

The Rise and Fall of Mosaddeq: Political Survival, Ideology, and Revolutionary Coalitions

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Abstract

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What is the logic of political survival in revolutionary situations? This study expands on selectorate theory by seeking how ideological goals inform allocation decisions in revolutionary situations. Using the case of Mohammad Mosaddeq in Iran, I analyze the logic of political survival by constructing a sociological relational model from selectorate theory, propagation theory, and the Weberian theory of ideology. I apply the model by tracing the relational ties of propagating agents across social and temporal space. I find the key factor in the case is not Mosaddeq's inability to procure an oil deal as most conventional accounts argue, but rather his decision to shrink the winning coalition after the July Uprising. The coup's success was then predicated on targeting fewer coordination resources to prevent the crowds from foiling their attempt. I conclude by hypothesizing that political leaders in revolutionary situations that unify major sources of legitimation in their respective societies before shrinking their winning coalition improve their prospects for political survival.

What is the logic of political survival in revolutionary situations? Leaders in revolutionary situations have two goals: a pragmatic goal of securing their own survival and an ideological goal of implementing their desired future polity. A simple rational action model such as selectorate theory (Buono de Mesquita et al. 2003) cannot account for value-rational commitments to ideological goals (see Hanson 2010). In fact, the base model considers any kind of affinity between leaders and their winning coalitions secondary to allocation decisions. I expand upon the theory by seeking how ideological goals inform allocation decisions in revolutionary situations. I do so by examining the case of Mohammad Mosaddeq's attempted democratic revolution in Iran from 1949 to 1953.

The Mosaddeq case is suitable for exploring the relationship between political survival and ideology as Mosaddeq rejected the idea of a traditional political party and sought an ideologically heterogeneous coalition on purpose (Abrahamian 1982:253). More so, the Mosaddeq period was a revolutionary situation because Mosaddeq was brought into a position of dual sovereignty through mass mobilization with the intention of instituting a democratic regime change. Mosaddeq's ideological goal was representative parliamentary democracy. To bring about this goal, he led a revolutionary coalition against the established ruling elite of Iran—the monarchy, the oligarchs, and the foreign embassies. He emphasized two key ideas: the expelling of foreign embassies from winning coalitions in Iran and reform of selection institutions to break the stranglehold of the ruling elite on Parliament (the Majles). In addition, Mosaddeq waged a battle to end dual sovereignty in Iran by placing the main coercive apparatus of the state—the military—under civilian control. He ultimately failed in his objectives, but his failure provides useful lessons for the analysis of revolutions.

I argue the lesson to be drawn from the Mosaddeq case involves the paradox between establishing democratic systems—i.e., polities with both a large selectorate and a large winning coalition—and the inevitable choice to shrink the winning coalition to improve one’s own prospect for political survival. Prior accounts argue counterfactuals in which Mosaddeq needed to shrink the winning coalition in order to consolidate his position while others argue that defections from Mosaddeq’s winning coalition enabled the coup d’état that overthrew him. I build upon the latter. I argue Mosaddeq’s failure was a combination of over-relying on Parliament as a propagating agent while also shrinking the winning coalition. The result was alienating almost all propagating agents against him in a situation in which his main leverage against the ruling elite was a coordinated coalition that could mobilize out on the streets. The success of the coup plotters then became predicated on the fact that they had fewer coordination goods to target than they would have had otherwise if he had not shrunk his winning coalition after the July Uprising.

REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Recent analyses of revolutions have stressed three things. First, structural analyses of revolutions (e.g., Skocpol 1979; Goldstone 1991; Foran 2005) have been criticized as being too static (Lawson 2016). A relational analysis of revolutions, instead, does not ignore structural conditions, but places emphasis on dynamic processes. It seeks to link the emergence of a revolutionary situation and the revolutionary outcome by finding patterns in revolutionary trajectories (Lawson 2019; Dix 1984; Foran 1991; Parsa 2000). However, I differ from prior literature in that I emphasize explanatory individualism (Epstein 2015; Lukes 1968) and Analytical Weberianism (Kiser and Baer 2005) instead of structural or Marxist explanations.

Second, ideology is stressed as a core part of revolutionary situations (Goldstone 2014; see Bayat 2017 for an empirical example). In fact, ideology has long been sought after as an important factor in influencing revolutionary situations (Sewell 1985; Skocpol 1985; Goldstone 1991; Foran 1997a; Parsa 2000). Recent theories in political economy also recognize the causal role of ideas in political outcomes (see Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2003 and Rubin 2017). The problem with these studies is they tend to take on rather broad conceptions of ideology. Instead, I use Hanson's (2010) narrower, but useful, conception of ideology for analyzing revolutionary situations. He emphasizes two key dimensions of ideology: the capacity to draw social boundaries and a vision for a future polity. I use this conception as part of the basis for a relational framework that analyzes the ties between political leaders and their coalitions along with drawing on selectorate theory (Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2003) and propagation theory (Rubin 2017). Lastly, Beck (2018) shows that the comparative literature has a strong bias towards successful social revolutions and Latin American revolutionary situations. Thus, the Mosaddeq case avoids this common pitfall.

Recent studies on the 1953 coup in Iran tend to stress external factors as the main drivers of the case. In large part, this focus results from access of Western archives (e.g. Gasiorowski and Byrne 2004). This is reasonable as the coup was organized by Anglo-American support. However, such studies overlook the case as a revolutionary situation. The revolutionary perspective offers three main advantages. First, a theoretical analysis can guide the inquiry to more compelling conclusions. One typical conclusion on the case is that both external and internal forces matter which is not theoretically incisive (see e.g. Foran 1993; Gasiorowski 2004). Second, theory also aids in the analysis of plausible counterfactuals in the case. Due to being a "negative" outcome, many proposed counterfactuals are unreasonable and driven by

normative expectations. Lastly, the revolutionary perspective offers contributions beyond the case toward a population of cases. Theoretically, I generalize from the case to coalition dynamics and selectorate politics in revolutionary situations.

Prior theoretical studies on the case of 1950s Iran use a social movement perspective (e.g., Foran 1993; Siavoshi 1994; Paulson 2005). However, this presents a few problems. First, the dependent variable they use is social movement success/failure which is really just window dressing for Mosaddeq's political survival. As such, political survival is my key dependent variable as I am not interested in trying to explain why people politically protest but why challengers are able to unseat incumbents and why incumbents are able to maintain their political positions. The two are not mutually exclusive though. Some scholars have sought to merge the analysis of revolutions with analysis of social movements (e.g., Goodwin 2001; Parsa 2000; Tilly and Tarrow 2015), but I take Tilly's stance (2008) that, while revolutionary situations may involve social movements, revolutionary situations, in themselves, are not social movements. More so, data are poor on social movement variables such as systematic information on temporal or spatial variation in rallies and demonstrations. Instead, these studies rely on the composition of the movement. I agree with this decision, but they often do not specify why the composition matters. I correct this by focusing on the composition—i.e., the social space—as the relational basis for political survival. As selectorate theory and propagation theory argue, composition matters because political leaders depend on recruiting and maintaining groups to secure their political survival and propagate their rule. In Mosaddeq's case, he required a composition of forces that was able to secure his political survival and institute democratic regime change without foreign embassies or traditional elites. This was the basis of his ideology.

I draw upon three theories arguing that political ideology improves the prospects of political survival. While the base model of selectorate theory gives ideology secondary status, Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003) do argue that ideology improves a challenger's ability to create winning coalitions in revolutionary situations. They argue that revolutionary challengers have no credible offer of private goods to facilitate recruitment for their winning coalition; instead, their political ideology becomes *the* public good by which they create and maintain a winning coalition (Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2003:370). I maintain the emphasis on allocation decisions of public and private goods from selectorate theory, but I also seek to explore how ideology as a public good informs allocation decisions as an incumbent as well.

Furthermore, political ideology as a public good has another hypothesized effect. The Weberian theory of ideology (Hanson 2010) argues that it improves mobilization under conditions of institutional uncertainty because it solves free-rider problems. In other words, groups with clear and consistent definitions of a future polity have fewer coordination problems than groups with vague or inconsistent definitions. However, there exists many potential leaders with their own ideologies in revolutionary situations. As scholars of revolution argue, coalitions of different groups are largely responsible for revolutionary challenges (Moore 1966; Tilly 1978; Foran 1997b; Parsa 2000). Thus, a political leader must be able to manage these ideologies not only as a challenger against the incumbent regime but also as a revolutionary incumbent seeking to propagate their rule.

Propagation theory (Rubin 2017) argues that incumbents propagate their rule through propagating agents—coercive or legitimating agents. A leader's ideology can recruit either agent to their cause, but propagation theory specifically argues ideology legitimizes rule when legitimation agents are influential within the population; thus, including legitimation agents

within winning coalitions improves the prospects of political survival. Propagation theory, however, lacks the relational element of how to maintain coercive and legitimating agents on one's side as opposed to their potential defection. Therefore, I argue an incumbent must manage their relational ties to these agents through private and public goods allocations in order to maintain a winning coalition.

I connect these theories by using a sociological relational model. Political leaders have access to private and public goods. They allocate these goods toward recruiting and maintaining winning coalitions. In revolutionary situations, groups are incentivized by the prospects of a future polity—for example, whether they have positions within that polity, receive exclusive benefits, receive policy victories, or have value-rational commitments to that future polity. However, ties between groups and the challenger or incumbent are not equally weighted. Allocation decisions either through public or private goods may foster the recruitment of one group while constraining the ability to recruit other groups. Thus, political survival is not only contingent on who to include in potential winning coalitions but *on how* to maintain winning coalitions by managing relational ties among potential coercive and legitimating agents.

THE RISE AND FALL OF MOSADDEQ

There is more consensus on how Mosaddeq rose to power than how he fell from power. On his rise to power, Mosaddeq is recognized as mobilizing a middle-class coalition that pacified the ruling elite (Abrahamian 1969; Cottam 1979; Siavoshi 1985); however, most of these analyses overlook how unorganized Iranian politics was to begin with. That is, they take it for granted that Mosaddeq and the National Front were able to overcome coordination problems to

pacify the ruling elite. Mosaddeq and the National Front were also aided by the fact that the ruling elite were not able to overcome their own coordination problems.

There is far less consensus on the fall of Mosaddeq. Based on my sociological relational model, I criticize three proposed counterfactuals that have been invoked to explain the fall of Mosaddeq: lack of an oil deal, ideological rigidity, and lack of repression. An oil deal is not a plausible counterfactual in this case. Abrahamian (2013) shows the root of the conflict over the oil deal was Iranian versus British control and neither the British nor the Americans were willing to accept full Iranian control. The failed World Bank deal is often floated as one of Mosaddeq's mistakes (Katouzian 1981; Ghasimi 2011) as the Bank offered to be an intermediary, but, again, this was not full Iranian control. Such accounts also never consider the 17th Parliament elections as a constraint on Mosaddeq's behavior in which he could not accept any semblance of a British victory. They also ignore the evidence that to accept the World Bank deal would jeopardize Iran's case at the International Court of Justice (hereafter, ICJ). Furthermore, the oil deal, on a cursory glance, would correspond to selectorate theory but it ignores a vital point: we do not know how the oil revenues would have been allocated nor the results of such efforts. Selectorate theory emphasizes *allocation* not the resource alone.

Ideological rigidity, as opposed to fluidity, is addressed in Hanson (2010). Hanson argues that under conditions of institutional uncertainty, "value-rational commitments to political ideals may play a decisive role in channeling individual behavior motivated by instrumental interests of various types (whether these interests be 'material' or 'ideal')" (2010:29). In other words, clear and consistent ideologies improve mobilization which improves the chances of political success. The lack of repression critique often goes hand-in-hand with the ideological rigidity critique. Lack of repression must refer to repression that disregards the rule of law as

Mosaddeq did use legal repression against his opponents. Hossein Fatemi shows Mosaddeq was aware of this constraint on his behavior: “The foreign minister [Hossein Fatemi] pointed out that the liberal and popular democratic personality of the prime minister excluded resort to authoritarian and anti-democratic measures, however desirable they may seem as a short-term solution to the nation’s socio-economic problems” (Zabih 1982:132). Thus, disregarding the ideological consistency of liberal democratic ideals—i.e., opportunism—would harm Mosaddeq’s mobilization potential which would harm the chances of political success. In other words, this is not a plausible counterfactual as Mosaddeq had a consistent value-rational commitment against illegal repression and his ideology did not allow for extra-constitutional violence.

In terms of the relationship between ideology and political survival, repression allows the incumbent to shrink the winning coalition. This is the path most revolutions have followed. However, could one make the case that an ideology that constrains repression allows for political survival? Based on my findings, I hypothesize that if ideology constrains repression, then the chances of political survival are improved if the leader does not shrink the coalition. To make the hypothesis more specific, *the chances of political survival are improved if the leader unifies a major source of legitimating agents in their respective society before they shrink their winning coalition*. As I will show in the analysis, by the end of the conflict, Mosaddeq alienated almost every potential source of legitimation: the religious establishment was not with him; civil society was torn between communists and anti-communists; he had dissolved both houses of Parliament; and in terms of coercive agents, the Shah, the military, the Americans, and the British were not with him.

Table 1: Plausible Revolutionary Outcomes

Constitutional Monarchy 1	Constitutional Monarchy 2
Strong Cabinet Weak Parliament Figurehead Monarch Weak Foreign Embassies	Strong Cabinet Representative Parliament Figurehead Monarch Weak Foreign Embassies
Constitutional Monarchy 3	Republic
Weak Cabinet Weak Parliament Strong Monarch Strong Foreign Embassies	Strong Cabinet Representative Parliament No Monarch Strong Foreign Embassies

Table 1: Derived from Azimi (1989)

Table 1 provides the plausible revolutionary outcomes during the Mosaddeq era. The first version of Constitutional Monarchy is where Mosaddeq ended at: “In the thirteen months between the street uprising of July 1952 and the national referendum of August 1953, Musaddiq reduced the monarch into a constitutional figurehead, obtained dictatorial powers, dissolved both houses of parliament, and by-passed the laws by appealing directly to the people” (Abrahamian 1969:92). The second version of Constitutional Monarchy was always Mosaddeq’s ideological goal, the third version was the military monarchy the Shah achieved after the coup d’etat, and the republic was what the Tudeh clamored for, which was not likely as they were rather alone among political forces in wanting to abolish the monarchy and adopt pro-Soviet foreign policy.

Thus, the counterfactual I will emphasize is allocation decisions after the July Uprising (July 1952). Mosaddeq relied on Parliament as his propagating agent. His main leverage in Parliament was how scared deputies were of events like the July Uprising, but Mosaddeq could only credibly coerce deputies so long as he had a unified coalition and its mobilizing potential behind him. After the July Uprising, Mosaddeq allocated few goods to the traditional side of his winning coalition. Thus, he shrunk his winning coalition. However, the traditional side contained his best mobilizers—Kashani and Baqai. They were his best mobilizers because they never needed his permission to send their followers out on the streets. By their removal from the

winning coalition and their subsequent defections, the coup planners had much fewer targets to neutralize when they wanted to prevent Mosaddeq's coalition from fighting back in their coup attempts.

I will argue the ties from Kashani and Baqai seem based on opportunism rather than ideological commitment. Therefore, they needed private goods allocated toward them to keep them committed. Mosaddeq only allocated goods according to his ideological commitments to democracy, secularism, and meritocracy. By shrinking his coalition, Mosaddeq was never able to secure the stable parliamentary majority that could propagate his rule. Mosaddeq could have improved his prospects if he had held back on secularism and meritocracy. Allowing religious and clientelist parties into a coalition government would not have fractured his coalition. The non-communist modern classes were ideologically committed to democracy; it is unlikely they would have defected from Mosaddeq for two reasons: first, they were small, so they had to enter coalitions if they wanted to participate and second, all other coalition partners were not better alternatives than Mosaddeq.

This may have detracted from some reforms that Mosaddeq wanted but looking at the structure of Iranian politics at this point, representative parliamentary democracy was going to be a long-term battle, not a short-term one and Mosaddeq needed to create those who would have vested interest in democratic norms. In other words, he needed to shift their calculations that the best way to achieve their goals was through his regime and no other. Thus, the winning coalition without foreign embassies or traditional elites required religious and clientelist parties. Mosaddeq excluding them after the July Uprising paved the way for the coup's success against him the following year.

METHOD

What dictates a relational tie? I am approaching this inductively but guided by definitions of a future polity (Hanson 2010) and material rewards. I use process tracing (Bennett and Checkel 2015) to evaluate the evidence of ties between Mosaddeq and different groups in Iranian society representing potential coercive and legitimating agents. Process tracing is “the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in light of research questions and hypotheses posed by the investigator” (Collier 2011:823). This method categorizes evidence into four categories: straw-in-the-wind evidence, hoop evidence, smoking-gun evidence, and doubly decisive evidence. Table 2 summarizes each type of evidence. The strength of evidence is often based on assumptions. For example, a confession from an actor involved in the case could be considered doubly decisive evidence or smoking-gun evidence depending on the credibility of the source. In addition, different types of evidence can be combined for inferences. For example, two or three pieces of straw-in-the-wind evidence could be considered corroborating smoking-gun evidence or depending on the number of hypotheses being examined, hoop evidence combined with smoking-gun evidence could be considered corroborating doubly decisive evidence.

