

## Disintegration of Iranian National Front: Causes and Motives

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**Abstract:** National Front was a unique self-motivated political process whose main goal was considered as observing Iranians certain rights, manipulating free elections and preventing foreign forces from their negative influence on national benefit and interests and running regulations. This front was formed in 1949 by the leader of Dr. Mosaddeq. It was the most significant front against dictatorship and colonialism. 1949 until 1979 the National Front was formed within four periods of times. The causes of National Front frustration can be accounted as weakness of organization and ideology, mistakes made by its leadership and different branches with the National Front. What were the reasons that National Front leaders could not pursue the same aim and it failed to form a coherent party? And it could not unite the political parties, unions, national communities and social groups? Why did not they learn anything from Mosaddeq's failure and after 25 years, Bakhtiar experienced the same failure? The main purpose of this paper will be introducing the National Front's leaders and their aims and that all these leaders followed the same route to achieve the countries benefits. Through a variety of mottos, Shah, U.S and Britain were not eager to give the National Front the power. Moreover, they were soon suppressed in a short time when they took the power. The National Front failure was not a sort of historical incident which would be considered as algebraic. Nevertheless, it was the event that could be avoided while following a proper ideology and suitable leadership. The main reason of its failure was due to some ambiguities in its ideology. Iranian's struggle to get freedom and democracy will not be put to the end. In each course of time, it renewed its power and manifested itself with more intensity and extent. Mosaddeq has shown us how to struggle for freedom and democracy and after him Bakhtiar continued this struggle with a courageous resistance against creating a new dictatorship and their idea and wishes are still going on.

**Key words:** National Front • Democracy • Election • Anti-dictatorship • coup

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### INTRODUCTION

Iran National Front was the largest coalition of political forces in the contemporary history of Iran before Islamic revolution in 1979. It was established in an agitated political atmosphere which was accompanied by an overt interference of foreign agents in the country affairs. Through a coalition with different political parties and groups, they agreed over some specific targets. The main purposes of the National Front were just achieving the obvious right of Iranians, administrating free elections and perverting the influence of foreign forces which were in detriment with Iran's national interests and benefits. It was formed in 1949, although, its development process

and emergence of its intellectual background were provided gradually from many years ago.

The aim of Iran National Front is establishing rational sovereignty and its main political plans have been "independence", "freedom", "democracy" and "social justice". During the years after constitutional revolution, the Nationalism flow of thought changed into a powerful political force and particularly, with the rise of Pahlavi's dynasty in Iran. It was shifted into the ideology of Iran governmental system. The coincidence of this development was together with the domestic, regional and global evolutions during the early decades of this present century. The most essential reasons for Iran's significance in regional and global viewpoints have been

due to its geopolitical location and its proximity to the superpower (Soviet Union), the discovery of new oil resources and Iran's becoming a strategic base for America to confront Russians [1]. Recognizing the relation between the change in position and functions of Nationalism in Iran with these domestic, regional and global (especial US) developments and also comprehending the logic and the manner of effectiveness of Iranian Nationalism from the mentioned developments have raised many important issues in the analysis of position and functions of nationalist groups like National Front during Iran's contemporary political history.

In some stages of its activities, Nationalism had more anti-autocratic anti-colonialism like Tanbaku (Tobacco) Movement, [2] (Tobacco Movement was the first Iranian's negative campaign and the first general and extensive movement achieved from public alliance with clergies in the contemporary history. According to this contract, Naseroldin Shah-e-Ghajar submitted the tobacco concession to one of the British nationals called "Talbat" for a period of fifty years through a counteract in 1889). Constitutional Revolution [3] (The constitutional Movement or constitution revolution is a collection of events accrued during Mozafaroldin Shah-e-Ghajar while people searched for justice, democracy and national assembly. Finally, Mozafarodin Shah signed the constitutional command on Mordad 14th (1285), 1906 and died 10 days later) and the oil Nationalism Movement (One of the most important events of Iran's contemporary history is the approval of Oil Nationalization law on Isfand 29th 1329 (1951)) and it was supported by religious forces. Moreover, religious leaders supported Nationalism positive performances to achieve their religious targets. However, the main procedure of this way of thinking i.e., the formation of Laik system (secular system) based on the separation of religion from politics and the preference of nationality to religion, gradually caused that the religious people were departed from nationalists. Except the period of oil-nationalization during Dr. Mosaddeq's governing period and the last 37 days of Pahlavi's throne, the nationalists could never achieve the political power and were much more manifested in the form of organized parties and groups in the National Front. The obligations of liberal Nationalists have been as constitutional law, elections and granting the essential demands, rights and freedom to the nation [4]. Unfortunately, regarding this and due to within-group problems, lack of coherent organization, lack of proper ideology and also within-group differences, the National Front failed to present

