



## Pathology of Nationalism Discourse in Contemporary Iran in the Shadow of Reading the Works of Contemporary Iranian Intellectuals

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### Abstract

The pathology of nationalism discourse in the contemporary era in the works of Sadegh Hedayat and Ahmed Kasravi in the government of that time required political and cultural measures. The main question of this research is that what are the most important features of the discourse of nationalism in the works of Sadegh Hedayat and Ahmed Kasravi, which can be observed by rereading their works? The method of this research is descriptive-analytical. The results and findings of the research show that the emphasis on components such as royal depiction of the king's intellect, promoting a sense of patriotism and patriotism, strengthening and instilling ancient teachings, spreading the Persian language and literature, keeping alive the ancient music of Iran, strengthening national unity, and magnifying the actions Shah, strengthening the Iranian national identity and nationalism, created a corridor between the Shah and the people to strengthen and perpetuate the rule of Mohammad Reza Shah.

**Keywords:** Iran, components, nationalism, Mohammad Reza Shah, national identity

### Introduction

"Nationalism" is derived from the word (Nation) which has a long history in European social culture. The word "Nation" from the Latin root "Nasci" which means to be born, has been common since around the 13th century AD. And it refers to a group of people who had the same hometown. Before the developments of recent centuries, the word (Nation) meant a generation or a racial group of people, and this word had no political importance; But in the 16th century (Nation) was referred to a common political unit, and its terminological use began at the end of the 18th century AD. The term "nationalism" was used for the first time in 1789 by Augustin Baruel, a French anti-revolutionary priest, and from this time, nationalism gradually became a political movement and doctrine until the middle of the 19th century, so the concept of nation and nationalism should be basically born of the revolution. France knew. (Assef, 2014: 74)



With this revolution, the idea of nationalism and nationalism was born in France and was exported to all of Europe with Napoleon's campaigns. The occupation of a large part of Europe by Napoleon caused a sense of national identity to arise for the first time in the occupied lands (Heywood, 1387: 270) and this wave of awareness of national identity in the 19th century caused huge changes in the map of Europe and we continue this process both during the years of the First World War and in the years between the two world wars (in the fascist regimes and Nazism crystallized) and we are witnessing it during the years after the war. In the years after the Second World War and in most of the colonial countries, we have witnessed the emergence of a type of independence-seeking nationalism, which was used as a tool by the leaders of the colonial countries to achieve political independence for their countries, and in recent decades, despite the opinion of some thinkers. Based on the reduction of the importance of nationalism as a political religion and doctrine, we are still witnessing the political importance of nationalism as a doctrine in the lives of nations, and the developments after the collapse of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe and the Balkans can be a witness to this claim.

In our country, Iran, in the 19th century and especially in the second half of this century, we are witnessing the emergence of nationalist discourse in the field of thought and action, and this discourse has a special prominence both in the pre-constitutional era, in the constitutional era, and in the era of the first Pahlavi government. .

-The problem that we seek to clarify and explain in this research is: What factors caused the formation of this discourse (nationalist discourse) in the constitutional era, and also in a more obvious way in Iran during the first Pahlavi era?

The importance and necessity of research

Due to the fact that nationalism is one of the most important political phenomena that has affected Iran's political-social developments, and throughout the course of Iran's contemporary history, especially since the constitution, we have witnessed the emergence of nationalist thought and practice in different forms in Iranian society, and also The topic that is raised under the title of the relationship between religion and nationality, made the writer think and reflect on what really happened to bring this idea to Iran from the West? (of course in its modern aspect) and entered the field of opinion and practice in a different context from there and in a different form, and also considering the fact that this issue has not been adequately addressed in Persian sources, we decided to Let's discuss in a reasoned way what were the causes and factors of the formation of this discourse in the period we are looking for, so that we can evaluate the performance of this political phenomenon in Iran in different historical periods.

hegemony

Hegemony is the fundamental concept of Lacla's discourse theory. Gramsci understands the concept of hegemony as a political process that articulates different elements and forms identities. From his point of view, the process of hegemony is the process of temporary stabilization of identities, and



social classes and forces are considered to be a set of forces and people with unstable positions and identities that are temporarily integrated through the process of hegemony. (Lacla, 2000: 53-57)

In Gramsci's thought, hegemony involves the production of meaning and thought to gain and stabilize power, and it is from this perspective that this concept is related to discourse theories. Hegemony bases domination on thought and persuasion instead of force, and it brings satisfaction and consensus and, as a result, acceptance of the hegemonic system. Hegemony is a kind of political logic that leads to the creation of new consensus and common sense. (Howarth: 2000b, p. 15) Gramsci described hegemony as a kind of moral, cultural and intellectual leadership that can create a historical unified force.

In Laclau's thought, the attempt of political forces to stabilize limited and specific discourses is called hegemonic action. The context of hegemonic actions is the hostile social sphere and various forces and projects that are in conflict and competition with each other and try to captivate the social forces and impose their desired discourses. If a discourse can dominate other discourses and take over the minds and thoughts of social actors and influence their identity, behavior and social activities in this way, it has become a hegemonic discourse in society. By expanding the concept of hegemony, Laclau and Mouffe come to the conclusion that the identity given to the individual and social forces is only achieved by articulation within a hegemonic formulation and has no stability or objectivity. In other words, these are hegemonic articulations that identify the individual as a worker, capitalist, citizen, liberal, and Marxist and place them within a specific discourse.

The order of society and its formation is the product of the hegemonic process and hegemonic formulations. Therefore, it has a temporary nature and the society never reaches the final stabilization. There are no objective and predetermined laws for historical developments and the direction of history cannot be predicted. Everything depends on the hegemonic political formations that articulate and direct various forces, conflicts and social demands within themselves. The logic of hegemony theory is the negation of historical subjects who are considered agents of social changes.

\* the power

In discussing power, Laclau and Mouffe approach Foucault's theories in genealogy. From this point of view, power is not something that individuals possess and apply to others, but it is something that creates society and makes the social world meaningful. Thus, power encompasses all the processes and forces that make up the social world and make it meaningful to us. Power is generative, creating a habitable world for us and freeing us from chaos and disorder. The formation of any identity and society is a product of power relations. In the sense that the creation of any society and the stabilization of any discourse is not accompanied by marginalization and rejection, and the rejection and suppression of all possible alternatives enables the stabilization of a discourse. Each identity establishes itself by rejecting competing possibilities. (Firehi, 2015: 59) The stabilization or objectivity of a discourse takes place along with power relations and exclusion and suppression of others, and without power, there is no stabilization and objectivity. The creation of a harsh hierarchy between two opposite poles is the introduction to the formation and stabilization of a new identity and discourse. Power is a prerequisite for identity and objectivity, and identity is a kind of power exercise, so without



power, there will be no society. The removal of power leads to the dispersion and disintegration of society, and therefore it is impossible to imagine a society without power relations, and for this reason, concepts such as liberation are not possible in principle.

The discourse of Iranian nationalism

The theory that is called "liberal nationalism", its approximate time can be determined from the time of the removal of Reza Shah, that is, from Shahrivar 1320 to the coup d'etat of August 28, 1332. At this time, the ideology of nation-building, that is, nationalism, although with some changes, still holds the pulse of affairs. As a result, the emphasis on racial-ethnic characteristics has been removed and there is no longer any mention of Arya and Aryan in the previous specific meaning and concept, and instead emphasis is placed on traditions and customs, and religion is also included as a part of Iranian traditions. They have national identity.

