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There follows an unedited translation from the Persian of Tudeh Party Training Publication No. 12, dated 12 April 1952, which states and explains the Tudeh "line" with regard to current Iranian politics. Such publications, interpreting the Party line, are published approximately every six months.

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Training Publication

1. All favorable conditions must be utilized for expansion of peace movements.
2. There is no doubt that in all countries the most progressive elements of the society are placed at the disposal of the Peace Partisans. But the peace movement cannot and should not be confined to these elements. The conservative and reactionary elements may also take positive steps in their own interest to prevent war and defend the peace. Such are the anti-colonial moves in small countries and the national bourgeoisie in colonial countries which are effective in preventing war. The merchants and owners of industries who favor the establishment of economical and commercial relations between the East and the West, or, subject to the prejudicial policy of America, help preserve the peace, though in so doing they aim at protecting their own interest. Thus, the progressive elements of the society must not be considered as one and the same with the peace forces. The peace forces are much more extensive than the progressive forces of the society, as peace forces cover the conservative and reactionary elements in addition to the progressive elements. The peace movement has no association with political, social, and religious opinions of the individuals. Anybody with any belief may join the peace movement or be attracted by it.

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3. Therefore, those who knowingly and actively struggle for the defense of peace must cooperate, under certain principles, with those who are different in opinion, beliefs, and judgments. For example, there might be disagreement on the origin of war between the two defendants of peace, but they share the same desire to prevent war and combat the war mongers. In such cases, the existing difference must not prevent them from rendering activity in the peace movement and from cooperating with each other in this connection.
4. Evidently existence of elements with different opinions and principles in one organization occasionally may cause some conflicts but it is up to the intelligent individuals immediately to put an end to the difference in a suitable manner for the victory of peace, which takes precedence over other victories.
5. Work is difficult in large organizations where elements with different opinions and different principles participate. In fact, it requires much flexibility, but not so much as to deviate from principles for which the organization has been created, or to refrain from contacting others with different opinions and views, or to give up exchanging news with them. Contacts and exchange of views are essential for common cooperation to attain the common end in view.
6. It is only by correct realization of the meaning of peace, by utilization of all conditions and factors for the defense of peace, by struggle with the war mongers, and at the same time consideration of the extent of peace partisan movements which can absorb different elements and individuals, that it is possible to equip more masses against war and its agents, to strengthen the peace, and to prevent war.

Regarding the Artifice of "National Front" and the Way to Combat It.

7. The reactionary tendency in Iran, though split, corrupted, and internally disagreeing, has its own particular politics and distinct interests. It finds its pole and circles around it, as a blind brute that finds the game by smelling. In recent years when American or British imperialism has been the master of politics in Iran, the entire reactionary forces have gathered around the servants of one of them.
8. For example, we may mention Seyed Zia-ed Din and Hezb Eradeh Melli; Qavam and Hezb Democrat Iran; Moasadegh and the "National Front." The latter is a concoction composed of various poisons called "Hezb Zahmat Keshan," "Hezb" Iran, Jam-e-Vat Mojahedin Islam, and other such elements detrimental to Iran's national health. Whenever the freedom movement of our nation culminates, the reactionary tendency in Iran presses its line more, despite the disagreements and internal conflicts. The incidents in the years 24 and 25 (1945-46) and the part played by Hezb Democrat Iran, as well as the present part of the "National Front" are examples of this contention.
9. But among all reactionary factions that have appeared on the political field of Iran in the past ten years, the "National Front" is the first to start its political activity with a policy all its own, with new tricks and artifices (though discarded in other parts of the world), and with a new mask on its face.
10. No mention will be made here of the quality of the "National Front." This was done by the Central Committee of our Hezb in the very first days, in the days when the market of demagogues was hot from the fire of oil. The Central Committee began this work clearly and boldly, and continues to do it with pertinacity and Tudeh perseverance. The discussion here is on its manner of work, its tricks, its crafty leader, and finally the way to combat its tricks.

