

Pashtunism and Its Role in Afghanistan-Iran Relations

Bahram Mousavi, PhD Student of History of Contemporary Iran, University of Isfahan, Iran.

E. mail: Musavi.Bahram@gmail.com

Morteza Dehghan Nejad, Professor of History, University of Isfahan, Iran.

Email: mdehqannejad@yahoo.com

Morteza Nuraei, Professor of History, University of Isfahan, Iran.

Email: Nour4051@yahoo.com

Abstract

Afghanistan is a country which has been the arena of conflicts and fights of different tribes and races all over its history. Nowadays, one of the basic problems of Afghanistan is the issue of various and sometimes conflicting ethnic textures which has prevented the development and advancement of as well as the national union and the coalition in this poor country.

After Afghanistan's separation from Iran, one of the racial groups living in Afghanistan called Pashtun seized the power, political structure and cultural domains and other ethnic groups of this country such as Tajiks, Hazara people, Uzbeks and Turkmens were considered as the quadratic residents and were given the least facilities and political-economic situations. Among these racial groups, the Shiite Hazara and Tajiks, due to the monopoly of political power, were oppressed and discriminated by the pro-Pashtun domination. The policy of Pashtunization of Afghanistan not only caused conflicts and backwardness within the geographical borders of this country, but influenced significantly the relations of this country with other countries particularly Iran and is considered as one of the reasons of underdevelopment and the lack of depth in desirable political, economic and cultural relations among the two countries. The present article is to investigate the mentioned reasons and factors with a historical-analytical approach.

Key words: Pashtunism, Persian language, Iran, Afghanistan

Introduction

The end of the Safavid Era was the advent of the establishment of a local government in current Afghanistan. The efforts of Afghans in the regions of the geographical territory of Khurasan, the political-social turmoil in Iran after the collapse of the Safavid Empire, the existence of transient and unstable governments in 8th and 19th centuries in Iran, the increasing influence of the west in Asia and the Middle East, and the increase in social awareness via advancing communications and interactions with powerful European governments gradually provided the grounds for nationalism and fueling nationalist sentiment among a lot of the nations of the east and Islamic countries; passionate feelings in which issues such as language, literature, and history as well as lower ordered issues such as geography, traditions, customs and ethnic beliefs caused the grounds of separation of nations and political units from each other and the long-term, lasting and complex interests

of European superpowers and their propaganda teachings expanded the enthusiasm and dream of independence and independent identity based on identity component among eastern nations. Therefore, the wave and rise of nationalism particularly the emphasis on a specific ethnic group as the center of the domination and discrimination of other nations and ethnic groups were considered, particularly for the nations such as Iran and Afghanistan which had a long commonality under the same name, nationality and language during centuries and ages. As a result, nationalism, archaism, resorting to history and in some cases unfounded legends were considered as strategies by political activists, historians, literary figures, and nationalist intellectuals. According to Giddens, nationalism has been the psychological state dominating over all the world. According to him, nation is the most effective form of social organization and nation-state is the best political structure. Since the age of revolutions, the most important link among people is the attachment they have for their nations (Giddens, 2003: 281). However the first signs of the advent of nations was in the late 17th century, it was in the late 18th century that nationalism was considered as an ideological form of loving a nation or an ethnic community (Hobsbawm, 1990: 18).

This issue, as an ultimate historical responsibility had such significant value for the ethnic groups in Afghanistan and particularly the dominant group and its intellectuals that later, it influenced political-social upheavals in Afghanistan and its neighbors as well as regional upheavals in the form of sectarianism and racism.

Sectarianism and social context of Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a country which neither has ethnic-racial unity nor a united national culture and the number of its totally ethnic groups is limited. Racial, linguistic, cultural and religious differences is an image of a heterogeneous culture. It might be because of this reason that the political leaders and intellectuals of the society of Afghanistan, in a consistent effort which in many cases violated human and natural rights of a lot of residents of this country, presented the issue of the foundation of a country and its horizons based on a particular ethnic group and considered others as the second-class and peripheral citizens. The historical investigation of social upheavals of Afghanistan and its relation with other countries particularly Iran which for a long time it was a part, is not feasible without investigating the strategic framework of knowing ethnic groups and sects residing in that country. The issue that explaining its relation with the government of Iran in Pahlavi Era indicated how sectarianism of the political government in Afghanistan prevented optimal and friendly relations and the increase in political interactions and in some cases, deepened the divergence among the two countries.

