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The Effect of Russian Populism on the Iranian Intellectual Society (1917-1979)

Mahin Niroomand Alankesh¹, Garineh Keshishyan Siraki^{2*}, Jahangir Karami³
^{1,2*}Department of Political Science, South Tehran Branch, Islamic Azad University,
Tehran, Iran

³Department of Political Science, Tehran University,
Tehran, Iran

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Abstract:

With the beginning of the new era after the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the Great Industrial Revolution in the West, the issue of the spread of new western ideas became a complex reality for all societies, including Iran, and there was no escaping this situation. Especially since the 19th century and the wars between Iran and Russia, as the first blow to the intellectual traditions of the Iranian people, the issue of transferring new ideas has become an undeniable reality for us Iranians, and this issue is mainly according to Iran's military needs due to the defeat of the Tsarist army. It was for the first time that Qajar Crown Prince Abbas Mirza came to the conclusion that he could not defend his land without using the tools of the new world and by sending a group headed by his son Khosrow Mirza, he opened the first intellectual interactions with the Western world and Russia. And this first step led to the education of a generation of Iranians who later became the initiators of modernization in Iran, and although they failed in this path, they should be considered serious in every word about the modernization of Iranians. Undoubtedly, the Russian Revolution is considered one of the greatest events in the history of the world in terms of its impact, and countless works have been produced in connection with it, but few works have been published about the influence of Russia in the 19th century on the intellectual atmosphere of Iran. which have been less expressive of this effect. Therefore, the main issue in this research is how and the specific mechanisms of the influence of political ideas on Iranian intellectuals in the late 19th century and early 20th century, a subject that naturally requires intellectual exploration and reflection in its dimensions and angles. It can open the knot of many intellectual and thought problems of Iran at that time.

Keywords: Thought of populism, Nineteenth and twentieth century Russia, Nineteenth and twentieth century of Iran, Transmission of thought

Introduction

Thought is not confined in space and time, and the dissemination, transmission, and exchange of thoughts and ideas is a subject that has a lifetime as long as human history, and basically, a huge part of the thoughts of societies and nations is formed and evolved in the process of learning, exchanging, and interacting with others has been found. Therefore, the land and people of Iran have been exposed to the exchange of ideas from the east and west, north and south of the world since the beginning of ancient history, and this course of learning, teaching, exchange and interaction is still open. With the beginning of the new era after the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the Great Industrial Revolution in the West, the issue of the spread of new western ideas became a complex reality for all societies, including Iran, and there was no escaping this situation.

Especially since the 19th century and the wars between Iran and Russia, as the first blow to the intellectual traditions of the Iranian people, the issue of transferring new ideas has become an undeniable reality for us Iranians and this matter was mainly according to Iran's military needs due to the defeat of the Tsarist army, which for the first time led Qajar Crown Prince Abbas Mirza to the conclusion that he could not defend his land without using the tools of the new world and by sending a group headed by his son Khosrow Mirza, he opened the first intellectual interactions with the Western world and Russia, and this first step led to the education of a generation of Iranians who later became the initiators of modernization in Iran, and although they failed in this path, they should be He was serious in every word about the modernization of Iranians.

Basically, the Iran of the 19th century was very different from the previous centuries, and Iran was introduced to the new world through its first encounter with Russia.

The wars between Iran and Russia shaped a period of Iran that started with Abbas Mirza and led to the constitutional revolution, and

the developments of the 20th century in Iran, from the modern state in the era of Reza Shah to the revolution of 1978, were mainly influenced by the intellectual developments of the new world, especially It was the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. A major part of these intellectual developments was influenced by Russian intellectual currents of the late 20th century.

Although the Russians themselves had been introduced to the new world and the phenomena caused by the renaissance, modernization and religious reforms since the end of the 17th century and during the era of Peter the Great, and the power of that country had many consequences for its neighbors, especially in the east and south, and since then Until now, in any research about the Russian government and politics, this period of history has remained very important.

A major part of these intellectual developments was influenced by Russian intellectual currents of the late 20th century. Although the Russians themselves were introduced to the new world and the phenomena caused by the renaissance, modernization and religious reforms from the end of the 17th century during the era of Peter the Great and the power of that country had many consequences for its neighbors, especially in the east and south, and since then, this period of history has been of great interest and interest in any research about the Russian government and politics.

