

UNITED STATES PROPAGANDA IN IRAN: 1951-1953

A Thesis

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DEDICATION

for

Baqiyatallah Al-Azam

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I am grateful to God, Almighty, for blessing me with the opportunity and resources to achieve this milestone in my studies. There is a famous saying in our religion from our dearest Prophet Mohammad, may God's peace and blessings be with him and his progeny, that "He who would not thank people, would not thank God either." So, I feel obligated here to offer my sincerest gratitude to those who have made this thesis possible through their material and spiritual support.

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ABSTRACT

Using Jowett and O'Donnell's system of propaganda analysis, the present case study concentrates on America's dominant propaganda messages, techniques, and media channels used in Iran during the time period between 1951 and 1953. The chosen period is of historical significance since it entails the Iranian nationalization of oil crisis and the 1953 coup against the government of Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq. The coup was the first CIA-sponsored covert operation against a foreign government and served as a model for subsequent operations elsewhere.

An examination of the official correspondence of the major U.S. actors involved, as documented in the tenth volume of the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, reveals that the primary objective of U.S. policy in Iran was to maintain Western control of the country's oil resources as a means to curb Soviet power in the region. American officials realized that nationalism was a real and potent force in the country and that Mosaddeq enjoyed overwhelming public support. Frustrated with the failure of a negotiated settlement, the Truman administration began to secretly plan for covert action. The coup was eventually implemented under the Eisenhower administration.

The nationalistic nature of Iranian public opinion which equated Russian and British forms of imperialism ran counter to American policies in the region. To mitigate this counter-productive mentality, the United States planned its propaganda programs to raise the desire of the Iranian people to resist communism. Thus, in the three years before the coup, U.S. propaganda messages concentrated on spreading an anti-communist ideology.

In the months preceding the coup, the United States spent more than \$1,000,000 in part to buy the allegiance of influential Iranian figures, such as deputies of the parliament, and to

purchase the services of the controllable Iranian press. The CIA relied on black propaganda to reduce Mosaddeq's popularity and legitimacy by, among other things, alleging that his actions were in line with the Tudeh Party (the Iranian communist party) and that he was an anti-religious individual. As a whole, the thesis shows the centrality of propaganda to U.S. foreign policy.

CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

The Cold War inaugurated a paradigm shift in the U.S. practice of diplomacy that reflected changes in the nature of diplomatic activity worldwide. Through propaganda, policy initiatives, and covert action, agents of the U.S. government acted directly to influence the ideas, values, beliefs, opinions, actions, policies, and culture of other countries. Foreign affairs personnel not only observed and reported, they also participated in events or tried to influence the way that they happened. The old maxim that one government does not interfere in the internal affairs of another had been swept aside.¹

The above paragraph is illustrative of the policies and events that led to the 1953 Anglo-American coup in Iran against the popular government of Mohammad Mosaddeq in which the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) propaganda played an instrumental role.² What the United States believed appropriate based on America's global interests set the stage for generations of anti-American feelings among Iranians.³ In the post-9/11 years, when many Americans are asking "why do they hate us?" it is vital to recognize "that the character and exercise of American power in the world must form a critical part of any objective analysis of anti-Americanism."⁴

In an interview on Democracy Now, Stephen Kinzer, *New York Times* reporter and author of *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror*,⁵ makes a connection between what happened in 1953 and the Iranian takeover of the American embassy in

¹ Kenneth A. Osgood, "Propaganda," in *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*, ed. Alexander DeConde, et al. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2002).

² Mark J. Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'etat against Mosaddeq," in *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, ed. Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004).

³ Scott A. Koch, "'Zendeabad, Shah!': The Central Intelligence Agency and the Fall of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq, August 1953," History Staff of Central Intelligence Agency, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB126/iran980600.pdf>.

⁴ Inderjeet Parmar, "Responding to Anti-Americanism: The Politics of Public Diplomacy," in *Anti-Americanism: History, Causes, and Themes*, ed. Brendon O'Connor and Martin Griffiths (Westport, CT: Greenwood World Publishing, 2007), 239.

⁵ Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2003).

1980.⁶ Based on his earlier conversation with Bruce Laingen, the senior American official held hostage, Kinzer observes, “People in Iran are thinking, ‘It’s all happening again. CIA agents working in the basement of the American embassy are going to organize a coup, and they’re going to bring the Shah back. We have to prevent 1953 from happening again.’”⁷

In a March 17, 2000, address to the American-Iranian Council, then U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright acknowledged the repercussions of the Anglo-American coup in this way:

In 1953, the United States played a significant role in orchestrating the overthrow of Iran’s popular prime minister, Mohammed Mossadegh (sic). The Eisenhower administration believed its actions were justified for strategic reasons, but the coup was clearly a setback for Iran’s political development and it is easy to see now why many Iranians continue to resent this intervention by America in their internal affairs. Moreover, during the next quarter century, the United States and the West gave sustained backing to the Shah’s regime. Although it did much to develop the country economically, the Shah’s government also brutally repressed political dissent.⁸

