

**Racism among Iranian Intellectuals (1925-1979)**



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## **PLAGIARISM**

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and references all material and results that are not original to this work.

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## ABSTRACT

The works of contemporary Iranian intellectuals have been researched from many perspectives, but many of their thoughts have not been explored deeply, widely, and academically regarding the issue of racism. In this research, I used the qualitative content analysis method to examine the works of some prominent and contemporary Iranian intellectuals regarding having or not having racist elements in their writings published between 1925-1979. After methodically and analytically examining the works of contemporary Iranian intellectuals such as Ahmad Kasravi, Hasan Taqizadeh, Mohammad Ali Foroughi, and Sadegh Hedayat, we found evidence, elements, and signs of racist thoughts in their books and articles. In this thesis, you will learn about the views, thoughts, and racist approaches of the intellectuals whose names are determined towards Turks, Arabs, Mongols, Jews, and Islam. In addition, among the works of the five intellectuals whose names were determined to examine, racist thoughts were not found only in the writings of Reza Baraheni. With this research, I have tried to fill the existing research gap about the racist content of the works of contemporary Iranian intellectuals.

**Keywords:** Racism, Race, Iran, Turks, Mongols, Arabs, Jews, Islam.

## ÖZET

Çağdaş İranlı entelektüellerin eserleri birçok açıdan araştırıldı, ancak ırkçılık konusuyla ilgili düşüncelerinin çoğu derinlemesine, geniş ve akademik olarak araştırılmadı. Bu araştırmada, 1925-1979 yılları arasında yayımlanmış bazı önde gelen ve çağdaş İranlı aydınların eserlerinde ırkçılık unsuru bulunup bulunmadığına ilişkin çalışmalarını nitel içerik analizi yöntemini kullanarak inceledim. Ahmed Kesrevi, Hasan Taqizadeh, Mohammad Ali Foroughi ve Sadegh Hedayat gibi çağdaş İranlı entelektüellerin eserlerini yöntemli ve analitik bir şekilde inceledikten sonra, kitaplarında ve makalelerinde ırkçı düşüncelerin kanıtlarını, unsurlarını ve işaretlerini bulduk. Bu tezde isimleri tespit edilen aydınların Türklere, Araplara, Moğollara, Yahudilere ve İslam'a yönelik görüşlerini, düşüncelerini ve ırkçı yaklaşımlarını öğreneceksiniz. Ayrıca isimleri incelenmek üzere belirlenen beş aydının eserlerinden sadece Reza Baraheni'nin yazılarında ırkçı düşüncelere rastlanmadı. Bu araştırma ile çağdaş İranlı entelektüellerin eserlerinin ırkçı içeriğine dair mevcut araştırma boşluğunu doldurmaya çalıştım.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** ırkçılık, Irk, İran, Türkler, Moğollar, Araplar, Yahudiler, İslam.

## **DEDICATION**

Let this Master's dissertation be a gift for my elder brother Fərzad Böyükvənd, who planted the first flowers of thought in the garden of my heart.

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## **CHAPTER I: Introduction**

### **Prelude**

Many years ago, when I entered school as a student, my first encounters with racist thoughts began while studying elementary, middle, and high school textbooks in Iran. Especially when reading history and literature books, I encountered expressions like "wild Arabs, desert Arabs, wild Turks, Turkish slaves, desert wandering Turks, and wild Mongols".

In those years, this issue became a question for me, why, especially in historical books, Turks, Arabs, and Mongols are called savages, desert wanderers, marauders, etc.? However, I did not know enough to answer this question during those years. I did not even know that using these traits for other nations is condemned and criticized as a racist act in sociology and political science literature. Later, when I met the first Persian speakers who came to our city as guests, I noticed they laughed a lot when I spoke Farsi and made fun of my Turkish accent. This was my second experience encountered with the issue of racism in Iran.

Nevertheless, during this period, I felt to some extent that I was being racially humiliated by someone else or others. However, again, I had no study or knowledge about racism. Nevertheless, I realized I was racially humiliated in the third incident in Tehran. When I was a boy, 13-14 years old and we were a guest of one of our family friends in Tehran together with my family. While playing with other children in the alley, I was called the derogatory name of 'Turk-e-Khar' (Turk Donkey) by other Persian-speaking children. Moreover, after hearing this insulting, racist slur, I realized fully conscious that I, as a "Turk", was racially insulted by the other "Persian".

Later, when I was 15-16 years old, I consciously started writing poems, stories, and articles in my mother tongue, Turkish (Turks in Iran do not have the right to study in their mother tongue.). On that date, while studying the poems, stories, novels, and articles of prominent contemporary Iranian writers and intellectuals, I realized that some have racist thoughts against Turks, Arabs, Jews, Mongols, and Islam.

The racist content of the works of some contemporary Iranian writers and intellectuals, such as Ahmad Kasravi, Hasan Taqizadeh, Mohammad Ali Foroughi, and Sadeq Hedayat, formed the basis of one of my main research questions.

By studying the works of some contemporary writers and intellectuals of Iran, I understood that racist thoughts, antiquarianism, and extreme nationalism are based on a kind of historicism, giving importance to the special position of the Persian language, defending the supremacy of the Aryan race, clearly expressing ethnic hatred of Arabs, Turks, Jews, Islam and Mongols, the emphasis on the historical distinctiveness of the position of Iranians compared to other nations is promoted as undeniable and uncritical facts.

Those personal concerns during my elementary, middle, and high school days turned into intellectual and research questions over time, and I started researching the characteristics of the racism of Iranian intellectuals. In this research, I will try to discover the characteristics of racist thoughts in the works of some contemporary intellectuals of Iran using the qualitative content analysis method. To carry out this research, I will refer to the theories and works of some prominent thinkers in the field of humanities about racism.

In this research, our meaning and definition of an intellectual are based on the definition of this term by philosophers, thinkers, and sociologists such as Edward

Shils, Raymond Aron, Jean-Paul Sartre, Karl Mannheim, Antonio Gramsci, and Nicos Poulantzas:

*“Intellectuals go beyond traditional frameworks in any field, create new values, or cover old values with a new society. They offer new intellectual devices to explain life's aspects; they solve problems using thinking and critical power. They develop new philosophies for living, criticize the existing social and political situation, and go out of the common frameworks in thought, culture, science, and art. Interest in the public interest, doing continuous intellectual work as the main profession instead of physical work, criticizing the existing political and social situation, rationality and thinking in the affairs of society, politics, and culture, awareness of conflicts in society over political power, creation and transmission of culture, creation of social theories, and connection with the subjective dimension of social life in contrast to its objective and productive dimension, presenting a symbol of the social interests of the ruling or non-ruling classes, turning away from popular traditions, guiding the society towards the true desires and interests and ideals in front of every day and transitory interests, dissatisfied with any existing situation, recognizing the main problems and conflicts of the society and providing solutions, and predicting the future path, interest in abstract and general issues”.* (Bashiriyeh, 2011, pp. 247-248)

## **Problem Statement**

From my studies until today, while reading the texts of some prominent contemporary Iranian intellectuals, the sentences and ideas they used about the Arabs, Turks, Jews, Islam, and Mongols caused me to give rise to some questions. Over time, day by day, studying the works of these intellectuals, the presence or absence of racism in their works became one of my intellectual, research, and even personal concerns. For example, Ahmad Kasravi, one of the most prominent

contemporary Iranian intellectuals, in an article in the newspaper 'Parcham' (Flag) in 1944, called for the elimination of all Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, Assyrian, and other local languages and dialects in Iran. (Kasravi, 1944, p.1)

Also, Bozorg Alavi, one of the leading intellectuals and novelists of contemporary Iranian literature, in one of his books, compared the Arabs to the devil and recommended their killing. (Alavi, 1978, p.14)

In one of his stories called *The Mongol Shadow*, Sadegh Hedayat, one of Iran's most prominent novelists and contemporary intellectuals, introduces the Turks as ignorant and the Mongols as bloodthirsty, with low faces and dirty accents. (Hedayat, 1932, p.44)

One of the reasons we have limited the subject of our research to 1925 to 1979 is the emphasis of some political science and sociology scholars on Pan-Iranianism, and the extreme nationalist and racist nature of Reza Shah and the Pahlavi government. (Katouzian, 1981, p.134)

And this period is known among political science, history, and sociology scholars as the period of the establishment of the modern nation-state in the political-social history of contemporary Iran. The period in which Reza Shah Pahlavi and the nationalist intellectuals in the Pahlavi government united with him and sought to build a common identity for all the different nations, tribes, and religions living in the geography of Iran.

For this reason, during Reza Shah Pahlavi, the program and goal of the government education system in schools, which was imitated from the French education system, was mostly based on integrating all the linguistic and ethnic diversity throughout Iran. In this regard, with the extreme nationalist policies of Reza Shah Pahlavi, the teaching and learning of all Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, etc., languages

that could be taught in minority schools in the past were completely banned in the country's education system. These new educational strategies tried to Persianize the linguistic minorities of the country with a racist and nationalist perspective.

On this basis, while celebrating the history of ancient Iran and highlighting this historical period, at the same time, they began to systematically clean the Persian language, especially Arabic words, in the government newspapers of Ettela'at (Information) and Journal de Teheran. Farhangestan (Cultural Academy) was responsible for finding Persian equivalents of foreign words and radical cleansing of Persian from Arabic, Turkish and other languages.

With the expansion of these extreme nationalist policies, The Geography Commission of Reza Shah Pahlavi changed the names of 107 geographical regions of Iran before scientific and practical investigations of the plan to remove all Arabic, Turkish, and Armenian names. (Abrahamian, 2008, pp. 85, 86, 87)

In addition, Reza Shah Pahlavi and his government had emotional feelings and empathy toward the racist ideas of the Nazi German government. Because Nazi Germany, due to the Aryan race of the Iranian nation, while having good relations with the Pahlavi government, also admired and encouraged the Aryan race of the Iranian nation. (Foran, 1998, p.368)

Fred Halliday, a well-known political scientist who compares the Pahlavi era's extreme and harsh nationalism, archaism, and leader-worshipping features based on chauvinism to Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, draws attention to the fact that the Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, accepted this many times and called himself the Aryan race and the King of Aryans.

In addition, the Pahlavi regime, which established state policy based on extreme racism, did not grant any cultural rights to non-Persian-speaking nations and

prevented Turks, Arabs, and Kurds from studying in their mother tongues and developing their own culture.

According to a study conducted in 1960, only 17 percent of the elites of non-Persian ethnicity gained a place in the ruling class during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. The Persians, who called Turks "Donkey Turks" and Arabs "mouse eaters", used the textbooks in schools to be read by children in such a way as to include this racist ideology. (Halliday, 1979, pp 60, 61, 225, 226)

The famous writer, poet, and founder of Iranian Literary Criticism, Reza Baraheni, explained the systematic racism of the Pahlavi regime in detail. In contrast, the former Iranian head of state opened English-language schools for 3,000 American workers who came to Iran. However, millions of Turkish, Arab, Kurdish, and Baloch children could not study in their mother tongues. He says his rights were not officially and legally given due to Shah's racism. Therefore, when the famous writer explained the two basic features of his literary work: "Especially my inner feelings related to my repressed nationality as an Azerbaijani Turk, whose mother tongue was taken away by the Pahlavi regime after 1946 and never given to him, is the second basic feature of my literary work. " he says. (Baraheni, 1979, pp. 11, 12, 110, 111)

Also, according to Brenda Shaffer's research, between the 1960s and 1970s, some Turkish writers and intellectuals working in Tabriz started working in the fields of Turkish dictionary, Azerbaijani music, and poetry to protect their Turkish identity and culture from destruction to prevent the racist policies of the Pahlavi regime. When the racist policies of the Pahlavi state of Iran were going on, Reza Baraheni, who openly identified himself as an Azerbaijani Turk, stood against the Persianization project of the Pahlavi regime.

He defends his national identity, his mother tongue, and the oppressed rights of other ethnic minorities living in Iran and criticizes the political and cultural oppression by the Pahlavi regime. In his book "The Crowned Cannibals", published in America at the end of the 1970s, Baraheni wrote that Turks do not have the right to write Turkish even on their tombstones and that Turkish was declared a forbidden language by the Pahlavi regime. (Shaffer, 2002, pp. 60)

According to these examples, our main thesis in this research: There are racist themes in the approaches, writings, and thoughts of some contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979).

### **Purpose of Research**

In this thesis, I will examine the books and articles of several prominent contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979) regarding the presence or absence of racist elements and content in their works, whose names have been identified in the statistical research community.

This study aims to find the answers to the following research questions. Research questions: Were there any racist thoughts in the works of contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1979-1925), such as Ahmad Kasravi, Mohammad Ali Foroughi, Hassan Taqizadeh, Sadegh Hedayat, and Reza Baraheni? What are the characteristics of racist thoughts of contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979)? Which contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1979-1925) did not have racist thoughts in their works?

### **Importance of Research**

Doing this research is important in three ways: A: The cognitive importance of the subject. B: The practical importance of the subject. C: The developmental importance of the subject.

A: The cognitive importance of the subject: One researcher has written about the severe cultural repression and discrimination of Turks and other ethnic groups living in Iran by Reza Shah's government. (Shaffer, 2002, pp. 46-47)

Also, another researcher, while examining the contents of *Iranshahr* magazine published in Berlin: clearly showed the extremist contents of that magazine which was about the negative effects of the concept of ethnicity, the need for the destruction of local dialects, clothes, sects, feelings, and customs. (Abrahamian, 1982, p.123)

On the other hand, another researcher examines the impact of European racism on the emergence of modern racism in Iran, the role of aggressive nationalism and the concepts of the Aryan race in favoring Persian speakers, and the repression and humiliation of non-Persian nationalities and ethnicities living in Iran. (Asgharzadeh, 2007, p.10)

In his book, the researcher extensively explores the policies of Islamic fundamentalism, Aryan racism, and democratic struggles.

However, the importance of our research is in the specialty and specificity of its subject and the limited historical time of the period under study. Because according to our studies in the Web of Science, Jstor, Scopus, Taylor& Francis Online, and Google Academic databases, the works of contemporary Iranian intellectuals have never been independently examined academically for having or not having racist ideas. For this reason, this study will seek to fill a research gap in this field of study.

B: The practical importance of the subject: Through our research, we will test the correctness or incorrectness of our hypothesis by studying the texts of intellectuals whose names are identified in the statistical population of the research. And the

results of this research can be used as an academic study by sociologists, political scientists, and especially in Iranian studies.

C: The developmental importance of the subject: In the future, other researchers may review the results of this research if there are research interests. Also, for example, the presence or absence of signs of racism in the Pahlavi and Islamic Republic governments and political figures, cinema, theater, poetry, novels, stories, government policies, culture, and education can be examined and researched.

After examining the content of the works of some contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979), I found evidence and signs of racist thoughts in their articles and books. Based on this research's findings: my hypothesis is the existence of racist thoughts in the works of some contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979).

### **Method of Research**

The research method in this study is the qualitative content analysis method. Using the qualitative content analysis method, we will also analyze Persian and English articles and books of contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979).

Based on the subject, the research title, and the issues raised, the researcher will study most of the first category, Persian and English sources, which include books and articles. Nevertheless, most of the main sources will be in Persian because we aim to study racist ideas in Iranian intellectuals. Moreover, for this reason, we must explore the original articles and books written by prominent Iranian intellectuals between 1925 and 1979, which were written in Persian.

Nevertheless, during the research, if we come across articles and books written in English and Turkish about this, we will also check them. After collecting the evidence of the presence or absence of racist thoughts in the works of prominent

Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979), we will classify and write the findings of this review in the research findings chapter. Furthermore, in the fifth chapter, we will discuss, analyze and draw conclusions about the findings of this research.

## **CHAPTER II: A Survey Through Literature**

To better understand the problem, we must first check whether there was a racial conflict between the Turkish and Persian peoples throughout the history of Iran because the evidence of the existence of this problem is very important as the historical background of the research.

According to Ann Lambton, a well-known orientalist, one of the characteristics of Iranians' life until modern times was the conflict between religious and ethnic groups. In the eyes of European travelers who came to Iran in the 19th century, it was noted that there were very serious problems between Muslims and non-Muslims, Shias and Sunnis, tribes and peasants, and those who spoke different languages.

Arthur de Gobineau, the ambassador of the French state in Iran for nearly three years, divided the nations living in Iran's geography into six national groups: Iranians, Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Jews, and Zoroastrians. Edward Browne, who has valuable works on the history of Iranian literature, evaluated the entire history of Iran as a story of continuous wars between the Northern Turks and the Southern Persians.

According to him, we can see this mutual ethnic bitterness and anger carried and experienced between Turks and Persians until modern times. In addition, Vladimir Minorsky, considered one of the famous Orientalists, goes one step further and sees the fundamental feature of Iranian history in the eternal wars between the

nomadic Turks and settled Persians, who do not mix like oil and water.

(Abrahamian,1982, p. 27)

However, despite all this, in the eyes of another researcher, the absence of racist views was emphasized in the Persian poetry and prose works written in the era of the Turks, who dominated the entire geography of Iran from the founding of the state of the Ghaznavid dynasty to the fall of the state of the Qajar dynasty.

(Katouzian, 2003, p. 128)

There are very serious differences of opinion among those who wrote about the frequent clashes and conflicts between the Turkish and Persian nations in the history of Iran.

The famous researcher Seyed Javad Tabatabai, who writes about modern and ancient Iranian history and is known for his extreme Iranianism and Persianism, noted that no important prose works were created in Persia during the Safavid dynasty, which was a Turk. When Tabatabayi explains the reasons why the Persian language became insignificant and lost its historical place during the Safavid state, he writes that Shah Ismail wrote poetry in Turkish, the dominance of Turkish in the court of the Safavid state, and the gradual loss of Persian's historical place as the main ill.