itself as a strong party against the government and it was unable to appropriate some main positions in the government as well.

**The Formation of the National Front:** In an intemperate political atmosphere, accompanied by apparent interference of durbar and foreign agents in the country affairs, a self-initiated political process whose main purposes were as achieving certain rights of Iranians, administrating open elections and preventing the influence of foreign forces which were in detriment with national benefits and interests, was formed in (1328) 1949. The formation of National Front is in 1949 when, the parliament 15th was put to an end and the South Oil issue was delegated to the parliament 16th. In the same year on November, some of the political figures led by Dr. Mosaddeq were gathered in durbar to show their protest against the cheating happened during parliament elections [5]. After this abortive gathering, those 20 ones came together in Mosaddeq's house and after detailed negotiations and formation of various commissions and providing a memorandum in November, 1949 announced the efficacy of the National Front [6]. (Probably, the term "Front" has been chosen according to its equivalence in French and the objective "National" does not mean nationalism front, but it means, it has been assigned to people and not dependent on the foreigners. Than the word "Iran" has been added to it.)

The founders of National Front were some of the newspapers managers and the leaders of political parties who maintained their party organization membership and become a new member of the National Front. In a short period of time, some other parties and political organizations joined the National Front and formed its first structure. The related groups were as Iran Party, (In (1941) and in Iran's occupation period by the allies and central government and durbar weakness, a small nationalist group composed of technocrats and young west-educated figures came into existence [7]. They were as patriots Party (Hezb Mihan Parastan) Independence Party (Hezb Estrghlal) and National land Party (Hezb Mihan). These groups formed Iran Party through their coalition and it in turn was the main core of the first, second and fourth front.) Iran's Nation Party based on Pan-Iranism; Pan-Iranist party, (cooperated with the Front up to 22/July/1951. The organization of controlling election freedom led by Mozafar Baghahi that was then mixed by a derived group from Iran's Toudeh Party by Khalil Maleki and the Painstaking party (zahmat Keshan party) of Iranians led by these two was established.

Moreover, some other parties were as Fadaïian Islam, led by Seyyed Mojtaba Navab Safavi, Mojahed Moslems assembly by Shams Ghanat Abadi, dependent on Ayatollah Kashani (cooperated with the National Front up to July 1952 and some other organizations, educational, workers and peasants' [8]. Among these, Iran's party was more organized forming the main core of the National Front. According to a seven-part (The seven principles adopted by the central council of Iran National Front on Mordad 1383 (August 2004) include: a. the maintenance of territorial integrity and law sovereignty. b. The emphasis on supply and protection of Iranians, rights and political freedom particularly freedom of parties, elections and the press; and the equal rights of men and women. c. The emphasis on separation of religion and government. d. The establishment of social justice and enhancing the level of public welfare. e. The respect to equal right and religious beliefs, customs, languages and dialects of all Iranian. f. Strengthening, protecting and spreading the common national Farsi language, culture and national arts. g. Adopting Iran's independent foreign policy) article, the National Front was established from a variety of organizers boards and groups that were supporting social justice and constitutional law [9].