The events of the 1953 coup have been the subject of several scholarly articles and books, but no study has focused on analyzing the propaganda aspect of the operation. This is while propaganda was critical to the success of the coup.⁹ This thesis will thus focus on American propaganda activities in Iran between 1951 and 1953. Using Jowett and O’Donnell’s 10-step system of propaganda analysis, the case study concentrates on America’s dominant propaganda messages, techniques, and media channels used during this time period.¹⁰ The thesis is confined to these three years for two main reasons. Doing so limits its scope, making the task more manageable and practical. But more importantly, the chosen period is of historical significance,

⁶ Amy Goodman, "Stephen Kinzer on U.S.-Iranian Relations, the 1953 CIA Coup in Iran and the Roots of Middle East Terror," Democracy Now!, http://www.democracynow.org/2008/3/3/stephen_kinzer_on_the_us_iranian.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Madeleine Albright, "Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Remarks before the American-Iranian Council," U.S. State Department Web site, <http://secretary.state.gov/www/statements/2000/000317.html>.

⁹ Donald Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1954), <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/#documents>.

¹⁰ Garth Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006).

since it entails the Iranian nationalization of oil crisis and the 1953 Anglo-American-sponsored coup. Before conducting the study, I present a brief historical context for the 1953 coup.

Historical Context: The Road to the Coup

With the decline of the Iranian empire in early 19th century and the growth of colonial powers at its borders, Iran became the scene of great power rivalry. Although never officially colonized, Iran found itself at the intersection of Russian, British, and French imperial incursions in the region and later became the subject of economic exploitation permitted at the hands of its autocratic monarchy. Prior to World War II, it was the British and Russian governments who were deeply involved in Iranian affairs. Upon losing two wars with Russia in the early 19th century, Iran ceded a large part of its northern territory. Iran also fought a war with Britain in the mid 19th century and gave up the Herat region in western Afghanistan after recognizing Afghan independence.¹¹ Figure 1 shows the map of Iran during the 19th century. Figure 2 shows a map of modern Iran.

This great power rivalry “also took the form of economic penetration.”¹² As Mowlana observes, “the 19th century became a buyers’ market for commercial concessions as the shahs discovered that their extravaganzas could be financed in this fashion.”¹³ In 1863, Nasir ad-Din Shah of the Qajar dynasty (who ruled Iran from 1848 until 1896) began an increasingly extravagant trend of privatizing the country’s economic resources according to which foreign states or individuals gained exclusive rights to the exploitation of a natural resource or

¹¹ Ali M. Ansari, *Confronting Iran: The Failure of American Foreign Policy and the Next Great Crisis in the Middle East* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

¹² Hamid Mowlana, *Global Communication in Transition: The End of Diversity?* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996), 161-62.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 162.

industry.¹⁴ In return, they agreed to give a royalty back to the state, payments that were small in relation to the profits gained.¹⁵