For this, he showed that emigration literature appeared for the first time in the thousand-year history of Persian literature and that many poets and writers who wrote in Persia were forced to go to India and create a new literary stream called the Indian School, as a sign that Persians were subjected to cultural repression by the Turks in those years. (Tabatabai, 2013, p. 339)

From the point of view of another prominent researcher of Iranian political science and sociology, conflict and tension over issues such as race, language, and ethnicity began in Iran in the second half of the 19th century.

However, in the 20th century, it entered Iran very clearly and widely through individuals and intellectual groups influenced by the modern ideology of European romantic nationalism. These Iranian intellectuals, influenced by the nationalism and racist ideas of European thinkers and politicians, began to propagate, narrate and redefine issues centered around race, ancient history, language, ethnicity, and ethnic superiority.

These intellectuals started looking at and analyzing Iran's historical, political, ethnic, and linguistic issues using Europeans' criteria, thoughts, and views regarding historical, linguistic, ethnic, and racial issues. It was through the efforts of Iranian intellectuals that the localized version of the modern ideology of romantic nationalism entered Iran, and through the extensive ideological propaganda of these intellectuals, it became the official mission and belief of the Pahlavi government from 1930 to 1979. This extreme nationalism and racism emerged among Iranian intellectuals due to finding an answer to economic and military backwardness and scientific and technological weakness compared to Europe.

Those intellectuals, faced with the problems of contemporary Iran, which caused frustration and despair, turned to the glorious and influential era of ancient Iran. The theories of nationalism, Aryanism, and racism and the actions of people such as Gobineau, Stewart Chamberlain, and Kaiser, as well as Mussolini, Hitler, Rosenberg, and Goebbels, had a deep and wide impact on contemporary Iranian intellectuals such as Akhundzadeh, Mirza Aga Khan Kermani, Aref, Farrokhi Yazdi, Purdavud, Eshqi, Hedayat, Behrouz, and Shafaq. In addition, socio-political

figures such as Dabir A'zam, Taimurtash, Generals Shaibani, Amir-Ahmadi, Yazdanpanah, Reza Shah, and Mohammad Reza Shah were also influenced by these people's ideas.

For this reason, in the opinion of this prominent researcher, the ahistorical and racist Pan-Persianism of contemporary Iranian intellectuals dealt an irreparable blow to the body of Iran's territorial integrity, the position of Persian language and literature among the different ethnicities of Iran and Iranian culture because the intellectuals of other nations were forced to respond to this non-historical Pan-Persianism and racist thoughts of other Iranian intellectuals. (Katouzian, 2003, pp. 129-130)

Another researcher in the book "The Emergence of Iranian Nationalism" investigates the roots of nationalist thoughts in contemporary Iranian politics, history, and intellectuals. He mostly deals with the formation and growth of Iranian nationalism, and in the meantime, he also deals with the signs and symptoms of the nationalist and racist thoughts of prominent intellectuals of the Qajar period, such as Akhundzadeh and Kermani.

The main focus of this researcher is more on the nationalism of the Qajar era, and he has not researched the racist ideas of the intellectuals of the Pahlavi period in a detailed, broad, and specific manner. In this regard, he considers Mirza Agha Khan Kermani as one of the first racist thinkers of the Qajar era, who was very familiar with the anthropological foundations of racism and European racial theories. According to this researcher, Mirza Agha Khan Kermani is the first Iranian racist of the Qajar period, who, based on racial classifications, believed that Iranians, Greeks, and English were pure and civilized, and on the contrary, Arabs, Ethiopian Sudanese, and Negro (zangi) were wild and dirty. (Zia-Ebrahimi, 2016, p. 58)

It can be said that the book "The Image of Arabs in Modern Persian Literature" is the only research work in which the author specifically addressed the existence or non-existence of the issue of racism in the works of contemporary Iranian writers and poets. In this research work, he has discussed the existence or non-existence of anti-Arabism, anti-Islamism, and racism in the poems, stories, and novels of prominent poets and writers of Iran.

Therefore, he has divided his book into three parts. In the first part, it examines the works of male writers and their views on issues such as Iranian identity, nationalism, foreigners, Arabs, and Islam and the reason for the lack of progress in Iranian society from the point of view of these writers and poets. In the book's second chapter, the researcher examines the works of Mohammad Ali Jamalzadeh, Sadeq Hedayat, Sadeq Chubak, Mehdi Akhavan-Sales, and Nader Naderpour. Nevertheless, he only researches these characters' novels, stories, and poems.

From the researcher's point of view, Mohammad Ali Jamalzadeh, one of the pioneers of contemporary Iranian fiction writing, considers being Persian and Iranian as the main components of Iranian identity. Furthermore, he sees the ethnic Arabs, one of the nations living in Iran, as foreigners. This author views Islam as one of the components of Iranian identity. However, he criticizes the lack of progress in the Islamic world and rejects the West as foreign. In his stories, he introduces the Arabs as a foreigner and non-Iranians and criticizes Iran's religious superstitions and backwardness.

Nevertheless, in his works, he did not support Western racist ideas in a clear and specific way. Sadeq Hedayat expresses his hatred of Islam and Arabs in his works, especially in "Asking for Forgiveness" and "Parvin, Sassan's Daughter". He introduces Arabs as dirty, black, ugly, sick, ignorant, cruel, shameless, and demonic people.

In addition, he considers Iranian Muslims to be the source of corruption and hypocrisy. From the point of view of this novelist, only the glorious era of ancient Iran and the Sassanid Empire had beautiful, brave, intelligent, cultured, and noble people. Also, Sadegh Chubak, in the novel "Sang-e Saboor" examines the cause of Iran's backwardness in the framework of historical issues. He considers Muslim Arabs to be the destroyers of Iran's great civilization.

In his opinion, by destroying the magnificent Iranian civilization, Muslim Arabs did not replace that great human heritage with anything useful. In this story, the main characters have racist and anti-Arab thoughts. He shows Arabs and Indians as alien, hypocritical, ugly, and cruel. Unlike Sadegh Hedayat, he rejects both Islam and Zoroastrianism. He does not accept the ideas of Arianism, and in his works, he propagates anti-Semitic people's ideas. Mehdi Akhavan-Sales, like Sadegh Hedayat, considers the Arab Muslim invaders to be the main cause of Iran's backwardness and the source of all the country's problems.

For this reason, he also wants to return to the pre-Islam era of Zoroastrianism. Another Iranian poet, Nader Naderpour, considers the Arabs to be foreigners, invaders, barbarians, black, and inhuman compared to Iranians. He rejects Islam because he thinks it is an Arabic religion. Even in this thought, he deals with extreme enmity with Arabs and the religion of Islam in such a way that he sees faithful Iranian Muslims as non-human and non-Iranian. One of the very interesting points that this researcher emphasizes is the absence of racist thoughts in the works of some famous Iranian female poets and writers. Analyzing and examining the works of famous poets and writers such as Forough Farrokhzad, Tahereh Saffarzadeh, and Simin Daneshvar, he claims that there are no traces of anti-Arabism, anti-Islamism, and extremist racist thoughts in the poems and novels of these authors.

Of course, this researcher claims that there were several prominent Iranian writers and intellectuals, such as Reza Baraheni, Samad Behrangi, and Gholam-Hossein Sa'edi who, in addition to accepting Iran's racial diversity, also did not care about racial divisions and racist thoughts. In addition, Jalal Al-e-Ahmad, another prominent Iranian writer and intellectual, has a more moderate view. Because he is both a supporter of Iranian nationalism and a supporter of Islam. Jalal Al-e-Ahmad initially rejected Islam, but he accepted the Shia religion, the Persian language, and culture, like Mohammad-Ali Jamalzadeh, as the main signs of Iranianism.

He is violent against superstitious beliefs and legitimacy, but he accepts the Arabic language and the religion of Islam as a powerful social-political force in Iran and the Islamic world. On the other hand, Al-Ahmed does not accept the ideology of Arianism and does not praise the era of ancient Iran, especially the Sassanid Empire. Unlike other Iranian racist writers, he believes Islam is an Iranian religion and that this religion was Iranized by an Iranian named Salman Farsi. (Saad, 2004, pp.163-168)

One of the other academic sources has been published about proving the existence of racist policies in the Pahlavi and Islamic Republic governments. First of all, the researcher examines Persian speakers' perceptions of categories such as ethnocentrism, race, racism, identity, and the nature of the enemy in the written works of classical literature and historical and religious texts of the Persian language. Even though in the introduction of the book, by raising the issue that he wants to prove that there is racism in Iran, the researcher has practically abandoned the neutrality of an academic researcher. However, it can be concluded from the book's content that his approach in this review was based on written and undeniable sources and evidence.

With a general view of the categories of Orientalism, racism, Arianism, ethnocentrism, colonialism, post-colonialism, anti-colonialism, and anti-racism, the author tries to clarify his theoretical and analytical framework. In the third part of the book, he divides the main causes of racist thoughts in Iran into internal factors and external factors. He examines the content of classical Persian religious, literary, and epic texts in domestic factors. In this regard, the contents of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh, Avesta, and some other sources are explored for having racist elements.

Then it points to the investigation of the method of historiography and identification of European Orientalism in Iran. In the fourth chapter of the book, the researcher investigates the emergence of racist policies of the government of Reza Shah Pahlavi and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and then the period of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In this part of the book, based on important historical sources, the author deals with the role of Britain and Germany in encouraging and inciting racist thoughts in Iranian intellectuals and the government of Reza Shah. He even considers the popular movements and uprisings in different parts of the country against the governments of Reza Shah Pahlavi and later Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi as one of the important examples of protest against the government's racist policies.

In this regard, the researcher considers the formation of The Azerbaijan People's Government (1945-1946) and the Republic of Mahabad (1946) as examples of anti-racist and anti-colonial movements in the contemporary history of Iran. After analyzing the ethnic, identity, and gender crises in the period of the Islamic Republic, he examines the manner and content of the Persianization of the land, the Persianization of language and culture, and the Persianization of the education system as racist and colonial policies. In the sixth chapter of the book, the

researcher explains the forms, content, and examples of resistance of the anti-racist and anti-colonial movements of the oppressed nations of Iran and contemporary Iranian intellectuals.

In the book's last chapter, the author addresses the results of the assimilation policies of the Pahlavi governments and the Islamic Republic of Iran and the solutions to colonial and racist ideas. Furthermore, in this regard, he emphasizes the importance of women's movements, class-based movements, globalization, emphasizing diversity, practicing anti-racism, establishing an inclusive education system, and using the mother tongue in creating anti-racist and anti-colonial narratives from non-Persian nations. (Asgharzadeh, 2007)

### **Theoretical Framework**

In the literature review section, we first discussed the opinions of Iranian and Western writers and researchers who have researched the existence or non-existence of racist thoughts throughout Iran's history and among Iranian intellectuals.

In the literature review section, most sources used and reviewed are books and articles published by Iranian and foreign researchers in Persian and English. Then, in this part of the research, I will clearly state the theoretical foundations of the research. Also, I clearly state some theories of sociologists and political science theorists about racism. To explain the problem accurately, political science thinkers' theories and explanations should be more comprehensive, precise, and scientific.

For this reason, I will define my theoretical foundations more precisely and explicitly by using the ideas and theories of some sociologists and political

scientists about racism. After completing the theoretical foundations of the research, the theoretical framework will be more specific.

From the point of view of some thinkers in the field of sociology and political science, racism has existed since ancient times and in the majority of human societies. To show the essence, concepts, examples, and signs of racism, we must use the explanations and definitions of racism from the perspective of some prominent humanities thinkers.

More than the definition of racism, we must first briefly explain what we mean by the concept of race. Like some political concepts that most societies create and use, the concept of race has been created throughout human history and within the framework of political and social laws and regulations. Therefore, race is more of a political concept. (Back, L., Solomos, J, 2013, p. 8)

Tzvetan Todorov, one of the contemporary philosophers, considers racism a behavioral issue that shows hatred or contempt for people with very specific and different characteristics from ours. According to him, a racist is not necessarily a theorist and cannot reason scientifically and logically to justify his behavior with others. He also distinguishes between racism and racialism.

From his point of view, racism reflects behavior, and racialism is a term he mostly reserved for teachings. For this reason, throughout contemporary history, racist ideas rooted in racialism have had terrible and disastrous results. The Nazi movement in Germany is one of the disastrous examples that the root of their racist behavior was their racialism beliefs. According to this researcher, racism has been an ancient behavior throughout history.

Nevertheless, racialism has been a movement of ideas that emerged in Western Europe, and its heyday lasted from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of

the 20th century. In this way, racist individuals, personalities, movements, and governments accept the existence of race and oppose racial mixing.

In addition, racialism assumes a direct relationship between physical and moral characteristics. For this reason, racialism divides the world along racial lines, and these racial boundaries define and separate cultural boundaries. In addition to all these points, we must admit that no scientific, logical, and rational relationship has been discovered and proven about the existence of cause and effect interdependence between race and culture. (Back, L., Solomos, J, 2013, pp. 64-65)

Considering this definition of racism, it can be said that individuals, ethnic, national, and religious groups, considering some unique characteristics, Important, different, valuable, pure and exclusive moral, behavioral, physical, intellectual, historical, cultural, biological, ethnic, linguistic, and gender try to humiliate or hate those who do not have these characteristics.

A racist believes that races are different and believes in the superiority of some races over others. This means that he judges other nations, ethnic groups, and religious minorities with his specific subjective, imaginary, and non-scientific criteria based on a value hierarchy and an evaluation framework. Also, these people's criteria and value frameworks are mostly ethnocentric for judging others. For this reason, most people with these thoughts place their language, nation, and people at the top of this hierarchy, framework, and criteria of racial justice.

A racist person judges others based on his imaginary, mental, and non-scientific aesthetic criteria: Using sentences and ideas such as My race is beautiful, other races are ugly; He makes physical and anatomical judgments of people. At the level of mental and intelligence criteria, these people, who again have no scientific logic, judge others with ideas and statements such as people who are "stupid,

intelligent, animals, or noble". After establishing the mental facts, he has acquired through these standards, frameworks, and value hierarchies; A racist person obtains a moral judgment and a political ideal from them. As a result of these judgments, the racist person will try to eliminate or subjugate the inferior races with his racial knowledge. Here racialism joins racism, and theory is applied in practice and reality. (Back, L., Solomos, J, 2013, p. 66)

One of the prominent sociological thinkers expresses the signs and symptoms of racist thoughts and actions as follows. According to this sociologist's investigation, expressing thoughts and doing actions against ethnic, national, religious, linguistic, gender, immigrant, and colored groups that have the following characteristics are racist thoughts and actions:

*“Treating others with hostility and contempt, calling them insulting names, being regularly and systematically discriminated against by the majority, the majority not marrying members of the minority, prejudice and ethnic discrimination immense, lacking high moral behavior, being aggressive, unwilling, and unaware of any hygiene principles or imagining decency, prejudice against a minority group, prejudice and persecution of minorities, brutal killing of a minority group, Imagining, seeing, and attributing inferior race attributes to them, attributing inherent superior traits or inherent inferior traits to others, believing and accepting the existence of racial and physical differences, discriminating against ethnic minorities”.* (Giddens, A. 2002, pp. 276-280)

From this prominent sociologist's point of view, prejudice is applied to others through stereotyped thinking. And this stereotyped thinking is combined with hatred and a hostile view of the group in question. Also, this prominent thinker considers ethnocentrism, group closure, and unfair resource allocation the main symptoms of racist thoughts. (Giddens, A. 2002, pp. 281-286)

### **CHAPTER III: Cross Examination of the Research Findings**

At this point, mutual examination of some authors who have special places in this field will be the way to be followed in terms of method. Furthermore, in this research chapter, I will explore the answers to my research questions based on Persian and English sources of contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979) and write the results. The research questions that I am looking for answers to are as follows. Were there any racist thoughts in the works of contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1979-1925), such as Ahmad Kasravi, Mohammad Ali Foroughi, Hassan Taqizadeh, Sadegh Hedayat, and Reza Baraheni? What are the characteristics of the racist thoughts of contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979)? Which contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979) were not racist?

#### **Ahmad Kasravi (1890-1946)**

Ahmad Kasravi (1890-1946) is one of contemporary Iran's most prominent intellectuals, linguists, and historians. His writings about the Constitutional Revolution of Iran (1905-1911) are one of the most important research sources for researchers in the field of humanities.

One of the main concerns of Ahmad Kasravi, which can be clearly understood in his works, is his insistence and emphasis on preserving Iran's territorial integrity, strengthening national unity, and his extreme defense of the Persian language. One of the signs of his extreme and nationalist views on preserving the Persian language from the influences of other languages was his extreme nationalist attitude on the need to remove and embellish the Persian language from all Arabic, Turkish, and other foreign language influences.

In one of his articles published in the Parcham weekly newspaper, he discussed and debated in response to the article published by one of the contemporary writers

and intellectuals of Turkey named Ahmet Resmi Yazar in Tanin newspaper (Tanin Gazetesi), which was written about Ahmed Kasravi.

Ahmad Kasravi first translated the text of Ahmat Resmi Yazar from Turkish to Persian in his weekly newspaper and then expressed his criticisms of the article of that Turkish intellectual.

Ahmad Rasmi Yazar says in his article: "Syed Ahmad Kaseravi is one of the most prolific prose writers of Iran and one of the most famous scientists of that country. Because he is a Seyed, his lineage goes back to the Arabs. What is more, he has forgotten this lineage and shows support for the Iranian race, and He has written many articles and books on how to clean that country from Turks". (Kasravi, 1944, p.1)

It is clear from the thoughts of the Turkish intellectual Ahmet Yazar that in those years, by reading the articles, books, and writings published by Ahmad Kasravi, he understood well that the main goal of Kasravi was the ethnic cleansing of the Turks from the geography of Iran. For this reason, he sarcastically points out to Kasravi that despite his insistence on defending the Iranian identity and the Persian language, his ethnic roots and identity come to the Arabs and not to the Iranian identity and the Persian language, and according to this Turkish intellectual, this idea There is a kind of contradiction in Kasravi.