In 1949, following repeated parliamentary election 16th; eight members of the Front (Including Dr. Mossaddeq, Maki, Shayegan, Bagheie, Haerizadeh, Azad and Nariman) were successful to enter the parliament and established the National Movement Fraction. The representatives of Fraction claimed their slogan as "Nationalization of oil in the whole country" and considered their purpose as protecting Iran's rights regarding oil and opposing the proposed bill in the government. Through the religious and ordinary people's effort and support out of parliament and ultimately assassination (interim prime minister, Razm Ara) by Khalil Tahmasbi, a member of Fadaïian Islam, (They were the first Islamic terrorism group) there was a proper situation for approving the nationalization of oil industry in Iran in March 1951. Subsequently in May 1951, Dr. Mosaddeq was appointed to govern the country and was responsible to manipulate the mentioned project and he invited some of the National Front leaders and on the tap Dr. Hossin Fatemi (Dr. Mossaddeq, the minister of Foreign affairs) to the cabinet. Consequently, the National Front took a very essential noticeable responsibility in the government and parliament without any preparation and effort. However, due to expansion of domestic opposition, so many of Front founders as Maki and Baghaie opposed it. In addition, as there was a secular tendency and on the other

hand; durbar and Britain agents made discrepancies, the leaders of the Front gradually lost the support from their advocators. In this case, Ayatollah Kashani was separated from the National Front and approached durbar [5].

In 1952, the Front reached to the highest point of its political power and was much reputed, while his political decline started at the same time. The vote of the Interventional Court of Justice (The Hague) for Iran's benefits and Britain's detriment was a great success for the National Front in oil industry [10]. However, the conflict among the National Front representatives and opposition groups, regarding the election of parliament chairman in July 1952, manifested the conflicts among those forces [11]. Differences in tastes, selfishness and ambition of some members, organization weakness, lack of ideology clarity and lack of leadership which was at the highest peak with Mossaddeq's election as prime minister and his real separation from the National Front were among some other motives, that led to the liberal Nationalism downfall and Mossaddeq's government overthrowing by US-Britain coup [10] on Mordad 28th. After the *coup*, some other national groups with the purpose of national resistance movement started restricted unsuccessful hidden underground activities against the regime. These activities stopped while some of its members were arrested in Tehran and some other cities as Tabris, Esfaha, Gilan and Shiraz. Dr. Mossaddeq was imprisoned and exiled in Ahmadabad (his village) and was monitored through all his life (1966). Due to his intensive anti-imperial attitude, Dr. Hossin Fatemi was banned by Shah and durbar and was arrested and sentenced to death. Some other Nationalist's members, due to their anti-revolutionary opinion, except in some especial cases, did not earn experience the imprisonment and exile which were the normal common punishment for regime opposition groups either religious or rebellion ones.

To the end of 1950s and creating proper opportunity to review their activities the nationalists waited and this expected chance manifested itself through democrat's (Kenedi) government in America and reformists policies of depended regimes like Pahlavi at the beginning of 1960s.

**The National Front, the Second Wave, 1960-1964:** After numerous consultations of Nationalists and former colleagues of Dr. Mossaddeq in exile the second National Front announced its existence through on 18, May, 1960. In their visit with Sharif Emami, the interim prime minister, the Front leaders requested the freedom of elections, the

press and assemblies. Due to not accepting these conditions, the National Front representatives gathered in senate which resulted in their determent. Meanwhile, the parliament election was held, but in spite of the fact, the National Front restricted its plans to election freedom and establishment of legal government, it could not much take the advantage of this opportunity and due to the lack of coherent organization in provinces and poor organization in the center of these inconsistency, then only Allahyar Saleh from Kashan succeeded to be elected for the parliament.

Through the election of Amini (May, 1961) and in spite of his common point of view with Nationalists who were advocating US regarding establishing reforms between them and the National Front, there was no strong, essential coalition. Moreover, the Front's activists and leaders did not have common view points with Amini's government and it caused that they were unable to take advantage of existent conditions. For the first time after the 28th Mordad *coup*, the Front's meeting with the public was held by government agreement on 28th Mordad 1961. In this meeting, the leaders' discrepancies were revealed again. The demonstration of students who were the National Front members in Tehran University faced with Savak's intensive assault and it led to arresting some of National Front leaders [12].