Cultural and social movement of pro-Pashtun in a comprehensive effort was to represent Pashtun as the majority ethnic group and emphasized the biased thought that the main and original residents of Afghanistan are Pashtuns. With its pro-Pashtun policy, the movement, in addition to deemphasizing the identity and original components of Afghanistan such as Persian language, prevented the acceptance of the capacity and capability of other ethnic groups and sects in the country in achieving the issue of government and serious presence in the political organization of power and presented the thoughts of nationalism and reformation based on a particular group.

Afghans (Pashtuns)

The main ethnic group in Afghanistan is Afghans. This group are one of Aryan ethnic groups and resides in the southern parts of Hindu Kush and central, eastern and south eastern regions mainly areas between Kabul and Qandahar. Pashtuns are divided into great groups. Ghaljeh Zaei or Ghalzaei and Abdali (Dorani) which

construct about 50 to 55 percent of the whole country. Beside Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazara people, Uzbeks, Fars people, Qezelbash people, Turkmens and Baloch people are next ranks (Gerigorian, 2009: 51-57).

Hazara are the third big ethnic group in Afghanistan was estimated about 3 million people in Pahlavi Era. In the past, historians believed that Hazara People are from Mongol and Tatar soldiers.

Hazara people traditionally were considered and behaved as the elements of enemies, heretic and disbelief. As a result, political turmoil or due to deprivation of social situations in Afghani society, a lot of Hazara people were forced to leave their lands at the center of Afghanistan and some of them sought asylum in Quetta of Baluchistan and a large number of them migrated to Iran and particularly Khurasan Province.

The first governors of Afghanistan, without encountering racial and religious conflicts in the country and foreign threats were forced to rely on Afghan military forces and Pashtun tribes to keep the power and monarchy, the racial superiority of Afghans and the Kingdom of Afghanistan integrity. The first efforts of Pashtuns to establish the autonomous government of Afghanistan in 1122 AH/1709 AD by Mirwais, one of the outstanding heads of Ghilzai family of the tribe of Hotak; the effort which in the year 1135 AH/1722 AD became possible and the defeat of the Safavid Government by Qandahari citizens. The government of Ghilzai was short-lived, unstable and oppressing. In 1142 AH/1729 AD, Iranian forces led by Tahmasb Gholi Khan, fled Ghilzais from the Safavid throne and a lot of Afghans, particularly Abdalis were taken as military forces.

In 1160 AH/1747 AD, Ahmad Khan Abdali, one of the captains of Nadir shah, using political turmoil after the killing of Nadir, returned his forces to Qandahar. The Abdali leaders, due to general conditions in Iran and the central power vacuum, decided to exit from the realm of Persia and declared independence of the first Afghani government. Ghilzai tribe and its branched came under the realm of other branch of Pashtuns, i.e. Abdalis. Governing over Afghanistan from 1160 AH/1747 AD to 1230 AH/1818 AD was in the hands of Abdalis and after that, i.e. 1230 AH/1818 AD, the central government was seized by Barak Zaei tribe, another branch of Dorani tribes.

It was just after the 1978 coup d'état, and the advent of the government of Nur Mohammad Taraki that the government was taken from Doranis and put in hand of the other Pashtun tribe, Ghilzai. Taraki was from Pashtun tribe (Ali Abadi, 1996: 15).