Type of Evidence	Strength of evidence	Implications of evidence
Straw-in-the-wind evidence	Suggestive evidence for or against a hypothesis	Either weakly confirms or disconfirms a hypothesis
Hoop evidence	Disconfirming evidence against a hypothesis	Strongly disconfirms a hypothesis
Smoking-gun evidence	Confirming evidence for a hypothesis	Strongly confirms a hypothesis
Doubly Decisive Evidence	Evidence beyond a reasonable doubt for a hypothesis	Both confirms a hypothesis and eliminates rival hypotheses

Table 2: Derived from Collier (2011)

Building on selectorate theory's discussion of affinities (Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2003:61-65), relational ties are classified into three categories: committed; opposed; and in-between. A committed tie refers to a relationship where Mosaddeq and the group consider each other part of Mosaddeq's winning coalition—they have a strong attachment between each other. An opposed tie is a relationship where Mosaddeq and the group consider each other opponents or rivals and not part of Mosaddeq's winning coalition—they do not have strong attachments between each other. An in-between tie is a relationship between the boundary of committed and opposed; they have a weaker attachment; their status as part of Mosaddeq's winning coalition is less clear. Each relational tie between Mosaddeq and a group is subjected to three hypothesis tests. Figure 1 provides an example of a group classified as committed based on process-tracing. Thus, for each tie, I gathered direct evidence—confessions by actors, participation in demonstrations or rallies, material allocations, etc.—and indirect evidence—stated ideologies, inferred ideologies, ideological agreement and disagreement, social base rivalry, etc.—considered the strength of the evidence for each hypothesis, and arrived at an inference for the relational tie.

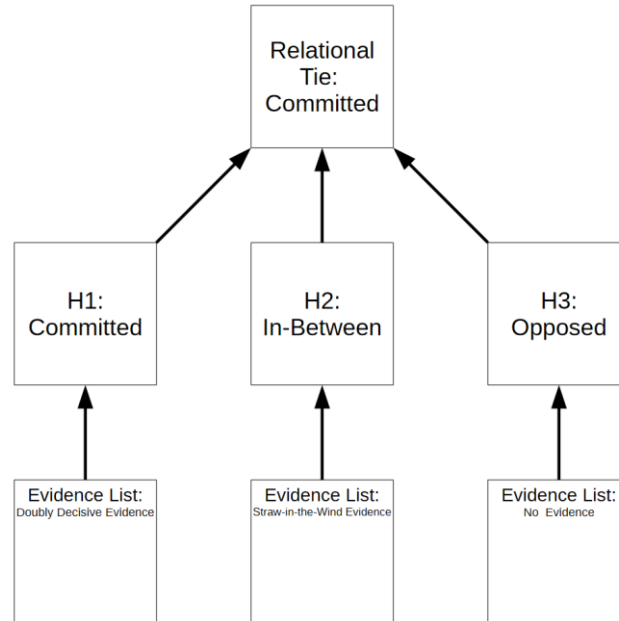


Figure 1: Process-Tracing Example

Following Turchin (2003), I conceive of the variation among potential coercive and legitimating agents as social space. The major categories of social space I include are the ruling elite, parliamentary institutions, international actors, modern classes, traditional classes, and the religious establishment. By 1949, the ruling elite included the Shah, the Iranian military, and the oligarchs. Oligarchs refers to economic elites primarily based on landownership. Parliamentary institutions refer to Parliament (Majles) and the Senate. International actors only include the British and the Americans; Soviet influence decreased in Iran after 1946-1947 and while the Soviet shadow loomed large over Iranian politics, it was not directly involved in the period. The modern classes refer to groups whose social base came from modern institutions like factory workers, salaried occupations requiring degrees, and high school and university students. The traditional classes refer to groups whose social base was primarily connected to the bazaar. The bazaar refers to the institution that organized the traditional economy into a certain mercantile sector of a city; it included big merchants and money lenders; wholesale traders, small

shopkeepers, and independent craftsmen; and shop assistants and workshop employees (Ashraf 1988; Deneoux 1993). The religious establishment refers to three trends in Shia Islam in this period: a conservative trend led by Ayatollah Borujerdi; a pragmatic trend led by Ayatollah Kashani; and a radical trend led by the Devotees of Islam (Yazdi 1990). In addition to this social space, I also exploit temporal variation in these relationships across three phases: before Mosaddeq's premiership, his first government, and his second government.

The data used is the secondary English-language literature on the case which ranges from first-hand accounts during the time period (e.g. Young 1952) to contemporary historical accounts (e.g. Abrahamian 2013; Rahnema 2015). Unfortunately, such accounts tend to lack systematic data on groups like linguistic and religious minorities, women, the peasantry, and other provinces besides Tehran. However, the key dependent variable, political survival, is situated in Tehran as this is the seat of the central government and much of the political action, both inside and outside formal institutions, was taking place in Tehran. Thus, these omitted variables may not be influential. The lack of primary sources also needs to be addressed. I chose to be consistent on secondary sources rather than selectively picking primary sources. However, many of the secondary sources are based on primary sources and much of the evidence I cite actually comes from analysis of primary sources in the case literature. In terms of handling selection bias in the historiography, my process tracing method uses quasi-triangulation and explicit triage (Lustick 1996).

I proceed by providing relevant background information on Iran up to 1949. Then, I process trace the relational ties for each group in each phase. Based on the analysis, I find Mosaddeq's coalition pacified the traditional elites but allocations decisions after the July Uprising enflamed existing tensions within his coalition. I conclude by hypothesizing that the

prospects for political survival in revolutionary situations are improved when political leaders are able to maintain unity from potential sources of legitimation—e.g., the religious establishment, civil society, parliamentary institutions, etc.—before they shrink their winning coalition.

Mosaddeq’s failure to unify any of these sources before shrinking his winning coalition decreased the prospects for his political survival. Mosaddeq could have improved his prospects for political survival by entering into a coalition government with religious and clientelist parties.

EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Background: 1905 to 1949

The Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911) was Iran’s first modern revolutionary situation. A coalition of bazaar merchants, Western-influenced intelligentsia, and clergy demanded a written constitution to end arbitrary rule in Iran (Abrahamian 1982; Foran 1991). The Constitutionals were initially successful, but the revolution ended after Russian forces began assisting the Royalists. Afterwards, Iran was occupied in World War 1 and then, the interwar period brought a new autocrat to power: Reza Shah.

From 1905 to 1941, two major ideas are noteworthy. First, competing revolutionary paradigms (Sohrabi 1995) were established from Iran’s experience with the Constitutional Revolution and the international implications of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Sohrabi argues that the Constitutional Revolution followed the French model in which the focus was not the sudden overthrow of the state, but the “creation of a strong representative, legislative assembly that dominated the executive” (1995:1385); since a Constitution had been established, those still advocating this type of paradigm were regarded as reformers. On the other hand, after the 1917 Russian Revolution, the idea of the Marxist revolution was beginning to take hold in Iran and

those who advocated this paradigm became regarded as radicals. Both of these paradigms existed in 1941-1953 Iran and informed the revolutionary ideologies different groups would espouse.

Second, after the failure of the Constitutional Revolution, Reza Shah's rule set up a stable social equilibrium (Goldstone 2014) that began establishing strong and certain institutions. His rule was made possible by three pillars: the army, the bureaucracy, and court patronage (Abrahamian 1969). This was a small selectorate, small winning coalition system in which the army stifled dissent, the bureaucracy handled state capability, and court patronage of government positions and land was the carrot to the army's stick. Civil society was curtailed and a plan of authoritarian modernization (Katouzian 1981; Atabaki 2004) revolved around three schemes: political centralization, economic modernization, and cultural Persianization (Abrahamian 1982).

In August 1941, Reza Shah's regime fell when the Allies invaded and occupied Iran. Upon the invasion, the three pillars of Reza Shah's rule dissipated. He abdicated to his son after the rank and file of the army and the officer corps fled home. After the army was dispersed, the young Shah was forced to return the lands his father had seized (Abrahamian 1969; Katouzian 1981). Parliament entered into a deal with the young Shah: they would now control the cabinet and the bureaucracy, but the Shah could retain control of the military (Abrahamian 1969) As a result, the period became engulfed in power struggles between the Shah, the aristocracy, the Allied occupiers, and a re-emerging civil society that ranged from groups espousing Islamic fundamentalism to Marxist-Leninism.

The Allied occupation had devastating effects on Iran. In order to secure supplies for their troops, the Allies demanded control of Iranian fiscal policy, especially by devaluing Iranian currency, expanding the money supply, and extending credit to the British and the Russians

(Katouzian 1981:142-143). Political survival for the premiership had to include the occupiers in the winning coalition as “cabinets survived so long as they cooperated with them” (Abrahamian 1969:58). Allied competition over Iran’s northern oil resulted in Soviet-backed autonomy movements in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan after the war had ended in 1945-1946. Ahmad Qavam was brought to the premiership to secure the Soviet oil concession, but his failure had a lasting legacy on Iranian politics. Parliament’s rejection of the Soviet oil deal in 1947 included a resolution that the nation had to restore its rights to its southern oil as well.

Qavam’s subsequent exile from the country in 1947 swung post-war Iran in the Shah’s favor. Azimi (1989) remarks that the Shah was obsessed with being *the* leader of the country. In 1943, in a private conversation with one diplomat, the Shah confessed that “he would prefer that Allied forces remain in Iran to prevent a revolution against the monarchy, at least until he could rebuild his army and gain an upper hand in the domestic power struggle” (quoted in Foran 1993:271). After the Soviet withdrawal in 1946, he began making slow gains by maintaining troops in Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, and parts of central Iran so the army officers could swing the elections in his favor. The military’s budget continued to increase, and the Shah continued to broker deals with the United States for weapons and training. In 1948, due to continued factionalism in Parliament over which western power to support, the Shah was able to appoint his first favored candidate for premier without prior consultation from Parliament: Mohammad Sa’ed (Abrahamian 1982). In response, constitutionalists charged the Shah with overstepping his legal boundaries, but their pleas accomplished little as Sa’ed was favorable to enough factions within Parliament and the foreign embassies. Due to the above resolution, the government under Sa’ed began oil negotiations with the British in January 1949. They intended to keep the negotiations quiet, but things took a turn for the worse when the ex-Minister of Finance under

Reza Shah who signed the re-instated concession in 1933 claimed he did so under duress in a public speech in Parliament—increasing the salience of the issue to the politically articulate public. Thus, in 1949, three concurrent trends were about to collide: first, the Shah continued to make authoritarian gains in the political sphere; second, the salience of British oil continued to increase; and third, an opposition emerged against both of the above trends.

Table 3 summarizes the relational ties that I will analyze in the upcoming sections. To reiterate, an opposed tie means Mosaddeq and the corresponding group are in opposition, a committed tie means they are in an alliance, and the in-between tie refers to groups stuck between opposition and commitment for various reasons. For each phase, first I will state Mosaddeq’s goals and strategies during the period; then I will process trace each tie; then I will provide concluding remarks for the phase.

Table 3: Relationships to Mosaddeq			
	Phase 1: Pre-Government (January 1949 to April 1951)	Phase 2: 1 st Government (May 1951 to July 1952)	Phase 3: 2 nd Government (July 1952 to August 1953)
Ruling Elite			
Shah	Opposed	Opposed	Opposed
Military	In-between	In-between	Opposed
Oligarchs	Opposed	Opposed	Opposed
Parliamentary Institutions			
Parliament	In-between	In-between	Opposed
Senate	In-between	In-between	Opposed
International Actors			
British	Opposed	Opposed	Opposed
Americans	In-between	In-between	Opposed
Modern Classes			
Tudeh	In-between	Opposed	In-between
Iran Party	Committed	Committed	Committed
Pan-Iranists	Committed	Committed	Committed
Third Force	Committed	Committed	Committed
Traditional Classes			
Baqai	Committed	Committed	Opposed
Bazaar	Committed	Committed	Committed
Religious Establishment			
Kashani	Committed	Committed	Opposed

Devotees	In-between	Opposed	In-between
Conservative Ulama	In-between	In-between	Opposed

Phase 1: Pre-Government (January 1949 to April 1951)

Mosaddeq’s goal as an opposition deputy was to oppose the Shah’s authoritarianism and the British’s imperialism. They would often become intertwined as Mosaddeq protested election rigging would result in misappropriation of Iran’s assets (Katouzian 1990). In terms of strategy, Mosaddeq led the opposition inside Parliament. As I will argue, Mosaddeq always regarded Parliament as his main propagating agent as he emphasized legalism and constitutionalism. When Parliament created an oil committee to evaluate the British oil deal, Mosaddeq criticized it as a ploy to keep the oil deal behind closed doors. He got himself elected not only to that committee but as its chairman. Meanwhile, the National Front was tasked with leading the outside opposition. They did so via publishing newspapers and holding rallies with professional organizations, bazaar guilds, middle-class associations, and university students (Abrahamian 2013). These two strategies came to a head in early 1951 when public pressures led to Razmara’s assassination in March 1951 and, in the aftermath, Mosaddeq’s position as oil chairman allowed him to push through oil nationalization on his terms. This set the incumbent regime on a path in which it had to recognize oil nationalization, paving the way to Mosaddeq’s first premiership.

Ruling elite

Shah: Prior to Mosaddeq’s premiership, the evidence is doubly decisive that he and the Shah were in opposition. The Shah had ambitions towards becoming sole head of state. By January 1949, he had maintained an alliance with the military by championing their cause in Parliament and began appointing Court approved premiers as evidenced by Hazhir and Sa’ed. After a failed assassination attempt in February 1949, he convened a Constituent Assembly that

gave him the power to dissolve Parliament and it also established a Senate in which he got to appoint half the members. By February 1950, the Shah was undisputed leader of the army, held control over the Cabinet, Parliament, and the Senate, had royal lands returned, martial law declared, certain radicals exiled or banned, and imposed press freedoms (Abrahamian 1969; 1982). Mosaddeq was against these increased royal prerogatives. He famously led a protest against the rigging of elections in October 1949 and formed the National Front coalition shortly after they obtained promises for re-elections. Tehran was the only district that received re-elections. Cottam (1979) remarks the Shah knew Mosaddeq and his allies would win seats, but he doubted their potential to influence Parliament, let alone the populace. Mosaddeq spared no time in criticizing the Shah. When the Shah was able to secure another Court approved premier in Mansur, Mosaddeq and the National Front criticized his government as a Court puppet (Abrahamian 1982). In May 1950, Mosaddeq gave a speech to Parliament attacking the Shah's Constituent Assembly as illegitimate (Azimi 1989). Speaking to foreign ambassadors, the Shah criticized Mosaddeq's foreign policy and later claimed that the power of the government should be derived from the crown; he added that he had and would interfere in government and expressed a preference for weak premiers unless he were the one to appoint a strong premier (Azimi 1989). When Mansur's government submitted the oil deal to Parliament upon pressures by both the British and the Shah, Mosaddeq and the National Front shifted to oil nationalization. Mansur subsequently lost the favor of the Shah because he was too appeasing toward the National Front; the Shah decided on Razmara as Mansur's successor partly because he was willing to stand up to Mosaddeq and the National Front. After Razmara's assassination in March 1951, the Shah tried to declare martial law, dissolve both houses of Parliament, and hold new elections but he backed down due to lack of support from the leaders of the Senate and

Parliament (Abrahamian 2013). The Shah also tried but failed to dissuade both deputies and senators from showing up to vote for Mosaddeq's oil nationalization proposal (Azimi 1989). The roots of this antagonistic relationship are consonant with Tilly's (1978) exclusive competing claims for the state and Hanson's (2010) different visions of a future polity. The Shah aspired towards authoritarianism while Mosaddeq aspired towards parliamentarianism.

Military: I will argue the evidence for the military in this phase supports the in-between hypothesis best. Mosaddeq had an antagonistic relationship with General Razmara and a loosely committed relationship with General Zahedi. Among the military as a whole, he was likely antagonistic with the senior officer corps but sympathetic with the junior officers and rank and file. As mentioned above, Razmara was appointed as a strong man to resist the National Front and he took steps to drive a wedge between the National Front and the Tudeh (Abrahamian 1982). Prior to Razmara's premiership, Mosaddeq and the National Front tried to support Mansur not because they liked him, but because they feared Razmara as premier more (Azimi 1989). Razmara as premier was considered a military/court conspiracy (Zabih 1982) as Razmara was behind the rigging of elections back in August to October 1949. When Razmara presented himself as a reformer, Mosaddeq condemned him as an oppressor who threatened dictatorship (Azimi 1989). Razmara was rivals with General Zahedi, as Zahedi considered the younger Razmara an upstart. Zahedi is noted as supporting the National Front based on his rivalry with Razmara (Abrahamian 1982; Zabih 1982). This cannot be considered a strong tie as it is not based on any ideological commitment to Mosaddeq nor any credible offer of private goods.