In this era, a link has been established between traditional and modern identity, and contrary to the previous theory, which only paid attention to the history of ancient Iran and introduced race and blood as the basic elements of national identity. In this theory, attention is paid to native and religious identity. But like the previous theory, modernity still has its own place and even with the presence of political conflict with the West, the West has not been presented as another and rival of the Iranian national identity. (Zuhiri, 1381: 152) In the formulation of the identity presented by the advanced nationalist theory, the ancient Iranian identity along with the components of modernity formed its main elements, but in the recent theory, in addition to modernity, indigenous and religious identity were also included in this formulation.

nationalism

There was an implicit form of centralized governance and national language in some periods of Iran's history (the Sasanian period and the 4th century AH), which was strengthened by the formation of a kind of nation-state in the Safavid era; But Iranian nationalism, in its modern sense, is a phenomenon that was formed mainly in the era of Naser al-Din Shah and was influenced by historical developments and European intellectual traditions. Nationalism is an ideological and related approach to modernity that formed the dominant identity discourse in Europe in the 16th-19th centuries (cf. Kechuyan, 2017: 47-15). In the 16th to 18th centuries AD, various European ethnicities that were freed from the rule of the Christian Roman Empire and the Latin language, gradually emerged in the form of a nation. In the second half of the 18th century, with the growth of rationalism and libertarianism, attention to history and the past, and the formation of the French Revolution, nationalism gained more power (Jaafari Jezi, 1378: 176-177). With the formation of the nation-state in the specific geography of the countries, national affiliations replaced ethnic-tribal affiliations, religion as a unifying element of the old empire weakened, and national languages took the place of the unifying Latin language; The world-patriotic thought also gave way to nationalism. In the era of Naser al-Din Shah, influenced by Western nationalism and the expansion of concepts such as nation, homeland, national language, national government, etc., nationalist tendencies were strengthened in Iran. These concepts have a high frequency in the social and political treatises of this era (see Admit, 1351: 84-86). Mirza Hossein Khan





Sepahsalar (Mashir al-Dawlah), Iran's ambassador in Istanbul and then Prime Minister Naser al-Din Shah, whose views of Newton, Descartes and Darwin were translated during his presidency, more than anyone else, introduced the new concept of nation and homeland to the official writings of this period and the concept He changed the subject to a nation. He had an opinion on the great French revolution, the Greek independence movement and the independence of the Balkan countries from the Ottomans (ibid.: 130-131). The nationalist attitude of Iranian enlighteners played a role in their critical view of ancient Persian poetry. In his works, Akhundzadeh dealt with nationalism with new combinations such as bigotry of the homeland, lover of the homeland, patriot, nationalism, nation, patriotism, nationalism, national honor, etc., and in this context, he considered the patriotism of the "capable nations of Ferangistan" (cf. Adami, 1369: 115-117). In "Kritka" too, he suggested to the editor of "Melat Sunnie Iran" newspaper to choose a combination of historical monuments of ancient Iran and the Safavid era as a logo instead of a religious logo (mosque) (Akhundzadeh, 2535: 33). Therefore, Critic entered Iran with an implied political and nationalistic load. Nationalism should be considered as one of the most important and influential ideologies of the present era. However, there is no consensus about what it is and its definition. Nationalism can be studied according to various viewpoints, and these viewpoints include a large number of definitions, schools and theories of nationalism. In addition, each of these attitudes and views are based on the diverse experiences of nationalism in the world, and this leads to the complexity of this category. Therefore, due to the excessive scope of the issue of nationalism, only a number of existing views are mentioned here:

#### - Eternalist

One of the dominant views among the theories of nationalism and even those who believe in it is eternalism. Eternalism contains several attitudes within itself that "Anthony Smith" has placed in three groups; A- Naturalistic approach

Naturalists consider national identities to be a part of human nature. They believe that nations have natural borders and therefore have a special origin and place in nature, as well as a special character and mission, and nationalism from their point of view is a characteristic of humanity in all ages (Ozkrimli, 2013: 87 and 88).

#### - Social biological approach

The social biological approach, which "Van Den Berg" is the main defender of, in response to the question "Why are animals social?" He writes: "Each animal can double its genes directly through its own reproduction or indirectly through the reproduction of relatives with which it shares a certain amount of genes. Therefore, animals can be expected to behave cooperatively and thus enhance each other's capabilities to the extent that they are genetically related. This is the meaning of selection based on kinship. Van den Bergh claims that this selection of kin or pairing with kin is also the powerful cement of human association. In fact, ethnicity and race are extensions of the term "kinship" (Oz Karimli, ibid.: 92 and 93).

#### - Cultural approach



Scholars who provide subjective definitions of nation have a cultural approach, such as Walker Connor, who defines nation as a group of people who feel they have ancestral ties. Although it should be noted that Connor does not consider the nation as an eternal phenomenon, but his definition of the nation places him in the ranks of the eternalists of cultural identity (Ozkrimli, *ibid.*: 98).

Many criticisms and comments have been made about these approaches. Some experts approve of "Eternalists" and others have criticized it seriously. This group of critics believes that if the strong relationships that arise from language, religion, kinship and the like are given by nature, then they must be stable and static. They are passed from one generation to another without changing their essential characteristics. While the reality is contrary to this attitude, because identities do not continue by themselves and require creative effort and spending. These identities are redefined and renewed in each generation and with the reaction of groups to changing conditions (Ozkrimli, 98).

\* Symbolists of ethnic identity

Symbolists, on the one hand, the continuity of the case

They reject the opinion of the primordialists, and on the other hand, they criticize the disconnection of the modern from the pre-modern based on the attitude of the modernists. John Armstrong, who is one of these symbologists.

Despite emphasizing the inventiveness of national identity, Antony believes in the existence of ethnic consciousness in history, even in Egyptian and Mesopotamia civilizations. January. Smith, a well-known defender of ethnic symbolization, believes that modern nations cannot be understood without considering the already existing ethnic elements, the absence of which was probably an important obstacle on the way to nation building. He believes that there has usually been some kind of ethnic base for the creation of modern nations, which can be in the form of some dark and vague memories and elements of culture and ancestral prayers that are hoped to be revived (Ozkrimli, 210).

From all the discussions about nationalism, it can be concluded that the existing studies show that nationalism is a new phenomenon and did not exist before the modern era. But this new phenomenon is rooted in cultural elements and components that exist in every society and without them, nationalism, nation and nationality cannot have any meaning.

Nationalism has four intellectual, final, credit and governmental characteristics. "The rationality of nationalism in the sense of the nation-state meant that the said trend was not a product of natural causes and factors, but rather a thought-out plan, a solution design that could solve a problem. When, for example, a country like France or Germany or Italy was declared as a nation-state, the homeland of the French nation, the German nation, or the Italian nation, it was more than a habit of familiar things or a desire to monopolize some factors of pleasure on the part of the people. Maybe it was a rational plan by the elites, which, in order to solve some problems, rode on that reality, the other nation gave meaning to a political geography, the relationship of its members is a generated solidarity, rather than something that was, it is something that has become. . Rather than being the result of an earlier feeling, it is the result of a later thought (Mardiha, 2015: 132 and 133). "Being final for national nationalism is



next to its other definition, which is rationality; It may even be said that because it is ultimate, it is rational. A special goal, which of course is not necessarily the same for all actors in this field. The political authority may defend the "political sphere" as a "special nation" for the purpose of making the arena under its rule wider, richer, and therefore more defensible, so that elites and intellectuals outside the government can fuel competition. for the purpose of development and progress. Contractuality (validity) is another definition for nationalism, contracts themselves are an order of reality, but the reality that becomes reality only through the contract and after that. Most of the countries we now know as nation-states are the product of contract. A country called Spain and a nation with the same name are the product of the same contract, because even now the Catalans and the Basques consider themselves a separate woven taffeta. But, for several reasons, it has been decided to count from Catalan to Zaragoza and from Madrid to Gibraltar, Spain. A decision that is sometimes realized by political negotiation and sometimes by applying military pressure and sometimes both (Mardiha, 134 and 135). The fourth characteristic of nationalism is its governmental nature, which can be seen in the construction of national identity. "Governments are generally interested in making their domain wider and safer, so without much regard for language, culture, etc., if they can annex other parts to their territory. If a part of the territory of the neighboring countries contains important underground wealth or an effective strategic location, this desire for annexation becomes a strategic necessity that can be fought for decades in a row. There is no doubt that the governments sometimes fail, sometimes they win, and sometimes the residents of annexed lands become obedient and uniform citizens, and sometimes they resist (Mardiha, 135).