In the case of Iran, as mentioned above, it was mainly during the wars of 1813 to 1828 that the new world through Russia challenged its existence and territorial integrity as well as its intellectual and cultural atmosphere. This issue became very visible especially after the colonial agreements of Russia and England with Iran and later became more and more with political revolutions and world wars, so that issues such as modernity, modernity, modernization and Westernism became common currency in the political and intellectual arena. The country has changed, and there is hardly any thought that has not come out in

some way in agreement or conflict with these views and has not taken a point from the wide readership of these intellectual debates in these two centuries.

At the same time, the constitutional revolution in Russia and Iran, as well as the transfer of modern ideas from Russia to Iran in the 19th century AD, and then the influence of leftist ideas from the end of the 19th century and throughout the years of the 20th century are important issues that have attracted the attention of Iranian thinkers. And especially in recent years and in the conditions of post-communism in Russia, there has been more possibility and opportunity to investigate its dimensions and characteristics, and articles and books have been written about this, and it is still wide open for this kind of thinking. And this is the issue that forced the writer as a student of political thought to follow in this field and made him hope that he could benefit from this reader of thought to the best of his ability and add something to it.

Throughout the years of the 20th century and especially during the Pahlavi regime, many Iranian leftist and even non-leftist thinkers discussed political, social and economic issues within the framework of the Russian intellectual discourse. This issue is especially visible in the field of Iranian cultural studies and literature. Most of the novelists and storytellers and an important part of Iranian artists and poets have either been leftists or they have produced their ideas and cultural works under the influence of leftist and Russian thought.

Undoubtedly, the Russian Revolution is considered one of the greatest events in world history in terms of its impact, and countless works have been produced in connection with it, but few works have been published about the influence of 19th century Russia on the intellectual atmosphere of Iran. How this effect has been. Therefore, the main issue in this research is how and the specific mechanisms of the influence of political ideas on Iranian intellectuals in the late 19th century and early 20th century, a subject that naturally requires investigation and intellectual exploration and reflection on its dimensions and angles. Untie

the knot of many intellectual and ideological issues of Iran at that time.

The importance and necessity of research:

Although the research on political thought is a difficult and huge task, it can show us the bases and hidden and deep layers of many more obvious political, social and cultural issues, and this research can also help to understand political thought in Iran. and also, to help in understanding the political thought of Russia at that time and the external consequences of those intellectual developments. Also, this research is an important and necessary topic for understanding the political thought of Iran in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Especially, the intellectual interactions between Iran and Russia are less important to the thought of people and mainly the intellectual interactions with the West are important from their point of view. And lastly, the thought process of Russian populism and its effects on Iran is a subject that has not been independently researched so far, and the author claims that he is addressing this subject for the first time, as it is one of the most important and effective ideas in the Russian intellectual field. and to introduce its political arena in the 19th and 20th centuries to the Iranian society.

The main question is: How has the Russian populist thought in the late 19th and early 20th centuries influenced the intellectual currents of Iran in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?

The sub-questions of this research are:

1. What was the intellectual atmosphere of Russia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?
2. What was the intellectual atmosphere of Iran in the 19th and 20th centuries?
3. How has Russian populism made the category of people an important issue in Iran?

The main hypothesis is: The idea of Russian populism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries through trade, education and migration of workers in the Caucasus region had a serious effect on Iran's intellectual society and the foundations of constitutionalism, nationalism, leftism and state modernization. It provided

criticism of power in Iran of that period. The importance of the category of populism is such that in all political currents of Iran in the past century, the category of people has always been present as a basic concept in any definition of politics.

Sub hypothesis 1 is:

The intellectual atmosphere of Russia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century witnessed a fierce debate between leftist, liberal, constitutionalist, populist and Slavic traditionalist ideas, and Russian populist thought is one of the leftist ideas and in combination It originated with some Russian traditions.

Sub hypothesis 2 is:

The intellectual atmosphere of Iran of that period was also affected by foreign interactions and internal needs, and it was prone to be affected by foreign ideas, and Iranian travelogues, as well as Iranian students in Russia and migrant workers, had a serious impact on the transfer of ideas, and in the beginning of the 20th century This issue is considered as a socialist mission.

Sub hypothesis 3 is:

The attitude of Russian populism caused Iranians to become more and more familiar with the new world and left-wing ideas, and in the meantime, the immigrant working class was mainly fascinated by the populist thought and its transmission, and later played a role in the process of political developments in Iran have had an important.