As for the social composition of the military, the military was stratified into senior officers, junior officers, and the rank and file. The senior officers were comprised of old aristocrats (Zabih 1982), considered corrupt (Katouzian 1990; Chengnizadeh 1997), and

promotion into the upper ranks not only required a bribe (Katouzian 1990) but was also personally vetted by the Shah (Abrahamian 2001). Mosaddeq was always critical of their interference in elections (Abrahamian 2013). It is plausible that Mosaddeq had sympathies among junior officers though the evidence is straw-in-the-wind. Junior officers were college graduates that came from the urban middle class (Kazemi 1980; Zabih 1982). By the end of the decade, their wages and prospects for promotion had diminished (Katouzian 1990). Mosaddeq's criticisms of the Shah's control of the military could have appealed to any who despised the senior officers and the Shah for denying their future career prospects. The rank and file were recruited from a universal draft and after serving for two years, kept in reserves for another twenty years (Chengnizadeh 1997). It is plausible that any who shared backgrounds with others sympathetic to the National Front like the traditional and modern middle classes were sympathetic to Mosaddeq.

Oligarchs: The oligarchs and Mosaddeq were in opposition. Oligarchs included the royal family, the aristocracy, the tribal magnates, the high ulama, the grande bourgeoisie, senior civil servants, and high-ranking army officers (Abrahamian 1969). Mosaddeq was a long-time critic of their stranglehold on Parliament. Abrahamian states: "Between 1919 and 1953, 57 percent of the deputies were landowners, 20 percent were senior bureaucrats, 10 percent were wealthy merchants, and only one percent were from the 'lower classes'" (1968:207-208). As such, Mosaddeq wanted electoral reform to prevent bloc voting; in an earlier Parliament, Mosaddeq had recommended literacy qualifications for voting, independent election committees, land reform, and meritocratic bureaucracy (Abrahamian 1978). The oligarchs returned the distrust as Cottam (1979) claims that most of the deputies in this Parliament were old landowners and that they would pounce on the opportunity to remove him from Parliament. Nevertheless, scholars

contend the tables were reversed on them as the surging public support for Mosaddeq and the National Front after Razmara's assassination led to their acquiescence towards Mosaddeq (Cottam 1979; Katouzian 1981; Zabih 1982).

Parliamentary institutions

Parliament: Mosaddeq's relationships with Parliament prior to his Premiership was always strained as he was often involved in opposition movements. In the 14th Parliament, Mosaddeq eschewed the factions that sprang up and led the independent deputies instead (Abrahamian 1969; 1978). He was offered the Premiership back then but accused of it being a ploy to remove him from Parliament (Katouzian 1984). He would often push electoral reform bills that would increase urban representation, create university seats, and make the electoral boards more independent but they would be shelved (Abrahamian 2013). Mosaddeq was not elected to the 15th Parliament but he sent letters of support to the opposition that emerged against the oil deal in July 1949. In the 16th Parliament, he was first deputy from Tehran and leader of the 8 total National Front deputies against a Parliament in which sixty percent of deputies owed their seats to Razmara's election rigging for the Court (Zabih 1982). Cottam (1979) remarks most deputies were content with the status quo which was either pro-Court or pro-British depending on who they owed their seat to. Nevertheless, this small National Front minority caused royalist and pro-British deputies to vote for oil nationalization in March 1951 and elect Mosaddeq as premier in April 1951. I classify the tie as in-between as Mosaddeq always had a minority base of support in Parliament, but the Parliamentary majority never unified in opposition against him.

Senate: Less information is available on the Senate from this period without primary sources. As stated before, the Shah gained the Senate in order to consolidate royal power. Half of the senators were appointed by the Shah and the other half were elected. Diba (1986) explains this election process was designed for collusion. It was a two-tiered election in which the public voted for a list of potential Senators and then that list of Senators would vote amongst themselves for the actual senators. Mosaddeq was elected in the first public election but was colluded against in the second part. In addition, as mentioned above, Mosaddeq considered the creation of the Senate through the Constituent Assembly to be illegitimate anyway. Unlike Parliament, it is not clear if Mosaddeq had minority support in the Senate; however, the Senate also acquiesced after Razmara's assassination and voted for oil nationalization and Mosaddeq as premier. This tie could be classified as opposition or in-between; I chose in-between due to the direct evidence of voting for oil nationalization and Mosaddeq as premier. Similar to Parliament, Senators did not unify against him.

International actors

British: Prior to Mosaddeq's first government, he and the British were opposed to each other. In late 1948 and early 1949, the British came around to the view that supporting the Shah would be the best course for economic development in Iran in order to prevent a Communist revolution (Louis 1984; Azimi 1989). They did not seek the Shah's authoritarianism at this stage; they preferred strong premiers instead. But they were also bigoted and delusional when it came to dealing with Iran. The British view of popular sentiment in Iran, as exemplified by their ambassador Sir Francis Shepherd, was that without direct British colonialism, Iranian nationalism was illegitimate (Louis 1984). Azimi (1989) notes that the British were overconfident concerning the prospects for a favorable oil deal even when the premiers were

court-appointed; on the initial supplementary agreement, members of Sa'ed's government either considered it to be inadequate, were opposed to it, or reluctant to be seen supporting it. After Sa'ed, they continued to pressure the Shah and Mansur to present the supplementary agreement to Parliament for approval. During Razmara's government, Louis (1984) notes the British wanted a deal that would retain their control of the oil industry while providing the Iranian government with revenue to prevent communism via economic development. Clement Attlee is noted as wanting to settle the oil deal with moderates—Razmara—before extremists took over—Mosaddeq. He viewed Mosaddeq as an “emotional lunatic”. Mosaddeq, of course, pegged the British as imperial dominators of Iran via their stake in the oil company. He and the National Front spared no effort in labeling the British as imperialists and anyone who supported them as traitors to the country. Upon Razmara's death, not only did the Shah try and dissuade deputies from showing up to vote for oil nationalization, but the British tried as well. Shortly after the bill passed both houses, Shepherd finally decided that they could no longer ignore nationalization; instead, he settled on a 50/50 split along with paying lip service to nationalization (Azimi 1989).

Americans: The relationship between the Americans and Mosaddeq is difficult to infer in this period. The Americans appeared to have a preference in their vision for Iran, but the implementation is unclear. Azimi (1989) notes the Americans favored an effective administration that could implement socio-economic reforms and that they were less interested in strengthening the monarchy. The Americans had no illusion that military aid was to prevent Soviet invasion as the Shah argued; their primary mission was to maintain internal security (Diba 1986; Chengizadeh 1997). More so, they saw social, economic, and political development as the most important factor for Iranian security; they argued the roots of instability were the ineffective, backward, and corrupt military and civil bureaucracies (Chengizadeh 1997). Gasiorowski

(1987) argues that the reemergence of the Tudeh in 1950 coupled with urban unrest due to the oil deal and the economic recession led U.S. policymakers to be more concerned about Iran. They provided loans, sent aid, and increased both State Department and CIA presence in the country. In April 1951, the British failed to recruit the Americans on a joint oil policy; instead, the Americans warned of Soviet intervention if the British resorted to force (Azimi 1989). There are two points of evidence against Mosaddeq. Cottam (1988) argues prior to 1951, the Americans were sympathetic to liberal Iranians, but he infers they meant the liberal wing of the traditional elite—men like Ahmad Qavam, not Mosaddeq. In January 1951, both the Americans and the British had concluded that there was nothing better than Razmara available at that time (Azimi 1989; Katouzian 1990). As to how Mosaddeq felt about the Americans before he assumed the premiership, considering the Tudeh pegged him as an American stooge, one can infer that, at the least, he was not hostile to them. Also considering that Mosaddeq shared a similar sentiment in that socio-economic reforms were the cure for communism, I label the tie as in-between as it is not clear if the Americans were firmly pro or anti-Mosaddeq at this stage.

Modern classes

Tudeh: I will argue the tie between Mosaddeq and the Tudeh at this stage is in-between. After January 1948, the Tudeh became a monolithic communist party whereas beforehand it was a coalition of left-leaning politics in Iran (Katouzian 1981). Nonetheless, there still existed factions within the Tudeh Party that were sympathetic to Mosaddeq (Katouzian 1990), but the central committee was dominated by anti-Mosaddeq communists (Siavoshi 1994). Upon formation of the National Front, the Tudeh denounced it as an agent of both imperialism and the royal court (Katouzian 1990). A year later under Razmara's premiership, the Tudeh labeled the National Front as a product of American imperialism (Katouzian 1990; Siavoshi 1994) and that

the National Front's oil nationalization program was a British plot. However, a few months before that, the Tudeh had no problem joining the National Front in demanding oil nationalization when Mansur's government submitted the British oil deal to Parliament (Abrahamian 1982). This pattern repeated after Razmara's assassination when the Tudeh again joined the National Front in calling for oil nationalization in March and April 1951 (Abrahamian 1969; 2013); however, Mosaddeq was still a liberal bourgeois with false illusions about the Americans (Abrahamian 2013) and their newspaper was floating a conspiracy that the Americans were the real plot behind Razmara's assassination and the National Front's oil nationalization (Katouzian 1990). Without any systematic analysis of Tudeh primary sources, it is hard to make a definitive conclusion here as to whether the Tudeh were firmly pro or anti-Mosaddeq. On one hand, they were ideologically opposed but on the other hand, they supported the National Front's demonstrations for oil nationalization. I label the tie as in-between because Mosaddeq's status as a challenger meant that they did not have to commit either way and Mosaddeq's 'bourgeois democracy' could be a steppingstone for their desired future polity.

Iran Party: I classify the relational tie between Mosaddeq and the Iran Party as committed. They had a prior experience of being allies in the 14th Parliament when they joined Mosaddeq as independents (Abrahamian 1978). When the National Front was founded in October 1949, the Iran Party dominated both the temporary executive committee of the National Front and Mosaddeq's inner circle of advisers (Abrahamian 2013). Prior to his premiership, they were closely aligned ideologically. On domestic politics, they were united against what they considered the traditional power elite of Iran: the Court, the military, and the oligarchy (Abrahamian 1969); they have often been labeled as democratic socialists (Cottam 1979; Siavoshi 1985). On foreign politics, they were considered intense nationalists (Cottam 1979).

Pan-Iranists: I lack direct information on the Pan-Iranists from this period so the tie will have to be inferred from ideology. The Pan-Iranists were a fascist group formed by high schoolers and university undergraduates in 1949 that denounced oligarchs, ulama, Marxists, and non-Persians (Abrahamian 1969). They eventually joined the National Front forming a core part of the rank and file at rallies, but sources do not specify when they joined (Abrahamian 1982). Katouzian (1990) notes some ideological tension as groups in the National Front were not espousing the revival of ancient Iranian empires like they were but it is safe to conclude that they considered Mosaddeq an ally based on his oil nationalization campaign. I classify this tie as committed.

Third Force: The Third Force as an entity did not exist yet so this category refers to Khalil Maleki and other Tudeh defectors. The Tudeh Party split in January 1948 (Katouzian 1981) and these defectors have been described as following an independent leftist and extremist national line (Zabih 1982). One of Maleki's mentees invited him to write for Baqai's newspaper (Katouzian 1990). This cooperation continued and led to the formation of the Toilers Party in April 1951 when Maleki led these defectors into an alliance with Baqai. It is safe to conclude that they considered Mosaddeq an ally due to joining the National Front and having similar ideological goals.

Traditional classes

Baqai: Mosaddeq and Mozaffar Baqai Kermani were allies during this phase. In addition to the man himself, this category not only refers to his organizations including the Association to Supervise Free Elections, the Organization to Safeguard Freedom, and later the Toilers Party, which was formed in April 1951, but his close connections with the other two deputies who

represented the bazaar: Makki and Haerizadeh. Baqai began his political career in the 15th Parliament from Kerman representing its bazaar. From January 1949 to July 1949, Baqai, Makki, and Haerizadeh along with a couple others formed an oil opposition group against the British oil deal and Baqai also led the Parliamentary opposition against the Shah's constituent assembly in the 15th Parliament (Katouzian 1990). He formed the Association to Supervise Free Elections in response to the rigging of elections in August 1949 (Abrahamian 1969). He also participated in the Mosaddeq-led protest against the rigged elections in October 1949 and became a founding member of the National Front (Abrahamian 1982). Upon Tehran re-elections, he was elected 2nd Deputy from Tehran and became one of the leading spokesmen of the National Front in Parliament. His Organization to Safeguard Freedom was considered critical in mobilizing the bazaar for National Front rallies (Abrahamian 1982) and he led the outside opposition for the National Front from January 1950 to December 1950 (Katouzian 1990). Despite all this, Baqai had a reputation for being an ambitious opportunist. A U.S. Intelligence Report doubted the authenticity of his free election claims and surmised he was only interested in them as a means for his own personal interests (Diba 1986). Nevertheless, I classify the tie as committed due to the direct evidence of involvement with the National Front and the ideological agreement of being anti-Court, anti-Oligarch, and anti-British.

Bazaar: The National Front, and by extension Mosaddeq, had many connections to the bazaar. Baqai, Haerizadeh, and Makki were considered bazaar deputies with bazaar constituencies. Kashani's Society of Muslim Warriors was a patron-client network consisting of connections from the middle strata of the bazaar to both the lower strata of the bazaar and the clerical class. The Devotees of Islam drew their members from the lower strata of the bazaar as well (Abrahamian 1969). Those in the middle strata not affiliated with the above were organized

in a Union of Trade and Bazaar Merchants. They joined the National Front shortly after its inception in October 1949 (Zabih 1982; Katouzian 1990; Abrahamian 2013). Based on these connections, the National Front helped bazaar guilds organize political strikes and protest meetings (Abrahamian 1982); the National Front was able to hold public meetings in the bazaar and in return, not only did bazaar guilds participate in National Front rallies when called upon (Abrahamian 1969) but they became a major financier for the National Front (Katouzian 1990). Based on the numerous connections and the active participation of the bazaar, I infer the relationship between Mosaddeq and the bazaar was committed.

Religious establishment

Kashani: Ayatollah Kashani and Mosaddeq were allies for the moment. Kashani was one of the radicals the Shah had exiled in February 1949 and was critical of the Shah's power play at the time (Akhavi 1988; Katouzian 1990). From exile, he joined Mosaddeq on multiple occasions as an opposition politician. He sent letters against the oil deal in the 15th Parliament in July 1949. During the elections for the 16th Parliament, he urged his followers to vote for National Front candidates (Yazdi 1990). He too was elected to Parliament from Tehran, but he never took his seat. Instead he either issued public proclamations or gave messages and letters to Mosaddeq when he wanted to announce his political positions (Akhavi 1988). Kashani also opposed Razmara's premiership (Katouzian 1990). Despite these gestures, it is unclear where Kashani actually stood with respect to the Shah's domestic politics. For example, Akhavi (1988) reports that after Razmara's assassination, he expressed being more popular than the Shah but also abdicated him of any responsibility for Razmara's government. This differed with Mosaddeq at the time who was still critical over the Shah's control of the military. Yazdi (1990) also presents evidence that Kashani was, at the least, not anti-monarchy. Along with this, due to Kashani's

later defection, scholars are a little cautious when describing Kashani. Cottam (1979) remarks the alliance only worked because they both had a common enemy in the landowner-British alliance. Azimi (1989) argues Mosaddeq collaborated with Kashani to counterbalance any attempt by his opponents to exploit religious conservatives. Kashani was also included in that same U.S. Intelligence Report doubting the authenticity of his free election claims (Diba 1986). Based on the evidence of direct involvement with Mosaddeq, I classify the tie as committed but there were questions to how steady this alliance really was.

Devotees: The tie between Mosaddeq and the Devotees of Islam was in-between as Mosaddeq had no direct connection with them. Instead, their ties to Mosaddeq and the National Front came through their alliance with Kashani (Abrahamian 1969; Kazemi 1984; Ramazani 1988). They had participated in demonstrations in 1949 under the Kashani banner (Kazemi 1984) and Kashani, in turn, instructed them to vote for National Front candidates (Yazdi 1990). This group claimed responsibility for the assassination of Hazhir, one of the two men responsible for rigging those elections, in November 1949. Their alliance with Kashani lasted until their assassination of Razmara in March 1951 after which Kashani began to distance himself from them (Kazemi 1984). Cottam (1979) claims the Devotees were opponents of secularism which likely alienated them from Mosaddeq but their promotion of Pan-Islamism and the expulsion of infidels from the country was enough for them to fall under the umbrella of the National Front (Abrahamian 1969). I consider the above doubly decisive evidence for the in-between hypothesis as their tie was to Kashani and not Mosaddeq.

Conservative Ulama: I classify the tie between the Conservative Ulama and Mosaddeq as in-between. Most of the analysis here is based on Yazdi (1990). Yazdi argues that since Shia Islam lacked a formal hierarchy, an informal hierarchy formed consisting of two seats at the top.