It is very important, Ahmed Kasravi's very clear answer to this criticism of the Turkish intellectual. In response to that Turkish intellectual, Kasravi defends destroying and eliminating all non-Persian languages and dialects in Iran. Therefore, Kasravi strongly demands the destruction and removal of all non-Persian languages such as Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, and Assyrian, and semi-

languages such as Gilaki, Mazanderani, Semnani, Sorkhei, Sadhi, Kurdish, Lori, and Shushtari.

He continues by stating:

"These last sentences are lies. I have never wanted Turks to leave Iran, and I have never said that there are no Turks in Iran. What I have said and requested is that the various languages that are spoken in Iran, from Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, Assyrian, and the half-languages of the provinces (Gilaki, Mazanderani, Semnani, Sorkhei, Sadhi, Kurdish, Lori, and Shushtari and the like) should be completely removed and destroyed. Moreover, all Iranians should have one language (which is the Persian language). This was my wish, and I have tried it this way. (Kasravi, 1944, p.1)

In the continuation of his thoughts, Ahmad Kasravi clearly explains the reason for this negative and racist view of non-Persian languages. From his point of view, the presence of non-Persian languages in Iran will cause separation and national chaos among all the masses, ethnic groups, and nations of Iran.

In the continuation of his article, the intellectual of Turkey claims that Ahmed Kasravi speaks ill of all the kings of Turkic descent, including the Ilkhanate, Seljuk, Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu, Timur, and his family. Ahmed Kasravi writes in a very harsh and nervous tone in response to this contemporary Turkish intellectual: First, it is a misunderstanding that you consider Mongols and Turks as one. Mongols are not the same in language and race as Turks, and they are not the same in historical fame and infamy. Where are the Seljuk, Ottoman, and Qajar kings, and where are the Ilkhanians, Genghis, and Timur? Yes, I have written badly about Genghis, Hulagu Khan, and Timur who were murderers and executioners. (Kasravi, 1944, p. 4)

Contrary to Ahmad Kasravi's ethnic and racial hatred of Genghis Khan, Timur, and Halako, new research findings show religious tolerance towards other religions during the reign of Genghis Khan. Furthermore, on the other hand, there was tolerance and respect towards other different ethnic groups who were in the Mongol imperial army. On the other hand, the written laws of Genghis Khan, known as Yasa, regulated the behavior and morals of the people of the society. (Nowicka Rusek, & Zhanaev, 2015, pp. 388-389)

In addition, according to the writings of many historians, during the period of Amir Timur and Hulagu Khan, art, painting, miniatures, science, mysticism, and literature have grown significantly. Amir Timur took all the scientists of the Islamic world to his capital in the city of Samarkand and supported their research. The tradition of supporting artists and art, science and knowledge, and tolerance of religious beliefs and different religions existed in most Mongol Empire kings. Because Kublai Khan, the grandson of Genghis Khan, after establishing the Yuan Dynasty in China, supported artists and encouraged Chinese art, He also showed religious tolerance towards Chinese religions. (Safavi-Abbasi, & Brasiliense, 2007, p. 5)

Ahmad Kasravi's radical ideas about eliminating and destroying all non-Iranian and non-Persian elements from Iran's cultural geography are not only theoretical. In addition to demanding the destruction and removal of all non-Persian languages, which in his opinion, would weaken national unity and Persian-Iranian identity, he sought to create new theoretical and practical solutions to completely remove all non-Persian elements of the language and culture of Iran's geography.

Ahmad Kasravi considers one of the main defects of the Persian language to be the existence of maximum and excessive use of Arabic words. He even uses the

racist term "Zaban-e Tazi" instead of the historical and official name "Arabic language," like other far-right intellectuals of Iran:

“Correcting the Persian language and removing its defects has been one of our wishes, which we had worked on since 1933 when we started publishing the monthly Paiman. As such, we have written about the defects of that language, on the one hand, identified them, and shown the solution. Moreover, on the other hand, by choosing Persian words or adding new words or other ways, we have tried to decorate the language and correct it. For example, today, we call the language that we use The Pure Language (Pak-Zaban). This new language has many differences from the previous language. Furthermore, all the words we have said so far about the language will be briefly repeated in this book, and we will repeat the works we have done to improve the language and make it capable”. (Kasravi, 1943, p. 6)

Seeing all non-Persian languages as foreigners and enemies, Kasravi thought that mixing Persian with Arabic, which he called with the derogatory title "Tazi", had caused irreparable damage to the body of this language. In his opinion, opening the doors of the Persian language house to the Arabic language is a shame. He considers the entry of Arabic words into the Persian language as a "pollution" and considers the history of this trend to be a thousand years old.

In addition, in the contemporary Persian language, the intensity and extent of the influence of the Arabic language have increased so much that in some Persian works and writings, the percentage of Arabic words and sentences is around eighty and sometimes ninety percent. Moreover, according to this extreme nationalist researcher, this disease should be treated immediately. (Kasravi, 1943, pp. 7-12)

On the other hand, Ahmad Kasravi was erasing the Persian language from "alien" words with such enthusiasm that it can even be said that he was doing the work of a language academy alone. By creating a new language called "Zaban-e Pak"(Pure Language) in the history of Persian literature, he created a new movement to fight against all non-Persian languages and non-Persian words. In this work, he went so far as to believe that one day the "pure language" will be the written and spoken language of all Iranians and the common language of all the world's nations.

For this reason, at the end of the book "Pure Language," he raises a question and writes the answer: "Will Persian be everyone's language? Persian (or Pure Language) will become one of the easiest languages. It will be a different language and less similar to today's normal language. However, Farsi (or rather: The Pure Language), apart from having and will have many books and resources, the Pure Language is combined with a very powerful effort that has started to shake the world. Therefore, much hope is placed on its progress in the world. We hope that this language will become the language that all nations of the world need. If God wills it, it will be". (Kasravi, 1943, p. 51-52)

Contrary to all the claims of Ahmad Kasravi, the "Pure Language", which he made artificially and with the aim of cultural genocide and the elimination of all "alien" languages and words from the Persian language, did not become the language of all the nations of the world. Even in Iran itself, after Ahmad Kasravi, no ethnic group spoke that language and did not create literary, political, cultural, or philosophical works in that language.

In addition, Kasravi firmly believes in the existence of the Iranian race and the concept of race. Therefore, in a book called "Our Officers"(Afsaran-e Maa), which examines the moral, behavioral, and military status of all Iranian army officers, he uses the term "Iranian race" several times. His racist thoughts have divided the

world into white and black, and in judging cultural, literary, political issues, and even ethnic conflicts, he thinks one side is white and the other is black.

Therefore, when he wants to analyze and investigate the brutal killing of unarmed Turks in Urmia by some tribes and Kurdish-speaking armed groups, he calls all Kurdish speakers ugly and evil and insists that he will never call Kurdish speakers good people. (Kasravi, 1945, p. 10)

With his firm belief in race, he saw the origin and cause of all behavior, morality, progress, backwardness, civilized or savageness of humans from the race of humans. Therefore, he believed that Iranians are not a bad race and that one of the most valuable races in the world is the Iranian race.

However, he continued that, nowadays, all the people of Iran have become very polluted, dishonorable, and disgraceful, and we have to accept that this intensity and extent of the ugliness and meanness of the Iranian nation cannot be ignored anymore. Racist thoughts had dominated Kasravi's thought so much that on the same page where he claimed that the Iranian race is one of the most valuable races in the world, he wrote with his contradictory idea that the entire Iranian people are polluted, low, dishonorable, and ugly. On the other hand, Kasravi still cannot hide his racist thoughts, and on the same page of the book, he claims that all these evils and ugliness that the precious race of Iran has suffered came from foreign countries. (Kasravi, 1945, p. 30)

In the continuation of his book, Kasravi again uses the word "the good race of Iranians" five times and again claims that all these evils and vileness of the Iranian race have foreign origins. His writings and claims show that the "pure and good Iranian race" is free from evil in its nature and institution. Therefore, to explain the causes of this lowness and evil among the Iranian people, he claims that all the low

and ugly moral characteristics of the Iranian people have foreign origins. (Kasravi, 1945, pp. 38-39-58)

The emergence of The Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti. 1908-1918) with Turkish and Islamist slogans in Turkey caused the dread of Iranian nationalists. On the other hand, forming the first democratic and secular republic of the Islamic world under The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti. 1918-1920), which had very close and profound relations with the government of The Committee of Union and Progress, made Iranian nationalists fear separating the Turkic regions of Iran.

For this reason, Ahmad Kasravi tried to prove that the language of the Turkish regions of Iran, and especially the entire province of Azerbaijan, was not Turkish, citing some Arabic sources of the Islamic era. He says that the language of the Turkic regions of Iran has not been Turkish since the beginning of history. Of course, Kasravi does not say who has claimed that the language of Turkish areas of Iran has been from the beginning of Turkish history.

Meanwhile, the same logic of Ahmad Kasravi in confronting the Turkish language is also included in the Persian language itself. You could ask him if the language of the entire geography of Iran has been Persian since the beginning of human history. Contrary to his claim to be "scientific", his research has been more "ideological". Because in historical, literary, and linguistic studies, we are not dealing with scientific truth, which is the basis of natural science.

However, as we have shown in the works of Kasravi, his main intellectual and political concern has been eliminating all non -Persian languages from Iranian geography. Kasravi's intellectual issue has been theorizing for war and hatred with all foreign non-Persian elements of Iran. Based on this, he tried to call the Turkish

language foreign in the Turkic areas of Iran, especially in Azerbaijan province, against the Turkism trend of The Committee of Union and Progress and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. (Kasravi, 1946, pp 5-6)

According to Ervand Abrahamian, an outstanding historian, in the articles he wrote in Ayandeh magazine about Iran's language, tribes, religion, and names of geographic places, Kasravi emphasized more on issues such as consolidation of national unity, preservation of integrity, and defense of the dominance and strengthening of the Persian language, and elimination and destruction of non-Persian languages.

After the uprising of Sheikh Mohammad Khiabani in Azerbaijan (1920), Kasravi wrote his first important work entitled "Azeri: or the ancient language of Azerbaijan" to prove that the Azeri language, which is the native language of the Aryans of the Azerbaijan region, was destroyed by the Turkish invaders. Moreover, from his point of view, to solve this problem, the national Persian language should replace the imposed Turkish language of the Azerbaijan region. (Abrahamian, 1982, p. 125)

In addition to Abrahamian's research findings, it can be said that in the book "Azari or the ancient language of Azerbaijan", Kasravi, in addition to being hostile to the existence, growth, and development of the Turkish language and literature in Iran, he was unsatisfied with this and even made Arab hostility in his book. In his book, he calls the Arabs who brought Islam to Iran "Tazi" in a derogatory tone.

This fake, humiliating, and derogatory name against the Arab nation in Iran is considered a form of insult and humiliation, just like the use of the name "Azeri" against the Turkish nation. However, in addition to using this racially derogatory term against the Arab nation, he is happy about their "destruction" after about two

or three hundred years after entering the geographical region of Azerbaijan, which has meadows and good nature. (Kasravi, 1946, pp. 9-10)

Ahmed Kasravi's racist and ethnocentric thoughts are not limited to topics such as language, history, and literature. This extreme racist worldview somehow dominated his thoughts and actions. So that in practical political campaigns and party work, he expressed his racist thoughts openly and without fear of anyone. From his writings and actions, it is clear that he was an ardent enemy of ethnic diversity, linguistic diversity, and cultural diversity.

He considered all these multiple identities to be an inherent enemy of the Persian language, Iranian identity, and national identity unity. Ahmad Kasravi's hatred and enmity for the Turkish language were so strong that after the uprising of Sheikh Mohammad Khiabani and his support for journalists such as Mirza Taghi Khan Raf'at, who wrote in Turkish, a strong hostility arose between him and Mohammad Khayabani. Therefore, he was expelled from the Firqah-i Dimokrat-i Azarbayjan by Sheikh Mohammad Khiabani and exiled from Azerbaijan. (Abrahamian, 1970, pp. 295)

From the strong reaction of Sheikh Mohammad Khiabani against Ahmad Kasravi, it is clear that his presence in the Turkish provinces of Iran has caused ethnic-linguistic division and conflict.

In addition, Brenda Sheffer, another researcher who researches Iran's identity, ethnic, and language issues, considers Kasravi's ideological and extreme nationalistic bias to be the main obstacle to the impartiality and scientificity of his research. Because according to Sheffer, Ahmad Kasravi, by emphasizing the inseparable roots of Iranian identity and the Persian language, had a strange bias

and commitment to destroying other identities and non-Persian languages of Iran. (Shaffer, 2002, pp. 17)

Ahmed Kasravi's prejudice and hatred for thoughts and actions that were against his opinion and view had gone to the point where he organized a celebration to burn Persian poetry divans, works of mystics and Sufis, and religious prayer books. Because in his opinion, most of these works are harmful and destructive to people's education, thought, and morals and cause laziness, superstition, and ignorance.

Kasravi, who had created a new language and religion for himself in the name of Pure Language and Pure Religion, regularly insulted and assaulted the religious beliefs of the Iranian people. The governments of Iran at that time were also silent in front of Kasravi's actions and indirectly supported him. However, the Turkish nation in Tabriz and Maragheh rose against his anti-religious thoughts and actions and burned the propaganda centers of Pure Religions.

Ahmad Kasravi did not remain silent in front of the people's protest movement. He formed an opposition group from Pure Religions in imitation of the Nazi attack forces and, in return, organized attacks on the people of Tabriz and Maragheh. After these behaviors and acts of terrorism, the government of Iran at the time was forced to ban his Peyman magazine. (Mojtahedi, 1998, pp. 226)

Pan-Persian researchers and Pan-Iranian intellectuals have a strange insistence in denying Ahmad Kasravi's article entitled "The Turkish Language in Iran," which he wrote in 1922 for Al-Irfan magazine in Syria. It can be said that most of the books and magazines that are published about Ahmad Kasravi by Pan Fars researchers either do not talk about this article by Ahmad Kasravi, which was written years before the "Azari or the Ancient Language of Azerbaijan"(1925) or they say that the English translation of Kasravi's Arabic article is fake.

However, unlike Pan Fars researchers who deny or hide the existence of this Kasravi article, in his book "Ten Years in the Judiciary," he speaks clearly about the article "The Turkish Language in Iran," which he wrote for Al-Irfan magazine in Syria. In the text below, two issues are very important.

First, Kasravi correctly calls properly the language of the Turks of Azerbaijan and other Turkic regions of Iran "Turkish" and not "Azeri". Second, after examining and researching the poems of Fuzuli, Mohammad Hidaji, and Ali-Shir Nava'i, they emphasize the superiority of Turkish over Persian. However, let us not forget that Kasravi wrote this article before the book "Azeri: or the ancient language of Azerbaijan," There was still no trace of his enmity with non-Iranian and non-Persian elements in his works.

*"In Zanjan, since Turkish is spoken, the slight difference between the language there and Azerbaijani Turkish made me think and search about Turkish. In Mazandaran, I sent an article in Arabic under "The Turkish Language in Iran" to "Al-Irfan" magazine.*

*Here, I followed the same topic and got books in Turkish from the ghazals of Fuzuli and Divans of Amir Alishir's poetry. Mohammad Hidaji was the name of a Mollah studying at Seyed Naseruddin School in Tehran. As he was a poet and there were many Turkish poems of his in memories and languages, I also collected them.*

*From this effort and search, results were obtained, including that Turkish is superior to Persian in terms of verbs because it has been seen that fifteen types of past tense and four types of present tense are used in Turkish. While in the Persian language, there were no more than four kinds of past tense and one kind of present tense. This was one of the things that made me*

*aware of the inadequacy of the Persian language and its diseases. (Kasravi, 1944, pp. 46-47)*

As it is clear from Kasravi's writings, in all his linguistic, historical, and literary views, he sought to find ethnic and linguistic superiority, comparing ethnicities and languages in terms of inherent superiority. As it is clear from the above example, by examining the grammatical structure of the Turkish language, he became aware of the superiority of the Turkish language and the disease and deficiencies of the Persian language.

Therefore, in most of his historical, literary, linguistic, and religious works, he has sought to find a pure language, a pure religion, a superior Iranian race, a united nation, and the destruction of all ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity in the entire geography of Iran.

It seems that Ahmed Kasravi was fired from his job after writing an article against the Pahlavi government in *Habl al-Matin* newspaper, and after that incident, he also hated the Persian people and defended the superiority of the Turks over the Persians.

*“He said that they suspended him for the crime of writing an article against Pahlavi in Habal al-Mattin newspaper and would not give him a government job anymore. I asked Ahmed Kasravi to go to our house and talk a little there. He accepted.*

*I remember Kasravi spoke badly of Persians and said they are a group whose brains are sick. He preferred Turks, Azerbaijanis, and Zanjani over the Persian element. Against the illogicality of one of the members of the government, he said that we are not like this: that is, we, the people of Azerbaijan and Zanjan. He talked a little about a book or an article he wrote in Arabic and published in Al-*

*Irfan magazine. Some of the contents of that book were about the problem of Turks and Persians in Iran, and in that book, he had researched that most of the people of Iran are Turks.” (Mojtahedi, 2002, pp. 199-200)*

### **Hasan Taqizadeh (1878-1970)**

Sayyed Hasan Taqizadeh was one of the prominent figures of Iran's constitutional revolution, a diplomat, intellectual, researcher, Former ambassador of Iran in Paris, and the former chairman of the Senate during the Pahlavi period. He used to be a cleric. However, over time and through getting to know the civilization and culture of the West, he separated from his past and inclined towards Westernism.