Background and research records:

In this section, we will examine the important works of Russian thought as well as the transfer of Russian thought to Iran with an emphasis on populist thought.

Internal Background

1- In 2018, in a book titled "Left Discourse in Iran", Mohammad Ali Ahmadi investigated the transfer of Russian populist thought to Iran and claimed that the left discourse with the establishment of the "Justice Party" in the

Caucasus and the establishment of the Bolsheviks in Russia became the color of communism. He took it upon himself. Edalat Party was renamed to "Communist Party of Iran" and became a continuation of this discourse in the Marxist-Leninist framework. Following the decline of this party during Reza Shah's era, Iran's leftist discourse continued to exist at this point on the initiative of Taghi Arani, not within the framework of party activity, but with the publication of the "Donya" magazine and the establishment of an intellectual circle. At this point, instead of expanding the party's view of Marxism, the leftist discourse sought to expand theoretical issues and instead of targeting the lower classes, it sought to introduce it to the educated and intellectual classes. From the author's point of view, the leftist movement and discourse in Iran was first formed not in opposition to capitalism, but in opposition to feudalism and in support of the workers of non-industrial sectors, because basically neither the capitalist system nor the industrial working class had been formed. The Iranian society had experienced the anti-feudal movement represented by the Mazdakians, Khorramdins, Shiites, etc., over the centuries. The new movement, which emerged along its historical past and with a different face, owed its ideology to modern Western thought. In this way, the historical foundations provided the background for socialism to be favored, and a movement entered the political arena of Iran, which in its evolutionary course was thinking about the establishment of socialism. Changing the nature of feudality in Iran in the 13th century. Sh. was one of the effective factors in how the initial discourse of the left was planned.

The author writes that the first sparks of socialist thought were visible in the works of some intellectuals of the Constitutional Council, such as Mirza Agha Khan Kermani and Talebov Tabrizi, but this did not mean the formation of a trend nor the design of a discourse. Talking about socialism in the political writings of this period was only to the

extent of considering it a progressive idea and nothing more. In addition to the limited nature of such works in the political literature of Iran and their audience in the illiterate society of Iran, their authors also did not believe in absolute adherence to socialism, so they did not strongly engage in extensive theoretical work in this field.

In addition, these intellectuals themselves did not have a complete and comprehensive understanding of socialism to be able to form a discourse around it. The social democratic movement in Russia and Western Europe had made Iranians aware of the existence of socialism, but this awareness had not yet resulted in the formation of a movement that provided the grounds for the development and expansion of a kind of discourse. The author of this book has a critical view of the leftist discourse in Iran and has analyzed the history of leftist parties through the lens of criticism. This book can also be an important source of help for the author in the genealogical research of populist parties among Iranian leftist groups.

2-Mahmoud Toloui in 2012 in a book titled "From Lenin to Putin" analyzes the roots of the Russian revolution in detail. He talks about the overthrow of the tsar and all the events that led to the revolution of 1905 and finally the revolution of 1917 and briefly explains the relations between Iran and Russia. The author deals in detail with the war between Russia and France and in this section explains how this war caused the idea of freedom and justice that originated from the French Revolution to spread among young Russian officers and then to the role of intellectuals. Students and writers are involved in the awakening of the masses of the Russian people against the tsar. The final chapter of the book is dedicated to the political relations between Iran and Russia, but there is not the slightest mention of the transfer of revolutionary ideas from Russian revolutionaries to Iranian revolutionaries. The author can use this book as an auxiliary source for research on the transmission of the idea of French independence to Russian officers and then its expansion to neighboring countries

including Iran. But this work has not provided a discourse analysis about populist parties.

3-In 2000, in a book titled "Soviet Union from Formation to Collapse", Elahe Koolaei devotes the first chapter to finding the background of the October Revolution. In this chapter, it introduces the famous figures of Russian populists and other political parties of that time, such as the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Russia, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, etc. By describing the oppression of the Russian people by the tsars, khans and landowners, the author then introduces two general trends that tried to organize the dissatisfaction of the people. One stream included populists and the other stream was formed by Marxists. The populists who were complex peasants are in a deep and rooted conflict with the tsarist government, and they sought to form them. A terrorist faction emerged from within the populist movement. The terrorist faction peaked its activity with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. The author then introduces one of the most famous populist figures, Nechaiev, and briefly discusses his life and activities. In accordance with what was mentioned, the author in this work is content with a brief introduction of the category of Russian populists. Therefore, in order to understand the existence of this populist group or groups, this work cannot be sufficient.