The monopoly of power in the form of dominant ethnic group, in addition that it has engendered the issue of competition and conflict within Afghani society, is considered as one important factor of frequent conflicts and backwardness of the country. The grounds of occurring conflicts reached Iran as well. Since 1160 AH/1747 AD when the local government in current Afghanistan were established, and particularly after the contract of Paris, Afghani government, by neglecting the rights of other tribes and races in the country and particularly those of Hazara people and Tajiks who mainly were Shiites, Iranians and Persian, tried to remove the signs and works indicating the previous link of Afghanistan to the motherland Iran. According to the dominating tribal view and with the support of Sunni Hanafi jurists, other groups were never allowed to have serious political participation and taking power. The elements of political power, i.e. the king, viziers, ministers, captains, judicial and administrative authorities and even the governors of states were selected and appointed from Pashtuns. The conflicts and threats occurring among Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns particularly Persian Shiites obviously illustrate the colonialist spirit of Pashtuns over non-Pashtuns; the issue that in addition to internal conflicts among diverse groups of Afghanistan and the lack of their cooperation with the central pro-Pashtun government, provided the grounds of foreign interventions. The issue of political Pashtunism and the oppression and crackdown of non-Sunni Persian opposition, as mentioned in the previous discussions, were the factors which influenced the degree of interactions and relation between Iran and Afghanistan and drew political-religious groups in both countries to conflicts and clashes. But the

Pashtunism governing the political-religious views of the leaders in Afghanistan resulted in other challenged particularly in cultural issues.

Cultural Pashtunism

Afghani Government and its Pashtun-oriented officials, in addition to efforts in line with creating a new identity independent from the political governance on Iran after the conflicts resulting in independence of the country from Iran, stretched the domain of Pashtunism to cultural issue in purposive efforts influenced by foreign provocations in order that emphasize more the identity differences of the newly-independent country of Afghanistan from its neighboring countries particularly Iran. changes and transformations which in addition to spreading discrimination and creating political challenges, made gradually problems for the domain of undeniable cultural interactions and its commonalities and in cases, provided the fields of conflicts among the cultural figures of the two countries. As discussed, Afghanistan and its authorities had been well aware of the effects of language, religion, ethnic origin and geography in the formation of their national identity (Gellner, 1983: 54).

The issue of promoting Pashtu language and confrontation with Iran

Although during several centuries, the people of Afghanistan spoke Persian as the language of their fathers, and available written works indicate this issue, after the advent of the grounds of independence and political-geographical separation, the authorities of Afghanistan were meant to establish a new identity in line with realizing this identity and gradually managed to make a particular racial group residing in Afghanistan as the first and original owners of this land. After that, gradually the issue of independent language consistent with Pashtun race was introduced and declared as the national language. Although insignificant works and sings of Pashtu language and literature has remained as the scientific-literary legacy, in contrast, there are invaluable Persian works incomparable with those of Pashtu. Afghani policymakers who were to establish Pashtun as the superordinate of the other racial groups in their country, gradually started to revive Pashtu as their ancient ethnical language. After the death of Dust Mohammad Khan in 1279 AH/1862 AD, his son Shir Ali Khan sat on the throne in Herat. Among the most reformist measures one was to establish a disciplined and trained army. To train the military forces, some treatises were published in Pashtu. "This was the first measure in line with identifying the mentioned language because up to that time, formal activities and affairs were conducted in Dari Persian (Farhang, 2012, vol. 1: 344). Paying attention to Pashtu and trying to identify it were pursued by next governors. This policy, in addition to Pashtunizing Afghanistan and ignoring other tribes and races, caused more cultural gap between Iran and Afghanistan. Doubtlessly, the Shiites and Tajik speakers of Persian having more cultural commonalities with Iranians both in terms of language and culture, were more oppressed by the policy of Pashtunization. However, in the time of Amir Abdulrahman, he was an advocate of Persian literature and accepted this language as the official one while did not motivate learning Pashtu or other languages (Gregurain, 2009: 190), in the time of his successor, Amir Habibullah Khan, Persian language was ignored and Amir commanded that in educational system, beside learning Pashtu, Turkish, English and Urdu be considered by teachers and instructors. In line with educational reformation in Afghanistan, particularly after the occurrence of World War I, the educational method of Turkey was considered as the model. This change, reflected the pan-Islamic feelings common in Afghanistan. In addition, Afghans were influenced by the method in which Turks-as the virtual leaders of Sunni Muslims-employed western sciences, without ignoring their traditions. The curriculum of Turkey gradually was employed in Afghanistan and some Turk teachers were hired (Documents of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1930, Box 26, file no. 9, document no. 121). It seems that although this measures were not politically wise, they were advised because they made the opposition of traditionalists neutral toward the admittance of

beliefs and techniques. Further, these measures provided the satisfaction of powerful Sunni leaders of Afghanistan from the so-called heretic government of Iran and they were the very interests of Afghan intellectuals (Mojaddadi, 1988: 155).