Sayyed Hasan started reading the Quran in his childhood when he was almost four years old and finished that book at the age of 5. He reads the Quran under the supervision of his father. He started learning Arabic at the age of eight, and at the age of fourteen, he started learning Geometry, Ottoman Turkish, ethics, mathematics, and astronomy. Taqizadeh completed his courses in Islamic philosophy, modern medicine, and astronomy. He studied modern sciences and English at the American Memorial School in Tabriz. He also learned French with the help of a friend. In addition, he also learned the principles of jurisprudence from religious scholars. (Taqizadeh, 1988, pp. 24-31)

He was one of the young people of Tabriz who, based on his mastery of the Turkish language and by studying the works of Caucasian and Ottoman Turkish intellectuals, writers, and thinkers, was also deeply familiar with the ideas of contemporary Western civilization that were translated into Turkish. Under the influence of the intellectual currents of Western civilization, he and his fellow thinkers published the Persian language newspaper, Ganjeh-i Faron (Treasure Knowledge). Mirza Mohammad Ali Khan Tarbiat and Sayyed Hassan Taqizadeh

were prominent and influential figures of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution. (Abrahamian, 1982, p. 75)

Sayyed Hasan Taqizadeh served the German government in the First World War and received a monthly salary. In Germany, he established the "Committee of Iranian Nationalists" in Berlin with the cooperation of other nationalist and racist intellectuals. The main reason for Sayyed Hasan Taqizadeh's support for Germany in the First World War can be seen in the growth and expansion of racial ideas, eugenics, and the promotion of the superiority of the Aryan nation by German thinkers and scientists. (Turda, 2009)

In his memoirs, Taqizadeh expresses his interest, fascination, dependence, and support for the German Empire in the First World War and cooperation with that government in exchange for receiving monthly salaries as follows:

*"I was in New York for almost two years. One day a paper came to me from the post office. I opened it and saw it was from the German consulate in New York. It was wartime. We were very pro-Germany and against Russia and England: I and all the Iranians there, including Mirza Reza Khan Afshar.*

*The German consul in New York wrote that he wanted to see me. I went to see him. He told me you might go to Germany. We were very fond of Germany. Iranians saw Germany as the Prophet and Prophet David, who came to save them. We were all rooting for Germany without having anything to do with them. I said I would go willingly.*

*However, what should I do there? He said, be ready; I will tell you. He said that the truth is that the German government has taken many prisoners from France, England, and Russia. Many of them are Muslims. From Algeria and Tatarstan to India. They separated Muslims from other captives and wanted to*

*spread propaganda for Muslims. Because the British or French government brought them to the German war, the Germans wanted to turn their hearts and make them feel that their interest was in friendship with Germany and enmity with the government that dominated them.*

*For that, they wanted people whose words were effective. I said there was no problem. Nevertheless, I said, what will happen to my expenses (monthly salary)? He said we would give. Whatever you want, we will give it. We spoke. It was known that they encrypted telegrams.*

*Next time, I will offer you a ticket to go to Germany on a ship. I also accepted. Meanwhile, Mirza Reza Khan Afshar also went to the consul. He said I wanted to go too. That is, I said that I wanted to take this too. He said, take him with you. They paid for the trip for both of us. But I wanted to know what monthly salary they will give me as I want to go to Germany. They said how much do you want? I said two hundred dollars a month. They said perfect. I was oblivious to the world. They would accept it if I said one thousand or ten thousand dollars. There was no word. They were spending millions like crazy. (Taqizadeh, 1988, pp. 181-182)*

As it is clear from Taqizadeh's confessions in his memoirs, he did ideological and propaganda work for the German Empire during the First World War, which was one of the main centers of racist thoughts, the eugenics movement and propaganda of the superiority of the Aryan people, in exchange for receiving a monthly salary.

In one of his most famous speeches, "Taking Foreign Civilization," Taqizadeh spoke openly about prosperity, freedom, justice, nationalism, patriotism, language, racism, and race. His speech has been repeatedly attacked and criticized by the clerical class and the conservative society of Iran. Examining the content of this

speech, delivered in 1960 and later published in "Yaghma" magazine, is very important to get to know his thoughts deeply.

In that speech, Taqizadeh clearly expresses his socio-political and historical views on many concepts such as welfare, freedom, justice, race, and racism by citing many examples from Western and Islamic countries. One of the points that we understand from the content of his speech, which is very important, is his belief in racial division.

Instead of using concepts such as nation, people, ethnicity, and mass, he repeatedly and with emphasis uses concepts such as Egyptian race, German race, English race, Greek race, Iranian race, and Dravidian race. However, unlike other Iranian racists and nationalists, he has no insistence and emphasis on destroying non-Persian languages and non-Persian nations of Iran's geography.

Also, he considers the enmity of those intellectuals and Iranian socio-political figures with the Turks and Arabs of Iran to be very harmful to Iran's national unity, progress, and elevation. He considers rational, pragmatist patriotism and nationalism useful for integrating national unity, and open and violent racism against the non-Persian nations of Iran is unnecessary and dangerous. In this regard, he states with a more humanistic and liberal reading of the religion of Islam that all residents of Iran are Muslims and brothers, and we should not commit racist acts against our religious brothers.

For this reason, he is very clearly against the movement to remove and destroy the Arabic language and words from the contemporary Persian language, which was turned into a movement by the Pahlavi government, the Persian language academy, and some intellectuals of Iranian racism. He strongly criticizes these actions and

considers the chauvinistic view of Arabs, Turks, and the Arabic language to be completely unnecessary and extreme.

Taqizadeh does not consider hostile taunts to the Turkish people living in the geography of Iran, whose speakers dominate a large part of Central Asia, Siberia, the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Turkey, to be a decent and moral thing. And he also considers doing this synonymous with provoking the enmity of the Turkish countries that are Iran's neighbors. On the other hand, he strongly criticizes and rejects those who rely on the Arab attack on Iran a thousand years ago and the introduction of Islam to this geography and start anti-Arabism and enmity with the Arab nation. Taqizadeh also sees anti-Arabism as contrary to reason and politics. He considers the policies of the Pahlavi government and the Iranian nationalist intellectuals to destroy Arabic words from the Persian language to be harmful, with a view based on the priority of national unity, preserving the territorial integrity of Iran, and preserving and expanding the Persian language as much as possible.

In stating the reasons for his view, he emphasizes that these language policies of the Pahlavi government and Iranian nationalist intellectuals destroy all aspects of cultural, linguistic, and ethnic commonality between Iran and the neighboring countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the neighboring Turkic and Arab countries. Also, according to him, carrying out these language policies makes it difficult and impossible to learn, spread, and master the Persian language among Iranian Arabs and Turks.

Nevertheless, by mentioning all these points, it can be said that even Taqizadeh has been unable to clean his thoughts of racist stereotypes, beliefs, and ideas.

Moreover, in many of his works and writings, he repeatedly considers the entire Mongol nation barbaric and their language devoid of cultural thought or value.

Taqizadeh, with hatred and prejudice towards the Mongol nation and the words of

the Mongolian language that are now in the Persian language, suggests the destruction of all those words and the spread of Persian words instead. (Taqizadeh, 1960, pp. 417-429, 465-476)

Taqizadeh's intellectual contradiction is clear right here. He acts like the same racist intellectuals that he had criticized for their irrational hostility to the Arab nation and the Turkish nation. It seems that Taqizadeh tried to realize his nationalist political goals by cleverly hiding his racist thoughts against other nations. He has sought to consolidate Iran's nation-state foundations on concepts such as the Persian language, Iranian identity, ancient history, and great Iranian civilization without ethnic conflict with Arabs and Turks.

Nevertheless, with all his efforts to hide his racist thoughts, he has spoken in his writings about the necessity of protecting Iranian race and ethnicity during the implementation of Reza Shah Pahlavi's modernization programs. His insistence on using the term Iranian race instead of the Iranian nation also shows his belief in the racial divisions of humanity and the existence of the Iranian race.

*The important changes and reforms that have started in Iran have inevitably caused and will continue to move toward modernization and progress in all branches of social life. Moreover, one branch cannot be completely excluded because the purpose of preserving nationality, race, and natural and main characteristics of Iranian ethnicity is the basis. And then, the goal is to take the lessons of Western civilization and the results of the experiences of progressive nations, not to change the nationality. Therefore, in what are the main pillars and basic conditions of nationality, one should be more stable and even more cautious in reforming them. (Taqizadeh, 1941, p. 3)*

Taqizadeh's essentialist view of historical and identity categories shows that he firmly believed that the Mongols were generally barbaric and uncivilized.

However, contrary to his racist belief and view of the Mongols, during the Mongol rule over Iran, mysticism, Sufiism, historiography, art, painting, poetry, calligraphy, mathematics, astronomy, and other scientific fields have undergone a significant transformation. He had such hatred and prejudice against the Mongol nation that he describes their attack on Iran with the words, "The Mongol invasion was nothing but a wild flood, destruction and slaughter". (Taqizadeh, 1941, p. 4)

With his Pan-Iranian and Pan-Persianist ideas, Taqizadeh believed in a kind of civilized Iran that, after the attack of the "barbaric, bloodthirsty, uncultured Mongols," this civilization suffered a gradual decline. Like other nationalist, ethnocentric, and racist thinkers of the Pahlavi period, he saw the reason for Iran's lack of scientific, cultural, economic, and political development in the invasion of the Mongols. His hatred and prejudice towards the Mongols are so great that he mentions the name of the Mongol nation 14 times in the collection of articles he published in 1943. However, he did not mention the literary, scientific, artistic, intellectual, and military achievements of the Mongol empire with a look full of intent and hatred that should not be present in a researcher.

With all his clever efforts to hide his contemptuous, bigoted, and spiteful view towards other non-Persian nations, by carefully examining his writings, the sign and content of racist thoughts can be seen. He talks about the increasing spread of Pan-Turkist and Pan-Turanist ideas in the Ottoman Empire with fear, hatred, and a strange contemptuous look.

However, by falling into a fanatical ideological view with all his criticism of Pan-Turkist thought, he has no serious criticism regarding the problems and harms of Pan-Iranism thought. He has no serious criticism of Pan-Iranist ideas and their

exaggerated praise of Iranian history, identity, language, and civilization.

Nevertheless, he considers Pan-Turkist and Pan-Turanist ideas insane, exaggerated, false, and baseless. Also, by insulting the Turkish nation of the Ottoman period, he considers all of them miserable and all the Turkish intellectuals and thinkers of the Ottoman period as illiterate, ignorant, and seeking fame.

By falsifying Pan-Turkist and Pan-Turanist ideas without referring to any reliable sources and books, he claims that all Ottoman Pan-Turkist intellectuals are seeking to revive Genghis Khan's empire. In addition, Taqizadeh considers the words of Turkish intellectuals about the history of Turks as delusions, which are taken from a storybook by Léon Cahun, a Jew from France. Also, by sarcastically mentioning the Jewish ethnicity of Leon Cahun, he shows that he has hatred and prejudice towards the Jewish nation. Taqizadeh's unscientific and fanatical view of the movement of Pan-Turkism in the late Ottoman period is so full of hatred that he sees the cause of the emergence of the movement of Turkism in Turkey only in the translation and publication of a book by a French author. (Taqizadeh, 1943, pp. 62-63)

Contrary to the fact that Taqizadeh claimed in some of his writings that non-Persian nations and tribes living in Iran should not be insulted and humiliated, in his writings, he forgot this human thought and openly revealed his ethnic and racial hatred towards other nations. He claims that the reason for the transformation and change of the Mongol and Tazi savage people to the Iranian nation is that the Iranians were one of the most civilized nations of their time.

In this claim, he considers the Mongols and Arabs brutal and devoid of culture and civilization. In addition, he changed the name of the Arab nation with prejudice and ethnic hatred and addressed them with the derogatory title of "Tazi".

Taqizadeh used racist attributes such as Turan devils, seditious, predatory, and

corrupt against Turks. And also the application of primitive and nomadic attributes against Arabs and Mongols. It shows that in his mind, all non-Persian nations and tribes are barbaric, primitive, seditious, corrupt, plunderers, and devils. (Taqizadeh, 1943, pp. 111-112)

On the other hand, Taqizadeh has repeatedly written his supremacist and Pan-Iranian view in examining the introduction of Islam to Iran and how Iranians have relations with Arabs. While narrating the characteristics of the relationship between Iranians and Arabs during the Umayyad period, he claims that the soul of Iranians had infiltrated the immigrant Arabs. Moreover, he also talks about the Persianization of their language, changing clothes, drinking wine, and celebrating Nowruz by the Arabs. Taqizadeh cannot hide his racist view against Arabs. For this reason, he claims that Iranians are superior and higher than Arabs regarding civilization, decency, wealth, and merit. (Taqizadeh, 1931, p. 74)

### **Mohammad Ali Foroughi (1877-1942)**

Foroughi was among the most prominent intellectuals, researchers, politicians, thinkers, and outstanding personalities of the late Qajar dynasty and Pahlavi periods. He graduated from Iran's religious schools. His research on Western philosophy is one of the main and first sources of Western philosophy in the contemporary Persian language.

The influence of the book "The Evolution of Philosophy in Europe" on contemporary Iranian thinkers and philosophers learning Western philosophical ideas cannot be hidden. He was the head of the Persian language academy during the period of Reza Khan Pahlavi, and as a result of his round-the-clock activities in implementing the extreme nationalist policies of the government, a significant amount of new words and terms were produced. The policy of eliminating and

destroying Arabic, Turkish, and Mongolian words began during the presidency of Foroughi, the first president of the Persian Language Academy.

Also, he gained influence and respect in the structure of the Qajar government and was promoted to the position of private teacher of Ahmad Shah Qajar and Minister of Justice in 1910. In addition, he was Iran's former ambassador in Ankara, Iran's representative at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, the Minister of War three times in the early 1920s, and the Prime Minister twice in 1925 and during the Mashhad crisis in 1934.

Foroughi, who had very close and deep relations with the British, played a key role in the peaceful abdication of Ahmad Shah Qajar from the throne. Also, he had reported to the British government that after the overthrow of Ahmad Shah Qajar and Reza Khan Pahlavi's dominance over the Iranian government, it was very likely that Reza Khan would try to re-implement the old Iranian tyranny.

(Abrahamian, 2008, p. 101)

In his speech at Reza Khan Pahlavi's coronation on April 25, 1926, Foroughi clearly showed his belief in the existence of a "pure race and an Iranian race". In that address, he used opposite terms, such as the Iranian serf, the Iranian nation, and Iranian ethnic, to show the different ethnic groups, religions, and nations that are different from each other in terms of language, ethnicity, and religion, to show the entire population of the geography of Iran in a unified manner. Mentioning the names of legendary and real kings of history before Islam and after Islam, he claimed that Cyrus and Darius the Great created the greatest government in the history of humanity.

In addition, he insulted the ancient Roman Empire and the Romans by praising the Sassanid kings and using the term "pull somebody's leg" in Persian. He had such a

racial and nationalistic illusion about Iran's pre-Islamic history that in that speech, he claimed without providing any documents that the Prophet Muhammad was envious and longing for the remarkable scientific, philosophical, justice, and human progress of the Sassanid era of Khosrow I. Continuing his speech, he calls Reza Khan Pahlavi's intentions and goals holy, giving him a prophetic and divine state. In addition, with a racist and sick look, he praises Shah's pure nature and his Iranian race:

*"O King of Kings, the people of Iran know that they today have a king of pure nature and Iranian descent(race) who heals their sorrows. Moreover, he did not attain the position of kingship for his ego and luxury but in exchange for his extraordinary efforts in restoring the property and the state and completing the implementation of his holy intentions in providing basic means for humanity and settlement of this border and land". (Foroughi, 2010, pp. 113-114-115)*

After establishing the new Republic of Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha Atatürk, the relations between Iran and Turkey became tense regarding the demarcation of the two country's borders. With the ultimatum of the Turkish government to Iran, this darkening of relations became more intense and entered a critical stage. After the Turkish government's ultimatum to Iran regarding the border disputes, the Pahlavi government sent Mohammad Ali Foroughi to Ankara to gain positive opinion and friendship with the Turkish government.

However, Foroughi's problem, as he stated in one of his letters to the Minister of Foreign Affairs or the head of the cabinet of the Iranian government, was not having an official government title. Moreover, for this reason, he only talked with Turkish government officials in informal and friendly meetings due to not having an official government position. According to Yaghma magazine and according to Iraj Afshar, who published most of Mohammad Ali Foroughi's letters, reports, and

speeches in Tehran, it is not clear in the text of the report sent by Foroughhi that he wrote this letter to the head of the cabinet of the Iranian government or Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this report, he repeatedly states that he cannot convey his definite and certain trust in the Turks to the Iranian government.

Furthermore, for this reason, to reach a definite opinion about whether or not to trust Turkish politicians, he has spoken of his need for a minimum of one or two years. He has written with malicious intent and pessimism about the hidden intentions of Turkish politicians and has claimed that probably Atatürk, after strengthening the political, economic, and military foundations of the Turkish government, will think of extending his lands, especially in the Turkic region of Iran's Azerbaijan.

Nevertheless, he does not provide any evidence or document about his claim, and for this reason, he repeatedly states in his letter that all these opinions of his are not accurate and correct and are a kind of prejudice. From his frank and clear thoughts in that report, it is clear that Foroughi and the Pahlavi government were very afraid of the possible emergence of separatist movements in the Azerbaijan region of Iran, which the new Turkish government could influence. Moreover, to prevent the effects of a modern, secular, and nationalist Turkish government on the Turks of the geography of Iran and especially the large region of Azerbaijan, they have started to change the geographical structure of those regions and ethnic displacement.

Foroughi, like other Iranian nationalist intellectuals, sought to create a united Iran in which all languages, nations, religions, and ethnic and cultural pluralities would assimilate and become the Persian language and Iranian culture. Moreover, in this regard, with the cooperation of Reza Shah Pahlavi and other ruling political

classes, the Kurdish-speaking tribes of Iran were forced to move to the Turkic regions of Iran with political goals.