However, it is difficult to provide a definition of nationalism and its conceptual derivatives. "Anthony Smith" believes that perhaps the main problem in the study of "nations" and "nationalism" has been to achieve appropriate and agreed definitions regarding the key concepts of nation and nationalism. In fact, the concept of the nation has been debated on two fronts; in the form of competing scientific definitions and as a form of identity that competes with other types of collective identity. Despite distinguishing the concept of nation from other concepts of collective identity (such as class, religion, gender, race, and religious community), there is little agreement on the role of the nation's ethnic versus political components, or on the balance between subjective elements. (such as desire and memory) and more objective elements (such as land and language) or about the nature and role of ethnicity in national identity. What is often addressed is the power or even priority of national loyalties and identities over identities such as class, gender, and race. Perhaps only religious affiliations have rivaled national loyalties in their scope and power. At the same time, national identities can mix with other forms of collective identity, or even slip into them, or replace them according to their strength and prominence (Smith and Hutchinson, 2016: 24 and 25).

"Roland Breton" takes another look at existing definitions of nationalism and its related categories. He believes that there are two approaches to the concept of the nation: "The first is the approach that has been called the ancient approach and then the approach that has been given the name of the modernist" (Berton, 2013: 242 and 243). The first approach believes in the historical and continuous existence of



nations. It means that he claims that we have always had a concept close to the nation in all times and places.

\* Nationalist historiography

The beginning of nationalist historiography dates back to 19th century Europe, although examples of it can also be seen in the 18th century. Historians of the 19th century, in France, England, Italy and Germany, sought to show national awareness of the distant past. The French historian "Michelet" planned the French nation in the Middle Ages. For Druisen and Seibel, two German historians, "Prussia" often pursued a national goal from the beginning, and Luther appeared to them as a national prophet (Berger, 1999:24).

Abdul Hossein Zarinkoub explains the writing of history based on nationalism in Europe as follows; "From the influence that the popular enthusiasm, especially following the national and individual emotions of the Romanticism era, left in historiography, the spread of histories based on the idea of nationalism, which was especially required by the developments in Europe in the late nineteenth century and the development of colonial purposes and the power-seeking of governments. In all In Europe, a number of historians were found who recognized history as a means to settle financial accounts or stimulate public sentiments for political purposes (Zarinkoob, 1999, 1992 and 1998). Meanwhile, each European country had a special experience in this regard.

"England historiography" in the 19th century was inclined towards Parliament and its developments. Therefore, the attitude of England's achievement in the field of politics, which had a history reaching the formulation of the Great Charter and which had resulted in the glorious revolution, was the creation of a political system based on the parliament, which, whenever it became necessary to take one of the two ways of revolution or reform, the need for the former Expired. William Stubbs, the famous historian of England, considers the formulation of the Great Charter to be the official point of union between the two Norman and Saxon elements in the formation of the nation. Therefore, the opinion was the political advice of the history which stabilizes the progressive reforms, and in time along with the establishment of freedom, the foundations of national establishment. In this way, the political evolution of England was introduced as a global model for the worthy destiny of mankind. In the historiography of England, British history testified to the genius of a Protestant people, and to the misfortune of the Scots, who were presented as culturally backward, and to the wretchedness of the Irish, who were left by Catholic misfortune. Although William Leckie sympathetically included the history of the Irish people in the heart of the history of England, his more prominent rival. James Anthony Froud does not consider the Irish to be worthy of self-government and calls them the unknown heirs of the British Empire (Gregor Soni, 2013: 286).

In Germany, the German historian "Dreusen" wrote a book in the history of "Prussian politics" that was more of a policy of the Hohen Tsolren royal family and their mission than a history of Prussian politics. Or even before him, a scientific association for the study of German history provided the first set of documents related to the history of the German people, and the members of this association viewed their work as a patriotic duty. Boehmer, one of the leaders of this work, openly admitted that





what drove him to history was not curiosity or ambition, nor the desire to be proud; It was love for the country. "Von Treichke" was another historian who spoke enthusiastically about the mission and leadership role of the Hohenzollern like Droizen, or "Von Ziebel" wrote a book about the establishment of the German Empire by Wilhelm I, which was in fact a eulogy of Bismarck's policy (Zerinkob, 102-104). This broad wave of historiography based on nationalism in Germany arose from the sea of events and events of this country, events such as Napoleon's invasion of this country, the division and disunity of the states, the movement of romanticism, independence and finally the unity of Germany and Bismarck's rise to power.

In addition to Germany, we also witnessed this issue in France; The French historian Jules Michelet, whose history of France became a source of national pride and joy for the French, or Jacques Benville, who was at a longer distance from Michelet, paid more attention to the relationship between France and Germany in the history of France. Throughout his life, he faced the threatening specter of Germany. In his opinion, Germany was a constant danger, especially its unity was considered a real threat to France (Zarinkob, 98 and 103). found a special

\* Nationalist historiography in Iran before the Pahlavi period

Iran's historiography relies on a heavy heritage. A heritage whose origins and roots can be shown in the 4th century of Hijri. This historiography has been the field of creation of countless historical texts and compositions, each of which has had an important contribution in building the historiography heritage. This legacy of historiography until the contemporary era was based on its own methods and styles, and all the works that emerged were within the framework of these methods and methods. This historiography, which should be called traditional and classic historiography, continued until the Qajar era. However, in this period, the occurrence of new developments in Iranian society, the entry of western ideas and the growth of new intellectual classes caused fundamental and fundamental changes to occur in the way of looking at history as well as writing history. Meanwhile, western ideologies and westerners' views on various issues and categories spread widely, so that it can be said that the western view became a dominant view in Iranian society. Among the ideologies of the Western world, nationalism received more attention than other approaches and attitudes. On the one hand, this ideology became the basis of political action and action, and on the other hand, it was developed, promoted and expanded as a new worldview and affected many cultural and social phenomena. Historiography and historiography are part of this pad was ideas.

\* Mirza Agha Khan Kermani

Nationalist historiography in Iran starts from the Qajar period. "Mirza Agha Khan Kermani" was one of the prominent historians in this period, and "Aine Sekandri" is considered his most important work. He was born in 1370 AH and was killed in 1314 AH. Fereyduun Admit considers him the founder of the philosophy of Iranian history or the greatest thinker of nationalism (Admit, 1357: 2). In addition to Agha Khan Kermani, "Jalaluddin Mirzai Qajar" was another writer who wrote a book entitled "Khosravan's Letter". Contrary to the habit, it has been written without Arabic words to reach a thousand chapters of knowledge. Of course, it will be remembered. In his book, he placed old Iranian



kings in the ranks of prophets and considers many of them to have both the position of king and prophet (Bigdalo, 54 and 5).

Mohammad Hassan Khan Etimad al-Sultaneh also became one of the prominent figures of this new trend. He believed that the technique of history with the abundance of works in Iran was hard and weak, from the beginning of creation to the beginning of the emergence of the Islamic state, the weak news and the wonders of superstitions were removed from the credibility and acceptance especially, and among the ancient kings, the names of many sultans were omitted. has been From this eternal period of the ancient history of Iran, the blessing of the later historians of Europe, both the earliest ones from the time of Herodotus, and the latest ones who are mostly still alive... (Admit, 154) Mohammad Hossein Foroughi and Mohammad Ali Foroughi wrote a book called "History of Sassanid Sultans" with his collaboration. He was of the opinion that the Sassanids are the real kings of Ajam and this was actually the main reason for writing that book. Another book he wrote was a textbook called History of Iran, which he wrote on the order of the Education Association. This association was established in 1315 by thinkers and social reformers who saw the solution to the reform and progress of Iran in the formation of new schools and to expand This work established the said association. The association felt that the new schools needed more than anything a period of Iranian history, and Foroughi wrote this book (Safat Gol, 1378: 112). These historians should be considered the most important intellectual elites of this era who wrote their historical works and books based on the ideas of nationalism.