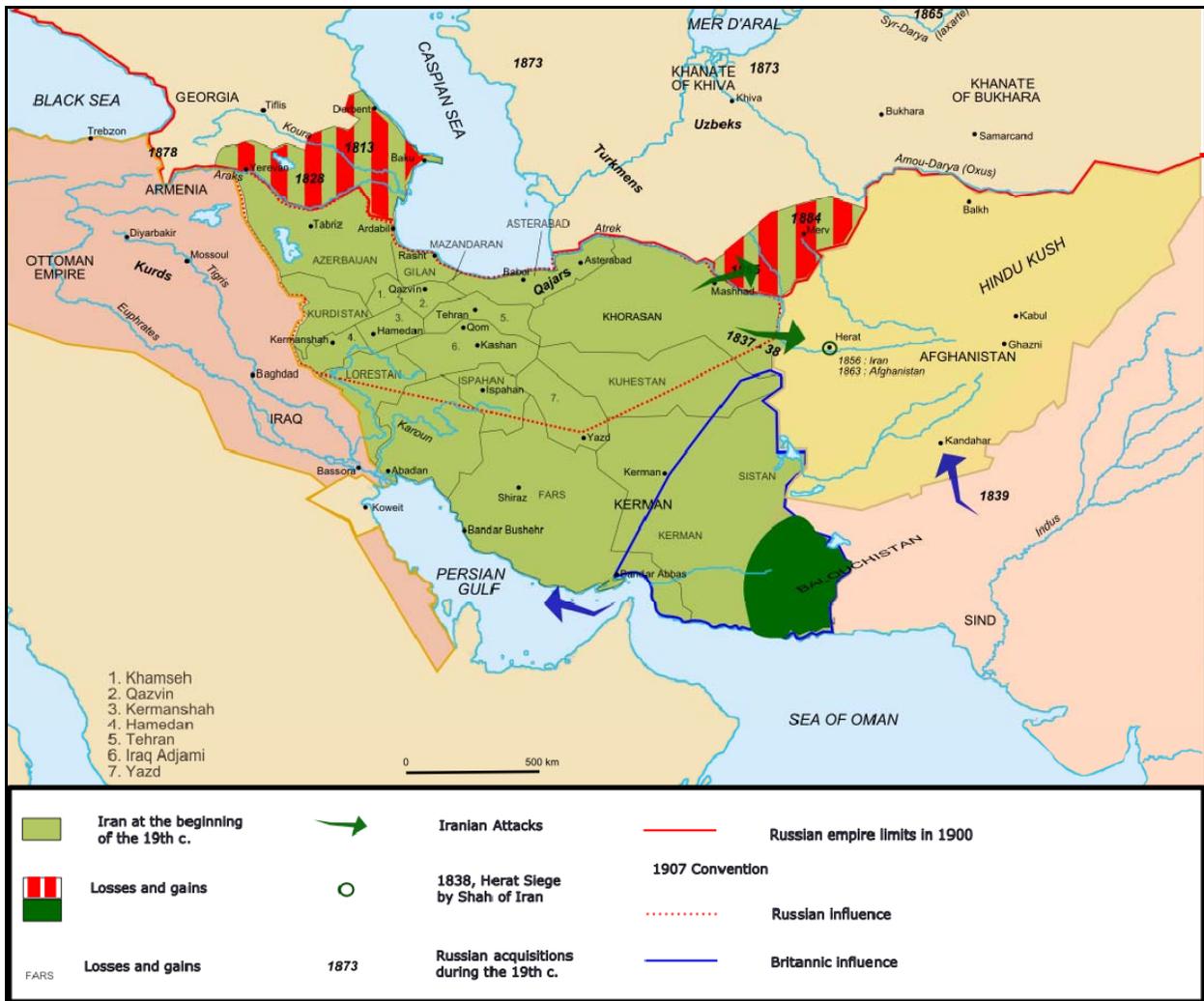


Figure 1. Map of Iran during the 19th century

Russians received a series of major concessions, “including a monopoly to fish for surgeon (the source of the delicacy, caviar) in the Caspian Sea and exemption from import duties, internal tariffs, and the jurisdiction of local courts.”¹⁶ The British Imperial Bank got the exclusive rights to issue paper money. In 1863, a British company got a major concession to

¹⁴ Mark J. Gasiorowski, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah: Building a Client State in Iran* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

¹⁵ Ansari, *Confronting Iran: The Failure of American Foreign Policy and the Next Great Crisis in the Middle East*.

¹⁶ Ervand Abrahamian, "Iran," in *Introduction to Politics of the Developing World, Political Challenges and Changing Agendas*, ed. William A. Joseph, Mark Kesselman, and Joel Krieger (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007), 312.

extend telegraph lines through Iran to India. In 1872, Baron Julius de Reuter, a British naturalized citizen and banker, obtained an expansive concession for the right to “construct railways and streetcar lines, to exploit minerals and oil for a period of 70 years, and to manage the customs services for 24 years.”¹⁷ The Reuter concession was eventually cancelled as a result of pressure from Russia, Reuter’s inability to secure a loan from Britain, and widespread domestic opposition to such a wholesale surrender of the country’s natural resources.¹⁸



Figure 2. Map of modern Iran

The Qajar shahs also borrowed heavily from foreign banks. By the turn of the century, these loans had become so heavy that the shah of the time had to turn over Iran’s entire customs

¹⁷ Mowlana, *Global Communication in Transition: The End of Diversity?*, 162.

¹⁸ Ansari, *Confronting Iran: The Failure of American Foreign Policy and the Next Great Crisis in the Middle East*, Gasiorowski, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah: Building a Client State in Iran*.

service to European supervision. Foreign takeover of the country's economy resulted in growing popular resentment, culminating in the constitutional revolution of 1905-1909.¹⁹

What could be considered the most significant concession of all was granted in 1901 to William D'Arcy of Britain for oil and gas rights in all but the northern parts of Iran. In 1908, D'Arcy's company found substantial quantities of oil in Masjed-e Soleyman and established the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) the next year. APOC was later renamed Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC). With the advent of World War I and the British navy's conversion from coal to oil, the British government bought 51 percent of the company's stock and arranged for the purchase of APOC oil at a discount.²⁰ By 1949-50, the AIOC had the world's largest refinery at Abadan. It was by then the second largest exporter of crude oil and had the third largest oil reserves. AIOC was an extremely crucial asset to British power as it provided the British Treasury with 24 million pounds sterling in taxes and 92 million pounds in foreign exchange annually. Moreover, Iranian oil supplied 85 percent of the fuel needs of the British navy at a discount rate. Iran received just 17 percent of the profits, which over the years did not even amount to the taxes that the British Treasury had accrued.²¹ Abadan and Masjed-e Soleyman can be seen in Figure 3.