Among the reformist measures of Habibullah Kahn, other than his particular attention to Pashtu and the expansion of non-Persian languages, was his acceptance to release the state newspaper of Siraj-ul-Akhbar whose "main theme was following the policies of the Young Turks in Othman State, a nationalism combined with pan-Islamism, and promotion and training of Pashtu" (Zaboli, 2001: 96).

With the increase Amanullah Khan's power, although Afghani society was a combination of different tribes and races with diverse cultures and languages, the basis of managing the country was always in the hands of Pashtuns. Therefore, the Shah of Afghanistan, after the approval of the constitution, declared that he was going to promote Pashtu in the country (Magazine of Pantabun Zagh, no. 134, 1329 AH, 18). To do so, he commanded that an association be created called "Merka Pashtu" for identifying and promoting the mentioned language. His de-Persianization policies enthusiastically was followed by reformists such as Mahmoud Tarzi (Taval, 2004: 95). One of the objectives of Mahmoud Tarzi in releasing the Newspaper of Siraj-ul-Akhbar was promoting Afghani nationalism. "Tarzi, instead of reinforcing national commonalities represented in the domination of real values of Islam, reinforced the culture of a single ethnic group, i.e. Pashtun, and imposed it to all ethnic groups in Afghanistan" (Rahmani, 2009: 209).

Therefore, Tarzi played a significant role in removing the name of Khurasan on the land called Afghanistan by promoting the name of Afghanistan for the country. Nationalist sentiments of this intellectual who was advocate of the influence of Turks on the court of Amanullah Khan were so that he called his newspaper as Siraj-ul-Akhbar Afghanyya and changed his surname into Tarzi Afghan (Ghobar, 1989, vol. 2: 794). Amanullah Khan, in line with reinforcing the educational system, commanded that Egyptian and Turk teachers and educational missions from France and Germany be hired (Gerigorian, 2009: 297-298). This is while that most of Afghani government had provided a lot of its educational shortages, form teachers to preparation of educational texts, through Iranian government and by utilizing Persian scholars (documents of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1928, box no. 29, file no. 3, document no. 74).

Ideological and religious conflicts in Afghanistan with Iranian Shia government, religious provocations of Afghan Sunni jurists as one of the elements of power and decision making, nationalist movement and nationalist thoughts based on Pashtun tribalism, the supports of Britain, Russian and Turk governments for such thoughts caused that in spite of Amanullah Khan's visit from Iran, when he returned to Afghanistan, in addition to invading Iran and ignoring good neighborliness, in an anti-Iranian and anti-Shia measure, he commanded equipping the Afghan cultural centers based on Turkish models and hiring Turk teachers and physicians, as well as teaching Turkish as the second language in the schools of this country (documents of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1928, box no. 49, file no. 16, document no. 7).

At the end of the fleeting government of Habibullah Kalkani-the son of Sagha, the policy of Pashtunization of Afghanistan by the new King, Mohammad Nader Shah, was pursued with the same severity and seriousness. Important ministries of this period were in the hands of nationalists and racists who considered Pashtun culture and language as superior to other ethnic groups and languages particularly Persian. For example, "the Ministry of the Interior in the Cabinet of Mohammad Hashim Khan was in the hands of Mohammad Gol Khan Momand, the head of advocates of superiority in culture and literature" (Talib Qnadehari, 1983: 31). Mohammad Gol Khan Momand who was considered an enemy of Shiites and Persian speakers of Afghanistan, started practical actions to promote and apply Pashtu language in state offices and educational institutions and even among the people on the streets. He did not put into practice those letters and documents which were not written in Pashtu and made employees to learn Pashtu when he was a minister (Zaboli, 2001: 62).