On one end there was the traditional religious leader (the grand Mojtabeh) who led the spiritual interpretation of Islam. This seat was occupied by Grand Ayatollah Borujerdi. The other seat was the de-facto religio-political leader of Islam. This seat was occupied by the aforementioned Ayatollah Kashani. The conservative faction of ulama thus refers to those who followed Borujerdi. In February 1949, Borujerdi declared at a conference that mullahs were discouraged from entering politics. In terms of enforcement, Yazdi argues they lacked any power to directly enforce this measure but instead relied on indirect pressures to discourage overt political involvement and prevention of the politicization of religious centers. As for Mosaddeq and oil nationalization, when asked about whether oil nationalization was in accordance with Islamic principles, Borujerdi remained silent on the issue. In addition, the clergy's relationship with the Shah was positive as the Shah had sought to appease them and in return, they valued the institution of the monarchy. Katouzian (1990) tries to argue that the conservative ulama giving no support to the National Front showed they were pro-establishment and anti-Mosaddeq, but he provides no evidence, so this is straw-in-the-wind evidence at best. I conclude that they were apolitical at this time and thus, I label them as in-between, but it must be noted that they were also not anti-monarchy.

Phase I conclusion

Now having described the relations with major groups, what explains the variation? It is often explained that positive ties were based on the anti-British program or Mosaddeq's charisma (Cottam 1979; Abrahamian 1982; Siavoshi 1985). While true, it ignores some important dimensions. For one, part of Mosaddeq's successes was, as argued by Abrahamian (1982) and Azimi (1989), shifting politics away from Parliament and onto the streets. Mosaddeq was always critical that the institutions meant to represent people did not represent them at all. He was able

to take advantage of the fact that voters were part of the nominal selectorate and not the real selectorate and he mobilized them based on the idea that without adequate representation, the country was being sold out to foreigners by the traditional elites. This strategy saw the most successes with the emerging modern middle-class as represented by the Iran Party, the Pan-Iranists, and the Third Force and the traditional middle-class as represented by the Union of Trade and Bazaar Merchants along with Baqai and Kashani's constituencies. In terms of ideology, this heterogenous coalition consisted of democratic socialists, fascists, traditional bazaar guilds, political Islamists, and Islamic fundamentalists.

This strategy resulted in tenuous ties with the ruling elite as represented by the Shah, the military, the oligarchs, both houses of Parliament, and the British. One would expect this type of variation in an emerging revolutionary situation. But I should note that the opposition at this point was not coordinated. The British underestimated Mosaddeq while the Shah and both houses of Parliament were not willing to stand up against the National Front unless they had a scapegoat willing to do it for them. General Razmara was this scapegoat but his assassination defeated their strategy.

One key area to note is how split the religious establishment was as potential legitimating agents. The conservative ulama stayed the course of non-political involvement while fringe elements like Kashani and the Devotees of Islam were able to politicize Islam successfully. The extent to which Mosaddeq could have appealed to the conservative ulama at this stage is not clear. What is important to note is that this part of the clergy was more concerned with restoring the lost prestige of Islam suffered under Reza Shah. The Shah was prudent in not alienating the conservative ulama against him which deprived Mosaddeq of a powerful potential ally in his fight against the Shah.

Phase 2: Mosaddeq's First Government (May 1951 to July 1952)

When Mosaddeq began his premiership, he said his government had two goals: implementing oil nationalization and electoral reform. In other words, removing one of the major incentives foreign countries had for meddling in Iranian politics and reforming Iranian domestic politics so that it would become more difficult for foreign or domestic forces to manipulate. Mosaddeq settled on a strategy that would involve Parliament as his main propagating agent. He would avoid pushing divisive domestic issues through Parliament until he could obtain recognition of Iranian control of oil. This allowed him to keep his coalition unified and stave off votes of no confidence.

Ruling elite

Shah: During Mosaddeq's first government, his relationship with the Shah continued as opposition. Mosaddeq's first cabinet included General Zahedi as a means to appease the Shah (Katouzian 1990) and the majority of other Cabinet members were veteran politicians associated with the Court (Abrahamian 2013). Yet the Shah was reportedly not happy and protested his fears of a constitutional change to a republic (Katouzian 1990). Azimi (1989) remarks the Shah and his advisors had no sympathy for Mosaddeq or his ideals. However, they decided inaction was the best course for preservation of the monarchy. As such, the Shah consistently adhered to a position that Mosaddeq could only be removed if he publicly disgraced himself and he relied on unclear tactics to obfuscate his relationship with Mosaddeq from the public eye. For example, in August 1951, the Shah told the soon-to-be American Ambassador, Loy Henderson, that he could not take any action against Mosaddeq because of the anti-British sentiment sweeping the country; any action against Mosaddeq would be construed as pro-British and used against the

crown (Abrahamian 2013). This aligns with Hanson (2010): the Shah was consistently avoiding any public commitment to a future polity. This was done to ensure his own political survival as Abrahamian (1969) argues the Shah realized that to sponsor a court party would unite an opposition against him; thus, he had to acquire absolute power first. The result was a coordination problem as the anti-Mosaddeq opposition had few figures capable of rallying around. In December 1951, Henderson reported that the Shah was considering a coup to replace Mosaddeq but he did not know who he could trust to lead it (Rahnema 2015).

Mosaddeq, on the other hand, developed a clever tactic to deal with this situation. Whenever he ran into major problems with either the Shah himself or some plot sponsored by Court intrigue, Mosaddeq would threaten to resign and go public with the reason why. Such tactics were finally put into action on July 16th, 1952 when Mosaddeq resigned in protest against the Shah rejecting Mosaddeq's play for control of the military. Mosaddeq went public with the reason for his resignation by publishing it in newspapers. This action resulted in the July Uprising (July 21st) in which National Front and Tudeh organizations issued a joint call for a nation-wide strike to re-instate Mosaddeq into power. On that day, the Shah's public non-commitment revealed just how poorly organized the opposition really was: the British and Americans did nothing but complain to the Shah; the Shah's appointed premier, Ahmad Qavam, was never in contact with the Shah that day prior to his resignation; and the Shah was busy acquiescing to the National Front (Azimi 1989).

The next day the Shah and Mosaddeq met to hash out their differences. The following is derived from Zabih (1982). The Shah expressed two major grievances: anti-monarchy sentiments and the unresolved oil dispute. Mosaddeq responded that the Shah should back him in the bargaining table against the British and to avoid anti-monarchy, the monarch should not meddle

in politics. The Shah blamed his meddling on chronic government instability and he would step aside under a strong, popular premier who held a majority in Parliament. Mosaddeq said this was only possible if the monarchy and the premier worked together instead of against each other. The meeting concluded with Mosaddeq claiming he was a strong, popular premier so the monarch should reign and not rule; Mosaddeq swore on the Koran he would never be anti-monarchy; and the Shah pledged to work together in good faith. The Shah's words here should not be taken seriously as in the months prior to the July Uprising—May 1952, June 1952, and July 1952—he was in active discussions with the British and American embassies about removing Mosaddeq from power (Abrahamian 2013; Rahnema 2015).

Military: In Mosaddeq's first government, the tie between the military and himself remained in-between. This was for two reasons: Zahedi defected but younger army officers began creating their own networks. Zahedi was invited to be Minister of Interior in May 1951 in Mosaddeq's first cabinet. But as mentioned before, Zahedi's tie to Mosaddeq at this stage was not a strong one. In July 1951, Truman had sent an American diplomat to Iran for oil negotiations. The Tudeh were not pleased with this showing by the Americans and staged a protest against Averell Harriman, the American diplomat. Zahedi took it upon his own initiative to violently repress the Tudeh crowds protesting the arrival of the Americans. This was an embarrassment for the Mosaddeq government and Mosaddeq requested Zahedi's resignation from the Cabinet immediately. Afterwards, Abrahamian (1982) remarks that Zahedi had decided that the military and the monarchy would stand or fall together. This was likely before October 1951 as in that month, Zahedi approached the British to present himself as a candidate for a coup (Abrahamian 2001; Rahnema 2015).

Katouzian (1990) and Chengnizadeh (1997) corroborate an inference that younger army officers became politicized during Mosaddeq's first government. The evidence is the creation of two military networks: the Tudeh military network and the Patriotic Officers network (hereafter PON). The Tudeh military network was created in 1952 but prior to the coup, its goal was organizational expansion and doctrinal consolidation; it only decided on an armed insurrection for a socialist republic after the coup (Kazemi 1980). The network was only comprised of junior officers with a lot of representation from the air force and specialist corps requiring degrees like engineers and doctors. They were primarily stationed in the provinces (Abrahamian 2001). The PON was also created sometime in 1952 but before the July Uprising as Katouzian (1990) argues it was the PON who requested Mosaddeq appoint himself war minister (see also Siavoshi 1990 for creation date). The PON was led by Brigadier General Mahmud Afshartus and its executive committee included him along with four colonels; their goals were the following: establish a democratic government; support Mosaddeq; detach the military from the Shah's personal rule; and purge the military of corruption (Katouzian 1990). Compared to the Tudeh network, they also had high representation from the air force but more senior officers. Kazemi (1980) provides an explanation for the air force connection: he argues the air force was the smallest and least prestigious section of the armed forces; thus, officers who joined the air force had higher aspirations for social mobility as there was not as much competition for spots requiring bribes as there was in the other sections of the armed forces. Chengnizadeh (1997) corroborates that the air force was perceived as no more than a token force used to support the army; nonetheless, he concludes that from 1946 to 1951 the Iranian air force increased its fighting force fivefold. It received surplus war equipment from the United States, had its officers and pilots sent to the United States for training, and it opened its own training colleges for future officers.

Oligarchs: In Mosaddeq's first government, the oligarchs turned their distrust of Mosaddeq to opposition. First, Young (1952) claims not all commercial capitalists at the time felt any semblance of an alliance with the emerging middle-class and the nationalist program. Second, Katouzian (1990) notes that due to the oil dispute, the upper-class began complaining that luxury imports were now more expensive or more difficult to obtain. Third, Cottam (1979) says the landlords could not afford to oppose Mosaddeq directly, so they resorted to indirect tactics in Parliament. Lastly, Azimi (1989) provides a telling quote from Sam Falle, the Oriental Counselor at the British Embassy that revealed the position of the oligarchs near the end of Mosaddeq's first government. Falle remarked that since all the wealthy and influential people in the country are opposed to Mosaddeq, they should unite and fund their own gangs and propaganda campaigns instead of asking the British to do it for them. In other words, economic elites had a real coordination problem that led to free-riding on British intrigue.

Parliamentary institutions

Parliament: Throughout Mosaddeq's first government, he was able to keep Parliament pacified for most of the period. Azimi (1989) argues Mosaddeq's main tool here was the vote of confidence. Parliament feared public reaction if they denied Mosaddeq a vote of confidence. This was a trap as those who voted in favor of Mosaddeq's government could then not immediately turn against him. This pushed them towards discrete action instead. The following is an account of Parliament opposition and pacification derived from Azimi (1989) and Zabih (1982). In April 1951, Mosaddeq received a vote of inclination of 79/90 deputies and his cabinet was approved the following month with a vote of 99/102 deputies. In June 1951, after initial negotiations with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) failed, the Shah and then opposition leader Sayyid Zia tried to break the quorum in the Parliament but failed as Mosaddeq received a

unanimous vote of confidence the same day. In July 1951, after the debacle with the repression of protests at the arrival of Harriman, Parliament was pacified as Harriman was able to negotiate talks with the British the next month. After those talks with the British failed in August 1951, Mosaddeq received a vote of confidence of 72/81 deputies. In September, wary of British intrigue, Mosaddeq did not ask for a vote of confidence and instead threatened to expel AIOC staff from the country; conservative deputies protested this action. In October, Mosaddeq led a delegation to the U.N. and conservative deputies took the chance to attack his government for failing to secure firm American support. Upon his arrival back in Iran in November, Mosaddeq received a vote of confidence with 90 deputies for and 16 abstaining. December 1951 saw deadly riots between Tudeh and Pan-Iranist crowds and conservative deputies attacked the government's ability to maintain law and order. Their last play to oppose Mosaddeq was a motion of interpellation filed for January 1952, but this failed as not enough deputies showed up for a quorum due to the start of re-election season.

The new Parliament convened in February 1952. The 17th Parliament elections are a sticky point in the case literature as Mosaddeq stopped the elections early. Azimi (1989) notes Mosaddeq had no pretenses over securing free and fair elections in all districts but rather he feared the absence of Parliament more than he did an opposition in the Parliament. Election results returned 30/69 deputies for Mosaddeq (Cottam 1979; Abrahamian 1982). Cottam notes the Parliamentary majority still privately opposed Mosaddeq and Abrahamian notes they continued their tactic of discrete action rather than confrontation. One point of constraint on Mosaddeq here that Diba (1986) and Azimi (1989) agree upon was the non-viability of the National Front as a political party in these elections. Mosaddeq decided the National Front itself would sponsor no candidates as he would lose the support of those not chosen. In fact, those who

failed to get elected blamed Mosaddeq for not rewarding their support and joined the opposition. After a series of misdirects to explain why the government was stalling the remaining elections, Mosaddeq announced in June 1952 that elections would be suspended indefinitely due to the current laws not allowing free and representative elections (Zabih 1982). The opposition responded by securing their first victory in which the speaker of Parliament went to a royalist. I classify Parliament as in-between because Mosaddeq received votes of confidence despite only having a minority of deputies committed to him.

Senate: The Senate followed the same pattern as Parliament until the 17th Parliament elections. Up to that point, Azimi (1989) argues that the Senate had some advantages for Mosaddeq. For one, any opposition from a court-appointed Senator could be construed as opposition from the Shah something they would be unwilling to risk unless ordered to by the Shah. Second, it was too early for their re-elections. Third, some senators disliked the alternatives to Mosaddeq more. By January 1952, the opposition had shifted to the Senate. Azimi (1989) infers that most senators disliked Mosaddeq's objectives and his ideals; they feared the National Front's goal which threatened the ruling elite and the existence of the Senate; and they were afraid of the potential outcomes of the new Parliament elections. In March 1952, two events of their opposition are of note. First, three senators confronted Mosaddeq over the current problems the country was facing; Mosaddeq responded by telling them he could stick with them because his goal was freedom and independence from imperialism, or they could choose the prior regime and the domination of the oil company (Azimi 1989). Second, Mosaddeq was forced to declare martial law for the first time in his government but he required Senate approval. Azimi (1989) argues this put the Senators in a bind as one of their primary attacks had always been law and order; they could either support the government now by voting for law and order or

not support the government and be painted as hypocrites. The motion passed 24/47 with the rest abstaining.

Returning to the events leading up to the July Uprising, it was customary for premiers to receive a new vote after a new Parliament had convened. The opposition used this to attack. Parliament began first by trying to prevent a quorum. Mosaddeq resorted to threatening the Shah that if he did not have votes from both houses, he would resign and publicly explain why. Mosaddeq received a vote of inclination first in Parliament with a total of 52/63 deputies for and 10 abstaining. The Senate refused a vote of inclination unless Mosaddeq presented his program first. The Shah feared a constitutional crisis and asked the Senators to vote for Mosaddeq which resulted in 14/36 Senators for and 19 abstaining. After this Mosaddeq resumed office and appointed himself War Minister. The Shah rejected this which led to the July Uprising.

Based on the above accounts, the relationships with both houses of Parliament remained in-between as long as Mosaddeq could secure symbolic victories in the oil dispute. When politics shifted to domestic issues, the main crux was the lack of publicly declared royal support for the opposition. Mosaddeq's leverage here was the mobilizing potential of the coalition and the Shah's fear of dissolution of the monarchy. Unfortunately for Mosaddeq, as will be seen in his second government, both houses received defections from the coalition by politicians who did not need royal support in order to wage opposition against Mosaddeq.

International actors

British: The relationship between Mosaddeq and the British at this point was, predictably, hostile. Louis (1984) argues the British attitude was still emblematic of Sir Francis Shepherd who considered Mosaddeq a lunatic, irrational, and unstable; his letters professing

these qualities were widely circulated throughout the British government. More so, Louis (1988) later argues the Iranians knew the British regarded them as incompetent and this soured their relationship with them as the British never recognized this at the bargaining table. Upon passing of the oil nationalization act in May 1951, the British took dramatic action. Mosaddeq was still willing to continue oil exports on condition that tankers receive a receipt for their loads, but the British responded by withdrawing their tankers, replacing them with a battleship, and blockading Iranian oil exports (Katouzian 1981). In June 1951, oil negotiations between the Iranian government and AIOC fell through. AIOC officials refused to cooperate with Iranian demands leading the Parliamentary oil committee to take over the oil installations in the name of the new National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) (Katouzian 1990). In July 1951, British Parliament decided that the government position will be that nationalization means compensation for AIOC property, not expropriation (Louis 1984). The ICJ also ruled in favor of the British, but the Iranians appealed claiming the ICJ held no jurisdiction between a sovereign state and a private company. Back in June, after the British presented their case to the ICJ, the Foreign Office admitted that they would demand a figure so high for compensation that Iran would not be able to pay it which would lead them to relinquishing control over operations (Abrahamian 2013).