Beginning with World War I, Iran again became the site of Western power domination. The nation was occupied during the two World Wars, in 1914 and in 1941. Despite Iran's declaration of neutrality, British and Russian armies (Soviets in World War II) entrapped Iran, fearing that it might be used as a pro-German base against the Allies. Each time, Iran was divided into two occupation zones, with a small neutral zone around Tehran run by Iran's

¹⁹ Abrahamian, "Iran."

²⁰ Mary Ann Heiss, *Empire and Nationhood: The United States, Great Britain, and Iranian Oil, 1950-1954* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

²¹ Ervand Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran," *Science & Society* 65 no. 2 (2001).

government.²² “The U.S. entry into World War II resulted in the first large-scale involvement of Americans in Iran”.²³ In 1942, the United States established the Persian Gulf Command (PGC) to make efficient use of the Iranian transportation system for sending military equipment and supplies to the Soviet Union. By 1944, some 30,000 American military and civilian personnel worked for the PGC in Iran.²⁴

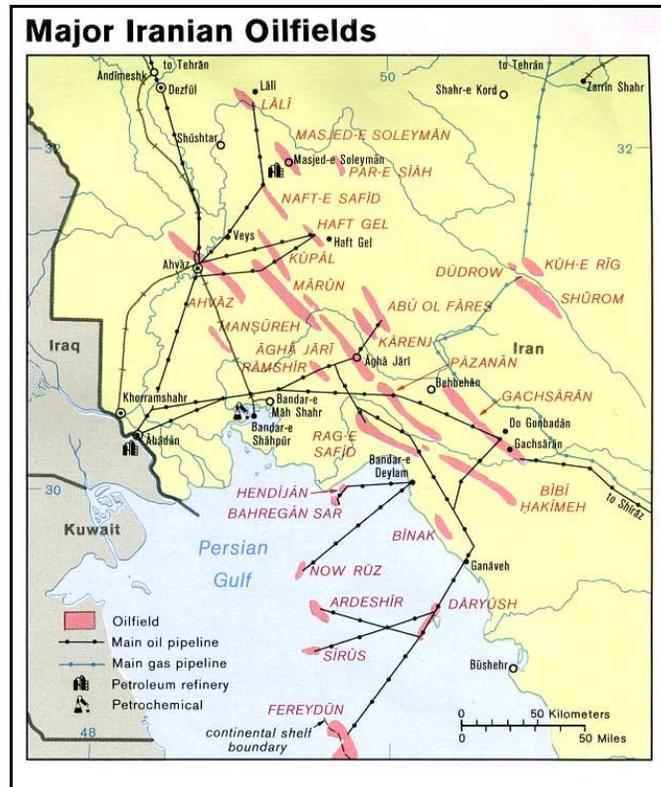


Figure 3. Map of contemporary southern Iranian oilfields

Tehran, the meeting place of the Big Three in 1943 and the link of military cooperation between the American and Soviet forces, soon turned into the front line of the Cold War as U.S.-Soviet tension solidified. Iran, along with Greece and Turkey, “constituted the first line of defense of the Middle East against possible Soviet aggression.”²⁵

²² William Spencer, *The United States and Iran* (Brookfield, CT: Twenty-First Century Books, 2000).

²³ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 514.

In addition to its political significance, Iran's large oil resources and Western powers' dependence on British-run Iranian oil made the dynamics of Iranian politics ever more complex. "For the British, Iranian oil was an economic as well as strategic asset."²⁶ For the United States, "loss of Iranian oil production and of the refinery at Abadan" meant a drastic blow to "Western economic and military interests," as it would undermine Western Europe reconstruction and weaken the position of the so-called "free world" against the Soviet Union.²⁷ Also, Iran served as the only land barrier between the Soviet Union and the oil-rich Persian Gulf, a fact that made Iran "a vital link in the Western security chain."²⁸ Consequently, Iranian nationalism was in sharp contrast to the strategic interests of Western powers.

Iran was the first country in the Middle East to struggle to gain control of its oil industry. The origins of the oil dispute go back to the aftermath of World War II when in 1948 Iran's parliament rejected an earlier Russian proposal for an oil concession in northern Iran.²⁹ While the nationalist members of the parliament (i.e., members of the National Front political party, including Mosaddeq) originated this legislation, the "Anglophile" members, as Ruhollah Hoseinian refers to members who sympathized with the British, played a pivotal role in the passage of the bill.³⁰ Their aim was to curb Russian influence in Iran. The "Russophile" members, those who sympathized with the Soviet Union, retaliated with a bill to repeal the 1933

²⁶ Heiss, *Empire and Nationhood: The United States, Great Britain, and Iranian Oil, 1950-1954*, 3.