In 1311 AH/1932, with the seizure of power by German National Socialist Party led by Hitler and the promotion of the theory of racial superiority by this party, some of the state officials of Afghanistan such as Mohammad Davoud Kahn and Mohammad Na'eem Khan started similar promotions. They, under the pretext of creating national unity and maintain customs, wanted eagerly the formalization of Pashtu in all over Afghanistan. Accordingly, Afghani government, by issuing a circular, commanded all employees and civil and military officers to learn Pashtu in three years and use it in their verbal and written communications (Magazine of Kabul, no. 9, 1935: 62-66).

In this line, educational classes of Pashtu were held in all offices, but the unsuccessfulness of the project during three years caused that the government repeat the courses in three-year periods. The extension of three year periods resulted in unsolvable problems and the defeat of the project caused many irreparable problems for the people of Afghanistan (Zaboli, 2001: 104).

Farhang writes about the damages of racist projects of the era of Mohammad Hashim Khan and the losses imposed to Afghanistan: "the greatest damage caused by the adaptation of this project for the country was the advent of pessimism and the lack of trust among different ethnic groups which were the inevitable results of discrimination and separation. Before that, among the people of Afghanistan, there were pessimisms, but this issues were related and limited to religious conflicts. Shiites and Sunnis did not consider each other as good and motivated by self-interested people, assigned inappropriate attributes to each other.

Mohammad Nader Shah, by giving privileges to Pashtun tribes and particularly southerners, and using them in internal rebellions, intensified the little pessimism between Pashtuns and Tajiks. The project of promoting Pashtu intensified the conflicts among ethnic groups" (Farhang, 2011, vol. 1: 479). The rise of the power of Mohammad Zahir Shah could not repress the enthusiasm of Pashtunization and opposition to Persian language and literature in Afghanistan. Hashim Khan, the powerful Prime Minister of Afghanistan, declared in this era that: "with the abolition of Persian, Pashtu should be the official language. Our myths and poems would be perceptible by anyone. It should be used for the honor of our past, the honor which would unite us" (Magazine of Pantun Zagh, no. 49, 1032: 43). This policy raised the rank of Pashtu parallel to Persian as a national and official language; the issue that caused some conflicts between Persian speakers and Pashtu speakers both in Afghanistan and outside it particularly in Iran (Afshar, 1985: 191-197).

Regarding the use of Persian language in Afghanistan, the Newspaper of *Habl-ul-Matin*, by warning the Afghani government of the catastrophic effects of the imposition of an artificial national language and the issue that it could damage the national alliance of Iran and Afghanistan, defended Persian language in Afghanistan in the best way. This newspaper wrote that Pashtu is the language a minority in Afghanistan, while the language of the majority is Persian. *Habl-ul-Matin* suggested that instead that everyone in Afghanistan be forced to learn Pashtu, the government should motivate the members of Pashtun tribes to learn Persian and share the cultural treasury of Iran and use it. To make Pashtu as the official language of Afghanistan, Afghans should be separated from their neighbors and they should be separated from their literary and scientific language (Newspaper of *Habl-ul-Matin*, no. 17, 1931: 3-5).

While nationalist movements and those advocate of western modernity thoughts in Afghanistan did not withdrew form their support of promoting Pashtu, in Iran, scholars and intellectuals in the field of culture and literature considered themselves responsible for Persian language and asked the officials of Iranian Academy to ask Afghani government to leave these measures; the issue which was not accepted by the Afghani government. In fact, these measure were for giving Afghans a particular and unique language and reinforcing their relations with Pashtuns beyond the borders-the government claimed that Pashtu is the official language of Afghanistan (Magazine of the Afghanistan National Council, no. 8, 1953: 14).

Institutionalization of teaching Pashtu in all schools of Afghanistan and preparing and distributing Pashtu texts were main concerns of the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan in this era. Even speeches in 1216

AH/1937 AD about the prohibition of using Persian alphabet was declared in line with the favorability of Latin alphabet (Magazine of Aeneh-e- Erfan, no. 19, 1937: 83).

