

dans la „Revue Tunisienne“ une traduction partielle, a été publié en 1908 in extenso avec une traduction française complète, par A. de C. Motylinski¹.

L'auteur du récit nous raconte de l'occupation par les Espagnols d'al-Marsā al-Kabīr, d'Oran, de Bougie et de Tripoli, ainsi que de l'arrivée des troupes chrétiennes à Djerba, de la défense de cette île par les habitants ibādites et du désastre des Espagnols. La défense a été organisée par le šayḥ Abū Zakariyā', 'āmīl (gouverneur) de l'île de Djerba² et par le jurisconsulte Abu 'n-Nağā Yūnus b. Sa'īd³ qui, en jugeant des formules votives usitées exclusivement à l'égard des vivants ajoutées par l'auteur anonyme aux noms de ces chefs, étaient encore en vie au moment de la rédaction du récit.

¹ A de S. Motylinski, *Expedition de Pedro de Navarre et de Garcia de Tolède contre Djerba (1510) d'après les sources abadhites*. „Actes du XIV-e Congrès International des Orientalistes Alger 1905“. Troisième partie, Paris, 1908, p. 133—159.

² Ibid., p. 134 (texte) et p. 145 (traduction).

³ Ibid., p. 137 (texte) et p. 148 (traduction).

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN IRAN

in the years 1941—1946

The first political parties in Iran arose in the period of struggles for constitution and parliament in the years 1905—1911. They were: the party of constitutionalists (*mašrūteh-hwāh*) and that of conservatists or sympathizers with the despotic régime of Kāğārs (*mostabedd*). The aristocracy, courtiers and uneducated folk were adherents of the conservative party and the educated bourgeois intelligentsia stood on the side of the progressive party being in the utter minority¹.

After the overturn in 1908 in the bosom of the *mağles* (parliament) two new parties arose: the revolutionary party (*enkelābī*), consisting of 28 persons and the moderate one (*e'tedālī*) counting 32 persons. These two parties had the majority in the *mağles*. Besides them there existed parties lesser in number, as for instance „Unity and Progress“ (*Ettēfāk-o-tarākķī*). The members of the revolutionary party were officially called democrats (*demokrāt-e 'āmiyūn*)².

After some time on the ground of the revolutionary party and the moderate one a party arose called socialist (*ḥezb-e sūsyālīst*) ideologically nearing the communist party of the Soviet Union. This happened in the period of the IV *mağles*³.

Under the influence of the Great October Revolution in Russia the communist party arose in Iran under the name „Justice“ (*'Adālat*). The members of this party organized two congresses: one in the year 1920 in Enzeli (to-day: Pahlavi) and the other in the year 1927 in Urmia.

¹ Māleko'š-šo'ārā' Bahār, *Tārīh-e mohtašar-e aḥzāb-e siyāsi-ye v. I.* p. 2, Tehran, 1323 h. (1945).

² Cited work, p. 8—9.

³ Cit. work, p. 130 and the following ones.

Reḡā Šāh Pahlavī having taken over the royal rule in 1925 forbade any activity of parties. The 'Adālat party was put beyond the legality in 1931 and six years later its members in number 53 were sentenced by court either to prison or to deportation.

Only after the abdication and banishment of Reḡā Šāh in August 1941 there came in Iran to exist new conditions for a full and spontaneous development of the political life and along with it of the parliamentary and out-parliamentary parties. The years of the occupation of Iran by the Allied Armies (1941—1946) are remarkable for an extremely opulent growth and development of parties and political fractions. Along with this phenomenon there ran the development of press, conditioned by the introduction of democratic freedom and cancellation of the unbearable censure muzzle.

Nearly from day to day there were then arising in swarms new political parties and their fractions. Some of them were arising and developing, the others, soon after their uprising, disintegrated into fractions and died out, having no necessary social support. Some parties grouped a greater or lesser number of deputies to *mağles*, the others were the creation of a little group of persons, nay, individuals representing some or other purposes, sometimes very egoistic ones or those of a given clan. The lack of parliamentary tradition, weakness and political immaturity of the Iranian society voiced themselves to a full extent in this great number of parties and parliamentary fractions.

And now there follows a survey of more important parties acting in the period of the occupation of Iran by the Allied Armies¹.

1. The People's Party of Iran, commonly called Tūdeh (Hezb-e tūde-ye Īrān). The Tūdeh party arose on 20th September 1941, then soon after the fall of the dictatorship of Reḡā Šāh Pahlavī and after the military occupying forces of the Soviet Union and Great Britain had entered upon the territory of Iran. Thanks to these circumstances the greatest liberal politicians of the country, imprisoned under the rule of Reḡā Šāh recovered their freedom and set to organize the most radical party that

¹ We keep to the chronologic order as much as possible.

ever existed till that time in Iran. This was the People's Party of Iran. Its organizers were: Abo'l-Kāsem Asadī, Īrağ Eskandarī, dr. Morteḡā Yazdī, dr. Reḡā Radmaneš, Reḡā Rūstā and others. The initiative of the foundation and the first steps of organization are the merit of Reḡā Rūstā. To the founders of the party are counted too: Solaymān Eskandarī (he died in 1944), dr. Moḡammad Bahrāmī, Moḡammad Yazdī, Ġavār Piševārī, Hoseyn Ġahānī, eng. Makīnezād, Boğratī, Moḡammad 'Alī Faridī, Aḡmad Eṣfahānī, Mīrkāsem Čašmāzar, Rasūlī, eng. Roknī, Bozorg 'Alavī, Abdolhoseyn Nūšin, Farroḡī, Dehkān Eḡsantabarī. After some months there joined the party: Nūreddīn Alāmūtī, Kāmbaḡš, Ardašīr Avanišsyān and Zeyneddin Alāmūtī, and others¹.

According to its purposes and tasks the Tūdeh party grouped in its ranks peasants, workers, handicraftsmen and the working intelligent people (state employees, attorneys, doctors, engineers and so on) and the students of the Teheran university.

The programme of the People's Party of Iran postulated:

a) in the domain of politics: 1. struggle for preserving the independence and territorial integrity of Iran, struggle with any manifestations of colonialism towards this country rested on the universally known principle that every people is free to decide about its lot; 2) struggle for fixation of the democratic rule and the full guaranty of individual and social rights such as freedom of word, public meetings, press, convictions and associating; 3) struggle with dictatorial rule and violence in public life; 4) putting end to the arbitrariness of police and other state officials; 5) creation of a people justice court for judging and punishing these persons who abusing their power and freedom had attempted upon the rights of individual and society, after taking them back the fortunes acquired in that illegal way; 6) assuring the independence of courts and actual separation between the judicial and executory power. Cancellation of all laws and bills that had been issued by the former Šāh to the detriment of the people; 7) revision of the bill on the obligatory military service on behalf

¹ Here I express my hearty thankfulness to my colleague, Mr. Waclaw Loga, for his report entitled „On Political Parties of Iran“, (in manuscript) of which I availed myself on writing the present work.

of the whole nation. Preventing abuses and violent acts and the chaos resulting from them.

b) with reference to village: 1) a free granting estates of the former Šāh and estates of crown to peasants devoid of land; 2) purchasing estates by the state and giving them to villagers on instalments; 3) financial assistance for peasants without land by means of the Economic Bank for supporting agriculture and improvement of their existence; 4) a thorough reform of the unjust share of harvests between the owner and the subject by annihilating the claims and customs being as yet in use; 5) foundation of a school and a station for health protection in every village; 6) action in the field of digging canals to supply the land with water, boring Artesian wells and full utilisation of rivers in order to supply the country with water and to grow the fallows and unused grounds according to the present state of science; 7) struggle with unemployment, arbitrariness of state officials and with property of great landowners (*māliyāthā-ye arbābī*);

c) with reference to workers: 1) introduction by *mağles* of the law on work protection, 2) introduction of eight hours' work-day and of allowance for plus-hours; 3) securing the old age (pensions), holidays and struggle with unemployment; 4) free curing and ascertaining the living means in the case of loss of ability to work in consequence of accident; 5) taking advantage of free Friday and holidays as well as of an every year's leave with keeping the normal wages; 6) prohibition of work of children below fourteen years of age; 7) equalling the salaries of men and women; 8) taking advantage by working women of paid holidays in the period of pregnancy during two months at least;

d) with reference to handicraftsmen: propagating the trade unions (*atfehād-e pišavarān*) for founding cooperative factories in order to increase the industrial production and improve the economic situation of handicraftsmen;

e) with reference to state officials: 1) revision of regulations for state service so as to secure the living means to the employés; 2) care for entrusting the educated youth with important state works in the domain of science, technics and industry; 3) ascertaining the social advancement to the citizens according to their abilities and education;

f) with reference to women: 1) care for making the women entitled to advancement in social life to a larger extent and enlarging their political rights; 2) improvement of their material situation; 3) founding and enlarging institutions of protection of mother and child devoid of living means.