4-In 1973, Ismail Rayin, in a book titled "Haider Khan Amoghli", deals with the life and role of Haider Khan as one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Iran. In this book, we learn about the life of Haider Khan in Russia and the Caucasus and her relationship with Russian and Georgian revolutionaries, and observe the influence of Caucasian intellectuals on Haider Khan's thought and behavior. On the 12th page of the book, the author writes about Haider Khan Amoghli: From the beginning of the life of Haider Khan, whose real name was Tar-Verdiev, and he was a citizen of the Caucasus and a citizen of the Tsarist Russian government, until about 1941 years ago when he came to Iran. We are not correct. We know as much that he studied in the

Caucasus and was an electrical engineer and worked in one of the factories in Baku, and he was driven by Islamic jealousy and hatred that he naturally had for the oppression, aggression and abnormal behavior of the tsarist officials towards the Muslims of the Caucasus. It is to cooperate with some other zealous Muslims in forming a political party, and fight with them against internal and external despots. In 1900 A.D., the Muslims of the Caucasus formed an association called (Committee of the Common People) under the administration and supervision of Nariman Bekov, a native of Tbilisi who was a teacher and later became a doctor, and this committee was popular in other cities of the Caucasus, from One of them was the Baku branch, of which Haider Khan was considered one of the members. Later, some freedom-seekers in Iran, especially in Azerbaijan, had a secret relationship with this committee of popular socialists of the Caucasus, and a branch of this group was established in Tabriz. In this book, Ismail Rain deals only with the life and activities of one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Iran, and considers the main causes of this person's struggle to endure oppression. In other words, there have been very brief references regarding how the thought of the Caucasian fighters was transferred to the Iranians who lived there or traveled there because of their jobs.

Foreign background

5-In 2020, in a book titled "History of Russian Thought" published in the Cambridge Collection, Lederborough Afford has investigated Russian thought and its intelligentsia in the 18th and 19th centuries. According to the authors, the history of ideas has played a central role in the political and social history of Russia. Understanding the intellectual tradition and the way Russian intellectuals encountered their nation is essential to understanding contemporary Russia. This historical collection examines important intellectual and cultural currents (including Enlightenment, nationalism, nihilism and religious revival) and key themes (concepts of West and East, ordinary

people and attitudes towards capitalism and natural sciences) in the intellectual history of Russia will pay. By focusing on the golden age of Russian thought in the middle of the 19th century, the authors of this collection try to examine the continuity of the Russian classical intellectual tradition in the Soviet and post-Soviet era by analyzing its 18th century roots in the era after Peter the Great. By providing a brief account of the biographies of more than fifty key Russian thinkers, as well as an extensive bibliography in this field, this book presents a new and comprehensive view of the intellectual history of Russia and the issue of the people from the perspective of the concern of Russian intellectuals who belong to the elite minority of the society. They were very important. From the point of view of the authors of the book, it was due to the social and economic changes in Russia as well as the changes in Europe after the French Revolution and the introduction of categories such as human rights.

6-The book "Russians in Iran, Diplomacy and Power in the Qajar Era and After" (2018) was written by Rudi Mati and Elena Andriyova and translated by Dr. Mohsen Asgari Jahaghi and published by Negah Publishing House. In this work, an attempt has been made to study the extensive interactions between Iranians and Russians from the time of Qajar to the middle of the 20th century and to discuss the influence of Russia in Iran. But the important thing in this book is the role of Caucasus in transferring new ideas to Iran. In the article "The Nest of the Revolution: Caucasus, Iran and Armenians", Hori Berberian examined the role of the Caucasus under Russian rule on the intellectual atmosphere of Iran in the early 20th century. The Caucasus, which has long been the crossroads of neighboring empires, goods, merchandise, and people's thoughts, suddenly became the birthplace of revolutionary ideas that sprouted at the beginning of the 20th century, and between 1905 and 1909, it marked numerous successions one after another in Iran, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire.

The Caucasus was completely unique, a multilingual land with multiple cultures and religions, which was in many ways a marginal force of the great empires. However, this land, especially in the last years of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, became a cultural attractor and transmitter to the playground and sometimes the battlefield of revolutionary socialist and nationalistic ideas and thoughts, and these ideas gradually expanded in Iran and Anatolia during the Ottoman Caliphate.