As mentioned, transforming movements in the world such as promotion of nationalist thoughts and familiarity of some of Afghani intellectuals with racist thoughts were among the factors which guided them to change Persian language and literature to Pashtu. But, historical evidences indicate that the role of Britain and Turkey in engendering conflicts and separation among different groups in Afghanistan and also between Afghani and Iranian governments. According to Gerigorian, in the reign of Mohammed Nadir Shah, due to economic inability of the government to construct and equip schools in Kabul to promote Pashtu, Hashim Kahn and Mohammad Na'eem Khan demand money from Britain and the embassy of that country and the embassy accepted their demand (Gerigorian, 2009: 326). Due to the dependency of some of the Afghani political figures to Turkish government such as Mahmoud Tarzi, the owner of the Newspaper of Seraj-ul-Akhbar, they received significant economic aids to prepare and distribute Pashtu texts when they travelled to Turkey (Byron, 2002: 165).

In the time of the ministry of Shah Mahmoud Khan, the successor of critical and prejudiced previous minister Mohammad Hashim Khan, Persian language was paid attention again, but the government was active in promoting Pashtu as well. Paying attention to Persian again resulted in the hatred of Afghani prejudiced politicians and officials. As a result, "the Union of Freedom of Pashtunistan", a semi-secret circle, had a significant role in promoting and developing Pashtunist thoughts. This association, later known as the National Club, and led by Mohamma Davoud Khan, the nephew of the King of Afghanistan-Mohammad Zahir Shah, wanted the annexation of Pashtun lands beyond the borders, i.e. the Pashtun lands of the newly established country of Pakistan to Afghanistan and the establishment of greater country of Pashtunistan (Magazine of Pantbun Zagh, no. 137: 1951: 4-6).

With the overthrow of the Shah Mahmoud Khan, the radical nationalist movement led by Mohammad Davoud Khan seized the power. His premiership endured to 1341 AH/1963 AD, was the period of strangulation, censorship, exile and prison of advocates of freedom and more important, particular attention to the expansion of Pashtu language and literature. It was due to his supports that "Pashtu Tulneh" which contained four sections of history, literature, linguistics and publication, had a great role in promoting Pashtu as the national language. Pashtu Tulneh published a general dictionary, standard grammar and course books to contribute to institutionalizing the teaching of Pashtu language. Since in the Royal canon of 1315 AH/1936 AD, it was commanded to all government officials that they should learn Pashtu in three years. Pashtu Tulneh published and weekly educational treatise which along with course books, was distributed all over Afghanistan (Magazine of Pantabun Zagh, no. 21, 1936: 6-8).

In spite of all efforts conducted with the supports of foreigners and political racist activists in Afghanistan, Persian language survived; however it could not regain its primary value and credit. Pashtunism of Afghans has been trying to remove Persian language as an important factor in diverging the governments of Iran and Afghanistan from the field of competition. In the premiership of Davoud Kahn and after that when seized the power as the first president of Afghanistan in 1352 AH/1974 AD, Pashtunism was followed as eagerly as possible, particularly in the issue of greater and ideal Pashtunistan considered by him and nationalist Afghans, the newspapers dependent to the government, by writing articles, motivated and encouraged the government to have more diplomatic and cultural activities in this regard. With the support of Pahlavi government for the political positions of Pakistani government in the mentioned issue, Davoud Khan both got far from Iran as well as limited cultural-literary activities of Iran in Afghanistan, some newspapers of Afghanistan interpreted the political positions of Iranian politicians as the intervention in internal affairs of Afghanistan and opposition to the freedom of Pashtuns residing in Pakistan (Magazine of Kabul, no. 681. 1975: 21-26). Further, they criticized the Academy of Persian Language and Literature in Iran and supported the positions of the Academy of Pashtu Language (Pashtu Tulneh). In one other these articles it has

mentioned that "it is very surprising that Iranians do everything to purify Persian language form western and Arabic words, but they criticize the natural right of the people of Afghanistan who have been the birthplace of civilization and thought regarding the revival of the language of their fathers (Newspaper of Presidency and Mystics, no. 15, 1975: 27).