Meanwhile, Khordad, (On this date, Mohammad Reza Shah announced his reforms as Shah and people's White Revolution. Khomeini and some other clergies opposed the amendments and referendum and declared it as illegal. They encouraged people to revolt to on Khordad 15th 1342 (June 5, 1963). During this time, a number of street riots were killed. However, the referendum was successfully implemented and people voted for reforms.) June, 5th 1963 incident and its suppression by government occurred. The Front's leaders experienced disagreement on their specific attitude regarding Shah's reforms after congress administration. One of the controversial aspects of congress was the membership of the new established group of national-religious freedom movement that their request for membership in the front had been opposed. Respecting this, the request for membership of Khalil Maleki, the leader of Socialist association had not been agreed on as well. Thus, the second National front was restricted to the coalition of Iran Parties, Iran Nation and Iran People.

The most controversial issue in congress was dispute over the National Front structure, some were supporting Dr. Mossaddeq's view point and the First National Front manner, believing in the Front activities and maintaining

the party independence of members. Contrary to this, most of the members were against Dr. Mossaddeq's opinion and regarding the National Front experience and its deficiency, they believed in mixing all the parties in a unified organization form to provide an organizational optimal leadership and guidance. However the leaders in the majority group, on the one hand, had no interest in the Front structure and combination and on the other hand, they did not want to confront with Dr. Mossaddeq. In addition, they lack a certain program and the power for resistance against regime. They declared their resignation. Due to their inability to be active, they manipulate the policy of patience and wait [13].

In drawing a conclusion analysis of the reasons for the second National Front inability and failure; and its break up in 1964, we may point out the same factors applied for the first National Front as Front-organized structure, ambiguity in ideology and neglecting personnel's-selection, selfishness and individualism of parties and the Front leaders, the lack of proper strategies and tactics in taking advantage of favorable conditions and lack of effective use of youth's forces especially university students.

**The National Front, the Third; 1964s-1967:** The third National Front could be considered as the natural continuation of the second National Front. The difference is that, the minority group in the congress, while the conservative majorities were absent, organized the Front. Through numerous correspondences with Dr. Mossaddeq in 1964, they satisfied him to agree on the third National Front statute. The most important point and contrast between the third and second National Front was in the Front organization and structure. It was stressed that the third National Front was a center for political parties and assemblies gathering with a specific ideology for itself. They would have a common ideology with the third National Front as Iran's freedom and independence. Two weeks after existence announcement, the two leaders of Socialist group and National Front as Forouhar and Khalili were arrested. Before that, the leaders of liberty Movement were imprisoned as well and thus, the third National Front collapsed before developing its activities.

Since 1965, the country suffered from political situation influencing political groups activations. Through suppression of Khordad 15th Movement, Khomeini's exile, the discovery of reminders of Toudeh Party and controlling liberal Nationalists, the Shah's regime blocked the open and legal activities of groups in practice. The only parties which had apparent legal

activities were as monarchism Parties as People Party (Hezb-e-Mardom), Modern Iran (Iran-e-Now) and Pan-Iranist [14]. The mentioned parties had to join the government party of "Rastakhiz" in late 1975. The establishment of the country Intelligence and security organization (SAVAK) (The country Intelligence and security organization was established by Shah with the help of US (CIA), Britain (Intelligence Service) and Israel (MUSAD), the year after Mossaddeq's downfall on the 28th Mordad Coup. It was formed to struggle against Toudeh Party, Communists and the Country Security protection) and strengthening the army and getting the full support of the West had effective roles in fortifying the power of Shah's regime. Also, increase of oil revenues and having military and financial assistance from the West led Pahlavi's regime to not only inhibit the public dissatisfaction but also to rule over the opposition political elites [15].

In dealing with oppositions, who essentially had national religious beliefs or Marxism, there was a harsh severe approach, while the trends towards non-revolutionary oppositions were different and let them take the advantage of dollars taken from oil. Some other Nationalism stopped political activities and started higher education or economic activities instead. During 1965-1977, there were no organized political activities or even individual activity from Nationalists to insist against tyranny and colonialism and an increase in foreigners' influence and practically, they were merely watching the situation up to the time Carter started his president ship in the White House. They were reactivated from 1977, yet during these years the students movement in and, particularly, outside of Iran manipulated some activities as the National Front abroad [16].