\* Mirza Abdul Rahim Talebov

Abdul Rahim Talebov was born in Koi Surkhab, Tabriz. His father, Abu Talib, was a poor farmer. Abdur Rahim left Tabriz at the age of 16 and went to Tbilisi, which was the center of revolution and new ideas. There he learned Russian language and literature and some new fields of knowledge. Some time later, he went to Tamerkhan Shure, the center of Dagestan, and stayed there until the end of his life. He collected a huge fortune by contracting and began to read and write books with ease. He claimed to awaken Iranians and introduce them to the new world.

He was a materialistic and materialistic person and claimed that the evolution and happiness of man is in the acquisition of new knowledge and technology. For this reason, he thought of opening a school and in 1319 AH/1280 AH. With the help of Malek al-Mutkalmin, who was going to Europe via Badkoba, he opened a school for Iranians in Badkoba. Talebov's ideas are based on western and secular ideas. He was familiar with the history, literature and philosophy of Iran and Islamic culture, as well as the beliefs of Greek and Roman thinkers, and he was aware of the political and social theories of the West. The footprints of European Enlightenment ideas can be clearly seen in his works. Among the Iranian writers and scholars, Akhundzadeh and Mirza Malkam Khan were also influenced.

Influenced by Malkam Khan, Abdulhaim Talebov considers the secret of the West's progress to be knowledge, freedom and the rule of law, and he said that there is no other choice but to accept the principles of the new European civilization. And Talebov, like Akhundzadeh, believed in the transformation of the Persian script and language. He suggested that the dot be removed from Persian



letters, phonetic signs be added to words, and angles be converted into verticals. All of Talebov's works were published after his 60th birthday. His most important work is Safina Talebi or Kitab Ahmad, in two volumes in 1311 AH/1271 SH. It was printed in Istanbul. Talebov in his writings; He mostly speaks in another language and sometimes he mentions himself by the name of late Mirza Abdul Rahim. He also wrote poems and called them the first political poems of Iran. Among his most important works, in addition to Safina Talebi's book or Ahmad's book, we can mention these books; Ekhba Sepehri or prophetic history, Masalak al-Mohsinin, Talebi politics, clarifications about freedom, theological issues, translation of Marcos' document, translation of Flamari Board (Admit, 1345).

In a general assessment, it should be said that the nationalist historiography of the Qajar period was influenced by the interpretations of nationalism in this period, and this interpretation was in accordance with the definitions of nation, state and homeland. If the nation had no meaning in the past except for the followers of a religion, it found a new meaning from this period. It is perhaps for the first time in Malikum's writings that the nation is used to mean the totality of subjects, the subjects who lived in the political territory of a government and were subject to the government (Ajudani, 1383: 173). One of the interesting references about the concept of nation in this period It is from Fathali Akhundzadeh. Akhundzadeh wrote in his review on the tablet of Mellat newspaper, which was a picture of a mosque, "Firstly, the shape of the mosque that you considered a symbol of Iran in your newspaper" seems inappropriate in my opinion, because if you mean by the word Mellat, it is an idiomatic meaning.

\* Nationalism and focal meaning in the opinions of the enlightened

Enlightenment people formed their nationalism in an extreme and imaginative way in their enmity with Arabs and fascination with ancient Iran. They combined the nationalist attitude with the central meaning of their discourse (West/Iran, advanced/backward, Golestan/cemetery) and in this way, they naturalized the utopian view of nationalism in such a way that it still creates meaning in various political, social and cultural fields of Iranians. . In this combination, the opposite pair West/Iran became the opposite pair "West = ancient Iran/Iran today = Arab" and then it was generalized to Persian literature: Western literature = ancient Iranian literature (Shahnameh)/Iranian literature in the Islamic era (minus Shahnameh) = brutality, superstition and backwardness of Arabs.

\* Hedayat's nationalist works

Hedayat's nationalist works (Parvin Dokhtar Sasan, Maziar and "The Last Smile") were written when the nationalism of his fellow intellectuals was disguised as state nationalism and was the official ideology of the government throughout the 1300s and 1310s. The Pahlavi government as a powerful central government and nationalism as a leading ideology was the realized wish of the intellectuals who saw the distress after the constitutional revolution (Moscow, 2014: 8). Of course, with the passage of time, Reza Shah separated himself from the intellectuals with his autocracy; Because his nationalism was defined around the axis of God, the king and the country, and the nation had no other role than subjugation and obedience. Reza Khan's nationalism had three characteristics: glorification of Iran before Islam; harsh criticism of Islam and Arabs; The wish for complete and quick Europeanization of Iranian society and loyalty to the king (Homayun Katoozian, 1371: 4-13). However, Hedayat





nationalism has only the first two characteristics and its fundamental difference from Pahlavi nationalism is that it is confined to the past and has no hope for the future. This is the characteristic that made Ajudani call Hedayat's nationalism "desperate nationalism" (Ajudani, 1371: 474). Hedayat's nationalist works are not just historical and nostalgic works; Rather, in Jameson's reading, these works reconstruct their ideological subtext and reveal its contradictions.

Maziar's play is in three acts and ten Iranians and several Arabs participate in it. Maziar, his half brother Kohyar and his secretary Ali son of Raben are historical characters and the rest of the characters like Shahrnaz, Maziar's female protagonist and lover, are fictional. Almost half of the Iranians in the play are Arab bastards and spies. The first act of the play begins with two of these spies who are looking for an important document (Afshin's letter to Maziar) and cannot continue their work when Shahrnaz arrives. In the continuation of this scene, the faithful caretaker of the court, Shadan, has a conversation with Maziar, in which some of Hedayat's nationalist ideas are recounted and the bastardy and betrayal of Kohyar and other Iranians are mentioned.

The second act shows a synagogue outside the city. Maziar and Shahrnaz enjoy drinking here, and Shahrnaz plays the harp for Maziar, and Maziar drinks, and they feel at ease with each other without the noise of war. When Shadan came to the scene and the Arabs of Shahrnaz ran away with Shadan, Maziar stayed until he surrendered. At the end of this scene, the Arab commander weakens Maziar by pouring successive cups on him. Maziar also reveals Afshin's plan to liberate Iran.

In the last act, Shahrnaz takes himself to Maziar's prison and dies in his arms. Maziar goes crazy and is taken to the slaughterhouse amid the cheers of the Arabs (the highlighted phrases are very effective in our reading).

Maziar is the reconstruction of the historical conditions of a specific period and the effect of guidance as a symbolic action of obvious contradictions and contradictions and resolved them on an imaginary level. The apparent contradiction of the work can be seen in two places, one is that Maziar indulges in luxury in the middle of the war, and the other is that why does Maziar, as a national hero, inadvertently become a traitorous bastard? These are the contradictions of the text and are rooted in the political history of the Hedayat era.

Hedayat's work was published in 1312. Pahlavi nationalism in the days of production of this work is like a valid and powerful tool in the hands of Reza Shah for government. Any voice against this ideology is suffocated in the bud. There are many reports of killing, suffocating and imprisoning opponents of the Pahlavi regime (cf.: Homayun Katoozian, 2013: 57-46; Abrahamian, 2014: 203-185).

Pahlavi nationalism was defined in the form of loyalty to the Shah, and civil and social freedoms and the right to choose had no meaning in it. The contradiction that Maziar is based on is in this issue: in renewal, there is no freedom, right to choose, and as a result, there is no peace in it. Maziar resolves this contradiction in the break he creates in the main narrative:

In the middle of the campaign and when the Arabs attacked Maziar's base and are looking for him, Maziar and Shahrnaz are looking for their freedom war in the corner of a tavern:





Maziar is angry, his clothes are torn, he is sitting next to Shahrnaz, and Shahrnaz is holding a fork in his hand, he plays slowly and sings to the same song:

زمانی دل به رود و باده خوش دار  
به جام باده بنشان گرد از تیمار  
اگر ماندست لختی زندگانی  
سرآید رنجهای این جهانی  
همان گردون که بر تو کرد بیداد  
بعذر آید تو را روزی دهد داد  
بسا روزا که تو دلشاد باشی  
وزین اندیشگان آزاد باشی ...  
(هدایت، ۱۳۴۲: ۱۰۲).