Truman sent Averell Harriman to Iran to mediate in July 1951. This led to the British Stokes Mission in August 1951 which, predictably, failed. Louis (1984) recounts the goal of the British here was preservation over British control of the production of Iranian oil. For Mosaddeq, the fundamental issue was not the particularities of oil economics as the negotiators tried to explain to him, but Iranian versus British control of the oil industry (Katouzian 1981; Abrahamian 2013). Cottam (1979) remarks that the British could not understand the Iranian position that British control of AIOC was the reason the British interfered in Iranian political

affairs. More so, officials at the British Ministry of Fuel admitted that British proposals were smoke and mirrors designed to dress up AIOC control in other clothing (Abrahamian 2013). Abrahamian (2001) argues the British kept the issue of control hidden out of public view by confining it to Foreign Office memos.

After this debacle, the British decided to take no action that would ensure the survival of Mosaddeq's government (Azimi 1989). From September to October 1951, the British genuinely considered military intervention but it was called off by Attlee due to lack of U.S. and U.N. support. Mosaddeq did not stand idly by as he expelled AIOC staff from Iran while the Iranian army occupied the Abadan oil refinery; in response, the British appealed to the U.N. Security Council (Katouzian 1981; Abrahamian 1982). In October, Mosaddeq led a successful case against the British at the U.N. in which the security council reverted the case back to the ICJ. Meanwhile, the British government switched from Attlee's Labor Party to Churchill's Conservative Party. While Mosaddeq was in the United States, the State Department attempted to broker another deal but Anthony Eden, Churchill's Foreign Secretary, called off negotiations. Both Abrahamian (2013) and Rahnema (2015) confirm that the new British policy would be to negotiate with Mosaddeq's successor, not Mosaddeq. This was the true death of the oil deal. It is doubtful that the British would have accepted anything less than AIOC control after this.

From January 1952 to July 1952, the British took the stance of publicized non-negotiation in which joint discussions were tolerated, but they would put forward no constructive solutions themselves (Louis 1988; Azimi 1989). Meanwhile, Mosaddeq responded to British intrigues by closing British consulates in January 1952, leading the Iranian delegation to the ICJ in May/June 1952, and closing the Iranian branch of the British Bank of the Middle East in July 1952. The

day of the July Uprising was the day of vindication for Mosaddeq's efforts as the ICJ ruled the Iranians were correct in that the ICJ had no jurisdiction in the case.

Americans: The relationship between the Americans and Mosaddeq continued to be in-between in his first government because the Truman Administration had a serious coordination problem concerning Mosaddeq. Louis (1984) provides the initial State Department assessment of Mosaddeq. The Ambassador to Iran at the time, Grady, was sympathetic to moderate nationalists, Assistant Secretary of State McGhee was willing to accept corporate partnership, and Secretary of State Acheson agreed with McGhee. Louis (1984) argues the Americans viewed Mosaddeq as rational and stable, albeit blinded by anti-British sentiment, and they were not willing to let the British militarily intervene due to fears of Soviet intervention and another world war. Gasiorowski (1987) and Foran (1993) infer that Truman and the State Department held similar goals with regard to Iran: first, keep Iran in the Western camp; and second, maintain stability in the world oil market.

Abrahamian (2013) argues this has been an overlooked point of contention. In May 1951, McGhee was rushed to Tehran to persuade the Shah not to finalize the oil nationalization law as the U.S. was concerned about its effect on other Middle Eastern countries with oil concessions. After the Harriman Mission in July, Harriman assured the British that negotiation with Mosaddeq was not possible (Abrahamian 2001). During the Stokes Mission, Henderson was discussing with the Shah the possibility of replacing Mosaddeq (Abrahamian 2013). Henderson then replaced Grady as Ambassador to Iran at the end of September. In November 1951, after the switch to Churchill's government and the rejection of McGhee's proposal, Acheson first reassured the British that the U.S. fully supported that Persian oil must be subject to British control and to accept no deal that would upset the world oil market (Abrahamian 2013) but he

also concluded that the British cared more about preserving their assets rather than preventing Iran from going Communist (Rahnema 2015). Based on the above, the three positions on Iranian oil were this: the British wanted a 50/50 split with British control; the Americans wanted a 50/50 split with corporate partnership; and the Iranians wanted full control but were flexible on economics.

Nevertheless, anti-Communism remained a prevalent factor in U.S. policy towards Iran. Truman did not call for undermining Mosaddeq's government and had a policy that covert action should be used to weaken the Soviet position in Iran (Gasiorowski 1987). Louis (1988) and Azimi (1989) corroborate that prior to the July Uprising, the Americans believed that if Mosaddeq's government fell, a communist takeover was imminent. Despite these overtures, Mosaddeq did not always engender sympathy from the Americans. For example, the Americans were hopeful that the World Bank mission from January 1952 to March 1952 would lead to a favorable oil deal and regarded the rejection of the World Bank proposal as unreasonable; this resulted in a denial of an Iranian application for aid (Katouzian 1981; Diba 1986). In addition, Mosaddeq refused American military aid in January 1952 because it came with a condition for defending the free world. The Shah brokered between Mosaddeq and the Americans and Mosaddeq accepted the aid in April 1952 without the above condition. In February 1952, a joint exploratory group from Truman and Churchill's government was conducted to appraise the military situation in Iran and the loyalty of generals to the Shah (Abrahamian 2001). Then, in May 1952, Henderson was discussing with the Court Minister whether the Shah should initiate the fall of Mosaddeq during his trip at the ICJ or after (Rahnema 2015). Lastly, the plan to appoint Ahmad Qavam as Mosaddeq's successor was noted as having the full support of Henderson (Rahnema 2015).

The discrepancies here are that the inferences made regarding the Truman administration and the actions Henderson was taking as Ambassador to Iran do not match up. As I will argue later, Henderson becomes the fulcrum for the opposition to Mosaddeq in his second government but at this stage, it is not clear whether he was taking his own initiative or getting his orders from the Truman administration. Thus, I conclude that at this stage, the Americans remained non-committed whether to fully accept Mosaddeq or not.

Modern classes

Tudeh: The Tudeh Party and Mosaddeq were opposed in his first government (Cottam 1979; Katouzian 1981; Zabih 1982). On the Tudeh side, this tie is explained through ideology and rival social bases. They viewed Mosaddeq as an agent of American imperialism and opposed any government inclined to appeal to the West. On social bases, the National Front and the Tudeh competed over the modern classes (Abrahamian 1969). Universities were sites of contention between many different ideologies, but Abrahamian (1982) argues the Tudeh had the edge. Zabih (1982) remarks the Toilers Party was trying to poach non-communist intelligentsia and labor. Azimi (1989) claims the Tudeh endeavored to alienate the workers and the younger strata of the intelligentsia from the National Front. Abrahamian (1969) argues Mosaddeq could not restrict the crowds without undermining his own basis of authority and he fluctuated between tolerance and firmness. The Tudeh protests against the Harriman Mission have already been covered but Azimi (1989) notes a British Embassy report that pegs 14/17 anti-government demonstrations from July 1951 to December 1951 as Tudeh-sponsored. More so, the Tudeh, despite being a banned party, participated in 17th Parliament elections just to spite Mosaddeq for not getting elected. Azimi (1989) argues the Tudeh were disruptive unless it appeared that right-wing opposition posed a serious threat; this was emblematic in the July Uprising as Azimi notes

the Central Committee was reluctant to support Mosaddeq but decided to do so after their rank and file broke ranks and entered the scene. The Tudeh disliked Mosaddeq as an aristocrat and a bourgeoisie but they disliked the alternatives to Mosaddeq more. Abrahamian (2013) infers that some Tudeh began abandoning the Central Committee's view of Mosaddeq as an imperial stooge and saw him as a national leader.

Iran Party: The Iran Party and Mosaddeq remained close allies in his first government. In Mosaddeq's first Cabinet, he gave the Minister of Education to an Iran Party member (Abrahamian 1969) and three other Cabinet members were Iran Party (Abrahamian 2013). In November, after returning from the U.N. trip, Mosaddeq took the victory there as a chance to re-shuffle his cabinet; he retained four Iran Party members and instead of the other Cabinet members having court connections, he instead chose those who had been educated in France (Abrahamian 2013). Nevertheless, the Iran Party put some constraints on Mosaddeq. Azimi (1989) notes that Mosaddeq tried to groom the Iran Party as the main government party but he was never fully convinced of the viability of programmatic political parties in Iran at the time. Azimi argues this resulted in a lose-lose situation in which the government was blamed for being too close to the Iran Party and the party had to deny its close links or apologize for them. The other constraint was that this party was always spiteful against the traditional middle-class side of the coalition. For example, they protested 17th Parliament election results as leaning too much towards the traditional middle-class side (Abrahamian 1969) and even proposed annulment of those results.

Pan-Iranists: I have little information on the Pan-Iranists from this period, so the tie is inferred from a continuation of ideological continuity with Mosaddeq. Their main activity was

street battles with Tudeh supporters and Gasiorowski (1987) shows the U.S. funded fascist groups in Iran to battle and undermine the Tudeh.

Third Force: Maleki and his Tudeh defectors began attracting young people, university students, workers, and intellectuals forming a distinct faction within Baqai's Toilers Party (Katouzian 1990). Maleki also began espousing his 'theory' of the Third Force (which he would later re-name his party to when they split from the Toilers Party). Maleki argued the Third Force was the non-communist movement for freedom and independence in colonial and semi-colonial countries via indigenous leaders not committed to the Soviets or the Americans (Katouzian 1990). Maleki argued Mosaddeq was the Iranian symbol of the Third Force. Thus, he and his faction remained committed to Mosaddeq during this phase.

Traditional classes

Baqai: The relationship between Baqai and Mosaddeq remained committed in his first government but sources tend to find some tension in this tie. Katouzian (1981) remarks the Toilers Party worked as long as it suited Baqai to support Mosaddeq. This implies an opportunistic relationship, but the question is, what was his goal? Katouzian (1981) and Siavoshi (1985) corroborate an inference in which Baqai saw himself heir apparent to Mosaddeq; thus, they label him as ambitious which coincides with the prior U.S. intelligence report. There are other instances of tension in this relationship in this period. In terms of indirect evidence, Abrahamian (1969) quotes from Baqai's memoirs that he had reservations about Mosaddeq's internal policies but supported him due to foreign policy. In terms of direct evidence, scholars (Azimi 1989; Katouzian 1990; Abrahamian 2013) corroborate that bazaar deputies—Baqai, Makki, and Haerizadeh—were opposed to Mosaddeq taking his son-in-law to the U.N. instead of

Makki; they felt Makki was entitled to such a position due to his leading of the expropriation of AIOC in June 1951. More so, Katouzian (1990) notes Baqai was planning to confront Mosaddeq about his preference regarding the Iran Party prior to the July Uprising. Nonetheless, Baqai did end up participating in the July Uprising that brought Mosaddeq back to power.

Bazaar: The relationship between Mosaddeq and the bazaar in this period is also inferred to still be committed based on the following information. Young (1952) remarked that the National Front was finding support from traders and wholesalers, small retail tradesmen, and skilled labor in the bazaar. Katouzian (1981) claims the bazaar community was very receptive to government issued bonds in February 1952. The Union of Trade and Bazaar Merchants was one of the first groups to mobilize for Mosaddeq in the events leading up to the July Uprising. When the Senate refused to give Mosaddeq a vote of inclination, the Union decided to close the bazaar in protest (Ashraf 1988). When Mosaddeq resigned in protest, bazaar-led demonstrations were some of the first demonstrations to happen in the build up to the July Uprising (Abrahamian 1982). In addition, Mosaddeq still had Kashani along with the bazaar deputies of Baqai, Makki, and Haerizadeh so he could still count on the support of their constituencies. However, Mosaddeq did not have all of the guilds in the bazaar. In February 1952, the British embassy reported that the guilds comprised of bakers, butchers, confectioners, and loaf sugar makers leaned anti-government (Rahnema 2015).

Religious establishment

Kashani: Kashani followed a similar line with Baqai in terms of being allies with Mosaddeq at the time but with tension. Akhavi (1988) provides a quantitative count of proclamations of support for Mosaddeq by Kashani in this period. From May 1951 to December

1951, Kashani issued 28 proclamations of support for Mosaddeq and from January 1952 to July 1952, he had only issued 3. What explains this variation? Scholars (Abrahamian 1969; Akhavi 1988; Yazdi 1990) remark that Kashani called for unity against the British from May 1951 to December 1951. Abrahamian argues Kashani defended the government because the oil issue had priority above all else. Yazdi starts to provide some of the roots of the tension as he argues Kashani expressed unwavering support for Mosaddeq's first government while he avoided taking positions on moral legislation. Back in May 1951, Kashani had declared he would not interfere with Mosaddeq's political appointments; Mosaddeq wanted Kashani to follow Borujerdi's example of clerical non-involvement but Kashani re-iterated that religion and politics were not inseparable in Islam (Akhavi 1988). Cottam (1979) argues Mosaddeq was always aware of Kashani's differing views, but he needed him for lower middle-class, lower class, and peasant support; he further adds that Kashani supporters were the pre-dominant group in National Front demonstrations from 1951 to 1952. Azimi (1989) and Cottam provide the answer for the dearth of proclamations of support in early 1952: 17th Parliament elections. Cottam argues the results of the elections were showing religious candidates beating out secular candidates. This evidence is straw-in-the-wind as Akhavi (1988) shows that most of the clerics that got elected were: one, not as politically active as Kashani; and two, these clerics actually stayed loyal to Mosaddeq. Azimi and Abrahamian (2013) provide better evidence in that Kashani resented Mosaddeq's lack of cooperation toward getting his favored candidates elected; Abrahamian (1969; 1982) shows that Mosaddeq tried to produce compromise candidates but these were rejected by Kashani. Subsequently, in March 1952, the British Embassy reported that Kashani and Zahedi had recently exchanged visits (Rahnema 2015) which corresponds with anger over the elections.

Thus, the tension here is one part allocation of private goods in electoral spoils but also ideological as Kashani had his own religious view of politics.

Devotees: The relationship between the Devotees of Islam and Mosaddeq became opposition almost immediately. Within two weeks of Mosaddeq's government, the Devotees were criticizing it (Abrahamian 1969). They threatened Mosaddeq for not releasing their imprisoned members; criticized Mosaddeq and Kashani for their refusal to implement Islamic law; and felt entitled to recompense for their assassinations of Hazhir in November 1949 and Razmara in March 1951 (Yazdi 1990). They demanded government positions. Kashani attempted to mediate by explaining the National Front could not yet debate divisive moral legislation but his protests fell on deaf ears. The government arrested their leader, Safavi, and they retaliated almost a year later by attacking Hossein Fatemi claiming Mosaddeq was their target (Abrahamian 1969; Cottam 1979). Cottam argues nationalism was foreign to their interests and ideology and they resented the strengthening of the secular arm of the government and the government's refusal to take guidance from religious leadership. Yazdi concludes their religious motivations were too strong to allow cooperation with the nationalists; this is despite the fact that the government freed 28 of their members over time including Razmara's assassin (Abrahamian 1982).

Conservative Ulama: The relationship between Mosaddeq and the conservative ulama continued to be in-between in his first government. Akhavi (1988) claims the clerics that followed Borujerdi remained well in the background throughout Mosaddeq's first government. Abrahamian (1982) notes Mosaddeq did allocate some private and public goods towards the clerical establishment in his government. The foreign minister and the assistant minister of education were well-known to be amenable to religious issues. He also restricted Ahmad

Kasravi's disciples from overly criticizing the religious establishment. Yazdi (1990) notes Mosaddeq postulated female enfranchisement in an electoral reform bill but excluded it based on too much anticipated opposition from clerical and conservative groups and his desire to avoid social divisions in his first government. Two other developments are noteworthy. First, it is reported that Borujerdi announced to the Shah that he fully supported Mosaddeq's government (Rahnema 2015). However, in May 1952, Behbahani presented himself to the British as an ideal conduit for channeling money against Mosaddeq (Abrahamian 2013).

Phase 2 conclusion

Up to this point, we see some relationships shift from prior to Mosaddeq's government, others continue strong, and others show some lingering tensions. What explains this variation? Most of the prior ruling elite hardened their hostile positions on Mosaddeq as he endangered their monopoly on power. Were they all for authoritarianism? I think the key inference here is that they preferred the status quo over anything Mosaddeq offered. The status quo was to retain their elite status privileges such as their land and their access to Parliament. What incentive would they have had for sharing either of these? This kind of inference is ironic considering most of the time of the first government was spent battling the oil dispute and not threatening elite privileges. Azimi (1989) provides some distal explanation of this pattern as he shows this was what members of Parliament had pretty much done the entire period of 1941 to 1953 due to the absence of programmatic political parties. Mosaddeq, of course, recognized this which is why he pushed for electoral reform; if he could reshape their constituencies, then he could reshape the rules of the game for their political survival.

Unfortunately for Mosaddeq, one of the key problems for him was that the British, unlike his domestic enemies, were very coordinated. The only thing holding them back was their subservient position to the United States after World War 2. Even a change in administration from Attlee to Churchill did not change their obstinance. In fact, one could argue that it reinforced it. This proved a relational constraint on the United States as well. On one hand, the Americans agreed with the British that the Iranians should not have full control over the oil industry. On the other hand, they were not quite sure what kind of administration they wanted in Iran. The result was an un-coordinated response to Mosaddeq's first government in which Abrahamian (2013) is correct in that they should not be considered honest brokers during this time, but they were also convinced that Mosaddeq was better than Communism in Iran as he was pushing for changes in social, economic, and political development that appealed to them.