It seems that the main purpose of this policy of ethnic cleansing against the Turks of Iran's geography, which Foroughi and the Pahlavi government implemented, was to prevent the spread of influence of the Turkish government on the Turks of Iran. Most of these Kurdish-speaking tribes and groups were forcibly settled in the Turkic provinces, cities, and villages of Iran near the borders of neighboring Turkey. Foroughi writes in the report he sends from Ankara to the new Pahlavi government:

*“The Kurdish case is much more important here than we imagine. Turks consider the inhomogeneity of the nation, that is, the presence of Greek, Armenian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Arab elements, as the main cause of their misfortunes in the past and try to avoid the recurrence of this disease in the new life.*

*Moreover, they want to have no element of corruption on their soil. In the previous three years, he suddenly had a rebellion, and the case of Sheikh Said happened, and that rebellion was very important and almost endangered the existence of Turkey. They were forced to gather eighty thousand troops in Turkish Kurdistan and spent ten million.*

*Furthermore, because of the mistakes they have made before and after this incident, the case is not over, and they feel this point. The incident of two months ago has caused a wound to their hearts. The worst thing is that the British have thrown the issue of independent Kurdistan into the Kurds' mouths and have shaken the Turkish government.*

*And, of course, we should be hesitant like them, but unfortunately, in this matter, instead of considering us as sympathizers, the Turks assume that we are*

*claimants. That is, on the one hand, like the Russians, or in imitation of them, they consider Iran to be a subordinate of England; on the other hand, they have understood from the negotiations that took place in Tehran with Memduh Şevket Esendal that we want to put a Kurdish region between Iran and Turkey as a buffer. And Turkish officials had told me this before you told me in your telegram”.*  
(Foroughi, 2010, p. 123)

Despite Foroughi's opposition to eliminating words from Arabic and other foreign languages from Persian, during his presidency of the Persian Language Academy, the geographical names of the Turkic and Arab regions of Iran were changed to Persian words. Also, it seems that Foroughi, like another Iranian intellectual, Seyyed Hassan Taqizadeh, in expressing his extreme nationalist beliefs, respected political issues and the necessity of preserving the integrity of Iran. Because first of all, during his presidency of the Persian Language Academy, he removed the names of almost 107 regions, cities, and villages of Iran in Turkish, Arabic, and Armenian languages and replaced them with Persian names. Second, contrary to his claims, according to the statutes of the Persian Language Academy, of which he was the first president, one of the duties of that institution is to remove and clear the Persian language from inappropriate foreign words and prepare language grammar, extracting and defining rules for creating Persian words or accepting or rejecting foreign words. Even though Sadegh Rezazadeh Shafagh was the head of the geography commission of the Persian language academy, the general director of the Persian language academy and the responsibility for all its positive and negative works is under the responsibility of Foroughi. (Agheli, 1991, pp. 291-292)

As it was explained, due to the concerns of national security issues, preservation of territorial integrity, and national unity, in many of his writings and speeches, Foroughi tried to show his extreme nationalist view more mildly and rationally.

However, he, like other Iranian nationalist intellectuals, has sometimes forgotten this considerate political character in many of his articles and speeches. For example, in one of his articles entitled "Why Iran should be loved?", he claims that the Iranian nation has surpassed most nations in terms of knowing its duty in the world of humanity and is ahead of most nations worldwide, continuing the duty of humanity. On the other hand, he claims with a strong nationalist and xenophobic view that in the Middle East, whenever wild and uneducated tribes have attacked Iran, the Eastern world has also suffered a decline in civilization, culture, and science. Nevertheless, in his opinion, the great Iranian civilization and culture, with all the attacks of these wild and uneducated peoples, has dissolved them within itself and has become the center of Eastern civilization again. (Foroughi, 2010, pp. 252-254)

Another reliable and important document that clearly shows Foroughi's racist and anti-Turkish intentions and goals is his confidential letter to the head of the government cabinet or Shah Pahlavi. As it was claimed, Foroughi and a small number of Iranian nationalist intellectuals who held high government positions tried not to openly express their racist goals and thoughts to maintain national unity and territorial integrity and promote cultural assimilation programs in Iran. Because, in their opinion, expressing these opinions could cause ethnic divisions and conflicts in Iran.

And this action was considered a great security risk for the new Pahlavi government, whose main goal was to create a unified Iranian nation and formalize the Persian language throughout the cultural geography of Iran. All these discussed points are known in the confidential letter that Foroughi wrote from Ankara to the Pahlavi government. From the content of his letter, it is clear that he was one of the theorists of the racist programs of the Pahlavi government in the project of

destroying the Turkish language and other non-Persian languages. And in this way, he presented to the Pahlavi government the general strategies for expanding the Persian language and the gradual destruction of the Turkish language and other non-Persian languages in Iran. In this confidential letter, he states that the Pahlavi government should pursue its efforts based on new methods in developing and teaching the Persian language in the Turkic regions of Iran and Azerbaijan province. In addition, the Pahlavi government should prevent the familiarization and promotion of the Turkish Latin alphabet in the Turkic regions of Iran, especially the province of Azerbaijan. Because, in Foroughi's opinion, the Turkish government's Latin alphabet will bring the Turks of Iran closer to the Turks of Turkey.

And for this reason, from Foroughi's point of view, the acquaintance of Iranian Turks with the Latin alphabet of the Turkish government is considered one of the biggest security risks for the national unity of Iran and the preservation of the country's territorial integrity.

Therefore, he informs the Pahlavi government of the new methods of teaching the Persian language in Azerbaijan province. In that confidential letter to the Pahlavi government, Foroughi also states that the Turkish government, the Turks of Iran, and other unreliable people should not be aware of the content of this confidential letter and our program on teaching and expanding the Persian language. The very important point is that one of the fears and the main concern of Foroughi's confidential letter to the Pahlavi government was the fear of the failure of the Persianization project of the Turks of Azerbaijan province and other Turkish regions of Iran in the future. Also, in addition to the fact that the date of writing this letter is not mentioned, it has yet to be known whether this secret letter was written to the head of the cabinet of the Pahlavi government or the Shah himself. In

that confidential letter, Foroughi wrote to the head of the government cabinet or the Shah himself:

*“Although it is outside of my apparent duties, I know it is my national duty to point out, and in this part in particular, I request you to draw the attention of Mr. Minister of Education and any other knowledgeable person related to these matters.*

*There is no need to explain how necessary it is to spread Iranian knowledge and the Iranian language in Azerbaijan and to distance the people there from non-Iranian characteristics, and I have two words in this regard:*

*One is about the alphabet because, unfortunately, our fellow citizens do not have an independent opinion and they often imitate the Turks. While most of the actions of the Turks are unimportant and unnecessary for us, and also the way of implementing their measures is not suitable for our conditions. Therefore, since the issue of changing the line is discussed in Turkey, this issue will soon arise again in Iran. And now, I explain that I consider the Iranian alphabet incomplete and flawed, and I believe that it should be corrected so that you don't think I am prejudiced against our Persian alphabet. But first of all, I would like to warn the country's people that although this action was good for the Turks and was necessary, according to the scientists, they are doing it without proper procedure and will face problems. And if I want to go into the topic and explain it, my speech will be long so I will consider this issue for another time. So, we should be careful not to make their mistakes; secondly, we should consider and use the change of the Turkish script and the preservation of our present alphabet for political purposes. The difference in the alphabet between the Turks of Turkey and the Turks of Azerbaijan is a means of alienating the Azerbaijanis from the Turks of Turkey and further separating them. Even if it is in our interest to correct or change the line,*

*and in any case, we consider the correction or change of Iran's line to be a matter of great importance and require a complete study. And let's not rush like the Turks because doing so is harmful.*

*Another thing is that these days I come across an important issue regarding the importance of education in Azerbaijan province, which is necessary to inform the education officials. Moreover, this point while negotiating with an Iranian lady in Paris, it became clear to me that it is also involved in the teaching, and that is that in the elementary schools of Azerbaijan, they teach the Persian alphabet and reading in the same way as is common in the Persian speaking provinces.*

*Furthermore, they do not notice that forcing an Azerbaijani child who does not understand Farsi to read is completely wrong; he will suffer and learn late. At the same time, his mind is offended by Farsi, as in the past, Iranian children were forced to study Arabic and the Quran from the beginning of their education, and we all know how much we suffered because of this and did not see any benefit.*

*Moreover, many Iranians' hatred towards the Arabic language and the Qur'an originates here. So we can be afraid that in this way, our efforts to promote the Persian language in Azerbaijan will have the opposite result. Alternatively, at least the result will be late and weak. Now you will say, what is the solution to this cause? I want to say that it is very easy if we have a knowledgeable teacher.*

*However, it will be very difficult with no qualified teacher. In any case, the way is not to start teaching elementary schools in Azerbaijan from teaching the alphabet and reading. In this regard, no Quranic verse has been revealed that whenever a teacher wants to teach someone, he should start by teaching the Persian alphabet. Rather, in the beginning, the teacher should engage in Persian conversation and interviews with the students and familiarize them with this language. In addition,*

*from the elementary lessons, what can be taught to children, most of which are ethics, sharia, arithmetic, history, etc.*

*Moreover, in this way, if the teacher knows what to do, children can become acquainted with the Persian language within a year. After that, in the second year, the teacher should start teaching and reciting the alphabet when the child is not a stranger to Farsi. In this way, children do not suffer. They also learn Farsi; their time is well-spent. Because the children who study in this way learn reading and the alphabet better and sooner, and since they started learning the alphabet a year later, they have become more capable of doing this laborious work in terms of physical and mental strength.*

*Furthermore, the same procedure should be common in the Persian-speaking provinces, that is, all schools, and there is no need for them to start the lesson by teaching the alphabet and reading. I do not insist on Persian speakers because I know they will not accept my offer, so I am disappointed with them. However, I am making this proposal for Azerbaijan's children, and if accepted, it will be a quick and complete success. Provided that teachers and school administrators understand and know what needs to be done. Nevertheless, you will hide my explanations from the Turks and those who are unreliable because the discovery of this letter does not coincide with my being in Turkey. Moreover, I mentioned these considerations according to my duty and will not say more. (Foroughi, 1948, pp. 316-317-318)*

In his research and articles, Foroughi does not hide his nationalist and Pan-Iranist tendencies, and his view on the element of the Persian nation takes extreme aspects to such an extent that his racist thoughts are exposed. In the introduction of the book he translated from one of Ibn Sina's works into Persian, he clearly expresses the ideas of the superiority of the Iranian race in the Islamic world.

Foroughi claims that most of the scientists and philosophers in the Islamic world were Iranians, and for this reason, he states with a particular determination that Iranians built the Islamic civilization. With his racist view, he ignores and removes all scientific and philosophical achievements of Islamic nations such as Arabs, Turks, Egyptians, and Indians. In his view, all Islamic civilization's important scientific and philosophical works were created only by Iranians. However, in the continuation of his writing, he unavoidably reveals the main contradiction of his point of view. Because, as he admits, all the valuable scientific and philosophical works of Islamic civilization were written in Arabic and not in Persian.

Nevertheless, due to the dominance of racist views in Foroughi's mind, the language of works created in the field of Islamic civilization in the field of science and philosophy is not important to him. He believes the Iranian race is important, not the language of published scientific and philosophical works.

Therefore, with a strange reluctance and prejudice, he states that the reason for writing valuable scientific and philosophical works in Arabic is only that until a few years ago, the Arabic language was the common language among scholars of the Islamic world. Therefore, Foroughi also mentions that because all the Islamic world's valuable scientific and philosophical works are Arabic, Westerners mistakenly classify all these works under the Arab civilization. (Sina, 1982, p. 1)

In addition to these points, Foroughi has directly humiliated Arabs and the Arabic language in his thoughts and writings. In the political, intellectual, and nationalist literature of Iranians, the use of the word 'Tazi' instead of 'Arabic' is due to the hatred and prejudice that Iranian nationalist intellectuals have towards the attack of 'the army of Islam and wild Arabs on Iran'.

As a nationalist and Pan-Iranist intellectual and statesman, Foroughi uses the derogatory Tazi four times instead of Arabic in two pages in the introduction to one of the important Persian dictionary books. However, due to working in the most important positions of the Pahlavi government, Foroughi knew very well that using the word Tazi instead of Arabic was considered an insult and humiliation from the point of view of the Arab nation and intellectuals. (Nafisi, 1976, p. 7-8)

With all his efforts to hide racist thoughts, Foroughi has expressed this racist content in many of his works. In addition to the strong anti-Arab and anti-Mongol signs in his works, he has not hidden his anti-Turkism due to his hostility to all non-Iranian elements. It can be said that he, like other Iranian nationalist and Pan-Iranist intellectuals, considers the Arabs, Mongols, and Turks to be the cause of all of Iran's lack of scientific, political, economic, and cultural progress.

However, until today, no direct cause-and-effect relationship between the military attack of a "barbarian tribe" in the middle ages of Iran's history and the lack of scientific and cultural progress has been proven or discovered.

On the other hand, if we consider the thought of nationalist intellectuals such as Foroughi to be correct about the issue that the invasion of barbaric tribes caused the backwardness of Iran, then after Alexander the Great's invasion of Iran, science, philosophy, and art have developed deeply and extensively until today. Nevertheless, until today, in the history of Iran, we have not seen universal philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates, whose works are taught in the world's prestigious universities.

However, it seems that Foroughi has sought to prove that Iranian poets and artists have grown and developed without being affected by the political, social, economic, and cultural conditions prevailing during the rule of the Turkish and

Mongol sultans. Because according to Foroughi, Saadi Shirazi, one of the most prominent Persian classical poets living in Shiraz during the Salghurid's rule, was a truth teller of his era without being influenced by the prevailing political-social environment. Foroughi, with the obvious prejudice and hatred he shows towards the Turkish rulers, states that the Turkish rulers of the Salghurids government did nothing but lust, coercion, and greed and did not know the customs of statecraft and governance. To show the barbarity and uncivilized nature of the Turks, he used the term "onslaught" (Torktazi), which is common among Iranian nationalist and Pan-Iranian thinkers. This racist term in the nationalist literature of Iranian intellectuals shows that they believe that the Turks have done nothing but fight, loot, attack, and kill from the beginning of history until today. (Shirazi, 2006, p. 10)

In Foroughi's works, one can see the characteristics of antiquarianism, extreme nationalism, prejudice and hatred of non-Iranians and non-Persian speakers, belief in the inherent superiority of the Persian people and Iranians, and exaggerated praise of Iran's history. Besides these points, his hostile thoughts about Arabs, Turks, and Mongols are extremely fanatical and far from impartial scientific and historical investigations.

In the article he wrote about the philosophy of ancient Greece and especially the works of Herakleitos, he expresses his racist thoughts quite clearly. While describing the thoughts of Herakleitos about existence, he states that the philosophical thoughts of this ancient Greek philosopher were extremely complex and deep. Foroughi admits that the commentators of this Greek philosopher's thought have not fully understood the philosophical thoughts of this outstanding thinker. After writing these introductions about the philosophical thoughts of this

Greek thinker, he starts to translate Darius the Great's letter to Herakleïtos into the Persian language:

*“But there is much well-known evidence about the knowledge and art friendship of the ancient kings of Iran. Because we did not want to repeat the famous stories, we chose these stories that were not famous in our countries. Of course, it is better to leave the extraction of the benefits of this story to the power of learning and the accuracy of the readers.*

*To help you understand the matter, I must say that two thousand-four hundred years ago, with all the lack of means of communication, differences in language and race, although it was difficult to understand the book of Heraclitus even for the Greeks themselves, despite all these problems The book had reached Darius the Great. And the king of Iran, Dariush, became aware of the contents of that book and wanted to have a definitive conversation with the author.*

*Doesn't this issue convey the strength of the emergence and brilliance of the light of knowledge and the perfection of attention and affection of the ancient people of Iran? Doesn't the purity of the essence, the height of opinion, and the delicacy of taste of our Iranian ancestors show? Doesn't this prove that Iran's great government, contrary to what appears in superficial opinions, was not built only with simplicity and brutality? (Foroughi, 2008, pp. 15-16)*

From the end of the Qajar period until today, investigating the cultural influences of non-Persian speakers on Iranian culture and the Persian language has been one of the main concerns of Iranian nationalist intellectuals. These contemporary thinkers investigate these non-Iranian elements that have entered Iranians' language, tradition, culture, and life with extraordinary precision and perseverance.

Foroughi did not favor removing and destroying all Arabic and Turkish words from the Persian language, and he tried to avoid extreme behavior.

However, as we stated in the previous cases and based on his writings, it seems that he avoided extremism to prevent the emergence of ethnic conflicts and endangering the territorial integrity of Iran. Nevertheless, with all these points, the responsibility for all the policies of the Pahlavi government was on Reza Khan Pahlavi. Moreover, Foroughi, as the head of the Persian language academy, made a significant contribution in erasing Arabic and Turkish words from the Persian language, changing the names of the geographical regions of Iran, and banning education in the mother tongue.

For this reason, we tried to examine some of Foroughi's racist thoughts that showed the signs of this anti-Arab, anti-Turkish and anti-Mongolian thinking. In this regard, in 1907, in one of his speeches in French at the School of political science, he investigated the influence of foreign languages on the Persian language. Like other Iranian nationalist thinkers, he was concerned about the influence of foreign languages on the Persian language. Therefore, he started research on this matter. By examining Arabic, Chinese, Indian, Russian, French, and English, he showed the roots of many used Persian words and surprised and shocked the listeners.

Nevertheless, in this speech, when examining the effects of the Turkish language on the Persian language, he suddenly starts expressing his racist thoughts against the Turks. According to Foroughi, the effects of the Turkish language and the culture of the Turks on the Persian language and tradition and Iranian culture have been much greater, deeper, and wider than the Arabic language.