In Hedayat's other nationalist stories, such as Rozbahan's "The Last Smile", the main character of the story seeks such peace at the last breath:

At this hour, he was so engrossed in his own thoughts, it was as if he was in the purgatory between nonexistence and existence, and he was living the same breath without being aware of his past, future, time, and place. It was a kind of ecstasy and self-absorption that did not care about anything, even his own life and death (Hidayat, 2536, c:94).

This moment is the best moment of life for Maziar: "Now I feel a special peace in myself, this moment in my life is very precious" (Hedayat, 1342: 104). This peace is because these characters can be free and experience freedom at this moment.

The break and suspension in this act of the play creates a contradiction that indicates an underlying social contradiction. Hedayat has resolved the individual and civil liberties that were ignored in the Pahlavi era on an imaginary level.

Another contradiction that exists in Maziar is Maziar's symbolic turn. A person who is remembered as a historical hero and many of Hedayat's nationalist ideas are expressed from his language, and everyone believes that he is a pure and pure Iranian; At the end of the second act, like his brother Kohyar and other traitorous Iranians, he transforms into an Iranian bastard. Maziar talks with the Arab commander, they drink wine together, and little by little Maziar reveals the plan of the Afshin uprising against the Abbasid caliph. In response to the Arab commander's question, Maziar says:

Maziar: Afshin's messenger brought me a message that on the day of Mehrگان festival, Caliph and his sons are guests at Afshin's house, and since Iran was freed from Zahak, the greyhound, on this day, Caliph Mo'tasim and his sons are to be killed, and Iran will return to fall into our own hands (Hedayat, 1342: 119).

Furthermore; Maziar does not show any resistance against the Arabs and is easily captured. The dams and castles he has built against the enemy's attack are easily destroyed, and he himself, who makes his last wish to rise, disappear.



Some researchers such as Hodayun Katoozian pointed out this point and of course considered this problem to be the result of the play's weakness: "Why should Maziar not be forced to fight heroically and half-heartedly captured by the enemy with a broken sword in his hand" (Hodayun Katoozian, 1371: 98). But in our Jamesonian reading, this is Maziar's political unconscious. Hedayat's play is not just an artistic rewriting of a historical event, in order to dramatize it, the hero is captured with a broken sword and a bloody body; Rather, it reconstructs the text of the society and its political history: Maziar, Kohyar, Ali Pasraban and the built dams and castles can be considered in an allegorical reading as Reza Shah, Ali Asghar Khan Hekmat (3) and Reza Shah's authoritarian modernization. Iranian nationalism and its godfather, Reza Khan Mirpanj, appear like this in Hedayat's writing; Because the father of this nationalism and Iranianism not only removed the nation from the political and economic scene of the country throughout the period of his rule; Rather, he took away the right to live from some people and looted many of their properties.

\* Nationalism from Kasravi's point of view

One of the concerns of Kasravi and Reza Shah's government was to arouse the patriotism of Iranians. Kasravi lived in a period when the idea of nationalism was spread and developed in Iran from the West, and from the Qajar period, Iranian intellectuals turned to this way of thinking more than from the cultural aspect, and they emphasized the greatness of ancient Iranian history. But during the period of Reza Shah, nationalism became political and was used for the political legitimacy of Reza Shah's government. This was one of the main motivations for Karoi's desire and bond with Reza Shah. Although some analysts believe that despite nationalism's emphasis on the pre-Islamic era, this approach cannot be considered anti-religious or anti-Islamic, and by projecting the continuous authority of Iranian culture in Islamic civilization, it rejected the existing claims about the cultural superiority of the Islamic era. In such an attitude, Islam was considered not as a religious act but as a form of collective identity that should be used to consolidate nationalism. But the fact of the matter is that this conflict with the Harb race and the removal and marginalization of the clerics, with whatever intention was done, brought radical, impatient, intolerant, and infatuated with the glory of ancient imperialism against Islam, which resulted in nothing but an attempt to weaken the religion. In Katouzian (1384: 126-125), the concept of nationalism is often related to components such as feeling loyalty to a particular nation, respecting national interests, giving basic importance to the special qualities of national characteristics, preserving national culture, and the right of every nation to have a government. It is considered independently (same) patriotism reflects the awareness of collective belonging and sometimes it is considered a manifestation of nationalism, but unlike nationalism which is based on ideological constructions, patriotism implies a natural love and an inherent feeling for the country or the land of our ancestors. which may exist regardless of whether human society is defined in the form of various nations or not. Influenced by the emergence of attitudes in the field of political theories that, with a view to modern western society, consider nationalist sentiments as a necessary alternative to replace previous models in forms such as traditions and religious practices. After the reconstruction of the traditional foundations of the political order in the West, it seemed that what can be considered as a link between the structural elements of the society is nothing but the feeling of



belonging to the nation. Based on this, Iranian social-political intellectuals and theoreticians, influenced by the prevailing thought flow in the West, came to believe that what is possible. It is the concept of nationality to place all the people of the nation under his great courage without distinction of language and religion. (Iranshahr 24 Moqrab 1302: 874)

Reza Shah's nationalism had many points of commonalities and differences with the patriotic ideas, perhaps the most important commonality was the effort to remove local languages, reject ethnic prejudices, create uniformity in clothing, cultural integration, and finally the unity of all Iranians. From the point of view of Kasravi, linguistic, ethnic and religious plurality were considered as important obstacles to the unity of Iranians. His life experience in different parts of the country made him familiar with the depth of fragmentation and disintegration of Iranian society. The outbreak of the First World War and the occupation of Iran, and especially the transformation of Azerbaijan into one of the main embankments of the war, along with the sectarian conflict between the Shia and Sunni Armenians and Muslims, the Jalohs (the Assyrians who lived on the border driven from the Ottoman territory) and the Muslims, as well as the conflicts of the Shiites with Bahais, Sheikhs and Babians, made the idea of nationalism fertile in Kasravi's existence and motivated him to choose the slogan of one door, one religion, one language. Mahmoud Afshar and his collaboration with Aindeh magazine deepened this thought in his being. By writing nationalist articles such as Safaviyeh Seyyed Badundand, he tried to prove based on historical data that the Safavids were neither Harb nor Shiite, but Iranian and of Kurdish descent. (Kasravi, 1994: p.7) By entering the realm of historical geography and trying to find a way to name the cities, he devoted himself to patriotic ideas with the aim of strengthening the national identity of Iranians, and sometimes he also spoke with the two-fire nationalists of Iran. By living in Khuzestan and Azerbaijan, Kasravi realized the depth of the danger of the extremist and aggressive ideas of Pan-Turkism and Yan Morbiim, who had marked a part of the territorial integrity of Iran, and he tried his share of the idea of Pan-Iranism, of course, with his own definition. defend It would be a mistake if we imagine that his spherical associations and sympathies with some currents and aspects of Reza Shahi's nationalism mean a complete approval of the nationalist ideals and slogans of that era. Karoi was against at least some of Reza Shah's nationalist approaches that emphasized antiquity and the absolute traditions of the monarchy. Although both Kasravi and Reza Shah's administration emphasized linguistic and cultural integration and the unity of all Iranians, there were some fundamental disagreements. Concepts such as nationalism, patriotism, good nationality were cited and used by Reza Shah's government as long as it could provide the basis for the reproduction of obedience and subjugation within social institutions to ensure domination and loyalty and personal submission. In this situation, affected by the centralization of the system of obedience and submission, the society is directly exposed to the will directed to the ruler's power, a will whose borders and limits are determined not through the social contract, but only through the capacity and material ability of the ruling apparatus. will be In such a situation, with the preference of assimilation of intention to innovation and obedience to independence, the creative talent is suppressed and only the tools that help to maintain it. would remain Kasravi's most important concern was the dismantling of religious sects and the religious unity of Iranians, but from Reza Shah Vahdat's point of view, the cultural and political language of Iranians had priority over religious unity. Reza Shah's nationalism was Western oriented.