²⁷ "Study Prepared by the Staff of the National Security Council (No. 6)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 12.

²⁸ Mary Ann Heiss, "Real Men Don't Wear Pajamas: Anglo-American Cultural Perceptions of Mohammad Mossadeq and the Iranian Oil Nationalization Dispute," in *Empire and Revolution: The United States and the Third World since 1945*, ed. Peter L. Hahn and Mary Ann Heiss (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2001), 180.

²⁹ Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran.", Ruhollah Hoseinian, "What has Remained Unsaid about the Nationalization Movement of Oil Industry (Na-Goftehaye Nehzate Melliye Naft)," Baztab, www.baztab.com/print.php?id=63186.

³⁰ Hoseinian, "What has Remained Unsaid about the Nationalization Movement of Oil Industry (Na-Goftehaye Nehzate Melliye Naft)."

oil contract with Britain. According to Hoseinian, Mosaddeq initially was against the bill, citing the legal implications of unilaterally breaking the contract.³¹

The bill was revived as a result of the parliament's opposition to the Supplemental Oil agreement of 1949 in which Britain agreed to increase Iranian royalties from 17 to 24 percent. This was "too little, too late."³² Moreover, the new agreement did not address other Iranian grievances such as Britain's refusal to promote Iranians to technical and managerial positions, the selling of oil to the British navy at a substantial discount, and the long duration of the contract (i.e., to 1993). This time, the members of the National Front Party, including Mosaddeq, were instrumental in obstructing the ratification of the contract through a filibuster. The life of the fifteenth parliament ended as one of the members of the National Front was speaking in opposition to the agreement.

Clerical leaders likewise played a prominent role in mobilizing public demand for the nationalization of Iran's oil industry. Ayatollah Abol Qasem Kashani was the leading cleric of his time fighting against British imperialism in Iran, who had an instrumental role in transforming the elitist struggle for the nationalization of oil industry in Iran into a popular demand.³³ Between 1942 and 1951, he was repeatedly imprisoned and exiled. From his exile in Iraq, Ayatollah Kashani issued a proclamation on December 21, 1950, published in the *Shahed* newspaper, encouraging all "sincere Muslims and patriotic citizens to fight against the enemies of Islam and Iran by joining the nationalization struggle."³⁴ A few days later, on December 30, Mosaddeq addressed a rally of 12,000 in Tehran, criticizing the government for its inadequate

³¹ Ibid.

³² Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran," 185.

³³ "Naqshi Ayatollah Kashani Dar Mardomi Kardani Sho'ari Melli Kardani Naft (the Role of Ayatollah Kashani in Popularizing the Nationalization of Oil Slogan)," The Islamic Revolution Documents Center, <<http://www.irdc.ir/fa/content/6242/default.aspx>>.

³⁴ Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 265-66.

demands from Britain. Mosaddeq stressed that the “conflict would not be resolved until the entire oil industry was nationalized.”³⁵

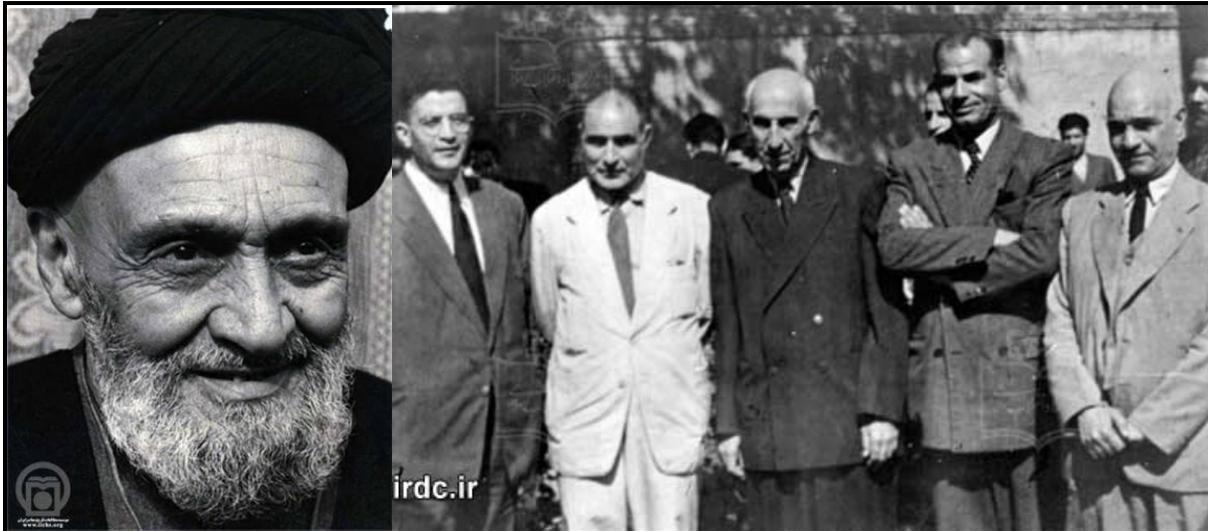


Figure 4. A. Ayatollah Kashani.³⁶ B. Mosaddeq and friends, from left to right, Mozaffar Baghai, Abolhassan Ha' erizadeh, Prime Minister Mosaddeq, Hossein Makki, and Abdolqadir Azad³⁷