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11. The "National Front," an offspring of the 16th legislature election in Tehran, laid the biggest foundation in demagogism by its slogan "Nationalization of Oil throughout Iran." Nationalization of oil is undoubtedly the desire of all honorable people in the country. A nation that has felt for many years that the colonial influence of the oil company is a cancer in its blood and life, cannot disagree with this slogan. But is the nationalization of the oil industry the desire of the Iranian nation alone? The imperialism of America is also desirous of some sort of "nationalization" of the Iranian oil industry. As a result of the greedy and bloody conflict between American and British war mongers over the oil in the Middle East, after the end of the second World War "some sort of nationalization" of the oil industry in Iran was needed to get the claws of the American imperialism deeper in our oil resources, and push the British rival one step backwards. This "nationalization" must drive the British imperialists out of Iran as far as possible to make room for the super-imperialism of America. This is what they are trying to accomplish. Dr. Mossadegh "nationalized" the oil for the American capitalists and the Anglo-American bank named "International" will tackle this "nationalized" oil.
  12. It therefore can be noticed that two different movements with two different motives, and two different qualities existed for the nationalization of the oil industry in Iran. One was Tudeh (pertaining to masses?) and national which was supported internally by the masses of the nation and externally by the anti-imperialistic world front. The other, non-Tudeh and non-national, supported internally by layers of the ruling class, and externally by one of the flanks of the imperialism - super-imperialism of America. Our Party was on the top of the first, and the "National Front" on the top of the second.
  13. The first and foremost political trick of the "National Front" was that it tried with all its power, right from the beginning, to conceal from people the quality and the motive of its dispute with the former oil company, and to make its imperialistic efforts appear national and anti-imperialistic.
  14. The dispute of the "National Front" with the former oil company, which is placed in the frame of imperialistic rivalry, made this demagogism look genuine to some extent.
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15. The "National Front," wanted to "nationalize" the oil and tried to make itself appear an "anti-colonization" element. The "anti-colonization" struggle of the National Front took on a nationalistic color. The ruling class in Iran has always encouraged nationalism to separate the Iranian nation from other nations as much as possible. In this connection, the "National Front" acts with more knowledge and persistence. To show it is "national," the "National Front" launched strong nationalistic propaganda. The "anti-colonization struggle, and nationalism" serves the "National Front" as a smoke screen in order that they may serve colonization and betray the nation, just as a thief who is followed by men but cries with them, "Stop the robber! Stop the robber!"
  16. For a long time the people of our country have been troubled by the foreign colonizers and imperialists. Our people's existence has been crushed under the aggressive feet of foreign capitalists. Apparently, such people must regard all foreigners and other nations hatefully and grudgingly. Nationalism, if grown up in colonial and semi-colonial countries, will divert the struggle of people and will result in seclusion, and separation from strugglers of other nations. The imperialists will be very happy to be able to frustrate the struggles of colonized and semi-colonized strugglers with the poison of nationalism.