Conclusion

Afghanistan is a land of different ethnic groups and tribes. After that Ahmad Khan Abdali took the power in Afghanistan in 1160 AH/1747 AD, the power was institutionalized for Pashtun ethnic group. Due to the monopoly of the government, there has always been endless and hard conflicts and competitions among different tribes in Afghanistan in line with taking political-social power. The emphasis on a unique ethnic group means to ignore the issue of meritocracy within the context of Afghani society and was one of the factors of structural backwardness as well as the ground of ethnic animosity in this land. Further, some of the Afghani intellectuals and nationalists, by ignoring civil rights of other citizens, practically called them to a direct confrontation and hidden and obvious fights against the national interests. Managing the country by Pashtuns created this feeling for other groups that Afghanistan is a country which was controlled in line with supplying the benefits and interests of Pashtuns and others were the victim their humiliating policies. In addition to political tribalism, the dominant Pashtuns, in an extensive effort, were to replace Persian with Pashtu and victimize Persian for their own cultural policies, while Persian was the language which had been spoken by the majority of Afghani people for centuries; the issue that faced with negative fight of other non-Pashtun ethnic groups and outside the geographical borders of that country, this policy was criticized by Iranian government and people. Among other factors intensifying political-cultural Pashtunism was creating an identity distinct with that of Iran which was combined with religious sentiments. In addition, the sensitivity of cultural figures of Iran, particularly in the issue of Persian language was considered as the sings of intervention in the interior affairs of Afghanistan by some of the cultural-political officials of Afghanistan.

The divergence of Afghani government in the domain of cultural issues from Iran has not been far from the skepticism of intervention of foreign elements and factors particularly those of Turkey. Political-religious leaders of Afghani society tried to seek shelter in foreign countries in line with reducing the influence of Iran which they considered as political intervention instead of utilizing cultural facilities of Iran. Limiting Persian by creating a competition called Pashtu, the reduction of cultural relations and creating a new and independent identity based on Pashtunism have always been among the barriers of enhancing convergence; in other word, the existence of such challenging factors should be considered as the grounds of cultural divergences among the two countries which inevitably can influence other social domains by their consequences and outcomes.

Resources

Afshar Yazdi, M. (1985). *Afghan Nama*. Tehran: Dr. Yazdi Publication.

Aliabadi, A. (1996). *Afghanistan*. Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Byron, R. (2002). *Travelling to Amu Darya*. L. Sazegar (Trans.). Tehran: Sokahan Publication.

Documents of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1928, box no. 29, file no. 3, document no. 74.

Documents of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1928, box no. 49, file no. 16, document no. 7.

Documents of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1930, Box 26, file no. 9, document no. 121.

Farhang, M. M. (2011). *Afghanistan in recent five centuries*. Tehran: Erfan.

Gellner, E. (1983) *Nationalism*. London: widenfeld and Nicolson.

Gerigorian, V. (2009). *The advent of modern Afghanistan*. A. Alami Kermani (Trans.). Tehran: Erfan.

Ghobar, M. Gh. (1989). *Afghanistan on the path of history*. Tehran: Enghelab.

Giddens, A. (2003). *Sociology*. M. Sabouri (Trans.). Tehran: Nei.

Hobsbawm, E.J. (1990). *Nations and nationalism since 1978*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Magazine of Aeeneh-e- Erfan, no. 19, 1937: 83.

Magazine of Pantabun Zagh, no. 134, 1329 AH: 18.

Magazine of Pantun Zagh, no. 49, 1032: 43.

Magazine of Pantabun Zagh, no. 21, 1936: 6-8.

Magazine of Kabul, no. 681. 1975: 21-26.

Magazine of Kabul, no. 9, 1935: 62-66.

Magazine of the Afghanistan National Council, no. 8, 1953: 14.

Mojaddadi, A. (1988). *From Amir Kabir to Rahbar Kabir*. Pakistan: Meivand.

Rahmani, A. (2009). *The reasons of backwardness of Afghanistan*. Qom: Mirath Mandegar.

Talib Qndahari, M. H. (1983). *A review of Afghanistan of Yesterday and Today*. Qom: Mohajer Ghaznavi.

Thual, T. (2004). *Shia geopolitics*. K. Basser, (Trans.). Tehran: Vistar.