The rest of the party programme foresees: 1) disposition of taxes advantageous for population and introduction of a progressive tax, 2) struggle with illegal gains in national economy and industry, reinforcement of state monopolies, 3) establishing companies of self-help in production and consumption for peasants, workers, employés and handicraftsmen¹.

The press organ of the Tūdeh party there was the newspaper „Siyāsāt“ (Politics) for a short time, then instead of it there appeared its official organ entitled „Rahbar“ (Guide) under the redaction of Īrağ Eskandari. Finally in the half of 1946 there started to appear the monthly entitled „Mardom“ (People), the theoretical party organ redacted by dr. Radmaneš.

The activity centre of the People's Party of Iran was Tehran. The party had its provincial branches chiefly in North Iran occupied by the Red Army, especially in the towns: Tabriz, Kazwin, Zangān, Ardabil, Redāiyeh, Marāgeh, Sāveh, Mašhad, Šāhrūd, Damgān, Hoi, Makū. In the central Iran Ešfahān was the residence of the party branch composed of quite a great number of workers of factories of that place. In South Iran occupied by the army of Great Britain, beside Yazd and Širāz, Tūdeh showed no intense activity.

There were six deputies of the People's Party of Iran per total number of 136 who entered into the XIV *mağles* in February 1944, from the Tehran district no deputy having come out in effect of a pression and terror on the part of the nationalist elements. On 28 February 1944 after a new parliament had been opened the Tūdeh party publicly showed its activity programme which has been cited above.

And now there follows the course of some more important happenings which occurred owing to the activity of Tūdeh:

¹ Aḥmad Kāsemī, *Hezb-e tūde-ye Irān če miğoyad va če miḥwāhad?* (What does the Tūdeh Party of Iran say and what does it want?) Teheran, Abān Māh 1322 h. (1943).

On April 11th 1944 there came to serious riots among the workers of the factory under the name of Šāh Redā in Eṣfahān due to the provocations on the side of reactionary elements: in result of them about 30 workers were maimed. In reply to it the workers of all factories in Eṣfahān set to strike¹. Three days later the deputy Fedākār in Eṣfahān published an open letter to the war minister with the demand of revoking the gen. Kadr, who took the side of the nationalist provocators. The newspaper „Ra'de Emrūz“ (Thunder of To-day) made the Ēstāndār (governor) of Eṣfahān, Bahrāmī, responsible for this state of things. On 15 May 1944 in the town Šāhī in the Ēstān (shire, county) Sarī at the Caspian Sea an armed conflict burst out between the workers, adherents of the People's Party of Iran and the nationalists of Ṭabāṭabāī. There were then fifteen persons hurt, some of them gravely².

The newspaper „Giti“ (World), of the extreme left, sympathized with the Tūdeh party. After its closing through the public authorities there came to serious disorders in Tabrīz and other towns of Azerbāyğān during which eight persons were killed and a great deal of persons were maimed³.

The first congress of the People's Party of Iran took place on August 2nd 1944 in Teheran. 169 representatives of provincial party centres arrived to take part in it. Among others there came to the congress: Fataḥī, redactor of the paper „Demāvand“, and Šahandeh, redactor of the newspapers „Farmān“ (Order). Both of them represented the so-called Freedom Front (*Ğabhe-ye āzādī*). At this congress the following authorities of the party had been elected: the Executive Committee was formed by: Nūreddīn Alāmūtī, Parvīn Gonābādī, Ardašīr (Armenian deputy), Eḥsān Tabarī, Īrağ Eskandarī, ‘Alī Amīrḥizī, dr. Redā Radmaneš, Maḥmūd Boğratī, Abdošamad Kāmbaḥš and dr. Ke-šāvarz. Into the Revision Committee there entered: dr. Morteğā Yazdī, dr. Ğowlat, Abdolḥosayn Nūšin, eng. ‘Alī Alavī, Redā Rūstā, Aḥmad Kāsemī, dr. Kyanūrī and Dīyā Alāmūtī.

¹ The newspaper „Rahbar“ from 22 April 1944.

² „Rahbar“ from 15 May 1944.

³ „Rahbar“ from 21 July 1944.

On August 1944 the resolutions of the congress of the party were published. They comprised the following decisions: 1) struggle with fascism, 2) collaboration with Allies (i. e. with Soviet Union, England and U. S. A. and also with Poland), 3) struggle with policy of partiality, 4) respect of independence of other peoples of Iran, 5) reward of Iran by Allies for her access to the war, 6) sending „true patriots“ of Iran to the peace conference and people worthy of confidence of popular masses, 7) cultural and economic development of Iran, and 8) keeping friendly relations with all the neighbours of the country.

The above postulates were concerned with the foreign policy of Iran. With regard to the home policy the congress took the decisions, that 1) all the parties and political groups should unite in their struggle with fascism, 2) the symptoms of a new dictatorship being prepared by the known nationalist Ṭabāṭabāī are to be combated, 3) all the citizens should unite their efforts in the work for the people's welfare, 4) the Tūdeh party should actively proceed in the next election to the *mağles*, 5) Iran should not let be exploited by foreign states, 6) the country has to be reigned by its own citizens, so the foreign advisers must be removed, 7) the Tūdeh party would not support the government formed after the 3rd day of the month šahrivar and would tend to forming such a government that would exclusively work for the welfare of the Persian people, 8) the harmful people would be removed from the government and bad uses prevalent in it would be bettered, 9) the Tūdeh party would not agree with the new division of Iran into influences zones, 10) the Tūdeh party would defend the interests of nomad tribes and demand the creation of better living conditions for them.

At the end of November 1944 the provincial branches of the party organized great meetings in the towns Šāhī, Sarī, Zīrāb, Bābol, Behšahr, Bābolsar and Bandaršāh. The resolutions taken at these meetings demanded: 1) constituting a people's government, 2) banishment from Iran of the prime minister Seyyed Dīyā ed-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāī, 3) arresting his collaborators in the persons of Moẓaffar Fīrūz, the redactor of the newspaper „Ra'd-e Emrūz“, Moḥammad Mas'ūd, the redactor of „Mard-e Emrūz“ (The Man of To-day), Heğāzī, the redactor of „Vazīfeh“ (Duty),

Ğavāhar Kalām, the redactor of „Hür“ (Sun) and Pāzārgād, the redactor of the newspaper „Ĥoršīd-e Irān“ (Sun of Iran), 4) putting before the court the prime minister Sā'ed and his collaborators, 5) abrogation of the war (exceptional) state as infringing upon the personal freedom of the citizens.

On 30 January 1945 the People's Party of Iran solemnly celebrated the third anniversary of its origin. Owing to it a special occasional copy of „Rahbar“ was issued, giving the achievements of the party in the passed period. In this copy we find biographies and photos of the chief collaborators of the „Rahbar“ newspaper, and at the same time of the members of the Central Party Committee, namely: Anvar Ĥāmeī, Ĥalīl Mālekī, Irağ Eskandari, Eġsān Tabarī, Mrs. Parvīn Gonabādī, Aḥmad Kāsemī, Fereydūn Ebrāhīmī, Moḥammad Hoṣayn Tamaddon, Moḥammad Alī Afrāšteh, Ġavād Azarmehr and Ebrāhīm Šāfi Langarūdī ².

In reply to the activity becoming more and more vivified and the growing popularity of the Tūdeh party among the popular masses the reactionary factors started a bloody terror towards its members. They organized armed assaults upon locations and members of the party, putting fire to its properties and destroying them. In the party organ „Rahbar“ such an accusation may be read: „We denounce to all the world that in Iran all is being destroyed that bears any features of democracy. Especially in Eṣfahān, Yazd and Šīrāz the active agents of the left (liberals) have no guaranty of their life. The government hereby assists the reactionary elements. We notify the public opinion of the below telegram: 'Eṣfahān. The reaction at the order of Fāṭemī Doulatābādī gathered a great crowd and assailed the club of the Tūdeh party and of workers' union. The club was put to fire and all was destroyed. The Iran police did not intervene. The redaction of the newspaper „Donyā-ye Ėmrūz“ (World of To-day) also was ransacked. The loss amounts to about half million riyals ³.

¹ „Rahbar“, nr 519, from 28 March 1945.

² In some cases I hav'nt possibility to verify the orthography of personal names.

³ „Rahbar“, nr 519, from 28 March 1945.