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17. The "National Front," following such imperialistic desires, wants to make the anti-colonization people of our country aware of the nationalism tendencies in order to increase in the Iranians hatred and disgust of all other nations, and to consider a foreigner a foreigner, whether a socialist or an imperialist.
18. The Nationalism of the "National Front" consists of both "left" and "right" elements. The "left" nationalists of this "Front" have gathered in the dunghill of "Hezb Zahmat Kashan." Some of the masters of ceremonies in this Party respect the triflings of Tito, and call themselves "Socialists" in spite of the services they render to foreign imperialism and local capitalists. They try to separate the Iranian nation from other liberated nations and above all from the great country of socialism, and yet they call this "leaning upon national power" and "freedom and independence of action," etc. With such appealing words they repair the ruined walls of nationalism to besiege the Iranian nation inside, and to cut its link with the world toilers.
19. The "right" wing of the "National Front," being extremists, form the Fascist group of "Pan-Iranists," who are a small bunch of the most troublesome representatives of the ruling class in Iran. Though these greedy gentlemen, who dream of captivity of our neighboring nations, are not officially a branch of the "National Front" they have sympathized with it since its genesis, have followed its slogans, and have extended their sincere and Fascist-like cooperation to the "freedom loving leader." "National Front" covers all "left" and "right" home-made nationalists. "National Front" is an unparalleled zoo.
20. The nationalism of the "National Front" in its reactionary nature is, more than anything, anti-Soviet. The various newspapers of this front are full of accusations, lies, and abuses to the country of socialism. The government of the leader prefers to be choked in the economic crisis, rather than to establish economic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union and other democratic communist countries. They do not stop abusing the land of socialism even when the Soviet representatives defend the Iranian nation in the Security Council. But these gentlemen and especially the "left" nationalists, i.e. the so-called "Hezb Zahmat Keshan," seem to have found their paradise when it comes to the imperialism of America; their mouth waters for the love of the "free world." Nationalism of the "National Front" is internally anti-national, and externally anti-Soviet, and at any rate reactionary. Using nationalism to poison a nation that sustained great losses brought about by colonizers, and abusing the anti-colonization feelings of our nation and diverting these feelings are another anti-national work of the so-called "National Front." In clamoring for nationalism, the leaders of this front hope to receive the honor of being "national." Now if they have succeeded in this, they owe it to the active work of our party, because during its 10 years of untiring struggle it imbued the people and especially the toilers of our country with internationalist spirit and brotherly kindness to other nations. Our Party taught the people that real patriotism is coupled with brotherly kindness to other nations!
21. He who wants to shed the blood of other nations and engages in aggression cannot love the people of his country, but he will smooth the way for the ruling class of his country to rush upon the people of other countries and plunder their livelihood. He calls this "patriotism" and "defending the mother country."
22. The work of our Party for the internationalist growth of the Iranian nation has not yet reached its victorious end, though it has achieved numerous successes so far. We have a long way before us. If imperialists were not able to divert our struggles into the devious path of nationalism and gain more by this trick in Egypt or Iraq, it was because of the internationalist teaching of our Party. But to look only at the attractive scenery of past successes is to lose the future road.

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23. It is to be remarked that, although the nationalism of the "National Front" is anti-Soviet by its very nature, it tries to look anti-British and attracts the foreigners' attention to this in its daily attacks.
24. The "National Front" does not feel that the people should be so busy in enmity with the British as to forget the colonizer imperialism of America. Even where the imperialism of America, arm in arm with its junior rival, attacks the interests of our nation, most openly and shamefully and renders the defense of the master impossible for the Front gentlemen, they invent new "theories" and state that the imperialism of America has been "deceived" to have followed the imperialism of Britain. The support given to Razmara at first by the American capitalists and the votes in favor of the former oil company in the Security Council and other international assemblies, seem to be a case of this "deceit." This is how the treacherous demagogues stammer against crashing, realistic logic and stick to the "deceit theory" to make the anti-humanity ways and customs of the imperialism of America seem plausible.
25. We conclude our discussion about these nation-selling merchants by saying that the "National Front" is the unskilled propagandist of Nationalism for separation and keeping away the Iranian nation's struggle from the struggles of other nations, for creation of enmity with the Soviet Union, for struggling with British plunders within the framework of the imperialist disagreements, and finally, for serving the imperialism of America.

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26. Demagogism and pretending to be freedom-loving and religious are the rusty and old weapons of the "National Front." In a country where people have never lived free, in a country where people have lived under the dictatorship of Reza Khan, and ten years of law breaking, it will be easy to fool some of the people for a limited period in the name of freedom. The leaders of the "National Front," these businessmen of the market of politics, have come forward with good looking but initiated (sic) goods of "freedom" and imposed so much of their rejected goods upon the people by fraud during their few months reign that they get no more buyers. Mossadegh has shed crocodile tears and fainted for freedom all his life. Many expected him to take steps toward freedom during his incumbency and make changes which would appear to be for freedom - thought superficial - and to replace the obstinacy and stubbornness in the governmental departments by bourgeoisie democracy which he had admired all his life. Contrary to these expectations, the police got more supremacy over people and shed the blood of freedom during the reign of the "National Front." Nevertheless, the "National Front" never quit weeping and mourning over the crucified freedom.
27. The "National Front" with the help of the Government and with all its power is anxious for "freedom" and sings the song of "freedom." No group of the ruling class has ever pretended to be so freedom-loving or launched so much propaganda about it.
28. The Government restrains the newspapers and the deputy Prime Minister Dr. Fatemi claims most shamelessly in the Majlis that no newspaper or periodical has been restrained in Mossadegh's Government. Coupled with the worst kind of illegal interferences and even killings, the day and night propaganda of this liar regarding "free election" has made the people deaf. The leaders of the "Front" feel proud, though the disgrace of "free election" absorbed them all. Elections in Tehran, Shahrud, and other places are realities that disclose the false legend of free election.