While Kasravi was against the West. Of course, both Reza Shah and Kasravi had an adaptation view of the achievements of the West, but Kasravi's adaptation was aimed at science and technology, as well as the institutions of the constitutional system, but Reza Shah turned away from the political and democratic achievements of the West and could only work in the field of science and technology with A deduction should also be considered. Reza Shah's emphasis on adopting the Western models of organizing life, economic, cultural, educational and legal from a spherical perspective was dangerous, which he attacked in the book of rituals. (Kasrovi, 1312: 59 71) Karoi was against the growing wave of May, who was anti-Tazi and antiquarian during Reza Shah's period, and as a religious dissident, he criticized the behavior of Muslim Arabs during the opening of Iran with more reasonable interpretations. Of course, Kasravi from this point of view, it was the same with the nationalism of Reza Shah that the Arabs conquered Iran under the pretext of Islam and without paying attention to the teachings of Islam, they gave themselves superiority over everyone, ate the bread of Iranians, took them and considered them as their slaves. But this view of Kasravi, contrary to the pan-Iranist idea of Reza Shah's period, did not mean defending the Sasanians. According to Kasravi, the fate of the Sassanids was nothing but downfall, and if the Iranians had a knowledgeable and world-viewing ruler at that time, they would have accepted Islam and would not have allowed the falconers to enter Iran's border. And the wise bring Islam (Karvi, 1377: 57-58)

\* Nationalism in the works of Ahmad Kasravi

His interest and orientation towards language led to the writing of works such as "Azeri or the ancient language of Azerbaijan", "Names of cities

and diyas" and "pure language". Kasravi's purpose in writing these works was to pay attention to nationalist values and norms, and in "Azeri or the ancient language of Azerbaijan" he seeks to prove the existence of an ancient language in Azerbaijan, which the Turkish language has left aside. According to Kasravi, Azerbaijanis, with the position they have in Iranism, having a foreign language is not worthy of them, and they should all join hands and spare no effort in the advancement of Persian language in Azerbaijan (Yazdanian, 165). Kasravi writes clearly; It is a very popular idea that some people say that Azerbaijan was the land of Turks from the beginning, and there will be no benefit from such a statement. Azerbaijan has always been a part of Iran and has rarely been separated from it, yet its language is Turkish (Kasravi, 2015: 2-6). Kasravi writes in Pak Language that "the intermingling and openness of the doors of the language to Ar words Had Persian been taken out of "one language" or the opening of the doors of Persian language to Arabic words was nothing but the result of these whims and ignorance. (Kasravi, 2015: 2-6). As it can be seen, Kasravi's interest and inclination towards the Persian language makes him a serious and stubborn defender of the support of this national language against foreign times. Undoubtedly, Kasravi's attention to Persian language was not superficial and without reason. Kasravi was aware of the importance of language and wanted to have a single language in Iran. This single language was actually a symbol of the unity of the national identity in the country.





In the field of religion, Kasravi followed the same goals of unificationist nationalism as Bahatism and Sufism. But in other works, he sought to create a new ritual. In the Peyman magazine, he emphasized more on the Islamic period. In most of his articles in this publication, Kasravi focused on national integration. In his opinion, the nation is composed of elements such as language, race, religion, history, and ideals, but none of them existed completely and uniformly in the Iranian nation... He believed that in order to establish a nation, Iranians should make it one of their great dreams. In Iran, the spread of scattered religions such as Sufism, Ali Allahism, Ismailism, Bahatism, and everything like that should be removed... According to Kasravi, the people who live under one roof should have one religion and live one ritual. He believed that one of the obstacles to the integration of Iran was the multitude of common languages. In his opinion, the independence of the language of any nation is a condition for the independence of that nation, and any language that does not close its doors to foreign words will not benefit from its independence. According to him, Azerbaijanis have the same status as Iranians. The foreign language - Turkish - is not worthy of them and sends a message to the people of Tabriz to try to eliminate Turkish (Shabanzadeh, 1379: 116-116).

Kasravi's view of history, religion, and language was based on his desired nationalism. He was in favor of a centralized unified government. And he was against any opposing person and idea. This can be well seen in some of Kasravi's works such as "Five Hundred Years History of Khuzestan". Kasravi wrote the five-hundred-year history of Khuzestan during his tenure in this area. He was there in the capacity of "Chief of Justice of Khuzestan". It is said that "During this period, he fought with Sheikh Khazaal, who had all government departments and organizations under his power. When Khazaal's relations with the government became critical, Kasravi was in a bad situation and was under pressure and threats from Khazaal for three months. Khazaal even planned his murder (Asil, *ibid.*: 11). Abrahamian writes about the motivation of writing this book, "It is an attempt to show the harmful consequences of tribal and religious conflicts in the southwestern regions" (Abrahamian, 156). In this book, Kasravi deals with the history of the nomads of that region. He starts his review with "Sayyid Muhammed Mashasha" who is called "the greatest liar" (Kasravi, 3 and 4). In fact, Kasravi's main goal is to investigate the roots of Khazaal Khan's actions. During Reza Khan's time, this could not be pleasant for him, because from his point of view, Reza Khan was the cause of the creation of a central government.

Of course, Kasravi's effort to write and compile history was not limited to that extent. By imitating people like Akhundzadeh, Kasravi promoted anti-religious views. Under the pretext of fighting superstitions, Kasravi strongly attacked religious beliefs and teachings and did all this under the title of enlightenment. As an example, we can refer to this author's book about the Shia religion, which is entirely based on falsification and distortion of history.

\* Developments of nationalism during the time of Ahmad Kasravi

Developments and events led to the formation of a kind of general consensus for the formation of a powerful and centralized government among all social strata and existence. A situation in which the idea was created that a powerful person should build a centralized and powerful government as an



agent of the nation, who can protect its integrity and independence while solving the growing internal problems. While egalitarianism, libertarianism, and romantic nationalism inspired the first generation of intellectuals and their efforts to bring about change and reform throughout the country, for post-World War I intellectuals—who were influenced by developments in Germany, Italy, and Portugal—authority Political orientation and linguistic and cultural nationalism became a necessary force and work in realizing their dreams. Atabaki Veban, Zucker, 2005 (13) The desire to form a strong and problem-solving government, which became popular in the years between the two wars, had become globalized with different ideologies. which developed due to the crisis in modern identity structures since the end of World War I. In the preface of the 18-year history of Azerbaijan, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty is mentioned as one of the famous historical generals of His Majesty the Pahlavi Emperor, Kasravi, A, 1357:10) in the constitutional history of Iran, he is considered a king who ruled with great ability and skill for twenty years. (Kasravi, 1384: 825 describes Reza Shah in the five-hundred-year history of Khuzestan as follows: a famous Iranian general, His Majesty the modern emperor, who rose to the height of manhood... and since 1299, they took up the field of work and began to uproot the self-righteous and self-righteous. And within two years, they put down the rebellion of Amir Moayed in Mazandaran and the riot of the jungles in Gilan and the sedition of Mr. Ismail Semanfo in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, each of which was in the trouble of Iran for many years, and after these turquoises, they suppressed the nomads. Since the beginning of the constitution, they had nothing to do except galloping and brigandage (1362: 471).