During all these incidents the deputies of the Tūdeh party who just were staying in Eṣfahān at this time were heavily beaten. There were about 20 maimed persons. „Rahbar“ from 31 March 1945 mentions about such „pogroms“ of the Tūdeh party in South Iran, especially in the towns Yazd, Šīrāz and various places of the province of Ĥūzestān. Similar incidents took place in Tabrīz and other towns of Azerbāyğān ¹. The situation in Eṣfahān reached such an inflammatory point in the relations that on 5 April 1945 about 100 members of the Tūdeh party came before the palace of the ministers cabinet in Teheran to demand the government's intervention in this matter.

In spite of this terror wave having been unleashed the People's Party of Iran kept standing on its ideological and organizatory positions supported by all the Front of Freedom. It was a union of several press organs made in order to carry on a common struggle against the nationalist reaction. The Front of Freedom (*Ğabḥe-ye āzādī*) had its origin on 15 July 1943. In November 1944 the following daily papers belonged to the Front of Freedom: Rahbar, Ažīr, Azādegān (Free), Zāfar (Victory), Farmān (Order), and Razm (Struggle) ², as well as weeklies: Mardom (People), Nağāt-e Irān (Salvation of Iran), Ĥallāğ, Ĥayāt-e Ġavīd (Eternal Life), Zabān (Language), Šo'levar (Torch), Kār (Work), Keyfar (Pay), Mašlahat (Good Matter), Nedā-ye ḥaḳīkat (The Voice of Truth) and Noubahār (Before Spring-Time). All these periodics issued in Teheran. In the province the following daily papers belonged to the Front of Freedom: Ātašgāh (The Temple of Fire) and Donyā-ye Emrūz (The World of To-day) in Eṣfahān, Bisutūn and Sa'ādat-e Mellī (Happiness of the Nation) in Kermānšāh, Sorūš (Messenger) in Šīrāz, Ġovdat in Ardabīl, Ĥavar-e Nou (New East) in Tabrīz and Rāstī (Truth) in Mašhad. Originally the paper Ĥoršīd-e Irān, appearing at the capital of Iran under the redaction of B. Pāzārgād, also belonged to the Front of Freedom for a short time.

Some years later the People's Party of Iran will become the powerful and leading force in the struggle of popular masses for

¹ „Rahbar“ from 16 April 1945.

² „Razm“ was issued in the case „Rahbar“ was confiscated.

the political and economic independence of the country. These facts, are however, commonly known, therefore we are not going to discuss them more at length.

2. Freedom of Iran (*Hezb-e āzādī-ye Irān*). This party took its origin at the end of 1941, then soon after the People's Party of Iran had been formed. Its leader was the young officer of the Iran army, Amīr Aḥmad Mohbad.

The chief purposes of this party, which, generally speaking, did not play any more important part in the politic and economic life of Iran, were: the universal freedom of Iranians and Iran and that with regard to word, press, confession, removing from place to place, agriculture, industry and commerce, science, instruction and education for every individual within the laws being in virtue in the country. All the Iranians are to be equal towards law and to have the same duties. The will of the nation should be the supreme law, expressed in an universal, proportional and immediate voting. Outside the parliament the party was to tend to forming *anğoman*'s (unions or associations), the district (*velāyati*) and provincial (*eyālātī*) ones and also to constitute the upper house of parliament or senate. The party regarded the constitutional monarchy (*pādšāhī-ye mašrūteh*) to be the best system of reigning, as „the best suitable to the Iranian's mode of thinking, to his uses and customs“. The party Freedom of Iran decidedly stood for keeping „the throne, crown and power of the kings' king of Iran“¹.

The further items of the programme foresaw the reform of the universal military service, of taxes and the „betterment of customs“. The party thought the work for the public welfare to be the foremost duty of every Iranian; farmers and workers work by force of hands, scientists and state officials by force of their mind and intelligence. Unemployment (voluntary) was looked upon by the party as a trespass and sabotage (*tabāh-kārī*). The party regarde incomes achieved without work and toil as inadmissible. In the field of the reform of agriculture the programme of the party foresaw among other things selling land to villagers and

¹ Cf. the booklet *Hezb-e Azādī-ye Irān* (published without date and print place).

farmers at a moderate price and on instalments to be paid up within ten years¹.

The 26th and 28th items of the party programme are also considerable. The first of them promises a betterment of workers' lot by reduction of the workweek to 44 hours at the normal salary on the part of employer, compulsory insurance of workers by factories owners from accidents, retrenchment of children's and women's work, retrenchment of nightwork hours, paid holidays for women workers in pregnancy and the like. The others from the said items announced founding hospitals and free curing working people, founding free chemist's shops and free birth stations, preventing venereal diseases and high mortality of newborn babies, care for mother and child, propaganda of gymnastics and physical education. As regards public instruction the party announced free teaching at all degrees of the public education and free supplying all the pupils with handbooks, finally founding universities in every town having above one hundred thousand inhabitants².

The regulations (*ā'yīn-nāmeḥ*) of the party required from future party members, beside usual conditions (citizenship of Iran, flawless past, finishing eighteen years at least) taking their oath they would thoroughly devote themselves to the welfare of Iran nad Iranians³.

The party authorities were divided into legislative (*taškīlāt-e moḵannaneḥ*) and executive (*taškīlāt-e moğrīyeh*). The executive authorities had some hierarchy, thus there were: *pīšrou* (foreman), presided over a quarter committee (*komīte-ye baḥš*), *pīšvāi* (leader) at the front of a district committee (*komīte-ye šahrestān*), *rahbar* (guide) managed a provincial committee (*k. āstān*) and *sarvar* (principal) managed the central committee (*komīte-ye markazī*)⁴.

The least party cell consisted of 30 persons.

3. The Hamrāhān Party (*Hezb-e hamrāhān*).

At the beginning of the year 1942 a party took its origin regarding itself as socialist under the name of Hamrāhān (Way

¹ W cit. pasism.

² Work cit., passim.

³ W. cit. p. 8.

⁴ Work cit. p. 8.

Companions)¹. It chiefly consisted of the progressive, intelligent class sympathizing with socialism... Its territorial extent was not great confined, on principle, to the Teheran district.

The press organ of the party Hamrāhān was the newspaper „Šām“ (Evening) appearing for a short time.

The chief purpose of the party was preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of Iran and social reforms, especially: a) in the domain of politics: all the citizens avail themselves of democratic rights, they are free and enjoy equal rights, b) in the domain of economy: means of home production belong to the society which takes advantage of them according to the expended work; privileges and economic, social inequality are cancelled, tranquillity and welfare to all the citizens of the country are secured².

Furthermore the party programme announced: a) strengthening the democratic rule securing freedom of word and action to every citizen, unless it is harmful to the public welfare, as well as the struggle with any manifestations of dictatorship and despotism, b) perfecting the safety means and those of the country defence, c) quick taking measures aiming at exterminating any wrong and social evil by undelayed bringing up for trial all these persons that enriched themselves by means of fraud, robbery, bribe and any other illegal means, and confiscation of any fortune of theirs that had been achieved in such a way; putting end to any sort of exploitation of the work of other people, d) struggle with unemployment and lazy life; compulsory insurance from illnesses and accidents during work; ascertaining normal pay to workers in the case of compulsory unemployment; constituting pensions for old people; shortening the workday to eight hours in usual conditions; constituting every year, paid holidays, finally prohibition of the under age children's work, e) allotting a greater part of agrarian products to villagers in a quantity sufficient for life; purchasing tillable lands and ceding them to villagers for exploitation; propaganda of new scientific methods of agriculture and increasing the tillable lands areas; reinforcement of the co-

¹ The paper „Šām“ from 1. IV. 1944.

² *Marām-nāmeḥ, bar-nāmeḥ, ā'yen-nāmeḥ-ye ḥezb-e hamrāhān* (no print place and date), p. 1.

operation and collaboration method with villagers, enlarging the Agriculture Bank's activity with regard to bearing assistance to villagers and releasing them from the charge of debts; assistance to tribes in order to make their economy more fruitful, to increase herds and securing them material existence; f) realization of the compulsory and free teaching at the elementary grade for all the boys and girls in the whole country and the development of the technical teaching; supplementary education for working people and assuring to generally all the citizens taking advantage of all cultural institutions, g) taking over, on the legal way, as a state property, all unfertile lands, mines, forests, factories, ports, natural riches of the country, any transport and communication means to give them for the public use, h) assurance of the free and immediate election for assigning delegates of population to town authorities and bestowing upon these delegates more authorisation to intervene in towns affairs; increase of taxes from estates to destine them for building rent-houses for the population at low price: supply of towns with wholesome water, i) preparation of means of looking out and increasing the national riches; finding out new water resources to make the agriculture function better... j) bringing the taxes to balance according to the personal incomes and raising taxes from inherited goods in order to secure a just distribution of riches; k) assurance of a free protection of health for all the citizens; l) increasing the growth of the population on the way of securing living means and direct and indirect protection of children, m) applying necessary steps to exterminate the bad habit of drinking alcohol, smoking opium and prohibition of opium poppy growth¹.