He considers the Turks as lacking in civilization and literature, and for this reason, he states that the words imported from the Turkish language into the Persian language are so many that it is impossible to express them all. With a kind of self-arrogance and ethnic superiority, he considered the Turks to be devoid of culture, civilization, and literature, and like other Iranian nationalist intellectuals, he directly mentioned the superiority of the Persian people and the Persian language:

*“The influence of the Arabic language in Persian is broad, requiring a detailed and separate explanation. Apart from Arabic, other languages have influenced our language, and now I will talk about Turkish. From the 4th century of Hijri, the Turks began infiltrating and migrating to Iran, first as slaves and prisoners of war and then as conquerors and invaders.*

*The invasion and conquest of the Turks, which took place several times at different times and led to the Mongol attack, deeply impacted our customs and traditions to the extent that it is more evident than in Arabic. The Turks did not have civilization and literature to give us, so the words that entered our language from their language are so many that they are not counted here.*

*For example, Atabak is a compound name from two words, Ata and Bak (Bey), the first meaning father and the second meaning elder. Alternatively, Qoli from the name Reza Qoli and Hossein Qoli, etc., which means slave, and even the words Khan and Khanum, which will surprise you the most. Also, Beg and Begum, which are honorary titles, or the words Bashi and Chi, used in the combination of words such as Hakim Bashi, Monshi Bashi, and Cheragchi, are Turkish.*

*But this point should be known that from the Turkish language, such words that have a ceremonial and honorific aspect have entered Persian; otherwise, the*

*words that show philosophical, scientific, and spiritual meanings have not reached us from the Turks. (Foroughi, 2008, pp. 82-83)*

As it is clear from the content of Foroughi's speech, he characterizes the Turks who entered Iran from the 4th century AH as enslaved people and captives. He shows the entire population of Turks in the Middle Ages, who entered Iran through Great Khorasan and Turkestan, with the derogatory title of "slaves and captives" to show the inherent and eternal superiority of the Persian people and Iranians.

In the racist and Pan-Iranist Foroughi's mind, the Persians and Iranians had a great civilization and culture from ancient times until today, which the "enslaved and captive Turks" lacked. Therefore, he considers the Turks to lack civilization and literature. However, he does not provide proof and documents for his racist words. Because he did not know the Turkish language, and even when he met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey in Ankara and the Ambassador of Turkey in Iran, he spoke to them in French.

Foroughi's hatred, prejudice, and hostility toward the Turks is to the extent that he claims that the Turks lacked civilization, philosophical, scientific, and spiritual thought and therefore did not leave any intellectual, artistic, or moral impact on the language and culture of Iran. These racist thoughts of Foroughi against Turks show that; even though the Turks have ruled Iran for more than a thousand years in the history of Iran and are now one of the nations living in Iran, they still do not have the right to be equal with Persians and Iranians.

Belief in a pure language, race, and homeland is common to all racist intellectuals worldwide. The German Nazis wanted to wipe out and destroy all the Jews from Germany and all over Europe to achieve prosperity, happiness, progress, and a better world. Also, to achieve such a racial wish, the fascists of Italy started ethnic

and racial cleansing of the Jews. The exclusion, killing, and forced migration of Muslims in the Balkans and former Yugoslavia also had such racist aspects. All these political trends and ideologies ruling the mentioned governments wanted to destroy and clean foreign elements from their language, culture, homeland, geography, and population.

And Mohammad Ali Foroughi, like Nazi and Fascist thinkers and politicians, sought to create a pure language, homeland, population, and culture. He tried his best to hide his racist thoughts, but in most of his books, articles, letters, and speeches, clear signs of racist thoughts are evident.

In the message he wrote to the Persian Language Academy, he clearly states that one of the main defects of the Persian language is the presence of Arabic words and terms in the Persian language. In his opinion, the existence of these Arabic language elements in the Persian language is a defect, and intellectuals, linguists, writers, and poets who write Persian must correct this defect. Also, he considers the lack of scientific and philosophical terms to be one of the shortcomings of the Persian language, which he sees as the reason for most of the scientific and philosophical books of Iranian scientists being written in Arabic.

During the Middle Ages, Iranian scientists wrote most of their valuable works in Arabic, and Foroughi sees this as the main reason for the poverty of scientific and philosophical terms in contemporary Persian. According to Foroughi, the Persian language is not properly trained and experienced for writing scientific topics and issues.

And this is why, in his opinion, few people can write scientific materials in Persian. He considered the influence of the Arabic language on the Persian language, which exists to this day, as a threat and a defect of the past of the Persian

language, which, in his opinion, can be gradually eliminated with effort. Also, according to Foroughi, the threat and danger of the future of the Persian language are falling under the influence of foreign languages. In this way, like other European racist intellectuals, he has sought to create a clean language, clean culture, and clean population. (Foroughi, 2008, pp.104-105)

### **Sadegh Hedayat (1903-1951)**

Sadegh Hedayat is one of the most prominent novelists and storytellers in the history of contemporary Iranian literature. He is considered the initiator of the modern novel in contemporary Persian literature. By creating *The Blind Owl*, he has caused a new development in the modern Persian novel. Moreover, as the first modernist novel in the contemporary Persian language, this work is agreed upon by most Iranian writers and literary critics. In addition, he is one of the prominent Persian story writers. Like his only novel, his stories have left a very wide and deep impact on contemporary Iranian writers, poets, and intellectuals. In addition, he also translated the works of Franz Kafka, Jean-Paul Sartre, and other contemporary French writers into Persian. He also researched Middle Persian literature, folklore, Zoroastrian religion, ancient Iranian history, the Pahlavi language, and Khayyam's quatrains. His intense interest in pre-Islamic history, the Aryan race, and the Persian language and his hatred of Arabs, Mongols, Turks, Jews, and Islam made him one of the pioneers of the extreme nationalist movement in Iran. Even though in his works there is a very strong racist content against Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Jews, and the Islamic religion, based on the research of Bijan Jalali and the confirmation of Reza Baraheni, his ethnic origin goes back to the Ilkhanate dynasty and the Turks of Central Asia. (Ghasemzadeh, 2003, p. 68)

In the story "Shadow of the Mongols" (1931), before the beginning of the story, Hedayat gives a quote from the book of *BAHMAN YAŠT*, which makes it very

clear to us what he means about dealing with historical issues. His use of this quote full of hatred and prejudice towards the non-Iranian element shows that Hedayat sees all the non-Persian elements as devils, barbarians, and ugly:

*“O pure Zarathustra! Indeed, the sign of the end of your thousandth year and the beginning of the worst periods will be that a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand kinds of demons with disheveled hair, of the race of anger, will invade the country of Iran from the east. They will burn and destroy everything: patriotism, masculinity, magnanimity, religion, truth, happiness, comfort, joy, and all Ahura's works will be trampled and the religion of Zoroastrianism and fire will be destroyed. Then they will rule with ferocity and tyranny”.* (Hedayat, 2000, p. 87)

Like other Iranian racist intellectuals, Hedayat considers everything Iranian and Persian pure and free from horror, evil, and sin. Therefore, in the text he selected from the old Persian texts, he characterizes Zoroaster with the attribute of purity and the Mongols and Turks with attributes such as the devil, cruel, angry, and cruel. In this story, Hedayat mentions the names of Mongols 18 times with the worst and most frightening attributes and tries to show the Iranian element as innocent, pure, and noble. In addition, he calls the Turks ignorant in this story. On the other hand, he says from the language of the story's main character that he saw the Mongol attack on Iran as an opportunity for the genocide of the Semitic race:

*“What does it matter if the tiger kills him? It is much better than falling into the hands of the Mongols. It is better than seeing those vile, predatory faces again, those bloodthirsty beasts. To hear their dirty accent, to see the enemy of his land and water, the murderers of his fiancée. This thought drove him crazy, and he could not escape it. His fiancée's screams were still ringing in his ears. As soon as*

*he reached his head, he saw Golshad naked in the door frame, in the arms of that Mongolian man, an ignorant Turk, who was struggling”.* (Hedayat, 2000, p.89)

In this story, Genghis Khan's attack on Iran is told in the form of a story from the author's point of view; the height of his hatred and prejudice towards the Mongol people are shown quite clearly:

*“Shahrokh's plan changed: so far, he and a group of young Iranians who had not yet lost their ancient customs and ways and had not corrupted their thoughts, fed up with the oppression of the Arabs, started sedition against them. At first, they considered the Mongol invasion a way of hope and a suitable opportunity to destroy the Semitic race. However, the day the Mongols came, this bloodthirsty yellow face raced into their land; this impure race, the enemy of civilization, the enemy of freedom with crooked eyes, had brought the science of torture to the last level of sophistication”.* (Hedayat, 2000, pp. 91-92)

In this story, by creating fear and dread of the Mongol, Arab, and Turkish foreign elements, he insinuates to the readers that all these nations are violent, dirty, ugly, criminal, cruel, murderous, and of an inferior race.

Another story in which Sadeq Hedayat shows his anti-Islam and anti-Turkism is the story of Alaviye Khānum (1933). His purpose in writing this story is to criticize false religious beliefs. However, in this story and his other stories, he expresses all the issues related to the religion of Islam in the language of negative characters and with negative themes. Islam has no positive aspect in this story and his other works. After reading Hedayat's stories, the reader of his story thinks that the whole religion of Islam is based on superstitions and ignorance.

In this story, a group goes on a journey to visit the tomb of the 8th Shiite Imam in Mashhad. However, in this story, the main characters have very low morals and

thoughts, and there are almost no healthy Muslim characters in this story. The main character of the story, Alaviye Khanum, is a woman who traces her lineage to the Prophet of Islam and calls herself Sayyedeh. Sayyedeh is a nickname for the generation of the Prophet of Islam in Iran. Alaviye Khanum, in this story, is the main sign of baseless religious pretenses. This lady narrates the story of Imam Hussain's martyrdom in the city of Karbala with a kind of deception and in a non-intimate way for the travelers.

In addition to being foul-mouthed and obscene and always beating the two young children in front of her, this lady also has a suspicious relationship with a young storyteller. Doubts about the relationship between the two become stronger as Alaviye Khanum introduces this young man with different titles, such as my son, my son-in-law, and my adopted brother.

On the other hand, he sometimes introduces the twelve-year-old girl with them as his daughter and sometimes as his daughter-in-law. Alaviye Khanum makes this twelve-year-old girl temporarily married to different men three times. Alaviye Khanum is introduced as the main representative of Islam in this story from Sadegh Hedayat's point of view. Also, the identity of the two children she always abuses and beats is unknown. She introduces those two children, sometimes as her children, grandchildren, and sometimes as orphans.

Hedayat crystallizes all the ugly and bad traits in the face, behavior, and thoughts of Alaviye Khanum, the main representative of Islam in this story. Because in the continuation of the story, it becomes clear that Alaviye Khanum had an illicit sexual relationship with one of the pilgrims to the grave of the 8th Shiite Imam. Moreover, the main issue is that both people were in temporary marriages when they had illicit sex.

By choosing a prostitute, ugly, liar, cruel, hypocritical, and obscene woman, Hedayat tries to introduce her as the main representative of Islam in Iran. With the continuation of this lady's immoral behavior and obscenities throughout the story, other characters doubt that this lady is Sayyedah. Hedayat's anti-Islamism is revealed by choosing prostitutes, obscenities, tyrants, liars, and ignorant people as the main representatives of Islam. There is no positive Islamic thought or behavior in this story. (Hedayat, 1963, pp. 11-57)

By choosing ugly, miserable, and negative characters to show the face of Islam, Hedayat somehow wants to show that Islam is synonymous with misery and ignorance. In one of his short stories, he represents Islam by telling the story of an ugly, unsocial, lonely, and miserable girl who was always humiliated by her mother. In this short story, there is a beautiful girl named Mahrokh, whom everyone loves, and on the opposite side of her is her sister named Abji Khanum, who is described by her mother as follows:

*“What should I do with this misery? Who will take such an ugly girl? I am afraid that the end will be a mess! A girl with no wealth, beauty, or perfection, who is the poor person who will take her?” (Hedayat, 1963, p. 82)*

As a result of her family's many humiliations, Abji Khanum gradually becomes a miserable person and has to turn to religion. Because he had been humiliated since he was five years old and had already believed that he was ugly; Therefore, to become happy in heaven, he started praying and fasting. However, with the marriage of his beautiful sister, who was younger than him, he falls into despair. As a result of Abji Khanam's jealousy and bad feeling, she finally commits suicide and drowns himself in the water tank (Ab Anbar). (Hedayat, 1963, pp. 82-84)

Sadegh Hedayat's anti-Islam and anti-Arabism are not limited to his few stories. In the story "seeking forgiveness", he tells the story of several seemingly religious people who want to go to Karbala to visit the grave of Imam Hussain. However, the main reason for their pilgrimage is revealed throughout the story. In this story, one of the negative characters is chosen with the Turkish name of Khanim Galin. Moreover, in the continuation of the story, he introduces one of the worst and most hated characters in the story, an Arab:

*"A barefoot Arab with a black face, torn eyes, and a beardless face was holding a thick iron chain in his hand and was hitting the mule's wounded thigh. Sometimes he turned and looked at the women's faces individually". (Hedayat, 1963, p. 74)*

In this story, a woman killed her husband's second wife and his two baby boys. After the woman's crime is revealed, the man tells her they are going on a pilgrimage because their sins will be forgiven. That man killed one of his rich passengers and stole his money when he was the buckboard driver, and he goes on a pilgrimage to make the stolen money halal. In addition to these characters, another woman became the wife of her half-sister's husband and severely abused the half-sister. After all that mental harassment, his sister became paralyzed, and this woman also killed her sister on the way to Karbala. (Hedayat, 1963, pp. 73-88)

Hedayat's enmity with Islam is not limited to these cases. In addition to painting a very bad face of Islam in all his stories, he considers animal abuse a sign of this religion. In one of his most famous stories, Hedayat tells the story of a Scottish dog named Pat (The Stray Dog-1942), whose foreign owner lost. With his hatred and prejudice towards the religion of Islam, Hedayat tries to instill in the readers of the story the feeling that dog abuse by Iranian Muslims is done according to Islamic orders and rules. Therefore, drawing very sad and impressive

story spaces, he considers the stray and ownerless Scottish dog a victim of Islam's anti-human and anti-animal nature. In this story, he says from the mouth of one of the characters of the story to prove the ruling of the Islamic religion about animal abuse:

*“All the people used to beat him to please God, which was very natural in their opinion. Because the dog is impure and religion has cursed it. In addition, it has seven lives. We have to beat it to get good rewards from God”.* (Hedayat, 1962, pp. 22-29)

In the works of Hedayat, there is a kind of idea of a pure Iran, a magnificent Iran and a civilized Iran before the Islamic era, and this image of the greatness and progress of ancient Iranian civilization in the author's mind is destroyed by the attack of the Arabs, Mongols, and Turks. In the ideological mind of Hedayat, everything is divided into Iranian and non-Iranian, Persian speaking, and non-Persian speaking. Hedayat's nationalism is not the type of patriotism but the type of chauvinism and racism. Even some contemporary Iranian thinkers and historians have accepted that Hedayat's ideas are racist, chauvinistic, anti-Arab, and anti-Islamic.

*“On the one hand, Hedayat inherited the nationalism formed in the constitutional era; on the other hand, he was influenced by the world events and developments in his era. However, his nationalism had a fundamental difference with the nationalism of the constitutional era and with what was important to the thinkers of that period: nationalism was guidance confined to the past, without any hope for the future. However, the nationalism of the constitutional era, with all its despair and disappointment with the existing situation - and with all its fascination with ancient Iran and its historical past - was practically a nationalism towards the future. This means that he still hoped for the power of the Iranian nation to regain*

*the past honors, restore mighty Iran, and establish an independent national government. However, what was important in Hedayat's nationalism was only his passion and nostalgia for the greatness of the ancient past and the purity of the elements of ancient Iranian culture. He had no hope for the future and looked at the historical destruction of glory and greatness, which could not be restored, with philosophical and political despair. So everything was in the past, and everything valuable could only be seen in the past. If we leave aside the element of despair in the nationalism of this Iranian writer, or rather the chauvinism of Hedayat, apart from some differences in vision and attitude, the background of the main elements of his nationalism can be seen in the constitutional literature. In the works of many nationalists during the period of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar and the constitutional revolution, xenophobia, anti-Arabism, worship of the Iranian race, opposition to Islam as a foreign religion, and praise of ancient Iran can be shown". (Ajoudani, 1992, pp. 474-475)*

In Sadegh Hedayat's thinking, directing enmity with non-Aryan tribes and nations is an absolute principle. All his stories have no positive Muslim, Arab, Mongolian, Turkish, or Jewish character. By creating stories about the history of ancient Iran and contemporary Iran, he introduces the main Persian-language characters of his stories as nationalistic, heroic, philosophically hopeless, and generally having intellectual, political, and human concerns. However, as shown in the previous cases, all the non-Persian speaking and non-Iranian characters in his stories are wild, ignorant, murderous, dirty, and of inferior race.