#### **The National Front, the Fourth; Revolution, 1978-1981:**

The restart of the National Front activities was due to the emergence of country open political atmosphere which was manifested in the country influenced by Democrats (Carter becomes the president belonging to America Democratic Party in 1977 with the slogan of the "Human Rights". Under the US pressure, Shah had to announce an open political condition in the country and variety of opposition parties including the National Front began their activities) coming into existence in the White House US [17]. The motives for the fourth National Front were the activities conducted by Nationalists such as publishing some open letters addressed to regime's leaders. One of these main letters was addressed to Shah

and issued by Dr. Karim Sanjabi, (former minister of education under Mossaddeq and now the leader of the Front) Shapour Bakhtiar (former deputy minister of labor under Mossaddeq and now the leader of the Iran Party) and Daryoush Forouhar (head of the Iran Nation Party). In this letter conducting some reforms and observing human rights as emphasizing on constitutional law were stressed. open letter which politely criticized the Shah and called on him to reestablish the constitutional monarchy, free political prisoners, respect freedom of speech and hold free and fair elections. The letter was so important since it became the cornerstone of the fourth National Front and determined the boundary between the National Front leaders and some other reformists who criticized the Shah. They were as Liberty Movement and constitutionalists-Royalists [18].

In September, 1978, the National front leaders negotiate with Sharif Imami's government to validate their demands and to get some privileges. In the revolutionary circumstances of the country and during the second half of this year and through expanding the conflicts between revolutionary forces, the National Front adapted more harsh strategies. However, it still demanded reforms in the form of constitutional law. Meanwhile, Dr. Karim Sanjabi, the senior member of the National Front departed to Paris to meet Ayatollah Khomeini. After meeting Ayatollah Khomeini in Paris in November 1978, he issued a three-part-statement emphasizing on Khomeini and people's request to declare Monarchy as illegal and that they would not compromise with that. The members of the National Front announced their opposition with this agreement and created some disputes among the Front leaders. And committed the National Front to the twin goals of abolishing the Monarchy and establishing a democratic and Islamic government in its place [19].

This was a diversion from the National Front's long-held aim of reforming the monarchy and it caused some friction in the high-council (although most of the rank and file and leaders supported the new orientation). The friction blew into open division when Shapour Bakhtiar, one of the three top leaders, accepted the Shah's invitation to become the prime minister of Iran, but only on the condition that the Shah committed himself to reign and not rule. Bakhtiar's decision to collaborate with the Shah caused the National Front to denounce him as a traitor to their cause and to expel him from the organization. Only a few moderate and secular individuals among the leadership chose to ally with Bakhtiar and with the Monarchy.

The National Front could be considered as a moderate Front neither radical, nor opposition campaign demanding some changes in the regime, but actually they were not against the system on the whole. The Front also criticized the government performance in its early formation and still happened that Shah could exercise the managements to conduct the necessary reforms. But in practice, individualism in strategies led to a conflict within the Front which could be clearly observed in the dual strategies of Shapour Bakhtiar and Karim Sanjābi. In Jan. 16, the Shah left the country, amid rejoicing among the populace and on Feb. 11, the Pahlavi regime collapsed and Ayatollah Khomeini became the political leader of Iran. At first the National Front supported the new Provisional Revolutionary Government and establishment of the Islamic Republic. But the joint statement with Sanjābi and Khomeini notwithstanding, Khomeini explicitly refused to put the same word, democracy, into either the title of the Republic or its constitution. Within a short time, it became clear that Ayatollah Khomeini's model of an Islamic society was modeled not on democracy, but on theocratic rule of Islamic jurists (or *velayat-e faqih*) and traditional Islamic sharia law [20].

Electing Shapour Bakhtiar as the prime minister by Shah, revealed the issue of intellectual dissimilarity and lack of common political position regarding the monarchy regime and the manner to fight with that. It enhanced the intellectual discrepancies among the National Front leaders [21]. After that in a reaction, the National Front council dismissed Bakhtiar from the front and prohibited others to cooperate with him. The last days leading to the Islamic revolution and Ayatollah Khomeini's arrival to Iran, the National Front failed to reach to the revolution. The failure in having an effective presence of the Front in the Revolution council and interim government and inability to mobilize the masses were among some indicators which suggested the lack of the National Front effective role and existence in the movement and also their gradual movement away from that [22].