As the regulations had it, the citizen of Iran could become the member of the Hamrāhān party after finishing his eighteen years who proved to have a blameless past and submitted to ideological and organizatory requirements of the party². The party authorities were constituted by 1) the Local Committee, 2) Central Committee, 3) the Party Council and 4) the Party Congress. It was provided in the „general determinations“ that the member of the party may not occupy any higher public post without written

¹ *Marām-nāmeḥ*, passim.

² *Marām-nāmeḥ*, p. 3.

compliance of the Central Committee on penalty of being excluded out of the party ranks¹.

Outside Teheran the Hamrāhān party had scarce in number provincial branches. In the parliament the party was represented by its two deputies, they were: Abol-Kāsem Maragī and Savan Hāg Nāšreī, who soon betrayed their party withal, passing to the reactionary camp of Ṭabāṭabāī.

In consequence of the break-up within the Hamrāhān party a new party arose regarding itself as a fully left and socialist one under the name of the Party of Socialists (Hezb-e sūsyālist)². There were six members of the Central Committee who formed it with 'Alī Šāhed-zādeh, director of the newspaper „Emrūz-o-Fardā“, who in consequence of ideological conflicts with nationalist elements left the party. The matter was namely that the Hamrāhān party showed a great indulgence to its two deputies who went away to the camp of Ṭabāṭabāī.

The programme of the Socialist Party postulated a thorough reform of the country, first of all the necessity of improving the economic situation both of the state and of every citizen on the basis of socialism's models in U. S. S. R. The private property had to undergo the cancellation and the government should not be formed but of socialists.

The paper Emrūz-o-fardā (To-day and To-morrow) was the press organ of the party, issuing rather irregularly under the direction of formerly mentioned 'Alī Šāhed-zādeh. The Central Committee consisted of following persons: Banīšadr, vice-director of the Teheran radio, Šāhed-zādeh, redactor and owner of the paper „Emrūz-o-fardā“, Narahī, attorney, Farriyār, professor of the Teheran university, Dāriūš, student of the Teheran University, Dādyār, attorney, Razağ Hamsī, prof. Dārolfonūn, Kāšānī, attorney, Gaffarī, clerk of the Bank-e Melli and Rasābaḡs, worker.

The Socialist Party, little in number at the capital, had more numerous branches in the province in the towns Šīrāz, Mašhad, Bābol and so on. It sympathized with the People's Party of Iran

¹ W. cit. p. 6.

² It should not be confounded, identified respectively with the parliamentary fraction existing in the time of struggles for constitution under the same name.

and with U. S. S. R., unfavourably disposed towards Great Britain and USA. It energetically combated the party of Ṭabāṭabāī.

5. Party of Patriots (Hezb-e mihan-parastān).

This party took its origin in October 1942. It gathered in its ranks radically nationalist elements. Its watchword was „Unity of all the citizens in their work for welfare of the native country“. For the most part its members were educated people (scholars), intelligent people of towns and university students too. Most of more eminent writers of Iran belonged to the party of patriots. The party enjoyed a great popularity among the spheres of moderately progressive intelligent class of the capital and bigger provincial towns.

The chief purpose and task of the Party of Patriots was the repair of the state system. Mihanparastān were in steady opposition to the government of that time. At first the paper „Šāhbāz“ (Falcon) under the redaction of R. Nāmvar, was the press organ of the party, then the daily „Mihanparastān“ (Patriots), redacted by 'Alī Ġalālī. Both redactors belonged to the Executive Committee of the party. In June 1943 the public authorities forbade the paper „Mihanparastān“ to appear.

The Party of Patriots originally was numerous represented both at the capital of the state and in the province, where it had branches on the territories occupied by the English Army. It was, maybe, the most popular party in Iran beside the Tūdeh party, though it equalled its ideological adversary neither in number nor in its activity.

6. The party of Progressionists and Farmers (Hezb-e tarakkihwāhān-o- kešāvarzān). This party also arose in 1942, it was then one of the first parties that appeared after the abdication of Reḡā Šāh Pahlavī. Its leader was Ġalāl Hākīm Elāhī. There were mostly students of high schools, agrarian and factory (!) workers who belonged to it.

As its name says it, the progress of Iran and the development of agriculture were the principal aim of the party. In spite of an intensive advertisement and propaganda the party of Progressionists and Farmers did not succeed in attracting any greater number of members to its ranks. It remained little known and popular to the end of its not long lasting existence.

The press organ of the party there was the monthly „Morabbī“ (Educator).

7. The Party Independence (Hezb-e esteqlāl).

It arose at the beginning of 1943, probably in January. As the very name says it, the principal task of its members was the defence of independence, sovereignty and freedom of the country, and in connection with it combating any dictatorial tendencies. Among other things the party Independence was decidedly in opposition against the prime minister Dīyāo'd-dīn Tabātabāī, suspecting him, by the way it was right in it, of dictatorial tendencies.

‘Abdo'l-Kāder Āzād presided over the party. From his name there was entitled the press organ of the party, „Āzād“ (Free). During the December revolution 1942 this Āzād was set away from Teheran.

8. The Party under the name Friends (Hezb-e Yārān) also arose at the beginning of 1943. Its founder was ‘Abbās Halīlī. It took mostly its members from among owners of bigger stores and factories. The programme of the party postulated a rather unprecise unification of all „friends“ of Iran to assure the country's welfare.

The newspaper „Ekdām“ (Action), redacted by ‘Alī Ġavāher Kalām, was the official press organ of the party. In the year 1945 the paper had been forbidden by government's organs. Instead of it there started then to appear the weekly „Hūr“ (Sun) under the redaction of ‘Abbās Halīlī, giver of initiative and founder of the party.

The Yārān party was little in number certainly in consequence of rather poor and vaguely precised class purposes. It had scarcely its branches in some bigger provincial towns of Iran. As far as I know, this party did not play any more important part both in the inner and in the foreign policy of this country.

9. The party Union of the Nation. (Hezb-e etteḥād-e mellī).

The first issue of the newly appearing newspaper „Etteḥād-e mellī“ (Union of the Nation) from 15 July 1943 reported in an

preliminary article about the rise of the party under the name Union of the Nation (Etteḥād-e mellī). It is said in this article that as far as the former year, i. e. 21 šahrivar 1321 h. (1942) a gathering took place of the founders of the party in number of 250 persons. At this gathering all the present were divided into 9 commissions which had to compose the action programme and regulations of the new party¹. After six months of an intensive work and „untiring efforts“ at 24 seances the programme of the party was worked out consisting of 28 articles. On 20 farvardīn 1322 h. (February—March 1943) the rise of the party Etteḥād-e mellī was officially proclaimed.

In a very short preface of the programme it was stated that in view of this fact that the politic and economic power and the international authority of Iran depend upon the „unification of all the forces in the nation“ the organizers had brought to life the party Etteḥād-e mellī rested on the principles of friendship with all the nations of the world, love of the native country, order and social justice.

Now it follows the programme of the party in a general outline:
1. problems of economy and property: a) propaganda (support) of industry, taking in account the natural conditions of the country. Getting out mining riches. Bringing to order and regulating the relation between the worker and the employer. Combating unemployment, raising salaries of workers and wages of functionaries being charged with numerous families on assuring them conditions of welfare and a peaceful life, b) care for increasing the national fortune and attracting the foreign capital. Multiplication of economic and property operations, reinforcement of universal confidence, forming an exchange and revision of the commercial bill; c) revision of the tax bill; disposition of taxes such as to assure everyone tranquillity and contentment, d) extended building ways and roads in the country, means of transport on land, on sea and by air according to the economic needs, 2. political and social problems: getting ready and assuring any means leading to the development of the nation and the power of Iran. Cares taken

¹ The article *Beḡānī-ye hezb-e etteḥād-e mellī* (Declaration of the party Union of the Nation), signed by Hai'at-e modīrī-ye hezb-e etteḥād-e mellī (The Head-Committee of the party Union of the Nation).

to awake the Iranian nation, reinforcement of religious faith and respect for social duties. Reinforcement and solidification of both personal and collective freedom according to principles of constitution. Amendment and strengthening the public offices. Reinforcement of family foundations in a way securing formation of a new, strong generation. Reinforcement of the spirit of collaboration, mutual assistance and co-operation among citizens. Assistance to poor people by founding charity societies; e) problem of agriculture. Respect for the principle of private property. Strengthening and supporting the principle of petty property. Constituting principles of a just distribution of profit among the owner and villager (subject). Raising and developing agriculture by all possible means; 4) problem of hygiene. Furthering hygiene and formation of a central office for the protection of public health. Care taken for increasing the number of population and preventing the high mortality of children. Struggle with abusing alcohol and opium as well as with infectious diseases; 5. problem of judicature. Reform of courts of justice along with taking in consideration the division of authority; cancellation of mistakes of the present legislation and constituting laws consistent with the needs of Iran in all the fields of social life taking in account fundamental rules of Islam and others. Development of the administration of justice along with the assurance of safety of judges and administration of justice itself. Struggle with obstacles and difficulties on the way to apply law; 6. problem of instruction. Development of instruction and education. Improvement and extension of high studies. Revision of the teaching programme in the sense that respective persons may get an education consistent with the needs of the country; 7. problem of the military service. Revision of the law on the military service duty and of the way of its realization. Formation of a strong army for the defence of Iran according to the needs of the country; 8. problem of science and culture. Acknowledgement and respect for scientists, inventors and writers of Iran as well as for all those who showed devotion in their work for the nation and the native country and deserved of them in an outstanding way¹.