7-The book *Russian Political Thought from 1700 to 1917* by Gary Hamburg, published in 2017, examines the evolution of political thought in Russia from the time of Peter the Great to the October Revolution, and in these two centuries, the modernist thought of the period of Peter the Great in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the thought of Catherine Kabir's Enlightenment era, the conservatism thought of different periods and also the identity issue in these periods have been discussed. Also, Slavonic thoughts and great thinkers such as Belinsky, Dostoyevsky and the leftists of the late 19th century have been of interest to the author. The author's main idea is that the political thought during the two centuries under discussion was strongly influenced by the western modernist thought and the romantic and idealistic criticisms of it, and the native thoughts were mainly formed and transformed in response to them.

8-In the book *"People in Iran's Politics"* translated in 2014, Yervand Abrahamian discussed the role of popular populations in constitutional revolutions, post-constitutional developments, oil nationalization movement, fifty-seven revolution and the position of leftist parties. Dealing with the role and position of people in politics is one of Abrahamian's important research activities. In his historiography, he mostly focuses on the fact that the activities and movements of the mass of people by being in the street provide the causes of change, rather than politicians solving problems at the negotiating table. In other words, he is a narrator of pressures from below rather than bargaining at the top. The book contains

five articles, in each of which the author has discussed the role and position of the people in politics.

In the first article titled "The role of popular populations in Iran's constitutional revolution", the author believes that most historians, sociologists and political science thinkers pay little attention to the people. Some have praised them as (people) who fight for the country, freedom and justice, and others have called them (crazy group), foreign mercenaries or saboteurs consisting of (thugs), (criminals). They are called (professional beggars) and (scum of society). In general, this phenomenon, i.e., people, is an abstract phenomenon, not a subject of study.

In the second article, the author has discussed the role of popular populations in Iran's politics in the decades 1906 to 1953. According to the author, people have different definitions in terms of social-political groups. Western journalists have always portrayed the Orientals (a xenophobic group) who insult and throw stones at Western embassies, but the conservatives and traditionalists of these countries repeatedly denounce it as "scum" have done that they get money from abroad, the stereotypes of radicals are also those (people) who have an active role in society.

In the third article, Abrahamian believes that the tendency of the population was for calm and peaceful behavior, if there was violence, there were reasons that he explained in detail in this article, and finally he measures the behavior of the people in completing the 1957 revolution. In the fourth article, he talks about the democratic sect of Azerbaijan, the Tudeh party, the collective disillusionment of the people and the struggle of the people, and the last article is the edited text of a university lecture about the ups and downs of the Iranian labor movement. Finally, in the book *"People in Iran's Politics"*, Abrahamian wrote about the presence of the mass of people who demanded their demands from the rulers in the street. This book can be used to refer to the role and activities of the Iranian people in the field of politics or disrupting the existing order.

9-In 2012, in a book entitled "Essays on the History of Russian Political Thought", Letnikov discussed the history of Russian political philosophy from the past until now and covered a valuable collection of Russian political and legal doctrines from the 11th century to the middle of the 20th century. In this work, the most important ideas, concepts and figures of political and philosophical thought in Russia in different periods of this country's history from ancient times to the middle of the last century are presented and the characteristics of Russian philosophical thought of each specific historical period are discussed.

The author believes that political thought has been an integral part of Russian national culture. He has examined the most important political events of the country since the adoption of Orthodox Christianity to the establishment of Tsarism, the reforms of Peter the Great, the revolution of 1917 and the intellectual developments after that and the Russian intellectuals in exile, and as a textbook for undergraduate students, students of education It is intended for supplementary and humanities teachers as well as for all those interested in Russian politics and political thought. In this work, one can clearly understand the intermingling of Russian culture with orthodox religious elements and its connection with Russian political thought.

10-The book Russian Political Thought of the 10th to the 17th Centuries, a joint work of several Russian writers, published in 2012, has collected a collection of the most important documents, texts, letters, biographies, and religious books and explained the origin and limitations of the rulers. and Russian princes, tsarist power, the concept of law and the role of law in the government, and the relationship between the government and the church. This collection of articles has discussed in detail the important periods of Russian history and the ideas of each period based on their works and writings. The central point in this work is the emphasis on religious thought and its relationship with the Russian government, which has

been the focus of many Russian thinkers especially in the 15th to 17th centuries and at the height of the harmony of religion and politics. In this work, especially the thought of the Third Rome and the messianic promise about the value and importance of Moscow for the Orthodox Church after the fall of Byzantium is considered. This idea is the basis of Russian religious government and is considered as a golden age for Russian Slavists and traditionalists.

