

June 9, 1965

**Minutes of Conversation between Chivu Stoica and
Reza Radmanesh, President of the Tudeh Central
Committee Politburo, Bucharest**

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Summary:

Records a conversation between Radmanesh and Chivu Stoica, the president of the Romanian Council of Ministers, shortly after the Shah's 1965 visit to the Soviet Union.

Original Language:

Romanian

Contents:

Translation - English

Minutes of conversation between Chivu Stoica and Reza Radmanesh, President of the Tudeh Central Committee Politburo, Bucharest, 9 June 1965.

[...]

Chivu Stoica: The Iranian government and the current Prime Minister – the Shah [sic] – pay a lot of attention to the development of economic relations, especially in the area of oil exploration. They say they want to reach the point where they could produce crude on their own, they are interested in how we got to do this on our own; how we trained our cadres, how we build our cars, they are interested in our installations and economic exchanges. They say they want to increase our trade.

Reza Radmanesh: We agree with the improvement of relations between Iran and socialist countries.

Chivu Stoica: They want to send people to our country for training, and young people to pursue an education on oil refining. We said: let us talk about it.

Reza Radmanesh: We are not against [this], it is good to improve relations between socialist countries and Iran, and first and foremost, to develop economic relations. This is a good thing, [because] it does not prevent us from fighting against the shah, just like you fought against your shah...

Chivu Stoica: There is nothing similar between our countries, there are different ideologies.

Reza Radmanesh: Having these relations is very good, because imperialist countries, especially the US, the UK, are almost pillaging Iran.

Chivu Stoica: They raised the issue [of strengthening our ties]. We do not know if the American, British, and other monopolies allowed them to do so. Their willingness [to strengthen relations] is a good one, and we will encourage them to do so, if possible.

Reza Radmanesh: Imperialism is not as strong as it used to be and it is forced to make certain concessions.

Chivu Stoica: You are right.

Reza Radmanesh: There is no other way, they are forced to do so, and this is caused by the pressure of the masses.

Chivu Stoica: That's that. They are doing this to the extent that the masses are in favor [of this policy]. This is the internal factor, this is the factor that decides the direction [in which the government is going].

Reza Radmanesh: I would like to draw your attention to a particular aspect. I do not want to provide you with advice, I just want to remind you of certain things.

In your relations, never forget the struggle of the people against the shah, and you sometimes exaggerate the intentions and wishes of the shah. The shah in Iran is the fiercest enemy of communism and of the people.

Chivu Stoica: That is what you think.

Reza Radmanesh: It has always been this way.

Chivu Stoica: So this is what you thought, that we were doing...

Reza Radmanesh: I recently met comrade Cyrankiewicz in Berlin, and in our discussions [he] indicated that Polish newspapers greatly praise the situation in Iran, the shah, and the reforms carried out in [Iran], and they also talk about the White Revolution...

Chivu Stoica: As you saw us doing?

Reza Radmanesh: In a month's time, the shah is coming here [to Romania]. It should be explained to the people that the shah is a bad man, we don't expect people shouting all sorts of slogans...

Chivu Stoica: He will also go to the Soviet Union, how will he be received there?

Reza Radmanesh: Yes, he will go to the Soviet Union. This time he will be received as a businessman, he will not be given a special reception. We have approximately 14,000 émigrés in the Soviet Union, and we thought that on this occasion all of us should gather and as a sign of protest write a telegram that Mikoyan will pass on to the Shah. We believe that the trend to improve foreign relations must be reflected in an improvement in the internal situation, meaning to put an end to all terror. We demand the democratization of the country, we are asking for the release of those imprisoned, [we demand] amnesty, and that all [our] people imprisoned in Iran or abroad be released.

Chivu Stoica: Did Mikoyan accept to pass on this telegram?

Reza Radmanesh: Yes, he accepted. We [will write] a telegram for the Shah, and provide Mikoyan with a copy. This will enable him to raise the issue during [their] talks.

Chivu Stoica: That's interesting.

Reza Radmanesh: We are under attack from Iranian nationalists because they are against the improvement of relations between the shah and socialist countries; they say that socialist countries support the shah who is a criminal. For example, Iranian nationalists in the US are demonstrating [against the shah], and the American television is broadcasting propaganda through which [these nationalists in the US] are expressing their dissatisfaction that we, the ones in Moscow, cannot do something similar.

Essentially, we want socialist countries not to support the shah. This is why nationalists are waging this propaganda [war] against us. We must expose them and thus, we will exert an even greater pressure on the shah, showing him that, 'look, there is pressure coming from socialist countries to democratize Iran.'

That is why we talked to the Soviet comrades and they agreed with these proposals. We are ready to send the shah a letter not only from the Iranian immigrants in the Soviet Union, but from all immigrants. That is why, when the Shah takes measures [against us], we could attract students from Western countries, [like] Germany, France, the UK, to our [demonstrations]. Because the shah was recently in the UK and he made a statement about [Iran's] relations with socialist countries, saying that 'I, as a shah, make a distinction between socialist countries and the Socialist

Internationale.' To his mind, these notions are different, so in a way, he had the right to use socialist countries, while shooting us.

Chivu Stoica: This is interesting. So you concluded that the visit of the shah to Romania would mean that we are supporting him.

Reza Radmanesh: No, that is not what we think.

Chivu Stoica: Even if we wanted to impose certain things on the shah, we cannot do it, because he decides [in his country] and I would be surprised if he thought that the USSR can do one thing, and other countries do different things.

I would like [you] to bear in mind that we have a communist party which is a part of the revolutionary movement...

Reza Radmanesh: That is clear [to us]. This is why I am telling you that you must bear in mind that the reforms adopted by the shah should not be blown out of proportion.