¹ The newspaper „Etteḥād-e mellī“ from 14 July 1943, year I, nr 1.

The press organ of the party there was the daily entitled „Etteḥād-e mellī“ (Union of the Nation), redacted by Moḥammad Hāšemī.

And now it follows short outline of the genesis of the party Union of the Nation: After the happenings in the month šahrivar 1320 h. (August 1941), that is after the fall of the dictatorial rule of Reḍā Šāh Pahlavī and after the democratic rule had been introduced in Iran, some group of deputies to *mağles* who deserved of the country in a particular way in the struggles for introduction of freedoms of citizens and familiar with the methods of these struggles, made a fusion about one month and half before the end of the XII parliament and formed a fraction under the name Miḥan (Mother-Country) composing their programme of action. In that time a part of deputies of this group went away and in their stead their came some new ones. Among these deputies there were people of radical views. New members joining the party were examined at full length as to their political views and social descent. When thus a suitable team of people had been collected the party Etteḥād-e mellī was formed at the meeting on 21 šahrivar 1321 (1942). At this conference dr. Mortaḍā Kōlī Beyāt, the first vice-president of the parliament, and later minister of finances was elected as the president. As it is already known, in that time commissions had been brought forth which worked for six months at the above cited programme of the party. However after six months elapsed the situation remarkably changed. In the parliament the party Union of the Nation did not find any support on the part of deputies. Since that time its work, therefore, was confined rather to outparliamentary activity in the form of reading papers, propaganda meetings and the like¹.

10. The party Villager (Hezb-e dehkān).

This party was founded in May 1943. Its chief aim was the defence of villagers' and farmers' interests rested upon the point of view that the agriculture is the base of the existence of Iran

¹ Article of Moḥammad Hāšemī entitled *Paydāyeš-e hezb-e etteḥād-e mellī* (Genesis of the party Union of the Nation) in „Etteḥād-e mellī“, nr 2—5, 1332, 1943.

having, after all, its sanction in the very ancient religious tradition of this country.

The press organ of this party Villager there was the weekly „Ārezū“ (Wish) under the direction of Asadollāh Amīr Sepāhī. Also this party did not play any more important part in the political, social and economic life of Iran.

11. The party The Nation (Hezb-e halk) probably took its origin at the beginning of 1943. It was presided by Forūzeš, counsellor of Ministry of Justice. The press organ of the party there was the newspaper „Neġāt-e Īrān“ (Salvation of Iran), issuing under the redaction of the party's leader, Z. Forūzeš. This daily belonged to the so-called Front of Freedom (*Ġabhe-ye āzādī*).

The political and social tendencies of the party The Nation were a little those of the parliamentary left ones. Its programme was chiefly rested upon the defense of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Iran against any attempts of both external and internal enemies. Furthermore this programme took into account the assistance of the state to working people: peasants, workers and handicraftsmen.

This party, too, had only a very narrow activity field.

12. The party Mother-Country (Hezb-e vaṭan)¹ arose in spring 1943. Its leader was Moḥammad Ġavād Torbatī and the press organ the newspaper entitled „Pūlād“ (Steel). The chief purpose of the party Vaṭan was the defence of the endangered independence of Iran and of the free, democratic system of government. It was active in the time of elections to the XIV parliament in which it acted in opposition to the People's Party of Iran, having given its vote of confidence for the prime minister Ṭabāṭabāī.

13. The party Justice (Hezb-e 'edālat).

On 1 November 1943 there appeared in public the party under the name Justice. It originated from the association (*ġamī'at*) of a group of „patriots, honest and unselfish people“ as far as in 1941. It was soon transformed into one of the „most powerful and popular parties in Iran“.

¹ Different from the party under the same name (Miḥan).

To the Principal Council of the party there belonged its members having merits, namely: Sepehrī, director of Teheran radio, Ġamāl Emāmī, deputy to parliament, dr. Moġtahedī, also a deputy, eng. Saġaġī, eng. 'Alavī, dr. Human and Hāġġī Nūrī.

The programme of the party 'Edālat postulated: 1. struggle with dictatorship of any kind both an individual one and that of any class (clan or clique) and constituting the system of government which *anġoman's* (unions) would aim at for control of public affairs, 2. freedom of word and press, liberalism in the field of industry and commerce, freedom of all the citizens with relation to law as well as abrogation of all privileges, 3. the duties of the state are exclusively limited to the administrative, political and social activity. Agriculture, industry, and handicraft of any kind pass to the hands of the nation, 4. development of agriculture as the main base of the Iranian's life by founding watering installations and giving villagers assistance in the form of seed-corn, development of cattle-breeding, instituting sanitary protection (moving ambulance-carts), 5. reform of public administration especially cancellation of bureaucracy, 6. reform of school teaching so as to teach the new generation patriotism and sense of justice¹.

The press organ at first of the association then of the party 'Edālat there was the newspaper „Bahrām“, edited by Abdo'r-raḥman Farāmarzī.

14. The party Struggle (Hezb-e paykār). This party was born, too, in 1943. Its founders were: Ġalāl, Šādmān (secretary), Hoṣrau Ekḇāl, the redactor of the newspaper „Nabard“ (Fight) and Ġahāngīr Tafaddolī, the redactor of the newspaper „Īrān-e mā“ (Our Iran). The names of a number of other persons who had rendered the party great services were not published „for the sake of the organization's interest“².

The organization of the party Paykār was rested on following authorities: General Assembly (*kongre-ye bozorg*), the Head

¹ Cf. *Marām-e mā* (Our aims) in the newspaper „Bahrām“ from 22 ābān 1322, (14. XI. 1943) nr 10.

² *Asās-nāme-ye hezb-e paykār* (Principles of the party Struggle), p. 24, published without date and print place.

Central Committee, Head Revision Commission, committees in *šahrestān*'s (district) and *stān*'s (province, governmental district), administrative authorities of hearth (*kanūn*), finally councils. A group (*gorūh*), then a hearth (*kanūn*) formed in towns and villages were the least organization unities of the party. Minute regulations determined rights and duties of a member of party and its organs.

Chief items of the activity programme of the party ran as follows:

1. Every Iranian works according to his abilities and gets an allowance corresponding to his work, 2. Every Iranian should have the right of free uttering his convictions in connection with all public matters, 3. The Iranian government should lie in the hands of these Iranians whom the nation supports and regards them as worthy (of holding this high office), 4. founding family should be supported by the state and taken care of, 5. the government should assure the care of health, education, instruction and work for every individual, 6. a just division of goods and the increase in the natural accretion of births should be the base of the economic policy of Iran, 7. tillable lands should be yielded to farmers as their property¹.

In the ideological declaration of the party, issued in the forme of booklet of 12 pages (without date and place of print) one reads the following watchwords: „We struggle for freedom and power of Iran, for tranquillity and peace for the Iranian nation, for progress in the field of instruction and civilization of Iran“ and so on. All the declaration is kept in a pathetic-lyrical tone typical for Iranian.

The Paykār party counted about 10 thousand members both at the capital of the country and in the province in summer of 1945. The press organ of the party there was the newspaper „*Īrān-e mā*“ (Our Iran), one of the most regularly and for several years issuing papers of the country, excellently redacted by *Ġahāngīr Tafad-dolī*. This newspaper, kept on a high ideological and litterary level, greatly influenced the forming the public opinion in Iran in the sense of universal democratization and progress.

¹ *Asās-nāme-ye hezb-e paykār*, p. 4 of the cover.

15. The party Salvation of Mother-Country. (*Hezb-e neġāt-e mīhan*).

This party of a very limited reach was founed by Bahāo'd-Dīn Pāzārgād, director and redactor of the newspaper „*Ĥoršid-e Īrān*“ (Sun of Iran). This newspaper was the official speaker of the party. The party Neġāt-e mīhan arose in consequence of a break-up within one of the parties showing left tendencies, which met with no approval of Pāzārgād and his party fellows. We make here a mention about it merely for the sake of the scientific precision and fullness of the picture.