In one of his stories, *Dash Akol* (1932), about a generous (Luti) with the same name, Sadegh Hedayat creates the character of a Jewish person named "Mollah Isaac Yehudi". Even by choosing this name for the character, the story's author shows his enmity with the Jews and the Semitic people. Because according to the

teachings of Islam and the Shia religion, a Jewish person cannot become a Mollah. It seems that by choosing Mollah Isaac Yehudi, he tried to show Jews and Iranian Ayatollahs as having a common origin and ancestry. In this story, he created the character of Mollah, who is both Jewish and Muslim, and also sells alcohol in the city; Islam has humiliated the Jewish religion, the Jewish nation, and the Muslim nation. Because drinking and even selling alcohol is prohibited in Islam and Judaism, in this story, the author, in addition to insulting both Judaism and Islam, also calls the son of the Jewish Mollah "a dirty yellow boy". (Hedayat, 1962, pp. 43-62)

There are so much racist content and themes in Hedayat's works that an independent book can be written about it. In another short story called "To be Buried Alive" (1930), Hedayat is about death, one of his main intellectual and literary subjects; He expresses his hatred for the Arab nation without consideration. Sadegh Hedayat's eternal hatred, fear, and prejudice of the Arab nation is so deep that he says in the story:

*"I am tied in the prison of life under steel chains. If I were dead, they would have taken me; I would have fallen into the hands of orphaned Arabs in the mosque of Paris; I would have died again; I hate their appearance". (Hedayat, 1963, p. 25)*

Sadegh Hedayat has not shown his racism only in his fictional works. In his research, he also wrote his hatred and prejudice towards the Arab nation and the Semitic people. In the introduction he wrote to Khayyam's Rubaiyat (1934), he claims that Khayyam was anti-Arab, anti-Semitic, and anti-Islam like him. He considers Khayyam's poems to be the rebellion of his Aryan spirit against Arab religious teachings. He even states with a kind of fascist hatred that Khayyam's

poems are a kind of revenge for the Aryan spirit against the Arabs and the Islamic environment:

*"Perhaps we can consider Khayyam among anti-Arab Iranians such as Ibn al-Muqaffa, Behafarid, Abu Muslim, Babak, Etc. In his Rubaiyat, he constantly points out their trampled glory and greatness, that they have been razed to the ground, foxes have nested in their ruined palaces, and owls have nested. There is no doubt for the reader that the poet of the Rubaiyat looked down on all religious issues and contemptuously attacked the religious scholars who claimed to know everything. This shows the rebellion of the Aryan spirit against the Semitic beliefs and Khayyam's revenge against the base and bigoted environment that hated the thoughts of his people. (Hedayat, 1963, p. 40)*

Hedayat's insults towards the Arab nation are not limited to their face, language, race, and history. He even hated Arab music and culture. He writes with this mentality full of prejudice and hatred in the story of Haji Agha (1945):

*'Every night, he listened carefully to the Persian programs of Radio Berlin. 'The news of Germany's progress melted his heart, and he considered the speaker's words the absolute truth. Then he listened with pleasure to the Arabic music that came from the radio like the strange cries of a camel and fell into a trance. (Hedayat, 1977)*

Hedayat's eternal and historical grudge against the Arab nation goes so far that in the story of "Isfahan, half of the world" (1932) states that:

*"Perhaps the main reason for the Arabs' invasion of Iran was to eat the lizards of Iran". (Hedayat, 1963, p. 72)*

The volume of Hedayat's racist thoughts against Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Jews, and Islam is so great that we cannot mention all of them in this research. Examining the

scope, characteristics, and content of racism in Hedayat's works can be the subject of an independent book in the future.

Hedayat, in his most famous work called "The Blind Owl" (1932), considers the voice of the muezzin reciting the call to prayer to be similar to the voice of a prostitute who is giving birth. To disparage the verses of the Quran that the muezzin recites, he says that a dog whining was heard along with the sound of the morning call to prayer. In this story, Sadegh Hedayat shows a dirty, ugly, and scary older man as the main representative of Islam. As the author and main narrator of the novel, Sadegh Hedayat has seen the traces of that dirty older man's dirty teeth in his wife's cheeks. (Hedayat, 1972)

### **Reza Baraheni (1935-2022)**

*"Government orders," he said. "We've been ordered not to use Turkish on the graves." (Baraheni. 1977. p. 88)*

Reza Baraheni was born into a very poor Turkish family living in Tabriz. After finishing high school and entering Tabriz University, he received his bachelor's degree in English language and literature. His childhood coincided with the entry of the Red Army into Iran and the establishment of the Azerbaijan People's Government (1945-1946) led by Ja'far Pischevari in Tabriz. Baraheni studied in his mother tongue Turkish during the one-year rule of the Azerbaijan People's Government. Moreover, he always remembered the sweet memories of that period.

Nevertheless, after the fall of this government and the brutal killing of the people of Azerbaijan and the members of the Azerbaijani Democratic Party by the forces of the Pahlavi army, education in the mother tongue of Turkish was banned in the cities and provinces of Azerbaijan. After the establishment of the Pahlavi army in the Turkic cities of Iran and the resumption of the dominance of the Persian

language, and the banning of the Turkish language, in the following years, Baraheni and other Azerbaijani intellectuals started protesting and criticizing this discrimination, oppression, and racist policies of the Pahlavi government in their poems, stories, novels, and articles. As one of the founders of the Writers' Association of Iran and one of the most prominent literary critics in the history of contemporary Iranian literature, on the other hands, Reza Baraheni is one of the greatest and most influential novelists and poets of Persian literature. Several of his novels and poetry books have been translated and published in different world languages in America, Canada, and Europe. In 1977, he was awarded the best human rights journalist in America. Both during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and during the period of the Islamic Republic of Iran, due to the defense of human rights, freedom, democracy, and the right to education in the Turkish mother tongue in Iran, he was expelled from Tehran University, imprisoned, tortured, and forced to emigrate from Iran. Both during the period of the Pahlavi rule and the period of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and in all of Reza Baraheni's works, the fight against censorship, discrimination, national oppression, racism, and the defense of the rights of ethnic minorities have been one of his main intellectual, political and literary issues.

As we mentioned above, during the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, the racist policies of the government and some intellectuals against Turks, Arabs, and foreigners intensified and expanded. In this regard, in addition to the fact that the right to study in Turkish and other languages was not recognized, the Pahlavi ideology and its intellectuals were behind the destruction and eradication of these languages and civilizations. For this reason, Reza Baraheni fought against racism and defended freedom, democracy, and the rights of women and ethnic groups in his published works during the Pahlavi period and the Islamic

Republic of Iran. In this intellectual and civil struggle, he criticized Iranian racist intellectuals and the Pahlavi and Islamic Republic governments. For a better understanding of Reza Baraheni's view on racism in Iran and the issue of the right to education in one's mother tongue, his thoughts can be divided into three parts: "The importance of indigenizing intellectuals, what is your identity? us and others".

### **Indigenization of the elite**

In Baraheni's work, the indigenization of the elite is one of the issues he focuses on. The alienation of the elite from their local, national, and historical identities, roots, and cultures is sharply condemned and criticized. When viewed through his glasses, the Orientals were caught in extreme alienation. However, Westerners are simply alienated. The author says that because Eastern people are behind in science, knowledge, technology, and industrialization, they are constantly under the heavy, deep, and serious influence of Western science, knowledge, technology, and industry. According to his point of view, Easterners stay away from the real nature and environment and remain under the influence of reality and truth created by the West. As a reason for this, he says that the American-centered world mentality has changed the thought, knowledge, values, and culture of the Eastern people. This leads to extreme alienation of Eastern nations and elites. According to his thinking, the technology created by the Eastern culture will not be considered a product of the East's mind and its objectivity because it imitates Western creativity, objectivity, and dimensions. On the contrary, the East says that the alienation of the Westerners will mean being changed and alienated under the heavy influence of the new technology, science, and industry they directly created. The main issue

that the thinker emphasizes is that Westerners will not become Easterners when they become "alienated". (Baraheni, 1984, pp. 151-153)

His thoughts on the necessity of the indigenization of the elites do not only elaborate on the mutual bonds and interactions between the intellectuals and nations of the West and the East. Baraheni can be seen as one of those who seriously criticize the elite in the geography of Iran who is alienated from their national, local, and historical language and identity in front of the official language, ideology, and identity of the Pahlavi state. Among the Turkish elite who wrote in Persian in Iran, neither in classical literature nor in the field of modern literature, before and after Baraheni, we have not encountered a second famous writer who wrote with so much emphasis on Mother Tongue, identity, and local culture. The following papers show that he addressed this issue broadly, theoretically, and continuously before and after the Iranian Islamic Revolution.

The author, who published the first edition of his book in 1975, mentions that he is Turkish and Azerbaijani as one of his most important concerns while explaining the main themes of his thoughts. He says that after the Azerbaijan People's Government's overthrow by the Pahlavi regime's military intervention in 1946, Turks had no choice but to learn and write Persian under compulsion. He also mentions the mass burning of Turkish books in Tabriz's Clock Square by order of the Pahlavi state. However, even though they learned Persian under state pressure and are loved by Persian-speaking readers, they constantly miss Turkish literature and Azerbaijan and underline that they have not forgotten their intellectual and cultural attachment to that hometown. (Baraheni, 1979, p. 34)

The writer's first protest against the suppression of the Turkish language due to the oppression and systematic assimilation of the Pahlavi state against Turkish is manifested in the poem book "Forest and City", published in 1964 with the help of

the famous writer Jalal Al Ahmed. He likens the plight of Turkish-speaking Azerbaijanis (carriers of local culture) in the streets and alleys of Tehran to the singing of blind singers. In that poetry book:

My father was one of Shah's old clown

My mother is a Gypsy Turk

After my father got old

Because he could not make Shah laugh anymore

Mother Tongue was torn from her throat and thrown to the crows. (Baraheni, 1979, p. 35)

In Baraheni's political thoughts, "indigenization of the elite" was evident at the beginning of the Iranian Islamic Revolution. In his book "What Happened and what will happen in the Iranian Revolution," published in 1979, he tried to explain why the political-social movement during the Azerbaijan People's Government was defeated. He puts forward the Stalinist ideology and Moscow-centered thinking of the Tudeh Party as the main reason, ignoring the struggles in the local Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, and Khuzistan regions. In addition, he criticizes the Tudeh Party, which agrees with Ahmad Qavam. Moreover, indirectly defending the autonomous state created by local elites, he valued that movement as the Azerbaijan Revolution and the Revolution of Iranian Nationalities. By using this word many times, Baraheni differs from other Turkish writers who wrote in Persian and can also be seen as one of the founders of theory in the Turkish issue in South Azerbaijan. (Baraheni, 1979, p. 14-26)

Among the famous Turkish writers who wrote novels, poetry, and literary criticism in Persia, he stands at the head of those who criticize the well-known personalities

involved in political and social movements in the geography of Iran from the point of view of Indigenization of the elite, the right of nations to autonomy and independence, national issues and the right to education in the mother tongue. By writing these issues and turning them into political discourse, Reza Baraheni was ahead of many Azerbaijani personalities who wrote in Turkish and put forward this national issue before and after the Iranian Islamic Revolution. "What happened and will happen in the Iranian Revolution", which he published at the beginning of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, to explain the issue raised by Baraheni more broadly. We will take another example from his book:

According to Baraheni, well-known leftists such as Taqi Arani and Tudeh Party are not at all sincere in postponing national autonomy, mother tongue education, and independence, especially resolving existing identity and ethnic conflicts in Iran until after the Revolution. According to him, intellectuals who work on the need for freedom, such as Taqi Arani, do not use this concept of freedom to solve and eliminate the problems of non-Persian-speaking nations. That is why Taqi Arani, who is a Turk, betrayed his local and national identity and says that if local languages and identities in Iran gain an official position and the problem of education in the Mother Tongue is solved, the sovereignty of the Persian language will fall, and it will create a threat to the integrity of the Iranian land. To protect the territorial integrity of Iran and maintain the official status of Persian, Arani deems it necessary to dominate the Turks, Kurds, and Baluchis by force and is blocking the way for the rise of local and national cultures. Also, according to Baraheni, these thoughts of Arani contradict Lenin's thoughts on language, culture, and education rights of nations, autonomy, and the right of nations to choose their destiny and to secede. In Baraheni's opinion, it is meaningless to talk about

democracy and the socialist Revolution by forgetting the right of nations to be independent. (Baraheni, 1979, p. 43-44)

Also, the well-known socialist and Azerbaijani Turk Khalil Maleki, who belongs to the leftist camp of Iran, was sent by the Tudeh Party to speak in Tabriz in 1945. In Baraheni's view, Khalil Maleki's speech in Persia to the Turkish nation in Tabriz is the result of the Anti-Turkish policy of the central Pahlavi state, and he emphasizes that Maleki carried out the anger against the Turks because of his own identity and hatred and prejudice towards his mother tongue. Based on this explanation, the author writes that Ja'far Pishevari's way of cultural struggle is right, and Khalil Maleki's hostility to his national identity is wrong. Besides criticizing the left-wing intellectuals, he also severely criticizes Ahmed Kasravi, one of the most well-known intellectuals of the Liberal camp. Baraheni Ahmed Kasravi's extreme admiration for the pure Persian language, in his opinion, that all nations living in Iran are Persian-speaking and have Persian roots; before the arrival of Islam to the geography of Iran, he criticizes the statement that the Turkish nation in South Azerbaijan has Persian roots. In addition, he says that these racist thoughts are unsuitable for a historian who wrote in the books "History of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution" and "The 18-Year History of Azerbaijan " how Turkish poetry was effective in the revolutionary movement. He finds it difficult to explain this conflicting worldview of Ahmed Kasravi and says, "We must re-examine the roots and causes of Ahmad Kasravi's creativity and Turkish enmity in it."

(Baraheni, 1979, pp. 44-46)

Baraheni tried to show it while classifying Turkish writers who wrote in Persia within the framework of the theory of the Indigenization of the elite. By drawing a special framework for Azerbaijani writers who wrote in Persian, he thought that Turker, who wrote in Persian, had different literary, intellectual, and thought

characteristics. He thinks we can divide the Turkish writers who wrote in Persian into three groups. As the first characteristic of these important Azerbaijani writers, many of whose thoughts he did not share: A) It emphasizes that they prefer not to give up finding the truth at any cost. Taqi Rafat and Samad Behrangi are mentioned as examples. B) Their second feature is that even if they are poets, they have the imagination and mentality of a storyteller. According to him, Nizami, Gholam-Hossein Sa'edi, and Shahriyar can be placed in this group. C) It tries to avoid lies, fabrications, and superstitions by relying on reason, analytical thinking, and logic in literary, political, historical, and social conflicts. Despite their differences of opinion, Taqi Arani, Khalil Maleki, and Ahmed Kasravi are placed in this framework. (Baraheni, 1984, p. 117)

Intellectually and politically, the racist policies of the Pahlavi regime, the banning of the Turkish language in Iran, and the Azerbaijan issue were so deeply embedded in Reza Baraheni's thinking that when Jalal Al Ahmed, one of contemporary Iran's important writers and intellectuals, wanted to publish the first part of his famous book *On the Services and Treacheries of Intellectuals* in the *New World Journal*, published under the editor-in-chief of Reza Baraheni have: Baraheni said him "You touched on the issue of Azerbaijan in this book ?" When faced with the question, he takes the small notebook and notes that he will write this important issue in other chapters. Jalal Al Ahmad's views on the "Azerbaijan Question" in the book mentioned above have been met with anger and bitterness by the racist intellectuals of Iran over the years. This can be seen as one of the clear proofs that Reza Baraheni, before the Iranian Islamic Revolution while giving importance to their own local, national, and historical identity, dealt with the "Azerbaijan Question" in a very serious way from an intellectual and political point of view. (Baraheni, 1984, p. 194)

## The question of "What are you?"

If we divide Reza Baraheni's work into two historical periods, such as before and after the Iranian Islamic Revolution, we can more clearly reveal how he answered this question. However, before doing this, we will compare the answer given by a famous Türk named Ahmad Shamlou, who wrote in Persian, with the answer given by Reza Baraheni. In a poem written by Ahmad Shamlou, who is considered one of the most important signatures of contemporary Persian poetry, "What are you?" answers the question with an overtly racist look and language:

My name is Arabic

The name of my tribe is Turkish

My nickname is Persian

The name of my tribe, which is Turkish, is the shame of history

Moreover, I do not like my Arabic name at all. (Shamlou, 1999, p. 46)

In these verses and other parts of the poem, Ahmad Shamlu shows that he does not love Arabic without saying anything, while he has no hatred, prejudice, or anger toward the Persian language and pretends to be an extreme racist without explaining why the Turkic tribe is a disgrace and a point of shame in history, What are you? He answered the question with contempt for his Turkish identity.

However, Reza Baraheni was someone who supported the socialist revolution in the Pahlavi period, but also at a time when Iran was slowly taking part in the postmodern trend during the Islamic period, he expressed his Turkishness, Azerbaijaniness, and Iranianness not with prejudice and hatred, but with a sense of love. In many novels and poetry books, he wrote before, and after the Iranian Islamic Revolution, examples of Turkish poetry and prose appear in a very

meaningful way, along with the Persian language. It is as if Baraheni is deliberately trying to show most barely and simply the miserable and shackled condition of Turkish, a prisoner in the prison of the dominant Persian language. He tries to breathe life into Turkish, which is suffocating in many of his published books. Baraheni tried to show the collision between Turkish and Persian in his work as follows:

My tongue! My tongue! (Say) O pity, O pity!

My beautiful tongue, how it burned in my bosom, turned to ashes, like me!