As for lingering tensions within Mosaddeq's coalition, they still held firm on Mosaddeq's vision for foreign policy which was reinforced by the oil dispute, but they had tensions due to private goods allocations. I will return to explaining these ties after I present more evidence on them in Mosaddeq's second government.

Phase 3: Mosaddeq's Second Government (July 1952 to August 1953)

After being re-instated to the premiership through the July Uprising, Mosaddeq was at the height of his power with much more discretion over his allocation decisions. He had obtained an understanding with the Shah that the monarch should reign and not rule, he obtained civilian control of the military, and the victory at the ICJ reinforced his position all along that the Iranians were not going to be intimidated by foreign governments. As such, Mosaddeq turned to domestic politics. Mosaddeq and his administration decided to implement an oil-less economy as

they held steadfast in their convictions that AIOC will not return to Iran (Katouzian 1990). In addition, his other goal was to consolidate his Cabinet's position vis-à-vis the other power players in Iran. His strategy, again, hinged on Parliament as his main propagating agent. He sought plenary powers that allowed him to draft bills on a temporary experimental basis that would be brought for a vote after the period of plenary powers had expired. This would allow him to bypass domestic cleavages that would hamper any initial attempts at reform. However, I will argue his allocation decisions here ended up fracturing his coalition. This enabled the coup planners to target much fewer coordination mechanisms that Mosaddeq relied on than they would have had otherwise if his coalition had remained unified.

Ruling elite

Shah: Upon returning to the premiership, Mosaddeq sought to gut out the sources of Court intrigue for good. In the aftermath of the July Uprising, Mosaddeq excluded royalists from his new Cabinet, transferred royal lands to the government, cut the palace's budget, placed royal charities under government supervision, exiled the Shah's sister, and forbade the Shah from directly communicating with foreign diplomats (Abrahamian 1982). The resulting actions were successful until defections in the coalition supplied Parliament with the opposition leaders they needed, and the British continued their intrigue efforts to oust Mosaddeq. Akhavi (1988) remarks that by February 1953, Mosaddeq was now fending off the British, the Parliamentary opposition, and the Shah. Azimi notes, Mosaddeq "had always resented the intrigues of the Court, which was gradually re-establishing itself as a main source of inspiration and support for his opponents, and had long suspected that it gave financial support to anti-Government groups" (1989:314).

The events of February 1953 culminated into an event known as the February riots. Mosaddeq confronted the Shah over suspected intrigue and reminded him of their promise after the July Uprising; Mosaddeq threatened to resign and tell the public why as a replication of the July Uprising but the Shah fought back this time and threatened to leave the country which would enflame pro-Monarchists and make the government look bad. Mosaddeq allowed the Shah to leave the country but the exit had to remain out of public view. The plan to leave the country was leaked, resulting in pro-Monarchist crowds rushing toward Parliament and then Mosaddeq's home. Pro-Mosaddeq crowds mobilized in response and the ensuing chaos resulted in street fights throughout Tehran. Mosaddeq blamed the Shah not only for leaking his plans to leave the country but sending a mob toward his home to kill him.

In March 1953, all the major players involved in the February riots, Mosaddeq, the Shah, and Kashani expressed public support for one another; though a public reconciliation, Akhavi (1988) notes there was real tension lurking beneath it. Mosaddeq ordered a mediation committee to investigate and report on the Constitutional position of the Shah; the report concluded that the position of the sovereign was to reign and not rule. Azimi (1989) notes the Shah encouraged opposition to the report because he was assured of the loyalty of the bulk of the army; however, he continued his public wait and see approach.

From March 1953 to July 1953, anti-government challenges increased in the name of the Shah but Azimi (1989) argues Mosaddeq was able to prevent the revival of the court by one, replacing the Court Minister and two, by securing the return of royal lands. As the Parliamentary opposition continued to be a thorn in Mosaddeq's side, he decided on a public referendum to dissolve Parliament. The Shah, for the first time in quite awhile, publicly opposed Mosaddeq on this issue but Azimi (1989) argues the Shah had changed his tactic here due to Anglo-American

support. The Shah entered into a deal with the Anglo-American coup planners that he would only accept Zahedi if he did not threaten the Shah's position and would be given financial and economic support by either the British or the Americans (Abrahamian 2001; Rahnema 2015). However, in the course of the events of the coup d'état attempts the Shah showed little backbone as the opposition had to beg him to sign the royal command dismissing Mosaddeq and after the first coup attempt failed, fled the country.

Military: Mosaddeq's relationship with the military turned to opposition over the course of his second government. Although he gained the War Ministry, now renamed to the Defense Ministry, Azimi (1989) argues Mosaddeq's efforts to control and reform the army were restrained by two sources: first, he wanted to avoid provoking the Shah any further and second, he wanted to avoid inducing anxiety with the Americans who feared its weakening. Mosaddeq tried to appoint two officers who had royal confidence to the posts of under-secretary and Chief of Staff but Kashani disputed one of the selections as he was not pro-National Front prior to the July Uprising; Mosaddeq resisted telling Kashani to refrain from intervening in governmental affairs but the officer decided to not take the position due to the pressure.

In addition, the PON became much more involved in the government. One of their primary goals was to deal with corruption in the military. They recommended a military purge to Mosaddeq (Katouzian 1990). Mosaddeq and the PON compromised on the procedure. Each unit elected a representative to a board of inquiry; the board of inquiry recommended forced retirement, prosecution, or dismissal of 1,360 officers; however, the final list was reduced to 136 officers by Mosaddeq and his three Shah-approved defense advisors (Katouzian 1990). Those 136 officers became the nucleus of the Association of Retired Officers which was led by none other than General Zahedi. Zahedi organized regular meetings for the Association of Retired

Officers to transform it into an anti-Mosaddeq, pro-Shah, and anti-communist group (Rahnema 2015). Zahedi also led a much smaller network of military officers known as the Devotees of the Shah.

Mosaddeq also cut the military budget by 15 percent, announced Iran would only buy defensive weapons, transferred 15,000 soldiers from the army to the gendarmerie, set up commissions to investigate military finances and promotions, and spoke of ending the American military mission (Abrahamian 1969; 1982), but by October 1952, it started becoming clear that the army was not securely behind Mosaddeq (Akhavi 1988). The government arrested a retired General who had been conspiring with the Rashidian brothers, long-time British assets, for conspiring to overthrow the regime (Gasiorowski 1987; Akhavi 1988). Though not officially named, Zahedi felt compelled to declare his innocence in a speech in the Senate.

In the February riots, the Association of Retired Officers played a crucial role. They used military vehicles to carry peasants to the city and they denounced Mosaddeq as anti-Monarchist (Zabih 1982; Azimi 1989; Rahnema 2015). However, Zabih (1982) infers that the military was still uncertain on the Shah or the Premier; on this occasion, despite grievances, they obeyed the Premier. After the February riots, both Mosaddeq and the opposition made moves to consolidate their military positions. The opposition buckled down on identifying and securing support of disgruntled military officers. Mosaddeq shifted to a ‘security council’ for matters of security as well as increasing pro-government officers in command positions. The leader of the PON, Afshartus, was named Tehran’s chief of police and General Taqi Riyahi—a member of the PON and affiliated with the Iran Party—was named the new Chief of Staff per recommendation by the PON (Azimi 1989; Katouzian 1990). Zabih (1982) argues Mosaddeq could not do so before due to the Shah’s objections. The prior Chief of Staff was Shah-approved (Katouzian 1990). Cottam

(1979) argues one of the impetuses for the mediation committee on the position of the monarchy was due to Mosaddeq trying to consolidate his position as commander-in-chief. However, the Court Minister was confident that Zahedi was backed by ex-Mosaddeq supporters, other political leaders, and many mullahs (Azimi 1989). Mosaddeq also removed tribal affairs from the military and put it under the jurisdiction of the Interior Ministry which Azimi (1989) argues was aimed to reduce the political exploitation of the tribes by the army and to redirect tribal loyalties to the government.

In April 1953, pro-Zahedi officers kidnapped and murdered Afshartus, the leader of the PON and Tehran's chief of police. The government issued an arrest warrant for Zahedi, but he fled to take sanctuary in Parliament where Kashani welcomed him and sheltered him from arrest. Even worse for Mosaddeq, scholars (Rahnema 2015) now suspect Tehran's new chief of police was a coup collaborator. In June and July, a few sources peg Mosaddeq as still having backing in the military (Zabih 1982; Gasiowrowski 1987). More so, an interview with Hossein Fatemi in July 1953 illustrated that the government itself still believed it had the sympathies of lower ranking army officers (Zabih 1982). However, with Afshartus dead, the PON was dealt a major blow to its leadership and ability to coordinate.

On August 16th, the first coup attempt was conducted but failed as the plan was leaked. One of the original goals of the first attempt was to arrest and possibly execute key persons around Mosaddeq who could coordinate an opposition to the coup attempt. They targeted Chief of Staff Riyahi and Foreign Minister Hossein Fatemi who had replaced Baqai and Kashani as the National Front's fiery orator. On the next day (August 17th), National Front and Tudeh supporters flooded the streets in protest. Tehran's chief of police, a suspected collaborator, instructed the police to repress all demonstrations; on the next day (August 18th), the chief of

police participated in Mosaddeq's National Security Council where he was suspected of informing for pro-coup forces (Rahnema 2015). By evening, the police and military were severely repressing Tudeh demonstrations. The second coup plan was this: phase one was to organize ruffians and move them to occupy key squares and streets; phase two was to inject military personnel into the crowds who could provide arms for guarded buildings and direct the crowds to their objectives; phase three was to occupy key ministries and strategic buildings: they attacked pro-Mosaddeq organizations, clubs, and newspaper offices; they attacked government offices, especially the Interior Ministry; and they took over the Tehran Radio Station; phase four was to inject tanks into the crowds and attack Mosaddeq's home (Rahnema 2015).

The second coup was predicated on a divide and conquer strategy against Mosaddeq's coordination resources. The planners of the coup recognized that one of the keys for success was to prevent Mosaddeq's followers from being able to coordinate and mobilize out on the streets (Abrahamian 2013). As such, they took many steps to ensure the crowds could not foil their plans. For example, as I will show later, the American Ambassador, Loy Henderson, was one of the key figures who convinced Mosaddeq to maintain law and order on the streets by requesting his followers to stop their demonstrations and ordering the police to impose a curfew (Abrahamian 2001).

The other main obstacle to their plan was the command structure of the Tehran garrisons (Abrahamian 2013). The new Chief of Staff, Riyahi, had replaced the leaders of all brigades in Tehran with those loyal to Riyahi and the Iran Party (Abrahamian 2013); specifically they were nationalist officers who were French-trained (Abrahamian 2001). However, the field commands were still suspected to be Royalists as they were more likely to be trained by the Americans or the British. The U.S. had 123 military advisors in Iran who were in daily contact with field

commands; the U.S. had also delivered 42 tanks and trained as many as 300 officers in the U.S. alone (Abrahamian 2001). However, this is straw-in-the-wind evidence as the air force was also heavily supplied and trained by the U.S.

The main distal factor was British administration. The British had a military network dating back to the Allied occupation; this military network promoted its own members, sidelined leftists from sensitive posts, and informed the British about the political leanings of military officers from which MI6 compiled the information to create dossiers on Iranian military officers (Abrahamian 2001). Much of the coup planning by the CIA and SIS was done by going over these dossier files to learn who they could turn over to their side. This proved devastating for Mosaddeq as, on the day of the coup, Mosaddeq and his advisors trusted their Generals to get the situation under control rather than sending the crowds onto the streets (Abrahamian 2013). Riyahi had attempted to foil the coup by having loyalists intercept the royalist coup officers but when they did, the loyalists were ‘persuaded’ to stand down (Katouzian 1990). In fact, many officers on both sides chose to stand aside. Finally, when phase four of the plan began and the tanks began arriving at Mosaddeq’s home, Chief of Staff Riyahi surrendered (Rahnema 2015).

All of the above, provides a rather compelling case that Mosaddeq’s path to political survival was shoring up military support. However, both the Tudeh network and the PON were primarily air force officers and the Tudeh were mainly stationed in the provinces. Abrahamian (1969) argues Mosaddeq was able to break the institutional connections between the Shah and the military but not the traditional bonds between an officer corps and its commander-in-chief. This is an important point as one could criticize the Shah for not promoting a court party during this period, but such criticism misses a key factor. Parliament was never the Shah’s propagating agent, the military was, and the Shah had the distal advantage on Mosaddeq here in that the

military was both a private and a public good in the period leading up to 1949. He could use it as a private good to gain loyalties of high-ranking officers via promotion opportunities and he could use it as a public good from which to gather more resources to enhance the prestige of the military and ensure its members that he had their best interests in mind. In other words, in order to gain the loyalty of the military, what could Mosaddeq's future polity offer them that the Shah could not? The army received the National Front's attention only in negative terms (Chengnizadeh 1997). Much like the Reza Shah period, the military likely only saw their advancement through the Shah as this was his consistent position. The Shah's consistent ideology did not rest on a political party but on the military instead. The Shah was convinced that military development took precedence even at the expense of social, economic, and political development (Chengnizadeh 1997).

Oligarchs: The Oligarchs are still inferred to be in opposition to Mosaddeq in his second government. Cottam (1979) remarks that the Mosaddeq opposition included landlords and big merchants and that the landlords were still stuck on a track of intrigue rather than direct confrontation. Zabih (1982) remarks on the implications of the oil-less economy by this point. Economic reports indicated that the majority of people were not affected by the oil embargo due to Iran's self-sufficiency in bread and rice. Diba (1986) corroborates this, as no rationing was required in this period. However, the Tehran Chamber of Commerce withdrew its support over the state of the economy, but its political influence was decreased anyway with the dissolution of the Senate (Zabih 1982).

The traditional economic elites were unified on not reforming the structure of the Iranian political system (Zabih 1982). The oligarchs opposed reform bills to increase urban representation, restrict the vote to literates in council elections, place a two percent levy on large

amounts of property (which Abrahamian notes as the first real tax on wealth in Iranian history), and increase the peasant share of the harvest by fifteen percent (Abrahamian 2013). As such, contrary to Tudeh accusations, Mosaddeq did not have bourgeois support.

Parliamentary institutions

Parliament: The relationship with Parliament appeared docile at first but quickly turned to opposition and eventual dissolution. Azimi (1989) notes that 34 deputies had united in the July Uprising and these deputies formed the parliamentary base of the government; the remainder of deputies kept up an appearance of neutrality but were actually unfavorable to Mosaddeq. Nevertheless, Mosaddeq received a vote of inclination of 62/64 deputies, his cabinet received unanimous approval, and his request for plenary powers was approved. The next vote of confidence was given in September 1952 after Mosaddeq rejected the Truman-Churchill proposal in which the vote was unanimous. Trouble started brewing with the bazaar deputies, but the next vote of confidence was not until the beginning of January 1953 where Mosaddeq received all but one vote.

Up to this point, Mosaddeq had decreed 98 bills. He requested an extension to his plenary powers, and he received a lot of criticism from Baqai, Haerizadeh, Makki, and Kashani. He was eventually granted the extension from 59 out of 60 votes but the parliamentary opposition was reborn with the above members defecting from Mosaddeq's coalition. By March 1953, Azimi (1989) notes it became clear that Mosaddeq's parliamentary opponents would do everything possible to prevent Mosaddeq's consolidation of power—these challenges became the main problem facing the government. The aforementioned report on the constitutional position of the Shah elucidated the positions of the deputies. Mosaddeq's supporters demanded its approval in

order to strengthen the position of the government and reconfirm its legitimacy vis-à-vis the Court. The bazaar deputies would only approve the report on the condition that Mosaddeq discard his plenary powers. The conservative deputies argued it was a betrayal of the Constitution that would jeopardize the monarchy and make opposition to Mosaddeq more difficult.

Azimi (1989) blames the ambiguity of the Constitution in not clearly demarcating the positions of the Shah, the Parliament, and the Cabinet. Mosaddeq was effectively demanding clear and consistent guidelines but his opponents regarded this as fatal to the monarchy and to themselves. From April to May 1953, the opposition was trying to prevent a quorum over voting on the report. Both sides attempted reconciliation, but it fell through. In July 1953, Mosaddeq scored a victory as a National Front candidate received more votes than Kashani for speaker of Parliament. However, the opposition filed interpellation as a counter move. They also prevented the government from controlling several parliamentary committees. The key one, as noted by Azimi (1989), was the committee overseeing the note reserve. Upon recommendation by economic advisors, Mosaddeq had been printing money but keeping it secret to prevent further inflation and outright hostility. Such a scandal coming to light would have been the excuse the Shah needed to publicly disgrace Mosaddeq. The bazaar deputy, Makki, was elected to lead this committee. Mosaddeq's solution was a public referendum to dissolve Parliament. Mosaddeq's remaining supporters in Parliament resigned en masse effectively dissolving Parliament but a referendum was needed to legalize it (Abrahamian 1969). Zabih (1982) notes that independents played along in order to secure re-election. In one of the most controversial moves of Mosaddeq's career, a vote was held for the referendum, but it was not entirely honest as election

officials were told to create separate polling stations for yes and no votes. The referendum returned a resounding amount of yes votes and Parliament was dissolved.