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29. Long-term martial law in Khuzistan; Fascist-like tragedies of 23 Tir (14 July) and 14 Azar (6 December); repeated barbarity in Isfahan, Tabriz, and other parts are crimes which left a disgracing brand on the forehead of the nationals.
30. The Government of Mossadegh is one of the hardest and wildest governments in the past 10 years. This Government exiles even the tuberculous, and its military governor deprives people of taking a walk outside the town. Terror and crime rule over Khuzistan, Isfahan, Mazandaran, and other parts; and yet this Government, more than others, has cried beside the corpse of freedom. Freedom to imprisonment, exile, and even to kill; this is the promised "freedom" of the "National Front."
31. "Freedom and the "National Front" for "liberation" of the Iranian nation reminds one of the fraudulent snake catcher who takes people's money out of their pocket without showing them his charmed serpent.

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32. The "National Front" is not satisfied with these tricks only. The "nationals" are position-loving sorcerers that stop at nothing to deceive the people. Religion has deep roots among the people of Iran. Can they ignore this reality? Never! They must place religion at the service of the ringing dollars of the master. For this reason, they become "religious." They make their work look religious. They produce a "religious leader" against a "political leader." They enlarge Mullah Seyyed Abul Qasem Kashani, and make him bear the flag of Islam on his shoulder. It is for no reason that the "National Front" clamors in "protection" of Islam. The infidel "leaders" of "Hezb-e-Zahmat Keshan" become "religious" and followers of Mullah Kashani and "Hezb-e" Iran mourn in the Martyrdom of Imam Hossein in 1330 at Shiraz. With this trick, the "National Front" wants to make all those who have a link with religion follow their political slogans. But the truth is revealed when the "leader" orders alcoholic drinks to be served at official banquets. At the same time, they spend thousands of toman for the wine-sipping Harriman and other American spies, and pay the bill out of the poor pocket of the Iranian nation, and the democratic newspapers publish this bill. This is the religious "National Front."

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33. With what deceitful veil have the leaders of the "National Front" camouflaged their treacherous bodies from the standpoint of foreign policy?
34. Do they truly and openly say what they are, and how they are? Of course not! In their relations with the world outside Iran, they are of course "national," and "nationals" have nothing to do with anybody, not with the Western "free world" and "democracy," nor with the world of socialism. They are "independent."
35. They believe themselves to be the "third power," such as Attlee and Morrison's party in England, such as Schuman and Bidault's party and the Socialists in France, such as the Congress in India, the Wafd in Egypt; and finally such as all "third powers" all over the world. The honor of investing this "theory" is bestowed upon "Hezb Zahmat Keshan."
36. The flat story of their power has become old now. All the "third powers" in the world have grown by support given them by imperialism; they support imperialism and are disgraced. The "National Front," though a creation of the imperialism of America, is "national," and has nothing to do with it.
37. The rejected betrayers of "Hezb Zahmat Keshan" make more fuss about the so-called "third power." Attachment of the "National Front" to the imperialist brutes is so clear that any discussion in this respect is useless.

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38. But the "National Front," while falling and rising, pursues the war and murder policy of the world imperialism and does not stop singing its song of "neutrality and impartialty" in respect to both Eastern and Western blocs.