16. The party Nation's Will (*Hezb-e erāde-ye mellī*) took its origin on 19 February 1944. It was to take place of the party *Vaṭan* (Mother-Country) being at the service of Seyyed *Ḍiyāo'd-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāī* who some months ago returned from banishment that lasted some years. Both the *Vaṭan* party and the heir of its ends and tasks, *Erāde-ye mellī*, were formed by nationalist and conservative elements to combat the People's Party of Iran. The members of the party Nation's Will organized, by means of police, assaults upon the clubs of the *Tūdeh* party and of trade unions on destroying them and killing active agents of the left and making an antisovietic propaganda¹.

The party Nation's Will was, beside the *Tūdeh* party, the most numerous and the most active as well as the most conscious of its purposes and tasks political party in Iran. The newspaper „*Ra'd-e Emrūz*“ (Thunder of To-day) and the so-called Independence Front in press (*Ġabhe-ye Āzādī*) supporting the former one formed on 3 December 1944 were the press organs of the party. The following papers entered into this „front“: *Āzād* (Free), *Nedā-ye Āzādī* (Voice of Freedom), *Ĥoršid-e Īrān* (Sun of Iran), *Āyande-ye Mīhan* (The Future of Mother-Country), *Nourūz-e Īrān* (New Year of Iran), *Nedā-ye Āsemānī* (Heaven's Voice), *Vazifeh* (Duty), *Ġavād* (Magnanimous), *Ĥūr* (Sun), *Bāḥtar* (West), *Sedā-ye Īrān* (Voice of Iran), *Mard-e Emrūz* (Man of To-Day), *Zandagī* (Life), *Sargodašt* (Destiny) *Setāreh* (Star), *Āhan* (Iron), *Šebāhang* (Nightingale), *Kūšeš* (Work), *Nāhīd* (Morning-Star),

¹ Современный Иран, Справочник, Москва, 1957, 399—400 pp.

Kanūn (Law), Kasrā, Ārezū (Wish), Kešvar (Country) and some others of lesser importance. This really was a press front without any precedence in the history of this country, submitted to one great idea of progress. However in practice it proved to be an incoordinated, undisciplined organism inclined to undergo various side-influences; therefore it did not withstand the test of time and before long broke up into lesser groupages.

Immediately after its rise the party Nation's Will set to organize its branches all over Iran including northern provinces occupied by the Red Army chiefly where the Vaṭan party had acted to that time.

The first manager (president) of the party was Reḏā Koli Hedāyat, the former minister, and the first secretary was Seyyed Ḍiyāo'd-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāī. The vice-presidents were: Hosein Kāsef and 'Alī Aṣḡar Firūzān. The representants of the secretary were: Šādeḡ Sarmad, redactor of the newspaper „Sedā-ye Īrān“ and Bahao'd-Dīn Pāzārgād, redactor of the paper „Ḥoršid-e Īrān“.

The „circle“ (*halkeh*) counting 9 people was the organization cell; ten such *halkeh*'s formed a „team“ (*rābet*) having 91 people including its manager¹. The local council (*maḡles-e šūrā-ye mahalli*), the district council (*m. velāyatī*) and so on were the superior authority organs. At the very top there stood the Congress in which there were to take part delegates of the party from the whole country.

The programme of the party's activity comprised the following questions:

1. Defence of political and economic independence of Iran and of her constitution, 2. freedom and equality of all citizens, 3. raising the life standard of all citizens and struggle with misery, among other things, by founding houses for beggars and poor people and creating workstands for them, 4. reform of instruction and education (religious tolerance, equal rights for women), 5. support of family life (among other things by imposing tax on bachelors and encouraging young people to founding families), 6. reform of the heredity law, 7. reform of the act on public functionaries, aiming at purifying and making all the administrative apparatus

¹ Booklet *Hezb-e erāde-ye mellī*, 2. edition 1945, p. 40.

more apt of functioning, 8. reform of administration of justice through instituting independence of courts and relying upon the constitution, 9. Reform of agriculture (share of public estates among peasants, revision of the relation between landowner and tenant, supplying untilled grounds with water, founding a Bank of Agriculture and the like), 10. reform of public health protection (prohibition of growing opium poppy, high taxes on alcohol beverages, supporting sport, building hospitals, propaganda of hygiene and so on), 11. reform of education (instituting compulsory universal teaching, evening courses for adults, freedom in teaching for national minorities, creation of an independent High Board of Science and the like), 12. in the domain of industry — researches for new mineral riches, founding factories of heavy industry and hydro-electric stations, supporting private initiative in this regard, with reference to employer and employee — resting the relation between them on the principles generally known in the world, obligatory insurance of factory workers, prohibition of work of children below 12 years old, creation of labour ministry, 14. in the domain of commerce — creation of trade navy, cancellation of state monopoly, increase of export, 15. in the field of finances — reform of taxes, relieves in taxes for new factories and companies, revision of public budget, abstaining from employing foreigners in public offices without parliament's grant and others, 16. reform of army, police, and gendarmery (among other things betterment of their living conditions, abrogation of the obligatory military service and creation of a voluntary army, separation of the gendarmery from army and so on, 17. in the domain of communication — building new roads and railway lines, 18. extended building telegraphic and telephonic lines, building provincial radio stations, extended building airways, cancellation of post censure and so on, 19. in the domain of foreign policy — defence of Iran's independence, permanent neutrality, keeping good relations with all states especially with U. S. S. R., Great Britain and U. S. A., 20. struggle with dictatorship of any kind¹.

In spite of a swing in organization and propaganda the party Nation's Will managed to last for only two years. It broke up in

¹ *Hezb-e erāde-ye mellī*, 1. cit.

1946. However it cannot be refused the merit to have prepared and elaborated Iranians' minds to the parliamentary fight for new forms of collective life in their country.

17. The party *Īrān* (*Hezb-e Īrān*). This party arose in May 1944. Its members were upper public officials, mostly engineers and representants of bourgeois intelligent class. *Allāyār Šāleḥ* was the manager of the party.

For some months the Iran party did not show any more vivid activity outside. Only on 4 December 1944 the weekly „*Šafak*“ (Evening Star), the party's organ, announced its access to political activity¹. Eng. *Fahrivar* and dr. *Mo'azammī* were the main active agents of the party.

The Iran party collaborated with the party *Mihan* (Mother-Country) and with the party *Vaḥdat-e Mellī* (Union of Nation) being then in stage of formation. It had no provincial branches limiting its activity to the territory of the capital. In the years 1945—1946 it also collaborated with the People's Party of Iran. Then it went its own way. For some time it was in the ranks of the National Front (*Ġabhe-ye Mellī*) arisen under the auspice of the *Tūdeh* party. It had some deputies of its own in the XIV, XVI and XVII parliament².

The programme of the Iran party implied political, economical and social aims. In the line of politics the party tended to „keep the total independence of the country and support the principles of democracy“; in the economic line — to “strengthen social justice and to manage to improve the material existence of the nation through taking care of agriculture and industry and taking advantage of all sources of the country's riches“; in the social line — to render manners milder, to make instruction common and universal and to protect the public health³.

The Iran party was the exponent first of all of interests of the Persian bourgeoisie inspired with nationalist tendencies, strictly speaking, of the educated intelligent class of Tehran.

¹ „*Šafak*“, nr 15 from 4. XII 1944. This weekly was redacted by a redaction team under the directorship of *Mortadā Moṣavvar Rahmānī*.

² Современный Иран, 400 p.

³ On the base of the printed party's programme entitled *Hezb-e Īrān* (Tehran), farvardīn 1323 (1944), 16^o, p. 8.

18. The party Mother-Country (*Hezb-e mīhan*). This party took its origin in June 1944 as a result of union of some parties, namely: *Paykār* (Struggle), *Ēsteklāl* (Independence), *Āzādīh-wāhān* (Liberals) and *Mīhan-parastān* (Patriots). This was a party having a decidedly national and moderately progressive face.

A great deal of young, educated Iranians joined the *Mīhan* party, opting neither on the side of the communist *Tūdeh* party nor of the nationalist *Erāde-ye Mellī* wanted to go the way of their own. Then before long some conflicts occurred within the party in result of which some active agents of the former party „*Struggle*“ left along with *Ġahāngīr Tafaddolī*, the redactor of the newspaper „*Īrān-e Mā*“, pronouncedly sympathizing with the *Tūdeh* party and *Abdolḡāder Āzād* who passed to the party of *Tabāṭabāī*.