The book "Russian Political Thought from the 9th to the 16th Century" is a collection of articles that shows the characteristics of the evolution of Russian social-political thought in the 9th to the 16th centuries, especially political and legal problems such as the state of power and its legitimacy, the moral character of the ruler and the extent of his responsibility in the administration of the country. This book is dedicated to the evolution of Russian political thought from the time of the formation of the Russian government to the time of the first encounter of the Russian government with the new world and the end of the era of rhetoric. In this book, the thoughts of the first Russian journalists are of special interest, and the author has tried to present the roots of political thought in the history of Russia with respect to the thoughts of religious ministers and saints of the ancient era of Russian history to those interested in this topic.

11-Proznetsov in 2011 in a book entitled "Russian Social Political Thought in the 11th to 17th Centuries", which is a textbook and university pamphlet, for students of political science at Moscow State University, as well as for students of humanities faculties of universities and all those who They are interested in the history of Russian political thought, and it is in accordance with the curriculum of the course "History of Russian socio-political doctrines". This work examines the traditional and ancient political thought of Russia before the reforms of Peter the Great in the late 17th century, and its main topics are religious ideas and their connection with the political issues

of ancient times and the evolution of the ancient Russian government since the Kiev era. It is dedicated to the era of reforms.

Also, this work helps in identifying the Russian political thought from the beginning of the formation of the Moscow government to the era of Peter's reforms. In fact, by studying this work, one can understand the reasons for the formation of the philosophical-political thought of ancient Russia and its fusion with Western European philosophy.

12-In 2007, in a book titled "Iran and Russia in the Great Game, Travelogues and Oriental Studies", Elena Andreyeva opens a unique window to the history of Iran during the Qajar era (1925-1797). The author of this book has reviewed the travelogues of travelers who came to Iran from Russia and many of them had military missions. This book examines the Qajar period of Iran in terms of social, political, cultural and even economic developments, and on the other hand, the Russian national identity and its internal contradictions and the view of Russians towards the neighboring countries and the region are also analyzed.

It is possible to use the works that have borrowed most of their content from travelogues as an auxiliary source in research. In other words, through the conversations and interactions of travelers or merchants, the political thoughts of their time are revealed.

13-In 2005, in a book titled Russian Conservatism and its Critics, Richard Pipes, a great American writer and Russian scholar, investigated the reasons for the continuation of the Russian monarchy and its autocratic system throughout history, and by examining the political thought of Russian conservatives, especially Nicholas Karamzin, He has paid attention to the differences between conservatism in the West and Russia. According to Pipes, Western conservatism was a reaction to the ideas of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. But in Russia, there is a fundamental theory of government throughout the history of that country and it governs public opinion, and the Russian people trade their political and social rights to buy stability and

order, and the issue of conservatism is in the spirit and collective conscience of the people of this land. And statism and the embodiment of the state in the person of the tsar is a basic principle in Russian conservatism.

This work has explained the causes of the strengthening of the spirit of conservatism among the Russian rulers and its transfer among the masses of the people, and has not paid much attention to the various factors of the formation of populist parties.

14-In 2000, in a book titled "Populism", Paul Taggart discussed the examples and characteristics of populism and populism, including Russian populism. It is doubtful whether the Russian populist movement in the late 19th century can be called an example of populism. He believes that populism is a word that was born in Latin America and was opposed to rationalism, rationality and elitism. In other words, populism is taken to mean the mass of people or the masses. According to him, the correct understanding of populism is very important because it is a phenomenon that is always present in modern politics and it is a reaction to the dominance of democratic institutions based on representation at the national level, which, when a crisis occurs, secretly and openly glorifies its pays ideal center. According to him, understanding populism is necessary because it becomes more complete with our understanding of those ideologies that tie themselves to populism. Due to the lack of fundamental values, populism is more affected by the common people and is actually a transient phenomenon. In other words, populism deals with the mass of people and is actually a mass movement. According to Paul Taggart, with globalization and the flexibility of identities that emerges from the structure (global society), people who feel rejected will have more motivation to seek refuge in an ideal and imaginary center.

