence in the community, Tribal deployed discipline destroyed, To the establishment with the tastes and traditions of the his tribe and This has government dawn of a powerful but weak horizontal that Another tribe the same His action in another military employs.(Reza gholi , 1992)

The truth of the matter is that now the game is the same game, with the difference that new elements are involved.

Always a game of power in Iran has been Zero-sum.(Lerner, 2004)

Mentality of Conspiratorial:

Another cultural phenomenon in the political history of Iran the last few hundred years people have suffered, and has the government men and The Power elites, living with the enemy.

Space mistrust and paranoia, elites rather than dialogue and interaction and consensus use of weapons such charge.

Conspiracy to justify less patience and tolerance towards the opposing ideas.

Altogether Iranian elites are not realistic and democrats and with the philosophical and political pluralism hard to disagree.

Skeptics to his opponents and his rivals political and intellectual enemies considered.(Aqzand, 1997)

In this perspective, all the internal and external events, such a way to animus and foreign policy and desire enemies to related.

In such a perspective Individual does not show any role in determining their own.

However, It should be noted, that may be there is a conspiracy real.

Important point is that Formation of perspective that somehow pathological and unscientific, to impinges against with the events.

People with the having such mentality does not feel the need for national unity, and extended scene are empty for decision making of foreign towards the realization or non-realization national unity.

After this period of time any rate that the difference in interpretation, the implications of the various issues that were found in the same number of parties, factions and groups, was added.

As an example from within the factions Due to emergence and as soon to form in the interpretation and understanding of the objectives and issues, to the same extent and number of implications, the parties and groups separated.

Again, from among parties, groups and associations on difference in interpretation, parties and other associations formed and this process continues exponentially.

The result of this process is that the political system converted to Algeria Assembly to political tribes with Behavior and culture is tribal.(sariolghalam,2003)

With Historical analysis formation of political culture of Iran, Historical analysis of Iran with formation of political culture, resources and components it can be concluded that What in Iran causing discord, separation and division among elites, parties and finally is citizens.

Domination and hegemony of tribal political culture on behavior and Orientations Lack of political and rational socialization In society.

And the conclusion is that the behavioral that elites and the people in a society have together status and fate of the people is very determining.

In the Islamic Revolution Although groups and different tendencies in the overthrowing the regime Pahlavi with together had a general consensus.

But after the fall of the Pahlavi regime, groups due to had a distrust which each other and Absolute realistic attitude toward their own interpretations that based on Based on this interpretation, and his attitude is right and true and Competing interpretations considers it as invalid and wrong.

The reason for this that the correct attitude to governing in society rather than consensus and compromise come to sought excluded and suppressed.

A result of this tensions and conflicts between various factions, Islamists could with supported Nonreligious Grassroots groups, Marxist, Communist and etc do removed.

Even in the era Hashemi Rafsanjani due to more distrust Sensitive posts had to his own family.

In this period also due to absolute attitude, Consensus between left and right factions different about the issues, not just did not formed rather Policies era the of Hashemi Than eight years before Finding the fundamental rotating.

In era of Khatami due to distrust almost most of posts to the individuals trusted,(Not worthy) was assigned.

And also due to the Absolute realistic attitudes that interpretations and implications and their policies of the fundamentalist more correct.

Any movement in order to realize consensus by the reformers took not place.

In contrast fundamentalist According to the same Absolute realistic attitudes and distrust to reformers their attitude were considered wrong, influenced by the West and Threat against the system. and this reason instead of consensus about various issues Tried in order to eliminate and suppress both form of the Software and hardware. While the basic prerequisite for any kind of like-minded unity, consensus, dialogue, consensus and common having purpose and direction.

Conclusions:

Phenomena such as national unity, as any another Phenomena the effect of general and specific conditions that study and investigated about them Enjoys of vital importance.

Sets of this study and other studies show that in general, that Various factors national unity that Extensive comprehensive and deep research of the researchers and experts is necessary. This study has attempted to multi-factor complex (beliefs, attitudes and mentality collective) to Considered and its impact on the national unity has been under investigation. Meanwhile it is acknowledged that that Iranian political culture is not monolithic and are not effects the same and equal to the national unity. Each of the definitions, concepts and frameworks can be referred to an undiscovered corner of the field to the desired are clarify some extent.

Therefore in this field also study further and deeper would be necessary. Political culture of actions provides and has long historical roots. political culture Relatively stable and is a regular and the individuals to be eligible of Characteristics predictable. Political culture (manufacturer or destructive the national unity) as a there is no pure In non society And usually all societies combined Almost Have the disparate of cultures together. But The point should be considered and given it is what Perspective and functions as a dominant elements n a part of or whole Sets be effective.

This refers to that element or elements dominant are also Function of space and time and in the long term to be Transducer element or elements vanquished. Despite the differences in the various fields of social the general concept is a natural phenomenon in all human societies. Art and science society management in establishing the relative the national unity of differences.

The denial of conflict is clear issue. Important issue of society office, acceptance of differences and conflicts as a natural phenomenon.

And Taking necessary measures and measures in order to establishment of the national unity is on the basis and foundation of the same dispute. All elements of cultural creation, provision and deployment the national unity, are not worth. Some of the elements are more effectively and others are less important and effectively. studying the history of Iran steep, encountered To institutional characteristics hat as a attitudes and political culture become and is considered as Motives.

Attitudes in the history and special geographical conditions, climatic, political, economic, social, cultural, etc., are formed. Individual these features are intrinsic and Convert to as a part of his personality and them into the different process Have been guided For themselves.

These features are briefly:

- 1-in the past culture of Iranians, gained and power, the values and norms that are considered determination.
- 2-Almost the basis of political culture of Iran is built Based distrust between individual.
- 3- Roles and social status based largely tribal affiliation, ethnicity and kinship, was built.

4- Of previous social structure, violence, eliminate rivals, oppression, conflict, mistrust, avoidance rule, looting, insecurity, chaos, the gap between the people and the government, quarrels, antagonism, and Hemorrhage and lure had institutionalized.

Promote reforms such as insiders and outsiders, and the stranger, friends and enemies, internal and external in social literature has been disabled of the social history of Iran.

6-Unity in the social structure of According to minority interest is defined and general people had no place in the definition, Such Structure longevity of his long life of suspicion, negative individualism, self-centeredness, political distrust, insecurity, psychological, social, economic, cultural and ... Nourished in his heart and was institutionalized.

7- The vast majority of the ruling regime in this country, and sometimes with other methods and in practice of tactic of hypocrisy, oppression and migration of the dominance undisputed of his own for Used society and would undermine national unity context.

8- Incursions and raids Almost constant foreign into Iran from on the one hand and despotism Financial security and endanger of Iranians has endangered.

Over several years of revolution, one factor that has led to Iranian parties from a range of different issues with each other not to deal and reach consensus.

Any Party and faction has the power not only to interpret and understand the personal and party interests and goals without compromise and consensus with the major political parties and groups, defined and imposed as Objectives and national interests.

But each of way were trying to marginalize and exclude competitors, and to establish the national unity of its own discourse. If we need to people adorned with virtues and moral unity the elite First Should modify their behavior and they have their unity. Consistency, regularity and consensus of the group's political also causes National Strategy and Specifies the path of country.

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