Intellectuals such as Hossein Kazemzadeh of Iranshahr, Mahmoud Afshar Yazdi, Musharraf Nafisi (Mushraf al-Dawlah), Saeed Nafisi, Ahmed Kasravi, Ibrahim Pourdaud Rashid Yasmi Morteza Mushfiq Kazemi, Habibullah Pour Reza, Mohammad Qazvini, Abbas Iqbal, Karim Taherzadeh Behzad Malik Al-Shaarai Bahar , Hossein Maraghei Ali Akbar Siasi, Ismail Marat, Mirza Hossein Mohiman and Seyed Hassan Taghizadeh, with all their intellectual diversity, all of them believed that the other constitutional democratic hopes and aspirations would inspire enthusiasm and due to the current situation, they should turn to the dictator. He moved with the ideal of an enlightened nose and a clear-thinking stable that can provide the necessary grounds and preparations for a social revolution. (Vahdat, 2003: 129) Intellectuals before they predict the effects of such a thing. They wished for a power that could organize the socio-political structures of the country and realize their political ideals. Ali Akbar Davar, in an article published in Mard Azad newspaper, wrote: We need a powerful government that will kill all our habits with a bayonet. He should laugh at the nonsense of the illiterate leaders of the nation and tell everyone that he should be silent. To show the nation what kind of work should be done... The governments of the authoritarian period used violence and hardship, but not for the education and development of Iran. We say that because there are many obstacles to reforming Iran's affairs, force must be used. (Akbari 1384 (136) magazines and publications that were published at this time. Most of them considered their mission to preserve the nationality and unity of Iran and establish national sovereignty. Kaveh's mission was to promote European civilization in Iran, to fight against bigotry and stonewalling, and to serve in It was the way to preserve national unity." Mahmoud Afshar also promoted the concept of national unity; "national unity is one of the most important issues and facts in the future of our nation, whether we like it or not It will fall into this political current and



this truth will one day become the focus of our politics. Vahdat 1383 (127-126) In one of Iranshahr's articles titled Education in Iran, we read that a reformed person, an enlightened nose and an open mind are necessary that every morning They will forcefully sweep the door of our house and turn on the lights of our alleys, and forcefully change our clothes, reform our education, prevent seditions by force, and reform our royal court by force They should forcefully take away the intellectuals from the intellectuals, forcefully remove the unskilled employees of the offices, and forcefully destroy the wheels of the offices such as the unity of mankind and the unity of Islam stated: In a country that considers every class as an enemy, in a place where there are 114 lawyers who should be a nation in short, seven political sects named as modernity, evolution, Qiyam Million, libertarians, Impartial and minority who do not even know what they want and what is the difference.... in a country where the majority of the people do not understand the meaning of their city, provinces and country, and the word Iran is a mystery to them, what can be done? He hoped for progress and prosperity... Before introducing the Iranian nation to other parts of humanity, it should be introduced to its own people, reconciled and fraternized. (Iranshahr, 293 fire 2) Influential publications such as Kave Farangstan Iranshahr and Ainde promoted the idea that the first step of immediate and political reforms is to strengthen the central government. The main effort should be spent in this way so that, through the means of durability and strength, the state of stability and emptiness in Bali will be found and the air will be clear for national plans. A powerful government that replaces the previous judicial system will remove the authority of local rulers. To ensure the territorial integrity and integrity of the country and create a single nation based on a common language, a single culture and historical self-awareness. Nationalism is often seen as an ideology as a form of behavior that uses the national self-awareness of ethnic or linguistic identity in the framework of political activities and expression (Vincent, 1999 (333)) The national government is the product of the intersection of ideology, which on the one hand tends to Consolidation and stabilization of state power has nationalism and statism, and on the other hand, it seeks to create an identity-building and unifying space based on which all cultural elements under its rule will be led to obey an official dominant culture.

Nationalism is a state of mind and in the sense of a collective will that shows the ultimate loyalty of the individual towards the national government. Nationalism is an ideological movement to achieve and maintain independence. Its members believe in the formation of a potential and actual nation (D. Smith, 1923). The core of nationalism is based on a form of public culture and political symbol, and ultimately a politicized mass culture that tries to make citizens love Mobilize for their nationality and compliance with the laws and defense of the land.

\* Ahmad Kasravi; A symbol of nationalism before the Islamic Revolution

Nationalism and the nationalist movement in Iran, with the contact of Iranians with the thoughts of the Maghreb-Zamin society in the 19th century, Gesht Moshirzadeh (1374:36) was born and with the beginning of the constitutional movement, Iran entered the modern era and a new legitimacy based on the legalized government of the people with regard to understanding The constitutional atmosphere and synchronicity with it and outside of all the different opinions can be used as a measure to measure the flow of Iranian nationalism before the revolution. He was a master linguist and historian researcher





(Gohari, 2009: 735; Shahr Kitab, 2013), who by writing the ancient language of Azerbaijan opened his place among the history scholars of Iran and the world, and became a member of the Asian Homaioni Association and the Asian Geographical Association. He entered London and two literary societies in the United States and his articles were published in literary and cultural magazines in Tehran.

An important part of the intellectuals of the constitutional era defined the consolidation of national identity and unity in the sense of erasing the distinctions and groups, ethnic, linguistic, religious and unifying the language (Maki, 2013: 285) and the culture of all Iranian people, as well as changing the calendar (Bigdalo, 2013: 281-282) Meanwhile, Kasravi with expertise in Arabic, Pahlavi and Old Persian, Old and New Armenian, French, English, Turkish, Russian, Esperanto and local dialects of Khuzestan, Shushtri, Dezful and many cities of Iran is a good benchmark for the flow of nationalism before It is considered a revolution; For this purpose, in this research, he was chosen as an index sample in this research, who for a long time wrote the author of Farsaei's discourse in the month of Parkhum and the biography of Ahmad Kasravi in 2013). Kasravi wrote his historical works and researches in two distinct periods. The first period of Kasravi's historical studies (1300 to 1310 AD) does not have a logical continuity and a clear historical course. The second period: (From the beginning of the 1310s until his death in 1324, with the involvement of an extreme attitude towards Iran's cultural issues in his historical researches, a harsh stance against Shiism and Sunnah can be seen in them (Jazairi, 1990, Kasravi, 1323).

\* Politics, signs and national identity

Kasravi writes in his book on "Politics" (1324 AD): "Today, politics for Iran is that the backwardness of the mass and its problems are taken into consideration and ways to solve it" (1324 AD) 6 and he believes that only Nader Shah and Amir Kabir has been in pursuit of the true unity and integrity of Iranians, Kasravi with the benevolent plan of the Russian and British government and the equalization of both of them. became.

In Kasravi's thought about the constitution and his favors, we will look at this historical development which shows the importance of the signifier of the type of government in the field of his national identity discourse (Kasravi (1363); in other words, the element of interest in politics for him was the constitutional government and other He considered this government to be legitimate, which has caused division in the national unity of Iranians. Kasravi 1324 AD (24). On the other hand, in his opinion, the way religion is present in the government is not secularism, as in the non-interference of religion in the social and political life of the people, but according to Soroush's interpretation, it is secularism. It is militant" because it considers the force caused by removing the veil and veil to be useful (Kasravi, 1323b: 24). ) and in Kasravi's party and categorization, everything that he takes from the homeland of history and religion is his "other". Yazdani, 1376: 173) If we are not afraid of speaking the truth, we should say that Europe is not a place of wisdom and its actions are nothing but the actions of madmen" (Kasravi, 1311: 42); but all these slanders from the West did not make Kasravi take refuge in communism: In the Bolshevik religion, the field will be narrow and people will not have control over





their bread and clothes. Kasravi, 1311 (59) In general, Kasravi thinks about maintaining balance in relation to both the West and the East.

\* Society, symbols and national identity

History, as one of the social signs of national identity in Kaseravi's intellectual system, is one of the most important tools for informing the masses in order to identify "self" or establish identity: "If we say that history is like the roots of a tree for the masses, we have not gone too far." (Kasravi 2017: 29) Kasravi blames many historians of the past for not making a difference between "the other and the protectors of this country and nation" (Hassanzadeh, 2011: 64); Because remembering the masculinity of the ancestors in difficult times brings unity to a nation, but in Iran history has failed to play the role of national unity solidarity for some reasons, and most Iranian people preserve the history of their religion instead of the history of the country. Kasravi was of the opinion that reading history is different from making history a source of entertainment (Ksravi, 1317 A) (60) Finally, the result of Kasravi's national view on the issue of history is the necessity of national solidarity.