**Investigating the Internal Causes of National's Failure in the Contemporary History:** Emphasizing on the role of sustained damages and internal weaknesses of Liberal Movement does not deny some other related factors in its failure. Undoubtedly, some other factors as aliens, repression and even tactical situational mistakes of Nationalists themselves have been important indicators as well. Mossaddeq's attitude in the days leading up to the coup 28th is of this kind. But a search in Islamic movements shows that through strengthening the inner,

underlying foundations, supremacy over some other challenges would be possible. Some of the instances of stable, common weaknesses of liberal social forces in this contemporary period of time during which it was manifested in all their movements are as:

- Ideological weakness and lack of stable Ideology. It is obvious and natural that the survival of each movement, particularly, political organizations request a clear, stable ideology that causes the member to be loyal to it. Moreover, the lack of a fixed ideology might force the members to change some of their behavioral patterns or thought of a certain person into an ideology and fanatically adhere to it. The National Front was hurt by this point of view and it caused that the very primary rules and statutes which were in line with Mossaddeq's last turn into ideology. The rule changed into a holy law that any deviation out of it was considered as treason. The National Front statutes made up the general, vague goals such as justice and reform [23]. The majority part of this statute paid attention to the superficial issues as how the members could join the front and it could not be a complete manifesto for a Front. Later, generalizations and ambiguities in various parts of statute created fundamental disagreements among members of the National Front.

After the National Movement failure, Mossaddeq appreciated Bazargan for his procedures to solve the related problems but it was in such a case that Bazargan himself was even unable to define a clear consistent ideology for the party. It was in a manner that neither him nor the remained members of liberty Movement never clarified the ideological paradoxes and weaknesses [24]. The leaders of the National Front themselves stressed on the lack of ideology in the Front. Dr. Mossaddeq explains; everything I have said during my life has been my plan [25]. Negative balance of policy, parliament 14th. Khalil Maleki, a national movement activist believed that through proper ideology and leadership, the movement defeat could be prevented [26]. Through a comparative study we can point out that via applying a coherent, complete and inspiring ideology, Ayatollah Khomeini could save Islamic Movement from paradoxes and was succeeded in mobilizing the people.

The lack of ideology and opportunism beliefs in the National Front could be observed in their attitude dealing with monarchy. They introduced themselves as the advocators of constitutional law and monarchists,

but as they took the opportunity in Mordad, 25, 1332 (15, August 1953), they were mobilized against the government and tried to do their best to establish republic government. As Shah returned, they started the monarchy slogan. In addition in 1979 in Paris, while they swear to be in line with Ayatollah Khomeini in establishing Islamic government and Shah's downfall, at same time, they were engaged in consultation with Shah to save the monarchy, the revolution corruption and the premiership of Shapour Bakhtiar. Then when Islamic Revolution was the case, they formally and practically accepted Islamic Revolution, however, in abroad again, they chanted the slogan of monarchism [25].

The first members of the National Front with no common ideology, gathered around Mossaddeq to form a front that aimed the creation of a national government through providing people with freedom in election and thought. They even did not provide any clear definition for national government to highlight their point of view regarding the "National". The lack of ideology caused their inability in managing the country. It should be cleared here the range of this Front or Movement place of existence or spectral range. It is shown that during its life time, the Front had no border and lacked a clear fixed ideology.

- Internal Conflicts, on the one hand, a wide intellectual variety of members and, lack of clear ideology of Nationalists on the other hand, created a situation for numerous derivations in the Front. The related derivations and groups were of two forms: First, collective: In its life time, many parties were formed within the Front and thus different parties had been derived due to big or small issues. One of the clear instances is the creation of "Mojahedin organization" from the heart of liberty Movement which in turn, it itself had been formed from the National front. Second, Individual: the individual derivation manifested itself as the discrepancies among the intellectual people in the National Front and friends' separation in and out of the National front. Among these, we may name some people in the first front as Ayatollah Kashani, Maki and Haerizadei; and Bakhtiar and Dr. Sanjâbi in the fourth Front. However, these related divergence problems were not merely due to nationalists discrepancies. The continuous internal disputes caused the failure of Nationalists' efforts. Among the consequences of this failure have been the National Movement failures, the second and, particularly, the second National front dissolutions [27].