At the front of the party *Mīhan* there stood a Central Committee into which there entered: *Mālekḡān*, the former military attaché of Iran in Turkey, dr. *Āzar*, *‘Alī Ġalālī*, the writer of repute, *Pūrsartīp* from the tribe of *Loors*, *Kāzem ‘Emādī*, *Zangeneh*, *Aḡmad Eḡbāl*, *Gaffarī*, a merchant and *Enḡavī*, the director of the paper „*Nabard-e Emrūz*“ (Struggle of To-Day).

Into the Executive Committee there entered: *Šafak* and *Marzbān* (propaganda department), *Yektāī* (press and editions department), prof. *Sanḡabī* (secretary), dr. *Mālekī* (administration matters) and *Meymandī* (control department).

The chief press organ of the party there was the daily „*Rastāhīz*“ (Resurrection). The activity programme of the *Mīhan* party contained the following postulates and assumptions: 1. The Iranian government has to be backed by the majority of parties, 2. Work is the measure of citizen's value; he gets for it a corresponding, proportional allowance, 3. The government manages the inland production and equally shares incomes, 4. Limitation of the great land property on behalf of peasants, 5. Resting the youth's education upon the „pure religion“ (i. e. Islam in its Shiite form — author's rem.), 6. Supporting the development of family, 7. The government will introduce compulsory teaching and education, 8. Awakening in citizens the feeling of patriotism, of respect for work and mutual confidence.

In spite of developing an intensive propaganda especially among intelligent working people the Miḥan party failed to gain any representative in the parliament. It nearly collaborated with parties ideologically akin to it, namely: „Iran“ and „Union of the Nation“. The spiritual leader of these three parties was dr. Marzbān, president of the social and cultural society named Lion and Sun.

19. The party People (Hezb-e mardom). It was a group of deputies and ministers that gave the initiative to form the party Mardom (People) which appeared on the political stage of Iran at the beginning of August 1944. From among ministers there entered into it: Zand, war minister, Ardalān, minister of industry, and Bayāt, the former prime minister, and from deputies: Emādo's-saltāneh Fāṭemī, Mer'at Ešfandārī, Mo'ayyed Tābetī, Amīr Ebrahīmī, Šādek Būšerī, Šariatzādeh, Fūladvand, dr. Akāyān, Rafī'i, Šadrieh, Mer'āt Rīgī, Hāšemī and Moḥammad Šādek Tabātabāī, the president of Iranian parliament. Many of these people had great merits in the fights for instituting constitutional rule in the years 1905—1911. In the parliament the party Mardom enjoyed a support of the party Etteḥād-e mellī counting about 30 deputies.

The party People declared itself in its action programme as: national, social and adherent of parliamentary rule, and its device there were „love of mother-country and devotion for power and happiness of Iran“¹. Rule of law, social justice and co-operation of different classes should assure the happiness of all the citizens. The party thought the government of the parliament elected by nation's will to be the best one². Independence of courts, creation of a parliamentary majority and of a strong government rested on the triple aim of the party, fixation of the union of the nation with government based upon the observation of laws and bills, reform of election law, of army, police and gendarmery, peaceful co-operation with other free nations in the political field, creation of a ministry of work for the development of commerce and

¹ *Marām-e hezb-e mardom*, Teheran, Čāphāne-ye maḡles, 1323, 1944, p. 2.

² *Ib.*, p. 3.

industry as well as of agriculture, supporting the petty farms, modernization of agriculture, amelioration of forest economy, extended building any communication means, reduction of keep costs, supporting factories and manufacture workshops (among other things of artistique industry), and a radical betterment of workers' and handicraftsmen's existence were the chief task of the party. In addition to all this there came the reform of public economy, official apparatus at the capital and of provincial authorities, social reforms (hygiene propaganda, propaganda of natural accretion of population, combating infectious diseases, prohibition of using opium and other narcotics), reform of instruction (obligatory teaching at the elementary degree, courses for analphabets, supporting secondary and upper schools), finally the development of physical culture¹. The remaining items of the programme were projecting institution of press law, care for rendering manners and customs more gentle and reinforcement of public safety, spreading acknowledgement of creative work of scholars, inventors, writers and the like, who distinguished themselves in their work for the country and giving a careful protection to nomad tribes in order to raise their life and civilization standard².

The party Mardom continued to follow ideals of the party Etteḥād-e mellī (Union of the Nation) which arose two years earlier and showed no conspicuous activity.

20. The Party Work (Hezb-e kār). It arose in summer 1944. Its aim was „unification of all best forces in the nation for the good of the country“. The wide programme of the party published in its press organ, the weekly „Pand“ (Good Advice)³ does not differ in principle from the programme of other parties. It is only remarkable the chapter of the programme entitled „Care for workers“ in which means had been demonstrated at full length to be used by the party to improve the existence of worker, which it regarded as its „first duty“.

¹ *Marām-e hezb-e mardom*, p. 3.

² *Marām-e hezb-e mardom*, passim.

³ Copies nr 1—5 from 1944.

The party Kār did not play any greater role in the political and social life of Iran.

21. The Democratic Party of Iran (Hezb-e demūkrāt-e Īrān). It arose in July 1946 owing to the initiative of the known politician, Kavāmo's-Saltāneh. There were rich landowners and upper public officials that were its members. The Democratic Party of Iran represented interests of the rich Persian bourgeoisie and defended the feudal system. It proclaimed the necessity of a strict co-operation with USA in the political and economical domain. It was in an active opposition, no matter by what means, against — the activity of the National Party of Iran¹.

The newspaper „Iranian Democrat“ (Demūkrāt-e Īrān), redacted by the party committee, was the official press organ of the party.

In details the programme of the party included: preservation of the real and full independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Iran (art. 1); assurance of the political, economical and judiciary independence on the way of deference of freedom and of reinforcement of democratic principles (art. 2); starting a new agrarian policy from viewpoint of increasing the country's riches, making the agrarian economy flourish, improve the existence of villagers and farmers (art. 3); preservation of private property on just rules (art. 4); revision of tax policy on taking account of country's interests (art. 5); development of industry and agriculture with a particular attention paid to the export (art. 6); thorough revision of the administration of justice all over the country (art. 7); immediate making reforms in the field of public health protection and instruction, introduction of compulsory, free of charge teaching, creation of ambulant, free of charge counselling health stations (art. 8); creation of ministries of reforms, work and propaganda (art. 9); revision of the organization of safety authorities: army, police and gendarmery (art. 10); finally perfecting the means of inland communication (art. 11)².

This party, too, did not play any more important role.

¹ Современный иран, 401 p.

² Newspaper „Demūkrāt-e Īrān“, special issue from 2 ābān 1325, 24. X. 1946.

All the above discussed parties in the proper or conventional meaning¹ had their residence at the capital of the state — Teheran hence they expanded their activity upon lesser or bigger regions of the country. Beside them there also were provincial parties aiming at the defence of so-called national minorities that is of the population of the Persian Āzerbāyğān and Persian Kurdistān.

22. The Āzerbāyğān Democratic Party (Ferke-ye demūkrāt-e Āzerbayğān) arose in August 1945. The town Tabriz, the capital of the Āzerbāyğān province was its residence. The programme of this party included radical reforms of both political and social system making think of the U. S. S. R. system.

On the days 2—5 October 1945 the I Congress of the party took place in Tabriz at which 235 delegates took part. At this congress the Central Committee of the Party had been elected and the activity programme had been accepted. Representatives of all the classes of population entered into the party.

In the published declaration the Āzerbāyğān Democratic Party postulated an autonomy for the Iranian Āzerbāyğān in the field of culture as well as its own government within the Iran state, instituting the Āzerbāyğān language as the official one and as the teaching language at school.

The popularity of the party increased immensely quickly. Already in October of the same year the party counted about 40 thousand members. The peasants constituted the greatest percentage of members, after them there came workers, handicraftsmen, merchants, at last big landowners and clergy inspired with progressive tendencies.

Conservative and reactionary agents afraid of the popularity of the party and seeing a danger for themselves in it started a bloody terror towards it. Only in October 1945 khans inspired with nationalist tendencies, the government's police and gendarmery killed in Āzerbāyğān about 100 and imprisoned above 1000 members of the Āzerbāyğān Democratic Party².

¹ Some of them were namely either parliamentary fractions or out-parliamentary associations.

² М. С. Иванов, очерк истории ирана, 1952, 368 p.

At last at the end of 1946 the Āzerbāyghān Democratic Party was put beyond law by the central government and pushed beyond the margin of any political life¹.

23. The Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Ferke-ye demūkrāt-e Kordestān). This party arose at the end of 1945. The town Mehābād, the capital of the Persian Kurdistan was its residence. The eminent politician of this province, and Muslimanish clergyman, Kāzī Moḥammad, was the leader of the party.