Senate: The Senate suffered dissolution much earlier in Mosaddeq's second government as it became a locus of opposition much sooner. After the July Uprising, Mosaddeq received a vote of inclination of 33/42 senators, his cabinet and domestic reform program was unanimously approved, and plenary powers were approved but with some difficulty (Azimi 1989). The Senate followed suit in the unanimous rejection of the Truman-Churchill proposal as well, but the Senate opposition re-emerged under the leadership of Zahedi. When the Senate tried to oppose reforms in October 1952, Mosaddeq pushed through a bill to reduce a senator's term limit from six to two years (Abrahamian 1982). The result was the immediate dissolution of the Senate as their term limits had already long expired.

International actors

British: The British and Mosaddeq continued their hostility toward one another. Truman and Churchill attempted another oil deal, but this was rejected. Mosaddeq had not entirely given up on negotiations at this point as he sent letters both to Churchill and Eden informing them of his basis for compromise; however, on October 14th, Eden flatly rejected sending another mission to Iran (Diba 1986). Louis (1988) notes the Churchill government also viewed Mosaddeq as irrational. The Americans argued economic aid would prevent Communism but the British disagreed. Eden's rejection is not surprising as after the July Uprising, British Foreign Office memos were filled with recommendations for a coup (Rahnema 2015). The date of October 14th is important because on the prior day, the Iranian government had announced the arrests of retired generals and their British conspirators. Mosaddeq severed diplomatic relations

with Britain on October 16th claiming gunboat diplomacy and economic blockades were not indicative of friendly relations (Diba 1986).

By the end of 1952, British intelligence was trying to gauge the view of the new Eisenhower administration in the United States. In November, chief MI6 officer in Iran, Monty Woodhouse, traveled to the United States to seek support for a plan to overthrow Mosaddeq. The CIA department was on board, but the State Department was not (Rahnema 2015). British intelligence officers also approached Kermit Roosevelt in London to recruit him for a coup d'état. In February 1953, Mosaddeq complained to the American ambassador that the British were pretending that they desired settlement but were really trying to overthrow him (Rahnema 2015). In March 1953, Eisenhower and Churchill attempted one more offer on oil which was rejected; both countries decided to offer no more deals (Louis 1988). As I argued before and as Mosaddeq understood, the sincerity behind British oil deals under the Churchill administration was suspect. The next month, both governments decided on Zahedi as the coup leader and Mosaddeq's successor.

Americans: The Truman administration was running out of patience with Mosaddeq. After the July Uprising, the Americans agreed with the British on Mosaddeq's faults but still believed he could prevent a Communist revolution. By September 1952, the Americans became less confident in Mosaddeq's ability to prevent communism and decided economic aid would help. However, back in August, both Eden and Churchill wrote to their American counterparts—Acheson and Truman—urging them not to extend economic aid to Iran (Rahnema 2015). When Truman's compromise was rejected by Mosaddeq, Louis (1988) argues it pushed the Americans closer to the British camp.

The British already had an ally in Iran in the American ambassador to Iran, Loy Henderson. After the July Uprising, Henderson reported to the State Department that both he and the British ambassador agreed that the only way to remove Mosaddeq was a coup; however, the coup idea had the sympathy of Henderson but not his superiors and he wrote that neither embassy should encourage or support a coup (Azimi 1989; Abrahamian 2001; Rahnema 2015). I argue Henderson became the fulcrum for the anti-Mosaddeq opposition. In the absence of the British embassy after being expelled in October 1952, it was Henderson who became the main broker between all the parties involved: Mosaddeq, the Shah, the Court Minister, Zahedi, Kashani, and the British. He had inside information on all of them as they all came to him to complain about their problems.

However, the Truman administration was still divided on the Mosaddeq regime. In October and November 1952, a CIA operation was now being used against the National Front (Gasiorowski 1987). Gasiorowski surmises this was likely due to a rogue agent as the Truman administration and the State Department had a clear policy not to undermine Mosaddeq; CIA analysts also concluded that a Tudeh takeover of the country was unlikely. However, the Dulles brothers of the incoming Eisenhower administration had already been discussing the prospects of a coup d'état since November 1952; they were going to lead the State Department and the CIA. In fact, one of the Dulles brothers was already among the CIA top brass under Truman. Foran (1993) cites some straw-in-the-wind evidence implicating the Dulles brothers with ulterior motives as both were senior partners in a law firm that represented AIOC.

The Eisenhower administration solved the coordination problem for the Americans. Top U.S. and British officials met in February 1953 and decided on both a coup against Mosaddeq and installing Zahedi; the problem was that Eisenhower was not on board yet. A joint Anglo-

American proposal was offered to Mosaddeq based on the perception that Eisenhower wanted an oil settlement. At a meeting of the National Security Council on March 4th, Eisenhower expressed support for Mosaddeq's regime as a bulwark against communism. On March 10th, Henderson reported that Mosaddeq had plans to make Iran a republic under his dictatorial control (Rahnema 2015). The next day, Eisenhower, at another meeting of the National Security Council expressed doubt about making an oil deal with Mosaddeq as the example could have repercussions on other U.S. oil concessions (Rahnema 2015). In addition, Mosaddeq rejected the offer (Louis 1988). It is not entirely clear what changed Eisenhower's mind on the subject but nonetheless, by late March, the State Department had decided the U.S. could no longer approve of Mosaddeq's government and the CIA was given authorization for operations to remove Mosaddeq (Rahnema 2015).

From March to April 1953, the Iranian government was becoming more wary of the Americans and proposals were floated to explore options with the Soviets, but the U.S. quickly brought down pressure not to associate with the Soviets; Mosaddeq had to remind Henderson that it was he who led the anti-Soviet opposition in the 14th Parliament (Zabih 1982). Henderson was also reporting to the State Department that Mosaddeq was leading Iran to disaster and that the risk involved in change would not be great (Rahnema 2015). In May 1953, Mosaddeq sent a letter to Eisenhower requesting economic aid. Meanwhile, the CIA and SIS were meeting to draft the coup plan and Henderson left Tehran for Washington to be briefed on the plan and give his approval (Rahnema 2015). Eisenhower wrote back in June 1953 that there would be no aid without an oil settlement. Cottam (1979) argues this ignited the Mosaddeq opposition and depressed his supporters but Azimi (1989) argues this dispelled the myth of continued American support for Mosaddeq's regime.

On the day following the first coup attempt, Henderson returned to Iran after a two-and-a-half-month absence. The American embassy was being used to hide the conspirators of the first coup and Henderson went to Mosaddeq and explained the American position: the U.S. desired stability in Iran, so Mosaddeq should establish law and order if he expected any sort of aid from the American government (Abrahamian 2001). Mosaddeq subsequently ordered the police to clear the streets and asked his supporters to stop demonstrating. As noted above, this was important for the coup planners and I speculate that Henderson reported this back to them.

Modern classes

Tudeh: Mosaddeq's relationship with the Tudeh is often invoked as one of the reasons for his fall. It would be more accurate to call this relationship a constraint on Mosaddeq's other relationships. After the July Uprising, Tudeh influence increased. Abrahamian (1969) argues Tudeh strength increased for two reasons: the cost of living increased for the urban population and non-Tudeh syndicates became weaker while pro-Tudeh unions became larger and more aggressive. Mosaddeq's government attempted to deal with strikes by threatening prison sentences but Abrahamian argues this just drove more workers into unions rather than deterring them. By late 1952, Abrahamian (1981) notes that a prominent National Front member admitted that they had lost the war for the modern working class. Factories were split into three groups: Tudeh, National Front, and neutrals and the Tudeh had won over the neutrals. Cottam (1979) argues that Tudeh strength increased because coordination goods increased. Anti-Tudeh activities slackened, and the party enjoyed more freedom. Mosaddeq did this partly due to ideology and partly due to tactics. Ideologically, he did not believe in physical suppression of opposing views and he believed the cure for communist sympathies was adequate reform.

Tactically, it has been argued that Mosaddeq was attempting to balance the increasing opposition from the right (Cottam 1979; Azimi 1989).

The changing point for the Tudeh's relationship with Mosaddeq was March 1953 as U.S. support of Britain became more evident and Stalin's death resulted in a less clear policy line from the Soviet Union. As such, Abrahamian (1969) notes pro-government rallies had now shifted to one-third National Front and two-thirds Tudeh. The Tudeh attempted to enter a political armistice on conditions of recognition and relaxation but Mosaddeq responded with restraint (Zabih 1982). On the one-year anniversary of the July Uprising, the Tudeh called for a general strike in which all industries and public utilities in Tehran heeded the call (Abrahamian 1969). Nevertheless, neither Azimi nor Cottam describe this relationship as collaboration. As evidenced in the events of the coup, the Tudeh requested arms and Mosaddeq denied them claiming he was not prepared to rely on the Tudeh. In the days between the two coup attempts, the Tudeh and their labor affiliates were very receptive to National Front rallies (Abrahamian 2013). On the day before the second coup, the Tudeh decided at a party meeting that the plan would be to promote a republic instead of a monarchy and they began demonstrating outside Parliament (Rahnema 2015). Thus, I label the tie as in-between because it follows their previous pattern of not supporting Mosaddeq but disliking the alternatives to him more.

Iran Party: The Iran Party continued to be staunch Mosaddeq allies. After the July Uprising, Mosaddeq's close advisors were all Iran Party (Abrahamian 1969), and he gave Cabinet positions to seven Iran Party members (Abrahamian 1982; Abrahamian 2013). In December 1952, newspapers started reporting that the Iran Party was loyal to Mosaddeq in the erupting struggle between him and Kashani (Abrahamian 1969). In February and March 1953, the Iran Party was more willing to enter a coalition with the Tudeh than Mosaddeq was (Zabih

1982). In the days between the coup attempts, the Iran Party joined the National Front rallies (Abrahamian 2013). Nevertheless, the close relations between Mosaddeq and the Iran Party started upsetting some deputies, particularly Baqai (Azimi 1989).

Pan-Iranists: The Pan-Iranists stayed loyal to Mosaddeq. The Pan-Iranists did suffer defection in the ranks as the CIA paid some of them off to turn against Mosaddeq (Gasiorowski 1987). Siavoshi (1994) claims the split was between those supporting the Court led by Pezeshkpur or those supporting Mosaddeq led by Foruhar. Nevertheless, Foruhar's faction remained loyal to Mosaddeq and continued demonstrating in the streets for him.

Third Force: The Third Force was birthed from the defection of the Toilers Party from the National Front in October 1952. On October 9th, Baqai proposed an anti-Mosaddeq strategy at a Toilers Party meeting (Katouzian 1990). Maleki sympathized with Baqai's grievances as Maleki, too, was critical of some of Mosaddeq's policies but he regarded open confrontation as catastrophic. Maleki was supported by a large majority of the party's activists that were comprised of workers, students, and intellectuals. Baqai then announced his resignation from the party. Four days later, a band of thugs attacked the party's headquarters and expelled the members. Baqai then withdrew his resignation and re-assumed leadership of the party. Those expelled members then formed the Third Force Party led by Maleki.

Abrahamian (1969) notes that the defection was split along secular-religious lines, but I would surmise the true defection was based on political organization. Baqai's patron-client networks stayed loyal to him but Maleki and his group of Tudeh defectors were always organized as a programmatic political party and so ideological commitment was more important to them. Katouzian (1990) and Abrahamian (2013) corroborate this in noting that those who

stuck with Baqai were connected to his original Kerman constituency. Abrahamian is correct in noting that this is a traditional versus modern class distinction, but the mechanism is the nature of their underlying networks.

The Third Force had some ideological tensions with Mosaddeq as it was a proponent for women's suffrage. However, Mosaddeq wanted to avoid a socio-political cleavage that an opposition could mobilize against. From April 1953 to July 1953, Maleki advocated ways the government could defend itself from a potential coup including creating party militias (Katouzian 1990). Despite these disagreements, in the days between the coup attempts, the Third Force joined the National Front rallies (Abrahamian 2013).

Traditional classes

Baqai: The tension between Mosaddeq and Baqai erupted into opposition in Mosaddeq's second government. There have been many postulations as to why. Many scholars identify Baqai as an opportunist rather than an ideologue (Cottam 1979; Katouzian 1981; Siavoshi 1985; Gasiorowski 1987). The main evidence for this is a correlation between when Baqai actually pulled his Toilers Party out of the National Front and supposed visit by a CIA officer. After the July Uprising, Azimi (1989) notes Baqai had these grievances with Mosaddeq: he wanted more repression against the enemies of the July Uprising; he was upset about the close relations between Mosaddeq and the Iran Party; and Baqai, Makki, and Haerizadeh considered their rewards for supporting his re-instatement during the July Uprising as inadequate. Baqai was supposedly not happy about Mosaddeq's request for plenary powers, and he went on a supposed hospital break from August 1952 to September 1952. When he returned, he became a more vocal critic of Mosaddeq. For example, he pounced on a controversial security bill the government was

proposing (Azimi 1989) and he was complaining about communist influences in the Ministries of Justice and Education (Abrahamian 1969; Siavoshi 1985). Gasiorowski (1987) notes that a CIA officer approached Baqai sometime between September and October 1952, encouraged his defection from Mosaddeq, and gave him money. Baqai also removed the Toilers Party from the National Front after he returned from his hospital break (Abrahamian 1969; Gasiorowski 1987). Gasiorowski regards this as straw-in-the-wind evidence but the timing matches up.

The alternative explanation, provided by Siavoshi (1985), is that Mosaddeq did not take Baqai's suggestions seriously. I expand on this explanation. As seen above, Mosaddeq did not allocate many private goods to Baqai after the July Uprising; Mosaddeq likely did not consider Baqai part of the winning coalition anymore. That or he underestimated Baqai's ideological commitment to him. However, when electoral lists were drawn up, Baqai insisted that the Toilers Party should have as many candidates as the Iran Party (Abrahamian 2013). More so, it was Baqai and the bazaar deputies who had initiated the opposition in Parliament in early 1949 and they were the ones who had persuaded Mosaddeq to lead their campaign (Katouzian 1990).

One of Baqai's early enemies was the Iranian military. When he led the outside opposition for the National Front from January 1950 to December 1950, the military tried to arrest him, put him on trial, and shut down his newspaper. This would explain two things. First, it explains why Baqai desired retaliation on the enemies of the National Front after the July Uprising and second, it explains why Baqai opposed the appointments of certain generals in the administration—they were the ones responsible for attacking his newspaper office during Razmara's premiership (Katouzian 1990). Furthermore, Azimi (1989) argues that any move which threatened to upset the balance of political power to Mosaddeq over Parliament contravened the political thinking of the bazaar deputies. This explanation could be linked to

their bazaar constituencies which were more likely arranged on patron-client lines (Denoeux 1993); thus, the logic of political survival for them leaned more towards private goods allocations rather than ideological commitments.

Nevertheless, most of the scholarship actually pegs Baqai's defection to January 1953. Leading up to January, Baqai still criticized the government. For example, in November 1952, he gave a speech so defamatory that he had to publicly apologize for it; in addition, the bazaar deputies attacked the government over its appointments for the new NIOC board of directors. Scholars (Akhavi 1988; Azimi 1989) also note that Mosaddeq's new electoral bill scared them. This resulted in Mosaddeq's demand for a vote of confidence in early January 1953 in which the only abstention was the bazaar deputy, Haerizadeh who had defected back in September 1952 (Abrahamian 1969). The real point of contention was Mosaddeq's request for extension of his plenary powers. Baqai publicly stated he was strongly opposed to the extension, but he still favored Mosaddeq (Azimi 1989). After the vote passed, Baqai, Makki, and Kashani are noted as officially defecting to the opposition. In April 1953, Baqai was strongly implicated in the murder of the Tehran Chief of Police but had parliamentary immunity (Katouzian 1981; Azimi 1989; Katouzian 1990). From April 1953 and onwards, Baqai accused the government of being in collusion with the Tudeh and intending to abolish the monarchy.

Bazaar: Despite the lack of systematic statistics regarding bazaar membership, I infer the bazaar remained committed to Mosaddeq even with the defection of the constituencies of Kashani and the bazaar deputies. Ashraf (1988) notes the effect of the above defections was that a large segment became bystanders, a small segment became pro-Monarchist, and large segment of the middle layer stayed loyal to the National Front as evidenced by their ongoing mobilization for demonstrations, participation in the referendum, and purchases of government bonds. In

January 1953, the Tehran bazaar organized demonstrations in support of Mosaddeq (Akhavi 1988; Azimi 1989). Zabih (1982) notes the Union of Trade and Bazaar Merchants continued to support the National Front but their enthusiasm could have died down when Tudeh presence increased. However, other scholars (Cottam 1979; Katouzian 1990; Abrahamian 2013) claim that by April 1953, the majority of religious-oriented guild leaders chose to follow Mosaddeq despite Kashani and Baqai's defections. More so, in the days between the coup attempts, the Union of Trade and Bazaar Merchants were attending National Front rallies (Abrahamian 2013).