The struggle to nationalize Iran's oil gained momentum upon assassination of Prime Minister Razmara, who was approved to the post in June 1950 and had strongly opposed nationalization. On March 3, 1951, just four days before his assassination Razmara had addressed the Majlis (Iranian parliament) Oil Commission emphasizing the impracticality of nationalization.³⁸ Shortly after, Ayatollah Kashani was allowed to return to Tehran from exile.³⁹

³⁵ Ibid., 265.

³⁶ "Ayatollah Seyyed Aboulqassem Kashani, No. Aa 4-754 ", The Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies (IICHS), http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.iichs.org/docImages/KP_kashani.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.iichs.org/index_en.asp%3Fimg_type%3D0&usg=__IdpRF5TMLjc7fjfnzDApe3KFqw0=&h=100&w=75&sz=5&hl=en&start=58&um=1&tbnid=ohZYxzDJ54wslM:&tbnh=82&tbnw=62&prev=/images%3Fq%3DAyatollah%2BKashani%26ndsp%3D21%26hl%3Den%26client%3Dfirefox-a%26rls%3Dorg.mozilla:en-US:official%26sa%3DN%26start%3D42%26um%3D1.

³⁷ Mohammad Ali Sadr-Shirazi, "Rishehaye Nakamiye Harekati Melligerayani Dar Tarikhi Mo'aseri Iran (the Roots of the Failure of Nationalist Movements in the Contemporary History of Iran)," The Islamic Revolution Documents Center, <<http://www.irdc.ir/fa/content/6681/default.aspx>>.

³⁸ Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran."

³⁹ ———, *Iran between Two Revolutions*.

On March 8, 1951, the sixteenth parliament passed a bill that nationalized the oil industry.⁴⁰ Upon Razmara's assassination, the Shah had named Hossein Ala the prime minister of Iran. Ala resigned shortly after due to widespread opposition from the parliament and the public. The Shah eventually agreed to Mosaddeq's premiership after the Majlis voted in favor of the choice on April 28, 1951. Mosaddeq accepted the premiership since he saw alternatives to himself would most probably crush the nationalization movement. On May 1, he declared AIOC assets nationalized and cancelled the company's oil concession. A month later, Majlis sent a committee of five of its deputies to Abadan to enforce the nationalization law.⁴¹

Heiss observes that "the Anglo-Iranian oil dispute seemed irresolvable from the start" as each party "saw the conflict through the prism of its own history and perspective, and neither showed much willingness to compromise."⁴² The Iranians expressed their political right to control their country's assets and their aspirations for national independence from foreign influence; the British were fixated on the legal aspect of the equation. Britain stressed the sanctity of international contracts and charged Iran was unilaterally breaking its contract with AIOC.⁴³ What Iranian nationalists, led by Mosaddeq, wanted was not increased royalties, but control over extraction, production, and distribution of oil. This was something the British could not manage to withhold if Britain was to maintain its position as a world power.⁴⁴ Having no

⁴⁰ Mahmoud Tolu'ee, *The Narration of Good and Bad: The Adventurous History of Iran-U.S. Relations (Hadise Nik Va Bad: Tarikhe Por Ma Jaraye Ravabete Iran Va Amrica)* (Tehran, Iran: Elm, 2005).

⁴¹ Mohammad Mosaddeq, *Mosaddeq's Memoirs and Pains (Khaterat Va Ta'allomate Mosaddeq)* (Tehran, Iran: Elmi, 1986).

⁴² Heiss, "Real Men Don't Wear Pajamas: Anglo-American Cultural Perceptions of Mohammad Mossadeq and the Iranian Oil Nationalization Dispute," 178.

⁴³ ———, *Empire and Nationhood: The United States, Great Britain, and Iranian Oil, 1950-1954*, ———, "Real Men Don't Wear Pajamas: Anglo-American Cultural Perceptions of Mohammad Mossadeq and the Iranian Oil Nationalization Dispute."