Into the Democratic Party of Kurdistan there entered representants of all the layers of the population, namely: progressive leaders of tribes, landowners, merchants, local intelligent class, finally clergymen declaring themselves in favour of far reaching reforms.

The autonomy of the democratic Kurdistan within Iranian state system was the base of the political programme of the party. At the first congress of the party which took place in Mehābād on the days 25—28 October 1945 a programme of action had been adopted including the following problems: granting the Kurds an autonomy within the Iran state, introduction of the Kurdish language to schools as the teaching language and creation of a Kurdish government (*anḡoman*) to administrate the matters of the province; this government was to be composed of the representants of the local population. The programme of the party also included undelayed regulation of the relation between villager and landowner².

Under the leadership of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan there soon arose a national government of Kurdistan in Mehābād with Kāzī Moḥammad at its head. Before long several important reforms had been carried out consistent with democratic tendencies.

This party had been, too, put beyond law at the end of 1946 by the Iranian government³.

¹ Современный Иран, 400 p.

² М. С. Иванов, work cited, 377 p.

³ Современный Иран, 400 p.

General conclusions

On making an attentive survey of programmes of particular parties or of their ideological declarations respectively, published either in form of booklets or in articles of their press organs, we find out that all the parties had the following postulates in common: a) defence of freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran, b) struggle with any attempts of restoring the ancient or of introduction of a new dictatorship respectively — individual or a collective one, c) struggle for establishing a truly democratic rule, d) carrying out reforms as regards administration, tax policy, judiciary power, army and so on, e) making instruction and education inspired with patriotism and devotion common thought the country, f) raising the country's economy by modernization of agriculture, g) betterment of the situation in the field of the public health by hygiene propaganda and institution of a public sanitary care, h) modernization of industry and enlargement of commercial transactions, i) care for rendering manners and customs milder and for increasing the public safety.

The extremely left parties, as the communist People's Party of Iran (Tūdeh) and the socialist one Hamrāhān brought forth a more radical programme postulating far reaching political, social and economic reforms. They suggested a decided demand for improvement of existence first of all of working people, namely: peasants (constituting the biggest percentage of the population of Iran), handicraftsmen, workers and the creative intelligent class; at the same time they proclaimed the necessity of classes struggle.

Some of the parties served the interests of some lesser or bigger group of persons, even of individual persons (e. g. The Nations's Will being at the service of the prime minister Diyāo'd-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāī).

All the parties in Iran at the period that had been talked over except the People's Party of Iran, essentially did not play any decisive role in the political and social life of this country. Their activity was mostly confined to the territory of the capital or of some provinces of the country. Strictly speaking there was no struggle of parties. A criticism of a party towards another one

could be met with from time to time, but it bore the character of some sporadic and chance action (one would say of a mutual quarreling and disputing), but not of a continual, consequent struggle for programme ideals.

This state of things was first of all due to the fact that, as it has been mentioned above, the Iranians had to that time no tradition as regards the constitutional-parliamentary life. The first tries of a parties activity occurred only in the period of the Persian revolution 1906—1911 and failed in impressing in the Iranian's mind any durable habit. The cult for illimited monarch's power rooted in this mind was (and it keeps being so!) the factor hampering the development of democracy in Iran. In addition to it the sudden outburst of freedom which befell the Iranians after the fall of the dictatorship in 1941 had stunned them and found them unprepared to take any advantage of new public freedoms and of the very delicate instrument of parliamentary struggle. Thence the hypertrophy of parties, fractions and their political parts, slackening the powerful forces hidden in the Persian people instead of leading it towards one common end.

It is worth while to cite here what Iranians soberly looking upon their situation had thought about their political party life at that time. „At present — one reads in the daily „Rahbar“ — there exist two basic classes of population in Iran: on one hand the rich possessing to their disposal land, mines and factories, on the other hand the poor working people who sell the work of their hands to capitalists... We come to the conclusion that in the present society two parties quite opposed one to another cannot exist.

Iran is the country of agriculture. During the last 50 years little by little it becomes a capitalistic country. At present (strictly speaking) there exist two or three parties respectively: ¹ a) the working one (i. e. that of workers), b) class of the intelligentsia (functionaries and creative people — rem. of the author) and c) capitalists, exploiting the two others“ ².

¹ This is not the case of the parties in the proper acceptation of the word but of layers or classes of population.

² „Rahbar“ from 12. IV. 1943.

On the other spot of the same paper one finds such words: „Do not wonder that instead of the parties of Iran we speak of the parties of Teheran. All the parties arise at Teheran and consist of some interested persons staying at the capital. The number of parties increases owing to the approaching election to *mağles*. They will disappear all of them when the struggle of classes begins — on one hand of capitalists and rich merchants, on the other hand of the working class: workers, peasants and handicraftsmen. The party of capitalists makes efforts to divert the attention of working people from the struggle of classes and to dispel their forces“ ¹.

It was the People's Party of Iran that developed the most vivid and widespread activity; on the second, say, plan were acting the parties: The Nation's Will and Miħan-parastān. All these three parties had numerous branches scattered all over the country, held regular meetings, assemblies and party seances at strictly determined terms, regularly issued newspapers (in large editions) furthering their ideology, and the like. The activity of a great deal of other parties was mostly confined to a press struggle, chiefly on the territory of the country's capital. Some beautiful and impressive watchwords as well as more or less sincere intentions were often failing for want of fair and courageous people necessary to their realization, who would addict themselves with full devotion to the public cause. Only few of the parties having been formerly talked over succeeded in getting a parliamentary representation in persons of deputies.

Also not infrequently a strong addiction to money paralysed the idealistic work of the parties and decided about such or other proceeding or rather apolitical orientation of individuals or groupings. Bribery and corruption were common phenomena. That is not to say that there were no unselfish individuals induced to act for idealistic grounds. They did exist, but they did not belong, as everywhere after all, too frequent cases.

The relation of the Iranian government to the political parties was essentially characterized by a diffidence towards them and a negative one. Owing to it managers of parties more active in

¹ Article ent. Parties of Iran in „Rahbar“ from 8. IV. 1943.

the political work and their collaborators in the case of more serious disorders, demonstrations or public incidents were arrested on the spot, as it happened in December 1942. The conservative elements in the Iranian government mostly represented by people „of old-age“ did their best to remove persons of active agents of parties standing in their way and to destroy the parties themselves as the potential and real danger for the traditional system.

However there was no longer any means to stop the impelled wheel of history once set to movement. The most dynamic and aware of its ends People's Party of Iran imposed a rate of the political and social development on other parties and forced them to a more or less fruitful rivalry.

All the parties of Iran in the years 1941—1946 had then fulfilled their historical task: they were the awakeners of a new generation of Iranians and an excellent school educating phalanges of future fighters for public freedom within the constitutional-parliamentary system.

WOJCIECH SKALMOWSKI

EIN BEITRAG ZUR STATISTIK DER ARABISCHEN LEHNWÖRTER IM NEUPERSICHEN

Der vorliegende Beitrag befasst sich mit quantitativer Untersuchung des arabischen Lehnwortschatzes in den persischen Ghaselen von Sa'di und Hāfiz. Zahlenmässige Angaben über den Umfang und Verwendungsbereich des arabischen Wortschatzes bei einzelnen persischen Autoren sind aus zwei Gründen interessant: 1^o sie charakterisieren die Sprache (parole) eines gegebenen Autors und gehören somit in den Bereich der Stylometrie; 2^o als vergleichbare Grössen können sie Auskunft über die Rolle des Arabischen in einzelnen Perioden der Geschichte des Neupersischen geben und dürfen deshalb zu den Hilfsmitteln der Sprachsystemanalyse eingerechnet werden.

Bis unlängst fehlten derartige Untersuchungen fast vollständig; wenn man von den statistisch unvollständig ausgearbeiteten Untersuchungen über die arabischen LW bei Firdausi von Horn¹ und Humbert² absieht, liegt erst seit 1960 eine Pionierarbeit auf diesem Gebiet, ein Aufsatz von R. Koppe u. d. T. *Statistik und Semantik der arabischen Lehnwörter in der Sprache 'Alawī's'*³ vor. Der vorliegende Beitrag wurde als eine Ergänzung zu diesem Aufsatz und eine Erweiterung der Untersuchung auf ältere Schichten des Neupersischen beabsichtigt.

MATERIAL

Die Grundsätze der Zusammenstellung des Materials wurden dem Aufsatz Koppe's entnommen (s. da, S. 588 ff.). Die Unter-

¹ *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 1895, Bd. I, 2, S. 2ff.

² P. Humbert, *Observations sur le vocabulaire arabe du Châch-nâmeh*, 1953.

³ „Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Univ. zu Berlin“, Ges.-Sprachwiss. R. IX, 1959/60, S. 585—619.