In Mosaddeq's second government, nationalist economic policies promoted certain local industries and expanded export of local products (Ashraf 1988); the government also protected local industries from foreign concessions (Cottam 1979). The value of non-oil exports almost doubled and Katouzian (1981; 1988) calculates that Mosaddeq flipped the balance of trade. In addition, there was better access to foreign exchange receipts from exports under Mosaddeq's administration (Ashraf 1988). Last of all, Mosaddeq offered the bazaar an opportunity for legitimate political participation as the bazaar guilds had not been represented in Parliament since the 2nd Parliament (Ashraf 1988). The implication of this tie was that given enough time, the bazaar had the chance of transitioning from traditional patron-client ties to programmatic political parties responding towards business incentives.

Religious establishment

Kashani: Kashani's relationship with Mosaddeq followed a similar trajectory to Baqai. After the July Uprising, Kashani expressed grievances against Mosaddeq. Akhavi notes a number of Kashani supporters were killed in the July Uprising and the "prosecution of those responsible would be a rallying call for Kashani and his supporters against Musaddiq for many

months” (1988:99). In addition, Kashani began objecting to Cabinet appointments. The dispute about the military appointment has already been covered but he was also upset about the Minister of Education being a secularist (Abrahamian 1969) and the Minister of Justice being an anti-clerical judge from the Reza Shah period (Abrahamian 1982). A member of the Iran Party had also orchestrated the removal of one of Kashani’s partisans from the leadership of the Religious Endowments Office (Katouzian 1990).

In August, Kashani was reported as confiding to the Americans that he favored Zahedi as Mosaddeq’s successor (Abrahamian 2013). In September 1952, Kashani met with Mosaddeq and failed to persuade him to change his Cabinet (Abrahamian 1969). Henderson also reported that Kashani messaged him that Iran could only be saved by a coup (Abrahamian 2013). Kashani had also met with Zahedi where Zahedi offered him post-coup Cabinet members but Kashani would only support Mosaddeq’s removal if it would not damage his own position (Gasiorowski 1987; Rahnema 2015).

Nevertheless, Mosaddeq tried appeasement. A committee was set up to convince Kashani to accept Parliament speakership (Akhavi 1988) as well as moral legislation such as a bill to ban alcohol. Akhavi also notes Kashani may not have approved of plenary powers based on a message from an intermediary delivering one of his letters. However, from September to November 1952, Kashani continued to urge public support for Mosaddeq while deflecting on whether he and Mosaddeq were having a falling out. In October 1952, Kashani remarked that he approved of Mosaddeq’s foreign policy but said true democracy is based on Islamic principles (Abrahamian 1969). Upon Mosaddeq’s request for extension of plenary powers in January 1953, Kashani’s position vacillated. One day he was condemning them, the next day he was giving a

proclamation of support, the day after that he was criticizing them as illegal, and the day after that he was claiming there was no conflict between the two (Akhavi 1988; Azimi 1989).

By February 1953, Kashani had flipped to the Shah. Zabih (1982) implicates Kashani as behind pro-Monarchist crowds in the February riots. Akhavi (1988) notes Kashani was opposed to the Shah's departure from the country and Azimi (1989) notes that Kashani was telling the Court Minister that if Mosaddeq criticized the Shah, Parliament would back the Shah. In March 1953, Kashani was obliged to reconcile (Akhavi 1988; Azimi 1989) but started making moves in Parliament that were against the government. The next month Kashani offered Zahedi sanctuary in Parliament in order to avoid arrest in the case of the murder of Afshartus. By June, Kashani was declaring the government lacked majority support and that he only demanded proper implementation of the Constitution; in July, Kashani berated Mosaddeq over the referendum: he called Mosaddeq an authoritarian, he claimed Mosaddeq did nothing productive in office, he minimized Mosaddeq's role in oil nationalization, and he criticized the referendum and printing money scandals (Azimi 1989). In August, Kashani's house became an anti-government meeting place from which he issued strong denunciations of Mosaddeq and the government.

What was the impetus for Kashani's defection? Similar to Baqai, I conclude it was private goods allocations based on his patron-client constituency. But for Kashani, it was a little more complicated because the private goods allocations were meant to engender a more favorable stance for Islam as a public good in society. Kashani's main dispute was Ministry positions. Based on the nature of his tie in Mosaddeq's first government, it seemed Kashani was willing to debate moral legislation in Parliament, but he wanted assurance from Mosaddeq via Ministry positions that the position of Islam in society would not be threatened. This seemed to

be the impetus for the other major religious group, the Conservative Ulama, turning against Mosaddeq as well.

Devotees: The Devotees were no longer a factor in Mosaddeq's second government as their leader, Safavi, had a change of heart regarding violent political Islam (Rahnema 2015). Rahnema concludes that the Devotes played no role in the events leading up to the coup.

Conservative Ulama: The Conservative Ulama did decide to enter politics after abstaining since 1949. By November 1952, Akhavi (1988) notes these grievances the clergy had with the government: a bill to nationalize the telephony company; a new press law; an employment bill; a judicial reform bill; enfranchising women; appointments within the Ministry of Education; and sensitivity regarding communism, the Soviet Union, and the Iranian left. In January 1953, mullahs began showing anti-Mosaddeq signs by claiming Iran could only be saved from imperialism by the monarch and the grand ayatollah (Akhavi 1988). In February 1953, clerics in Qom opposed the Shah's departure from the country. Yazdi (1990) argues the government's tolerance of Tudeh demonstrations enhanced perceptions of the threat of communism which then enflamed mullahs, specifically Ayatollah Behbahani, to undermine Mosaddeq's government. However, we saw he had approached the British back in May 1952 when the Tudeh were still anti-Mosaddeq, so this conclusion is unlikely for at least Behbahani. Behbahani is incriminated in the February riots as well as Rahnema (2015) concludes he was partly behind organizing the pro-Shah demonstrations (see also Katouzian 1990). In August 1953, Behbahani joined Kashani in issuing strong denunciations of the government. Cottam (1979) remarks that Behbahani had strong patron-clients ties to southern Tehran which was the mob that was assembled on the day of the second coup. The prior month, in an interview with Hossein Fatemi, Zabih argued that Tudeh slogans were alarming conservative clergy to consider

alternatives to Mosaddeq; Fatemi responded that this was Western propaganda used to exacerbate social divisions (Zabih 1982). These suspicions were confirmed later as Gasiorowski (1987) shows some Tudeh groups were really mobs paid by the CIA to shout propaganda.

It is important to note here that Borujerdi continued to be apolitical but those under him broke ranks as the position of Islam in society appeared to be under threat. The following is derived from Rahnema (2015). In the disputes between the Shah and Mosaddeq in February 1953, Borujerdi did not speak out against either one of them; instead, he requested reconciliation between the two as the best option for Iran. When Kashani and Behbahani were denouncing Mosaddeq in August 1953, Borujerdi did not support either one. The coup planners also tried to get an anti-Mosaddeq fatwa from Borujerdi but he did not comply.

Phase 3 Conclusion

What led to Mosaddeq's downfall? Specifically, I argue that Mosaddeq not allocating private goods to Kashani and Baqai led to his downfall. Since Mosaddeq relied on Parliament as his propagating agent, he needed to secure a stable parliamentary majority. Rigging elections to do so would violate his ideology and from 1914 to 1953, election rigging had not worked for anyone in Iran. He had a programmatic political party in the Iran Party, but it could never secure a parliamentary majority by itself. He tried to implement electoral reform to improve its chances, but this created an opposition from the landlords, obviously, but also from those in his coalition who relied on illiterates to get elected. Thus, I argue Mosaddeq's path to political survival was maintaining his coalition government by appeasing Kashani and Baqai through private goods. Mosaddeq required the mobilizing potential of his coalition to keep the parliamentary majority pacified. Kashani and Baqai proved to be Mosaddeq's best mobilizers. This was not because of

the size of the crowds they could pull, as the evidence shows Baqai and Kashani's following diminished after the coup. It was because they did not need his permission to wage an opposition. Baqai and Kashani had took it upon their own initiative to protest in various instances without Mosaddeq. Kashani had established his fame by leading anti-British protests in both Iraq and Iran. Baqai led the initial oil and Shah opposition in January and February 1949 and he led the National Front outside opposition from January to December 1950. In the events of the July Uprising, Mosaddeq remained silent. He never called on the crowds directly to bring him back to power. Kashani and Baqai were very much instrumental in mustering the crowds to protest Qavam's administration and bring Mosaddeq back to power. Again, during the events of the coup in August 1953, Mosaddeq stuck to his guns and did not request the crowds to keep him in power. Foruhar of the Pan-Iranists, Maleki of the Third Force, and the Tudeh requested arms in case of another coup attempt but Mosaddeq denied them. My counterfactual here is twofold: if Mosaddeq had retained Kashani and Baqai as part of the winning coalition, then one, they would likely have kept the revolutionary situation going by requesting the crowds to fight the coup and two, the coup planners would have had to target much more coordination resources to stop the crowds as diffuse patron-client networks can be difficult to contain (Deneoux 1993).

When the Americans became unified against Mosaddeq under the Eisenhower administration, both they and the British were able to provide coordination for the anti-Mosaddeq officers in the military. But the Shah never really established a coordinated public response to Mosaddeq and neither did the oligarchs. They were aided by the defections of Baqai and Kashani because they did not need royal support to wage opposition against Mosaddeq. Thus, similar to General Razmara, the Shah and the oligarchs had new scapegoats to hide behind.

Is it plausible that Mosaddeq could have secured a longer-term loyalty from Kashani and Baqai despite the evidence that they may have been opportunists? I argue yes for two reasons. First, he did have their loyalty from 1949 to 1952 despite some ideological tensions. Second, I find it unlikely the Iran Party, the Third Force, and the liberal wing of the Pan-Iranists would have defected from Mosaddeq if he had allocated more to Baqai and Kashani. There are two reasons for this. First, their ties were based on ideological commitment to democracy as a public good. Mosaddeq never strayed from this. Second, the political survival of these modern political parties was dependent on Mosaddeq. As Maleki said when Baqai was defecting, he sympathized with his reasons, but he concluded defection would be catastrophic as all the alternatives to Mosaddeq were worse (Katouzian 1990).

So why did Mosaddeq not allocate private goods to Kashani and Baqai? I can only speculate this was due to his value-rational commitment to secularism and meritocratic bureaucracy as he learned from his European education in France and Switzerland. Kurzman (2008) also recognizes this as the problem of the early democrats in revolutionary situations at the turn of the 20th century. They proclaimed ‘democracy’, entered into coalitions while in opposition, but upon initial victory, they only cared about securing their own political survival while in power. They shrunk their winning coalitions and tried to implement reforms that would consolidate their position at the expense of other groups. But as Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003) argue, this is a path that establishes a small winning coalition system, not a large winning coalition system. In other words, it does not lead to democracy, but authoritarianism. The irony is that Mosaddeq did not have the Tudeh party in his winning coalition so any appeal to secularism within his coalition was limited to the rather small modern classes that would likely have not defected. In other words, if Mosaddeq had restrained himself on secularism and

meritocracy and allowed religious and clientelist parties into his coalition, it would not have fractured his coalition. His path to political survival then was to keep the coalition unified and his path to democracy was to keep this coalition unified until he had established a much stronger commitment to democracy in Iranian society.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the following months after the coup, prominent National Front members were given military trials under the Zahedi government though few received executions. Mosaddeq's trial was public, and he re-established his public support because of his heroic defense. The Tudeh Party, ironically, ended up being the real victims of the coup as Zahedi's government, with collaboration by the CIA, rooted out the Tudeh's networks and placed them under trial with many receiving much harsher sentences than National Front members (Abrahamian 2001). Even more ironic was that the oil deal the Zahedi government negotiated ended up being far more lucrative for the Americans than the British. Zahedi's government lasted until 1956 when the Shah's political maneuvers secured Zahedi's resignation. Afterwards, the infamous regime that fell to the 1979 Revolution began.

We know the coup was the decisive event leading to the downfall of Mosaddeq, but scholars disagree on what was endogenous to the coup that enabled it. I follow a similar line in prior research that emphasizes Iranian domestic politics as enabling the success of the coup (e.g. Abrahamian 1982). However, I differ from prior accounts by analyzing it under a revolutionary perspective. Mosaddeq rejected the idea of winning coalitions built from alliances between imperial powers and domestic elite factions but he needed to create a new winning coalition that was able to hold on to power without these groups. His downfall was his failure to maintain this

coalition. Much of the case literature is very harsh on Mosaddeq, Baqai, and Kashani but by situating their actions in a theoretical framework, I hope I fostered understanding as to why they took the actions they did.

Research on political development argues polities that created representative democracies often transitioned from patronage to clientelism and then to representativeness (e.g. Fukuyama 2015, Piatonni 2001). Mosaddeq bypassed this step and excluded the clientelists from his winning coalition. But Iran had too many structural and situational constraints for this to be an effective long-term winning coalition as the modern middle classes made up just seven percent of the entire population in 1956 (Abrahamian 1969), the literacy rate of the entire country was estimated to be around eight to ten percent during this period (Cottam 1979), and the oil blockade seriously hampered economic development. But as I argued, these structural variables are insufficient alone to explain both the rise and fall of Mosaddeq. A relational model predicated on allocation decisions informed by ideological and pragmatic goals provides a better account of revolutionary coalitions and revolutionary trajectories. In doing so, I extend beyond prior theoretical concepts such as Goldstone's elite divisions (Goldstone 1991; 2014) and research emphasizing the breadth of revolutionary coalitions (e.g., Foran 1993, Parsa 2000, Lawson 2019).

Returning to the motivating puzzle for this study—the logic of political survival within revolutionary situations—all politicians must eventually shrink their winning coalition as they cannot credibly offer everything to their winning coalition (Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2003). The puzzle for revolutionary situations is when can revolutionary incumbents conceivably shrink their winning coalition while guaranteeing their political survival and their desired future polity. I hypothesize that revolutionary leaders can shrink their winning coalition after they have unified

a major source of legitimating agents in their respective society. In the Iranian experience, Denoeux (1993) argues the Shia clergy have had great mobilizing potential due to their patronage networks and the coordination goods linked to mosques. This makes them great potential legitimating agents. This was precisely one of Khomeini's advantages. Yazdi (1990) argues Khomeini unified both the religio-political seat and the traditional spiritual seat in Iran under one person: himself. Combined with the fact that his ideology allowed repression, Khomeini was able to shrink the winning coalition without being hamstrung by defections because he had unified the religious establishment.

There are a number of limitations to this research. One could critique this study in that the relational ties are not all measured the same way. This is a product of both theory and method. Relational networks can be criticized as being too abstract (see Erikson 2013) which is why I tried to situate it under an expanded rational action model that informs but does not overly constrain what a relational tie could be. Process tracing also advocates a distinction between causal process observations and data set row observations. The main difference is that causal process observations do not have to be equivalent variables like they do in data set row observations as causal process observations draw causal inference from process rather than statistical correlation (Collier, Brady, and Seawright 2010).

Single-case studies are often criticized for being unable to identify parameters that may affect the variables in the model due to lack of a systematic cross-national comparison (see Rueschmeyer 2003 for a discussion); but Rueschmeyer also defends the practice as a single case is not a single observation. Gerring (2005) suggests broadening the number of cases which I accomplished via social and temporal variation. The process tracing literature treats these as causal process observations (Collier, Brady, and Seawright 2010). The drawback of this

approach, as Geddes (2010) argues, is that the phases are not independent of each other so there may be idiosyncratic features of the case affecting the relationship between the parameters and the outcome of interest that may make the results fail to generalize; in addition, the range of potential outcomes is limited by selecting a single-case thus, selection on the dependent variable is inherent in the design even if not intentional. These are fair points which is why I am careful to claim that this is a hypothesis-generating case and that the claims I establish are plausible, but some methodological concerns add some uncertainty to the results. I deal with this by suggesting a comparable case for further study.

A good case for comparative study would be Nehru in India. Nehru was able to maintain a large winning coalition and a democratic outcome (Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2003). Both cases involve expelling the British for a democratic outcome with a heterogeneous coalition. One could posit structural differences make the cases hard to compare but recent theoretical advances (Tilly and Tarrow 2015; Lawson 2019) emphasize comparison on sequences, processes, and mechanisms rather than variables that emphasize static characteristics. In addition, a fruitful approach to studying coalition dynamics would be social network analysis. With access to primary sources on different groups, one could construct relational ties between groups based on not only their ideologies, but how they commented on each other. This type of analysis would improve upon prior analyses of revolutionary coalitions (e.g., Foran 1993; Parsa 2000; Kurzman 2008) to make better descriptive and causal inferences about the logic of political survival within revolutionary situations. It would also answer the call to action by recent scholars of revolution (Lawson 2016; Lawson 2019) for a more dynamic, relational approach to the study of revolutions.

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