The flow of the nationalism discourse in the hope of national solidarity seeks the "self" of the Iranian consciousness in the history of ancient Iran (Hassanzadeh 2008) In this regard, one of Kaseravi's concerns was to arouse the motives of patriotism (Malai, 2014: 101-102). He saw patriotism as living together Kasravi, 1324B (22) and he avoided the similarity with imperialism. And "Frohr-Sazi" like "Europeanization" causes a lot of damage to the country (Kasravi, 1313b: 34) and he believed that there is no darkness between Zarathustra and Muhammad, they are both messengers of one and the same God and both of them have risen with the guidance of people. but there was a distinction between Islam and Arabism (Kasrawi 1314b: 5-12).

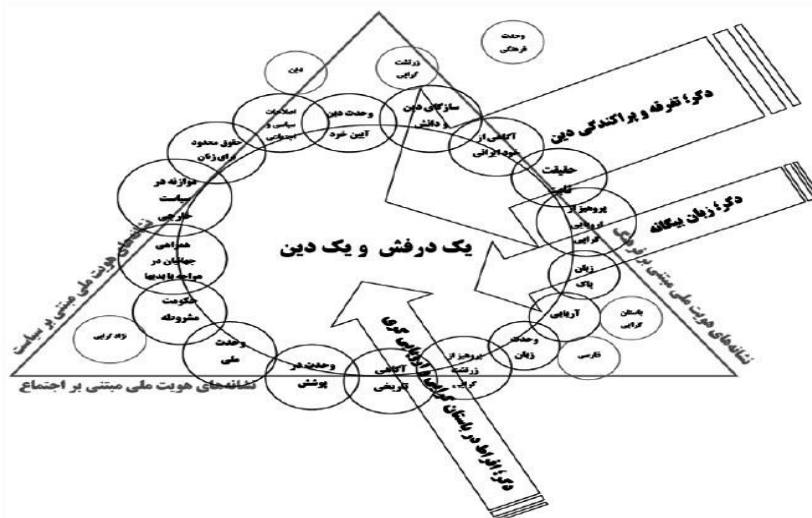
Kasravi's national identity model; In the field of discourse Nationalism, national and ethnic identity is formed in the struggle of our perception of ourselves and others. Iran against Aniran, Iran against Turan and Ajam against Arabs. Therefore, our self is associated with the awareness of the existence of others (Fazli and Tahmasabi, 1394: 109). Kasravi considered "self-knowledge" and "self-awareness to be one of the main duties of a person, and he believed that if a person does not know himself, he will suffer many losses" (Boroujerdi , 1377 34). But the "self" he is looking for is not the traditional self. In other words, self-knowledge does not mean going back to the past, but it means knowing the current "self" (Kosravi, 1991: 40). The fact is that Kasravi destroyed all the epistemological bridges of his "self" by protesting against what he considered "self". 1311). In table (1) and pattern (3) of the discourse of national identity, the most important difference is discrimination against the superior sign of religion, and all signs of discrimination are placed together with the chain of equivalence of "solidarity" and unity.



Table (1) Ahmad Kasravi's nationalistic discourse

مفصل‌بندی با وحدت	زنجیر هم ارزی: همبستگی	دال برتر: یک درفش یک دین
دگرهای گفتمانگی	دال و عناصر شناور	بخش
در برابر دگر شرقی و غربی	آگاهی از خود ایرانی	فرهنگی
اروپایی‌گرایی	یورش فرهنگی غرب و شرق	فرهنگی
دین چندپاره	وحدت دینی	فرهنگی
زبان آلوده به زبان‌های بیگانه	زبان پاک	فرهنگی
فراموشی تاریخ	آگاهی تاریخی	اجتماعی
فروهرسازی و نژادگرایی	وحدت اندیشه تاریخی	اجتماعی
رخوت در اتحاد	وحدت و همبستگی ملی	اجتماعی
نکوهیدن وطن‌خواهی	وطن‌پرستی	اجتماعی
عدم استقلال	سیاست موازنه ابرقدرت‌های زمان	سیاسی
مشروعیت تفرقه آفرین	حکومت مشروطه	سیاسی
عدم وحدت	وحدت و یکپارچگی ایرانیان	سیاسی

The clearest distinction in Kaseravi's national identity model with other nationalisms in the field of nationalism discourse can be seen in another indicator; The same concern that Abrahamian (1390) has pointed out, Iran in the 19th century is an example of a non-integrated society in many fields, this is what made Abrahamian (1390) call Kasravi's nationalism "unitary nationalism" and distinguish it from other nationalisms.



### Kasravi Territorial Unity Discourse



Kasravi's explanation of why Iran fell behind is that "the reason for Iran's lack of growth was its fragmentation." The imperialists did not create different sects: they only exploited their existence; According to Kasravi, only true ideologies - neither imposed powers, nor law, nor state institutions can bring together conflicting groups and individuals in the form of a unified nation. 45) Believes that nationalism in its true sense can be a religion and there is an emotional connection between religion and nationalist sentiments; Kasravi also wished to start a national campaign to eliminate the handcuffs in the country, but he was the only one A chain of equivalence is formed from the combination of the main signifiers of the discourse field. These signifiers have no meaning by themselves and are combined through the chain of equivalence by including the word "unity" that gives them meaning. Meli Kasravi is an essentialist, although we will see in the following that the emergence of the Islamic Revolution of 1997 caused this discourse to be bordered by the discourse of liberalism, but in the field of discourse before the revolution, this discourse emphasized the fixed truth based on unity. .

## Conclusion

This research is dedicated to the study and investigation of nationalist historiography during the period of Reza Shah. In this article, it was shown that nationalism was a completely western trend, and the place of its emergence and appearance was also the west. With the formation and growth of nationalism, related historiography also appeared. It is clear that this stream of historiography was rooted in the idea of nationalism and was placed in the framework of its teachings. The mentioned trend first appeared in the West, and following the expansion of the influence of the West to other parts of the world, Iran was also affected by this trend of history writing. During the Qajar period, the people who were part of the new educated class and were familiar with Western sciences and knowledge, were attracted to Western thoughts and intellectual and political currents. Among these educated people, such as Fathali Akhundzadeh, Mirza Afakhan Kermani, Malkam Khan were among the leaders. They were the first to defend Westernism and promote their Westernist ideas and beliefs in Iranian society. These educated people, who were called Manor al-Fekr at that time, were often associated with the Western Freemasonry movement and were actually the means of propagating Western Freemasonry beliefs and teachings in Iran. Following the Freemasons as their spiritual fathers, they propagated anti-Islamic, divisive and Western ideas. Since the Qajar era, they have been promoting Western-style nationalism, archaism and Zoroastrianism in Iranian society. It is clear that history was the best tool to promote these ideas. It was for this reason that the majority of these intellectuals turned to writing history, and this caused the emergence of nationalist history writing in this era. Therefore, it should be said that nationalist historiography was invented by the western trend in Iran and expanded by this trend.

During the Pahlavi period, more suitable fields and platforms for the growth of nationalist historiography emerged. It was shown that Reza Khan was a product of the post-constitutional period of instability. During this period, Iran's security disappeared and complete instability reigned over the country. This situation caused intellectuals and political activists in Iran to seek to establish a national and centrist government. Reza Khan was able to create such a government with the support of British





colonialism. He overcame his opponents by relying on force and removed most of the political rivals from the scene and became the only powerful person in the country.

During the time of Ahmad Kasravi, the central government was a military dictatorship in Iran, which held power until 1320. The era of this government had disastrous consequences for the people of Iran. But this government had many merits for pro-Western intellectuals and writers and freemasonry trends. During this government, Western nationalist ideas were very popular, Aryan racism, Zoroastrianism, antiquarianism, anti-Islamism and anti-clericalism were among the favorite ideas of Westerners during this period. At this point, people like Ahmad Kasravi promoted their anti-value ideas and published their views in the form of books and historical writings. Under the banner of nationalism and under the title of nationalism, Kasravi wrote against the sacred beliefs and values of the people. Although these people apparently supported the central government, this support was only in the direction of confirming Reza Shah's reign and helping him.

Ahmad Kasravi was one of those who supported the central government and spread the ideas of western nationalism in his writings. In the fourth chapter, these people and thoughts were discussed.

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