The friction between religious and non-religious Nationalists could not be forgotten. This issue started from the beginning of Liberty Movement formation and the National Front agreement with National Movement joining to the National formation and it had been continuing even at this time they are attacking each other as well. The Liberty Movement has always been in opposition with some other factors even, individually, that some people have been completely opposed to each other and even organizationally that there have been some substantial disputes between inside and outside branches [28].

- Organizational weakness: The existent parties, unions, national assemblies, people and deferent social groups had caused that the Front had not been similar to a Political Party. The dispute within high-ranking personnel of the Movement was among one of the effective factors creating severe divergence among the National Front forces. Iran National Movement failure was of the kind that through a proper leadership and appropriate ideology and organization it could avoid its defeat. Lack of attention to the members joining the party, self-centered members and individualism at parties and the Front leaders; and ignoring youth, especially, university students in their programming were among the reasons for the movement's failure.

The major objection to the National Front its ruling the dulling period was its over emphasis on the political campaign and that it ignored training the personnel and recruiting the new members, the codification of a practical strategy and planning the process of its activities. The lack of a coherent organization and stricter in Nationalism movements was an important factor that was emphasized by the Front leaders and Mossaddeq as well nevertheless, the lack of coherent consistent organization led the National Front not to organize its forces in an efficient, proper manner and thus, cause them not to be able to utilize the people's potentiality. These two mentioned factor were of the most significant factors in the National Front failure. The National resistance movement, despite pursuing the great goals and taking the advantage of the lack public support, was disintegrated and failed after 1957 assaults due to lack of internal coherence, the contradiction of political insights within its constituents the internal discrepancies, inexperience in underground struggles, the influence of police in its organization and lack of sufficient facilities.

In the evaluation of other organizations in Iran, before discussing the organizations their ideology, it would study its role in the benefit of the people of Iran. Inability to understand the objective of internationalism and formation of mistaken relationships with the Soviet government and Tudeh Party it was the beginning to the end. They were unaware of Iran's location society, history and not paying attention to the struggle against imperialism that caused the Tudeh party to lag behind from other nationalistic freedom movements. Positioning some members against Mohammed Mossaddeq. The action Weakness and second guessing in the Coup d'état of August 19, 1953 that resulted in the strategic loss of the National front party and the labor movement. The continuation of the weakness of the rest of the Tudeh party inside and outside of the country resulting in the disunity between all groups.

### CONCLUSION

Emphasizing the roles of internal consistent damages and weaknesses of the National Front do not imply the denial of some other related factors involved in their failure. Undoubtedly, the factors as aliens, repression and even tactical and situational mistakes of Nationalists have been important issues in this regard. Investigating Nationalists' behaviors in different stages of Iran contemporary history witnesses that their activities have always been late, behind time and doomed to fail as well.

Studying this issue deeply, we will get some common amazing points which are in contrast with the National Movements and activities, the one that coursed these incidents to be failed. However, in the other period of time, the some path was gone and the some destiny was achieved. The lack of coordination among the leaders and lack of a cohesive systematic organization and trained forces coursed that the some failure which was experienced by Mosaddeq on Mordad 28 was obtained by Bakhtiar and Nationalists in 1979. On the other hand, the lack of a constant ideology created a situation in which the National Front leaders were not able to support all and bring all the people together [29].

The question is that, why did the liberal groups always stop from their achieving their pre-determined objectives, although they believed in getting much great targets? The external factor as tyranny and lack of open political atmosphere during Pahlavi dynasty or even the extensive influence of aliens in Iran might be considered as the main motives for the Nationalists' failures. The goals and statute of the National Front, namely; justice,

reforms and freedom of elections which could be in the same line with an ideal government could not manifest itself and consequently, the National Front failure neutralized all these objectives.

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