In other words, Taggart analyzes this concept in the context of contemporary times and suggests that in crisis situations, the mass of people take refuge in ethnic or national identities and by their demands, i.e., the visibility of these identities, they form movements. give

He believes that populism is inherently limited and if there is to be support for this type of movement, it is better to look for new ways to get out of its institutional bottlenecks. He has also spoken in detail about Russian populism and believes that when examining the Russian populist movement, it should be noted that it does not necessarily mean populism. The major difference between this work and the author's research is the era and type of populist parties' performance. In other words, the author of this work examines the category of populism in the modern era and the reasons for the prominence of this type of movement or movements in the structure of globalization and its relationship with the way of life of ethnic minorities or marginalized sections of society. examines, while the author of the research intends to genealogy and analyze the ratio of populist parties in Russia in the 19th and 20th centuries and its effect on political parties in Iran.

15-On page 320 of the book "History of the Soviet Union" translated in 1982, Dmitry Kalstov writes about populism in Russia: the peasant socialism of the Narodniks reflected the interests and aspirations of the Russian peasants, and this socialism embodied the dream of the peasants' complete freedom from dependence. To the lords and civil servants, it was the embodiment of having land, freedom and equality. According to him, the Narodniks were divided into several groups, and people like Mikhail Bakunin, an idealist of anarchism, were very famous among them, and the radical and rebellious faction was influenced by him. Also, Pyoter Lavrov supported the necessity of preparing for the revolution and propaganda activities. Pyoter Tkachev was also the leader of a group that believed that one should wait for conspiratorial actions by intellectuals to change the conditions towards an ideal state. This faction did not have much faith in revolutionary actions and continuous action. In this book, there is no analysis based on the formation of populist movements, and its emphasis is simply to describe the political

activities of populist movements and how they fail or win.

16-We should also mention the book "Russian Thinkers" by Isaiah Berlin. Isaiah Berlin, who lived the first two decades of his life in Russia and then went to England, and is one of the great philosophers of the West, and who puts forward ideas such as "incommensurability of political goods" and "value pluralism", in 1978 in a book under The title of "Russian Thinkers" examines the emergence of Russian intellectuals from the beginning of the 19th century and the effects of German romanticism, and the political thought of thinkers such as Belinsky, Hertsen, and Tolstoy, as well as populist political movements. This work can be considered as an investigation of the political thought of the 19th century and early 20th century Russia, and the central idea of Berlin is that in Russia there is no scope for native political thought, and mainly the ideas have entered the intellectual space of this country in the form of adaptations from the West.

This work can also be a suitable auxiliary source for writing research on the activities of Russian populists. By examining important Russian intellectual currents from the Decembrists to the Narodniks, he considers the attention of all of them to the category of justice as an important basis for socialist currents. This work, which is only devoted to the study of Russian political thought, is a suitable source for explaining the transfer of Russian thought to the thought of Iranian revolutionaries, and its data can be used for populist parties.

With the investigations carried out on the Persian, Russian and English texts related to Russian political thought and especially the Russian populist thoughts, as well as the topic of transferring these thoughts to Iran and the influences that have been from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. have had, it can be seen that there is less independent work on the influence of Russian populist thought on Iranian political thoughts in the period in question and this research gap can be filled with a new research work in the

form of a doctoral dissertation. The author hopes that his efforts and the intellectual support of his professors will be able to accomplish this important task.

Research purposes:

General purpose:

Explaining Russian populist thought in the late 19th and early 20th century and explaining how it influenced the intellectual currents of Iran in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Specific goals:

1 :Explanation of the intellectual atmosphere of Russia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

2 :Explanation of the intellectual atmosphere of Iran in the 19th and 20th centuries

3: Explanation and genealogy of Russian populist thought and how the category of people entered Iranian thought

The new aspect and innovation of research:

From a comparative point of view, this research can be considered as the first step to investigate the concept of people and the idea of populism in the politics of Iran and Russia. Regarding the transfer of thought from Russia to Iran, no serious works have been produced so far, and if there are works, only general references have been made, especially on the issue of populism as an intellectual category in postmodern political literature, especially in the works of thinkers such as Negri and Hart in the category of masses of people or people's empire, this work is a completely new and original work that the author intends to understand the texts and understand the political currents between Iran and Russia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with a post-structural understanding. And therefore, from this point of view, it is a completely new research.