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39. Comrades! These are the most prominent tricks of the "National Front." To complicate its imperialist struggle against the former oil company with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Iranian nation, and noxiously to abuse the people's patriotic, freedom-loving, and religious feelings.
40. Our duty in respect of these treacherous demagogues is clear. We should always bear in mind that the "National Front," though disgraced, is the most dangerous and internal enemy of the Iranian nation. We therefore conclude that we have to equip all our powers against the enemy struggle which calls for urgency. While we are not unconscious of the wounded and Iranian-looking agents of the British imperialism, we turn the sharper point of our attack toward the "National Front."
41. We must endeavor to separate the "National Front" from the middle layers that it tries to separate from our movement.
42. How to separate the "National Front" from the masses?
43. To gain victory in a battle one must first of all know the enemy, get acquainted with his tactics; then make a correct assessment of his own forces and beat the enemy.
44. So we have to know the "National Front," understand its nature and ways, get equipped with the logic of our Party the best we can, and then disgrace the "National Front."
45. Ignorant comrades and comrades who only know what they hear, believe that the world is divided into two camps, i.e. Camp of Peace and Socialism - Camp of War and Imperialism; the "National Front" is not in the first category, it must therefore be in the war monger camp and, as such, it is an enemy of Iran. Such comrades are warriors without arms and will be defeated in the end.
46. In fact, comrades, ignoring self-training demobilizes us. We must know the falsehoods of the "National Front" and our own logic, and then offer the two to the public.
47. But will representation of fact be enough to get results and separate the betrayers from the people? Of course not! This is necessary but not sufficient. The masses will listen to us when daily experience confirms it. When placing Khuzistan under martial law, 23rd Tir (15 July), 14th Azar (6 December), imprisonment and exile of peace lovers in Isfahan and Tabriz, "free elections," compromise with the "International" Bank, and..... confirm our statements about Mossadegh and his demagogue accomplices, it is then that the mask of the enemies of people will be torn off and all will see their treacherous face. Incidents are our best assistant. The front leaning on imperialism must dance to the imperialist tune and as a result, a new mask will be taken off the face of such a "front."
48. But can one sit tight and wait for incidents and pray for them to happen? This disease is political corruption. If the Tudeh were to pass the time in expectation of "incidents," it would necessarily fall behind and be crushed under the feet of the enemy. We have to meet the incidents, we must create awakening incidents and place the "National Front" against it, and we can do it. When the anti-colonization struggle of the Iranian nation is at its climax, the "National Front" must not invite Harriman, the war monger, to Iran or else it will disclose its devotion to the imperialism. The "National Front" must be caught right on the spot. In words, the enemies of people are lovers of people, but it is in practice that friends and enemies of masses are distinguished. Then, if we desire to disgrace the "National Front" we have to draw it to the field of action.

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49. Furthermore, we have to go more among the masses if we wish to separate the "National Front" from them. All forces and possibilities must be employed to make people wakeful and conscious. We have to increase work in working syndicates, farmers, youths, and women, in political and educational spheres. We must strengthen and press further the unity of working class and of all toilers. We have to give the "National Front" no chance for penetration and separation.
50. But in contact with masses, we must neither fall behind nor move ahead. The battle between us and the "National Front" is inside the community, among the people.
51. Masses are like the ground, on which we and the enemy fight to conquer it. If we are buried in this "ground," or if we are over it, if we fall behind or move much in advance of the masses, we have lost our support and consequently the battle.
52. From the very beginning when the "National Front" came into being, our farsighted Party anticipated the fate of these political upstarts who spend money freely for imperialism of America from the account of the Iranian nation. Therefore, the quality of this "front" was explained for the people by our Party. But it was not right to call the Government of Mossadegh in those days a government of 23rd Tir (15 July) and 14th Azar (6 December), or a Fascist-like government. We had to consider the visibility horizon of the masses, start from there, move in advance of the incidents step by step and pull the masses behind (make the masses follow). That is what our Party so far has done in respect to the "National Front."

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53. Comrades! Such is the craft of the "National Front" and the way to combat it. We can complete in honor the work we have ably started if we try to know this enemy better and introduce it to the masses.

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