⁴⁴ Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran."

intention of ceding its domination of Iran's oil resources, Britain organized a Western boycott of Iranian oil, and succeeded in destabilizing the country's economy.⁴⁵

Heiss highlights the role Orientalism played in U.S.-Iran relations during Mosaddeq's era in the early 1950s.⁴⁶ Orientalism is a Western-style of thought according to which the cultures and peoples of the Orient are seen as inferior to Westerners and their way of life.⁴⁷ According to Heiss, "The end result of the Orientalization of Mosaddeq was an increasingly rigid Anglo-American position on the oil crisis that eschewed compromise or concessions and ultimately saw removing him from office as the only acceptable course of action."⁴⁸

Abrahamian relates the pervasiveness of Orientalist perceptions by British officials of Iranians, in general, and Mosaddeq, in particular, in the following way:

British officials assured others, as well as themselves, that the National Front was "nothing but a noisy bunch of malcontents"; that Mosaddeq – a "wily Oriental" – was "wild," "erratic," "eccentric," "crazy," "gangster-like," "fanatical," "absurd," "dictatorial," "demagogic," "inflammatory," and "single-mindedly obstinate" and that Iranians were by nature "child-like," "tiresome and headstrong," "unwilling to accept facts," "volatile and unstable," "sentimentally mystical," "unprepared to listen to reason and common sense," and "swayed by emotions devoid of positive content."⁴⁹

Abrahamian finds "these racial diatribes" not indicative of why the Iranian-British negotiations broke down.⁵⁰ Rather, he finds them more reflective of the British frustration over the prospects of losing control of Iranian oil, which could in turn result in a slippery slope of loss of control for

⁴⁵ Mary Ann Heiss, "The International Boycott of Iranian Oil and the Anti-Mosaddeq Coup of 1953," in *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, ed. Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004).

⁴⁶ Heiss, "Real Men Don't Wear Pajamas: Anglo-American Cultural Perceptions of Mohammad Mossadeq and the Iranian Oil Nationalization Dispute."

⁴⁷ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

⁴⁸ Heiss, "Real Men Don't Wear Pajamas: Anglo-American Cultural Perceptions of Mohammad Mossadeq and the Iranian Oil Nationalization Dispute," 184.

⁴⁹ Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran," 193.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 194.

its other Middle Eastern assets. “The impasse came not because of racial prejudices but because of the clash of economic interests between imperialism and nationalism.”⁵¹

“It was the inability of the British and the Iranians to resolve the oil dispute on their own that ultimately brought the United States into the conflict.”⁵² Frustrated with the failure of a negotiated settlement, the United States opted for covert action. The CIA staged a coup in August of 1953, marking America’s first covert operation against an elected government.⁵³ The coup happened under the supervision of the CIA’s first director, Allen W. Dulles (1893-1969), who, according to Cull, “had no doubt of the value of propaganda,” actively pursuing propaganda projects such as funding anti-communist newspapers and magazines for influencing target countries’ politics.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Heiss, "Real Men Don't Wear Pajamas: Anglo-American Cultural Perceptions of Mohammad Mossadeq and the Iranian Oil Nationalization Dispute," 180.

⁵³ Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq* (New York: Times Books, 2006).

⁵⁴ Nicholas J. Cull, "CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)," in *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present*, ed. Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2003), 80.

CHAPTER II – METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this thesis is a qualitative case study. As Cunningham states, historical description and qualitative case study is “the most widely exercised method of explicit propaganda analysis.”⁵⁵ According to Yin, case study is the preferred research approach when one is addressing questions of “how” and “why.”⁵⁶ Yin maintains that a unique strength of the case study approach lies in its incorporation of a variety of evidence including documents, archival evidence, artifacts, etc. While Yin restricts case studies to investigations of contemporary phenomena, other scholars have not found such a narrow conceptualization necessary.⁵⁷ For the purpose of this research, I define case study as the examination of “the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances.”⁵⁸ The study employs Jowett and O’Donnell’s established propaganda model for analyzing propaganda campaigns and focuses on U.S. propaganda activities in Iran in the period between 1951 and 1953.⁵⁹

Jowett and O’Donnell’s System of Propaganda Analysis

Jowett and O’Donnell’s framework consists of 10 stages of propaganda analysis, each of which examines a different aspect of the propaganda process – 1) ideology and purpose, 2) context, 3) identification of the propagandist, 4) propaganda organization structure, 5) audience, 6) media utilized, 7) techniques used, 8) audience reaction, 9) counter-propaganda, and 10) effects and evaluation.⁶⁰ According to the framework’s creators, the key strength of this method lies in its consideration of the social climate in which propaganda is designed, executed, and

⁵⁵ Stanley B. Cunningham, *The Idea of Propaganda: A Reconstruction* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 79.

⁵⁶ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2009), 7.

⁵⁷ Gerring, 2007; Hamel, Dufour, & Fortin, 1993; Stake, 1995, 2005; Van Eveira, 1997)

⁵⁸ Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), xi.