The research method used in this research is based on discourse analysis with Foucault's genealogical approach, which aims to analyze the history of the impact of Russian intellectual thought on Iranian intellectuals by considering the components that have not been studied and investigated. Emphasizing the discourse of the Enlightenment era about reforms

in Europe and its transfer to Russia and its implications as reform changes in the political, economic, social and cultural system of Russia and finally its effect on the thought of Iranian intellectuals is examined.

The relationship between Foucault's genealogical method and the topic of transferring political thought

Foucault's most important topic in the genealogical approach is the category of "power". In this approach, he believes that power is not necessarily oppressive, but can also be productive. According to Jorgensen, Foucault focuses on power instead of considering actors and structures as the main categories. We are well aware that before the Renaissance and the Great French Revolution, political knowledge was the monopoly of the aristocratic and court classes, but after this knowledge was learned at the academic and scientific levels and made its way to the middle and lower layers of society, it was removed from the monopoly of those classes. In this sector, the society also produces power. Therefore, the forces that lack power, with the help of gaining knowledge and awareness of the existing situation, have always been trying and fighting in order to gain their rightful interests, and throughout the history of their battles, they have formed small powers that these small powers have formed the system. It has created new discourses regarding the conditions of the times. In this way, since the way of life of neighboring and bordering peoples and their reflections are subject to influence, certainly the changes in the discourse systems can be transferred to their surroundings and bring about serious and fundamental changes in their own society and neighboring countries. The topic of this section needs a comprehensive and complete description and investigation, which is discussed in detail in the fifth chapter.



Conclusion:

As it was said, in the study of the transfer of Russian populist thought to Iran, the book "Left Discourse in Iran" by Mohammad Ali Mohammadi was examined. According to him, the left discourse with the establishment of the "Justice Party" in the Caucasus and the establishment of the Bolsheviks in Russia became the color of communism. got himself Adalat Party was renamed to "Communist Party of Iran" and became a continuation of this discourse in the Marxist-Leninist framework. Following the decline of this party during Reza Shah's era, Iran's leftist discourse continued to exist at this point, at the initiative of Taghi Arani, not within the framework of party activity, but with the publication of the magazine "Donya" and the establishment of an intellectual circle. At this point, instead of promoting a partisan view of Marxism, the leftist discourse sought to expand theoretical issues and instead of addressing the lower classes, it sought to introduce it to the educated and intellectual classes. Also, the leftist movement and discourse in Iran was formed first not in opposition to capitalism, but against feudalism and in support of the workers of non-industrial sectors, because basically neither the capitalist system nor the industrial working class had been formed. The Iranian society had experienced the anti-feudal movement represented by the Mazdakians, Khorramdins, Shiites, etc. over the centuries. The new movement, which had emerged along its historical past and with a different face, owed its ideology to the modern Western

thought. In this way, the historical foundations provided the background for socialism to be favored and a movement entered the political arena of Iran, which in its evolutionary course was thinking about the establishment of socialism.

The change in the nature of feudalism in Iran was one of the effective factors in how the initial discourse of the left was planned. With this view, the first sparks of socialist thought appeared in the works of some intellectuals of the Constitutional Council, such as Mirza Agha Khan Kermani and Talebov Tabrizi, but this did not mean the formation of a trend nor the design of a discourse. Talking about socialism in the political writings of this period was only to the extent of considering it a progressive idea and nothing more. In addition to the limited nature of such works in the political literature of Iran and their audience in the illiterate society of Iran, their authors also did not believe in absolute adherence to socialism, so they did not strongly engage in extensive theoretical work in this field. In addition, these intellectuals themselves did not have a complete and comprehensive understanding of socialism to be able to form a discourse around it. The social democratic movement in Russia and Western Europe had made Iranians aware of the existence of socialism, but this awareness had not yet resulted in the formation of a movement that provided the grounds for the development and expansion of a kind of discourse.

Also, the famous figures of Russian populists and other political parties of that time, such as the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Russia, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, etc., played a role in conveying the idea of Russian populism. Of course, the oppression of the Russian people by the tsars, khans and landowners, then introduces two general trends that tried to organize people's dissatisfaction. One stream included populists and the other stream was formed by Marxists. The populists who were complex peasants are in a deep and rooted conflict with the tsarist government,

and they sought to form them. A terrorist faction emerged from within the populist movement. The terrorist faction peaked its activity with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. One of the most famous figures of the populists, Nechaiev, has also had a significant impact on this transfer of thought.

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