We all said Dede Korkut Dede Korkut Dede Korkut

And we held hands

And we closed all the roads for a thousand years

We have all cried blood for a thousand years

Still

Still

Yeah. (Baraheni, 1995, pp. 67-69)

Baraheni tries to answer what he is by ridiculing the racist identity ideology of the Pahlavi regime that dominates the entire country. He makes fun of M. Reza Shah Pahlavi's Iranian and Persian-centered "The Great Civilization" project by turning it into a mockery in his works. Baraheni notes that M. R. Shah Pahlavi could not find any logical way to open the doors and ways of the Great Civilization to his people. However, strangely, instead of this important issue, he showed how incompetent, racist, and delusional leader he was by changing the country's history from Hijra year to Cyrus Calendar. In addition, he considers the country's roads

built for mules, horses, and carts to cause thousands of deaths throughout the year as a clear indication of how frivolous the Shah of Iran's Great Civilization project is. (Baraheni, 1977, pp. 3-4-5)

Also, Brenda Shaffer notes that between 1960 and 1970, several South Azerbaijani writers and intellectuals working in Tabriz began to work in the Turkish lexicon, Azerbaijani music, and poetry for their Turkish identity and culture. In the meantime, he also writes that Reza Baraheni, who identifies himself as an Azerbaijani Turk, criticizes the resistance to Persianization and the political and cultural oppression of his identity, his mother tongue, and other ethnic minorities in Persia by the racist Pahlavi regime. In his book "The Crowned Cannibals", published in America in the late 1960s and 1970s, Baraheni exposed that Turks had no right to write Turkish even on their tombstones and that Turkish was declared a forbidden language by the Pahlavi regime. (Shaffer, 2002, p. 60)

Reza Baraheni, a socialist revolutionary and later a postmodernist writer and clear in the periods of the rise of racist policies before and after the Islamic Revolution of Iran, wrote, "What are you?" He tried to answer the question. He wrote, "I was imprisoned and severely tortured because I constantly emphasized and showed that I was aware of my Turkish roots and identity in my works." (Baraheni, 1977, pp 114)

Reza Baraheni points out that the Pahlavi state opened English-language schools for 3,000 thousand American workers who came to Iran to explain the systematic racism of the Pahlavi state. However, he says that millions of Turkish, Arab, Kurdish, and Baloch children do not have the right to study in their mother tongue due to Shah's racism. In this regard, the famous writer explains the two basic features of his literary creativity: "Especially after 1946, my inner feelings related to my repressed nationality as an Azerbaijani Turk, whose mother tongue was

taken away by the Pahlavi regime and never returned to it, is the second fundamental feature of my literary creativity," he says. (Baraheni, 1979, pp, 11, 12, 110, 111)

### **Us and them**

In contemporary Persian literature, the racism of Pahlavi and the Islamic State of Iran, the right to education in the mother tongue, and the issue of South Azerbaijan have started to show themselves and become a serious discourse directly through the work of Reza Baraheni. The most interesting part of his work is that when he wants the cultural, political, social, and economic rights of Turks and other nations living in Iran's geography, he never has racist views, thoughts, or discourse. In his works, Baraheni tried to defend the Turks not from a racist point of view but within the framework of the concept of justice. In this way, in the novels, poems, and articles written by him, we do not encounter racist discourse and thinking, as seen in the works of Ahmad Shamlou. The "us and them" concept manifested in his work has no racist or ideological basis; there is only a critical view based on justice.

For example: on the night of Black January 1990, when the Soviet army committed a mass massacre against civilian Azerbaijani Turks in Baku, Reza Baraheni, in the foreword he wrote in the Persian translation of the famous poet Osip Mandelstam's poems, criticized the last Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev. According to Reza Baraheni, benefiting from the process of de-Stalinization of the Soviet Union fell only to Eastern Europe. Gorbachev sent himself to Eastern Europe and the tanks he brought from Afghanistan to Baku. Reza Baraheni notes that he saw this as the greatest test of democracy of the twentieth century for Gorbachev. He also severely criticized the massacres committed in Baku and wrote that he was upset that the

Armenian and Turkish nations could not find ways of peace after 70 years of Soviet captivity:

*“Although all freedom lovers worldwide, especially in the third world, are expected to support the Anti-Stalinist movement in the Soviet Union, this support should not be seen as supporting mass slaughter in Soviet Azerbaijan. Tanks from Kabul were sent to crush and suppress the people of Baku. As long as this imbalance is not eliminated, Baku will be a point of shame for everyone and the process of de-Stalinization. It is one thing to determine the objective needs of these nations and give them a humane response; it is another thing to attack these nations tooth and nail. If Afghanistan was Vietnam for the Soviets, Azerbaijan, and Armenia should not be Soviet Panama.”. (Baraheni, 2001, pp 1637-1658)*

As you can see, Reza Barahani did not just see the Turks living in Iran's territory as "us"; he also carefully followed the political and social process in the Republic of Azerbaijan. During the first Karabakh war (1988-1994), the Armenian Writers' Union officially invited the Iranian Writers Association as a guest to Yerevan. Among the contemporary Persian writers who gathered to say yes or no to this call, only Reza Baraheni, pointing out the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia in Nagorno-Karabakh, emphasized that going to the city of Yerevan meant supporting the invading Armenia in this war and said very clearly that he would not go on that travel. (Sarkohi, 2002, pp. 147)

The concept of "us" formed against social, economic, cultural, and political injustices in Reza Baraheni's thinking and creativity does not manifest with racism, hatred, and prejudice. However, to put it bluntly, the great writer James Joyce could not refrain from using such racist thoughts and expressions. It is very important that intellectuals can solve problems through peace, rational solution, and negotiation in countries and regions with racial, ethnic, national, and sectarian

conflicts. However, a very important writer like James Joyce was racist in his writing because the Irish were robbed of their food and grain by "cowardly Saxons and British jackals". James Joyce shows he cannot eliminate racist prejudice and hatred by directly seeing two nations as "cowards and jackals" and condemning them, not through justice, peace, rational solution, and dialogue. However, despite all this, Joyce nicknamed them the "Great Turks" because of the monetary aid sent by the Ottoman Empire when there was a famine in Ireland. (Joyce, 2016, 859-860)

However, when Baraheni was criticized by contemporary Persian poets, writers, and intellectuals for a racist view and language, he responded with a more humane view and thought rather than with the language and thought they used. When he was subjected to derogatory and racist thoughts by well-known Persian intellectuals such as Nader Naderpour, Mehdi Akhavan-Sales, Houshang Golshiri, and Karim Emami, he stood up to protest not as an individual but as someone representing "us":

*"I think the "Arash the Archer" poem by Siavash Kasrai is extremely bad. It is a product of Pan-Persianism. Imagine that an arrow from an archer's bow crosses all the rivers and mountains and enters the eye of a Turk. However, one-third of our society is made up of Turks". (Baraheni, 2012)*

When the racist Pahlavi state suppressed the author's national identity, "us," and existence and went towards extinction, the Turkish language began to be born from his subconscious. Turkish prose written by himself emerges from Persian prose. Azerbaijan folklore, Fuzuli ghazals, Ali Mojuz poems, and examples of Turkish prose he wrote in the Tabriz dialect take care to prove that our Turkish identity has not disappeared. Here, he tries to attack the racist Pahlavi state in front of him, not with polite language but with a rude, belligerent, and angry expression:

*"I will take revenge on those robbers; I will take revenge by removing Mahmoud's nails! Open your ears and listen, Samad! There is a place in Mahmoud's heart that was created for the tip of my knife. I will not hit this knife with one hand, but with two hands, firmly, I will hit his heart so that his heart will split into forty pieces in his chest, Samad. I have been sharpening this knife for thirty years. I will avenge my grandfather, grandfather's grandfather, and brothers from Mahmut. A thousand years, no! Samad! Two thousand years, maybe three thousand years, these assholes, this mother and sisters I fucked, they rode on our necks, they say, Hey Donkey this way, Hey Donkey that way. Mouths were closed, and dungeons were full. A bandit and a lecherous soldier guard every man's mouth. I wish you had not died, Samad; you would have seen why I sharpened this knife. I was scared when I looked at this knife; Samad!". (Baraheni, 1970, pp. 308-309)*

## CHAPTER v: Conclusion

The main hypothesis in this research was the existence of racist thoughts in the works of some of Iran's prominent intellectuals from 1925 to 1979. The research findings of this study confirm the main hypothesis.

In this research, to find answers to my research questions, I carefully explored the works of five prominent Iranian intellectuals who have had a profound impact on the history of Persian thought, culture, and language. In response to the first question of the research, which was about the presence or absence of racist thoughts in the works of some contemporary Iranian intellectuals, the answer's the research findings are positive.

After carefully examining the works of Ahmad Kasravi, Hasan Taqizadeh, Mohammad Ali Foroughi, and Sadegh Hedayat, I found the characteristics of racist ideas in their published works.

The second research question of this research was about the characteristics of racist thoughts of some contemporary Iranian intellectuals (1925-1979). Based on the theoretical framework of the research, one of the signs of racist thoughts is the presence of prejudice and hatred towards foreigners. In the works of Ahmed Kasravi and Sadegh Hedayat, the intensity of this prejudice and hatred of Arabs, Mongols, Turks, Jews, and Islam is extremely high. Of course, Ahmad Kasravi did not openly express her enmity with Islam and only criticized the superstitions and ignorance of Iranian Muslims. However, Sadegh Hedayat, in addition to criticizing the superstitions and ignorance of Iranian Muslims, insulted and ridiculed the religion of Islam and the call to prayer. In an official article, Ahmad Kasravi called for the destruction of Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, Assyrian, Armenian, and other non-Persian languages from the geography of Iran. Kasravi wanted the supremacy

of the Persian language and the removal and destruction of all non-Persian elements from Iran's cultural and political geography.

For this reason, she removed all Arabic, Turkish, and Mongolian elements from the contemporary Persian language with her efforts and created a new language called the Pure Language (Zaban Pak). Kasravi believed in the religion of Islam and the prophethood of Muhammad, but he completely criticized the Shia religion, which was recognized during the Safavid period. He fought against the ignorance of Iranian Muslims so much that he finally created a political-cultural current called Pure Religion (Deen Pak). Kasravi has considered the presence of non-Persian languages in Iran to threaten Iran's territorial integrity. In his works, he has humiliated the Arabs by using the derogatory word "Tazi". Kasravi considered the existence of non-Persian cultural and linguistic elements in Persian culture and language as a kind of disease, and therefore he was strongly hostile to these foreign cultural and identity elements. Kasravi's extreme chauvinism and racism had grown to such an extent that he openly claimed in his works that the pure language he created would eventually become the world's language. Kasravi firmly believed in the existence of the Aryan race and its cultural and civilizational superiority over others. In addition, he does not hide his hatred and prejudice against all the Kurdish speakers of Iran and considers all of them to lack moral and good qualities.

On the other hand, Kasravi has also suffered from ideological contradiction. Because on the one hand, he claims that the Aryan race and Iranians are one of the best races and peoples in the world, and on the other hand, he claims that the Iranian nation is very low, ugly, and dirty. Also, he saw the cause of all these low and dirty Iranian characteristics in the foreign nations that entered Iran. By denying the history, identity, and language of the Turks in the geography of Iran, Kasravi

claimed that from the beginning of history to the arrival of the Turks in Iran, the main inhabitants of the geography of Azerbaijan spoke one of the ancient Iranian languages called Azari. It can be said that Kasravi, with a strong sense of hatred and prejudice towards non-Persian elements, was against the existence of any ethnic diversity, linguistic diversity, and cultural diversity in the cultural geography of Iran. According to the obtained evidence, Ahmed Kasravi, like the German Nazi groups, has carried out terrorist attacks against the opponents of his racist ideas in the two Turk cities of Tabriz and Maragheh. In addition, it seems that Kasravi was fired from his job for writing a critical article against the Pahlavi government. Moreover, after this incident, he developed hatred toward the people of the Persian language.

Like Ahmad Kasravi, Hasan Taqizadeh believed in race, racial superiority, and the Aryan and the Iranian race. According to his writings, he worked for the German government during the First World War for a monthly salary of 200 dollars. Moreover, he believed that Germany was a prophet, Prophet David, and a savior for them. Even though he wanted the supremacy of the Persian language and Iranian culture, in his articles and speeches, he did not want the destruction and elimination of the non-Persian languages of Iran. Unlike Kasravi, he does not want to destroy and deal harshly with the non-Persian nations living in Iran. Taqizadeh's racism is mostly based on the belief in the cultural and intellectual superiority of the Iranian race. In this regard, with a humanistic reading of Islam, he considers all the residents of Iran as his religious brothers; But his purpose in expressing this idea was to expand and deepen national unity and prevent Iran's disintegration. For this reason, he was against the language policies of the Pahlavi government and the extreme Farsi intellectuals who wanted to remove all Arabic and Turkish words and languages from the Persian language. Taqizadeh, as a forward-looking

politician, considered the extreme anti-Turkishness of Iranian intellectuals as a danger to Iran because he considered the constant humiliation of Iranian Turks as an effective factor for provoking Turkey to attack Iran. In Taqizadeh's view, purifying the Persian language from Turkish and Arabic elements will prevent the dominance and cultural sovereignty of the Persian language over the neighboring Turkish and Arab countries. It seems that Taqizadeh acted like a self-interested politician in proposing all these views. Because in his works, hatred, prejudice towards the Mongol nation, and the removal of all elements of the Mongolian language from the Persian language can be seen. It seems that Taqizadeh tried to hide his racist thoughts to consolidate the foundations of the emerging Pahlavi government and the new nation-state of Iran. However, with all his efforts, anti-Mongolism and hostility to the Mongolian language and culture are evident in his works.

Moreover, in this regard, in the racist view of Taqizadeh, the Pahlavi government must protect the Iranian race and ethnicity while implementing its cultural, political, and economic modernization programs. Also, Taqizadeh's essentialist thoughts show themselves more in examining historical categories. He denies all the scientific, artistic, and cultural achievements of the Mongol era and calls them barbaric and bloodthirsty. As we mentioned earlier, Taqizadeh tried to hide his racist thoughts for expediency. Because in one of his writings, he called the entire Turkish nation of the Ottoman period miserable and all the intellectuals of the Ottoman period illiterate and ignorant. Taqizadeh once tried to evaluate the value of a writer's works and mocked and humiliated him for his Jewish origin. As we have shown, due to Taqizadeh's social personality, he has avoided expressing his racist thoughts in public gatherings. However, he has addressed the Arab nation with the derogatory title of Tazi. In addition, he considers the Mongols, Turks, and

Arabs to be barbaric and uncivilized. He even called the Turk nation marauders, corruptors, and Turani devils. Taqizadeh's racism, like his other like-minded people, has an anti-Arab aspect because he believed that the superior spirit of Iran and the superior language and culture of the Iranian race had transformed the wild and uncultured Arabs.

During the presidency of Mohammad Ali Foroughi at the Academy of Persian Language, even though in his articles and speeches, he considered the extreme cleansing and destruction of Arabic, Turkish, Mongolian, and other foreign languages from the Persian language to be irrational, during his presidency, these racist language policies were implemented quickly. In addition, he has spoken clearly and clearly about the existence of the Pure Race and the Iranian Race. Also, his ethnocentric view was so deep and extreme that he claimed that the kings of the Iranian race established the greatest government in the history of humanity. In Foroughi's thought, political power and racism were so intertwined that he claimed Reza Khan's nature was pure Pahlavi. To prevent Iran's disintegration, Foroughi believed in the ethnic cleansing of the Turks of Iran's geography, forced migration, and keeping them away from the Turks of Turkey. In addition, during his presidency of the Persian Language Academy, most of the Turkish, Arab, and Armenian cities, villages, and regions were changed to Persian names. According to Foroughi, Iran is the most civilized nation in the world, melting all the barbaric Turkish, Arab, and Mongolian nations that have invaded Iran into its great civilization and culture.

On the other hand, Foroughi was one of the theorists of the cultural and linguistic genocide of the Turks of Iran during the Pahlavi period. He emphasized the need to spread the dominance of the Persian language among the majority of Turks in different cities of Iran. By designing a cultural project, he has tried to keep the

language of the Turks of the geography of Iran away from the language of the Turks of Turkey. The dominance of racist thoughts in Foroughi's thought has been so deep and wide that he has claimed that the Islamic civilization was built only by Iranians. Moreover, he believes Iranians are the most civilized and superior nation in the Islamic world. Like other Iranian nationalist intellectuals, he used the racist term "Tazi" instead of the Arab nation. He has identified the reason for Iran's backwardness in the Arab, Mongol, and Turkish attacks on Iran. Therefore, in his research works, he calls the Turkish kings lusty, bloodthirsty, and savage. In his intellectual world, all non-Persian and non-Iranian elements are worthless, mean, dirty, and backward. In his linguistic research, he considered the Turkish language and culture devoid of thought, civilization, and culture, with a highly racist view.

The characteristics of Sadegh Hedayat's racist thoughts, like those of other intellectuals whose works were examined, have strong anti-Arab, anti-Mongol, and anti-Turkish aspects. However, unlike other Iranian racist thinkers, he has also expressed his hatred and prejudice against Islam and Jews. Hedayat also sees the cause of Iran's backwardness in "the attack of Muslim Arabs, Mongols, and barbaric Turks". In his works, he attributes the worst, dirtiest, meanest, and most evil traits to Arabs, Mongols, Turks, Jews, and Muslims. In the racist mind of Sadegh Hedayat, the entire period of ancient Iran was beautiful, magnificent, flawless, and without the slightest crime and ugliness. He considers all Iranian traditions, ancient Iranian culture, and the Persian language without shortcomings and defects. The intensity of racism in Sadegh Hedayat's works is so high that most of the satanic, dirty, bad, ugly, ignorant, and murderous characters in his novels and stories are non-Iranian and non-Persian.

Reza Baraheni, a prominent writer, intellectual, and poet of Iran, has fought both the racism ruling Iran and the racism of contemporary Iranian intellectuals in his

works. No hatred or prejudice against other nations and other languages can be seen in Baraheni's works. He has been one of the pioneers in the fight against state racism and the racism of Iranian intellectuals. During the Pahlavi period and in the Islamic Republic of Iran period, he severely criticized the racist government policies and the racist thoughts of contemporary Iranian poets, writers, and intellectuals. In this regard, he wrote about the right to study in the Turkish mother tongue in Iran. Because, in Baraheni's view, the Pahlavi government and the Islamic Republic of Iran wanted to destroy non-Persian languages with their racist policies. One of the features of Reza Baraheni's democratic struggle against racism in Iran is his humane and democratic defense of the rights of the oppressed Turkish nation. He has been one of the pioneers in criticizing the racist ideas of Iranian intellectuals.

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