⁵⁹ Jowett and O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

received. Applying this methodology to the current case study allows the researcher to compile a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the dynamics of early Cold War propaganda in the context of the Iranian society. According to Jowett, the framework “sets out a matrix designed to facilitate the examination of all the elements of a propaganda campaign from a broader perspective and ‘as a flow of information’ within the sociocultural context.”⁶¹ The following excerpt from Jowett and O’Donnell encapsulates the objectives of the present case study:

To what ends, in the context of the times, does a propaganda agent, working through an organization, reach an audience through the media while using special symbols to get a desired reaction? Furthermore, if there is opposition to the propaganda, what form does it take? Finally, how successful is the propaganda in achieving its purpose?”⁶²

More specifically, Jowett and O’Donnell suggest a number of questions to be asked for each of the 10 steps in the propaganda analysis.⁶³ Since, as the authors point out, not all of these questions are necessarily applicable to all propaganda situations, the following breakdown is used as a guideline in the present case study.

1. Ideology and Purpose

1a: What are the ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign?

1b: Does the propaganda campaign aim to achieve integration or agitation?

2. Context

2a: In what socio-political context does the propaganda campaign take place? In particular, what events and issues are identifiable?

2b: How does the propaganda organization construct the social reality of these events and issues (interpretation of the context)?

2c: How do the propaganda activities aim to affect power relations?

⁶¹ Garth Jowett, "Toward a Propaganda Analysis of the Gulf War," in *Desert Storm and the Mass Media*, ed. B. Greenberg and W. Gantz (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1997), 75.

⁶² Jowett and O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 270.

⁶³ Ibid.

3. Identification of the Propagandist

3a: Who is/are the propagandist(s)?

3b: Who has the most to gain from the propaganda campaign?

4. Structure of the Propaganda Organization

4a: What is the organizational set-up leading the propaganda campaign?

4b: How does the organizational leadership gain the allegiance of the subordinates?

4c: What are the ultimate objectives of the organization?

5. Target Audience

5a: Who are the targets for the propaganda messages?

5b: How and why are these audiences targeted?

6. Media Utilization Techniques

6a: What media are used to transmit the message?

6c: Does the propagandist(s) employ the media in a way that would conceal the purpose of the campaign or the identity of the propagandist(s)?

7. Special Techniques to Maximize Effect

7a: What special techniques are used to maximize resonance with audience predispositions?

7e: Are opinion leaders and personal communication employed to maximize effect?

7f: How are group norms utilized to the benefit of the propaganda campaign?

8. Audience Reaction to Various Techniques

8a: How does the target audience react to the propaganda campaign?

8b: Does this reaction help or hinder the realization of the goal of the propaganda campaign?

9. Counterpropaganda

9a: How do the oppositional media react to the propaganda messages?

9b: How does the propagandist respond to and interpret the counterpropaganda to minimize backlash?

10. Effects and Evaluation

10a: To what extent was the purpose of the propaganda fulfilled?

Data

The primary sources of information for this thesis consist of the available U.S. State Department and CIA documents about United States foreign policy at work during the time period under study. The available sources of information are three-fold. First, part of the data for this study is retrieved from the collection of declassified documents on the U.S. propaganda in the Middle East at the National Security Archive Web site.⁶⁴ National Security Archive is “an independent non-governmental research institute and library located at the George Washington University.”⁶⁵ Second, the thesis makes extensive use of another body of documents collected in the tenth volume of the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series.⁶⁶ These series are available online at the University of Wisconsin Digital Collections Center.⁶⁷ The volumes are searchable.

The above two sources of documents comprise the official correspondence among the many U.S. actors involved in the formation and implementation of U.S. policy in Iran during the nationalization of oil controversy, including the president, secretary of state, other State Department officials, U.S. ambassador in Iran, and other embassy personnel. Examining these

⁶⁴ The National Security Archive, "Documentation on Early Cold War U.S. Propaganda Activities in the Middle East," <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/docs.htm>.

⁶⁵ ———, "About the National Security Archive," http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/the_archive.html.

⁶⁶ *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989).

⁶⁷ University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, "Foreign Relations of the United States," <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/FRUS/>.

sources of information gives the researcher a unique behind-the-scene look at the evolution of U.S. policy, especially as it relates to U.S. propaganda activities and the eventual coup in August of 1953.

Donald Wilber's secret history of the CIA coup is another important primary source of information for this study.⁶⁸ The full text of the document is available online at the National Security Archive Web site. Donald Wilber, Middle East architecture expert, was an undercover CIA agent who figured prominently in the planning and execution of the 1953 coup in Iran. He headed the coup's psychological operations team. "The 200-page CIA official history," according to Mark Gasiorowski, "adds considerably to our understanding of the coup."⁶⁹ Wilber's history, which was written exclusively for the intelligence community as a blueprint for future similar covert operations, chronicles the events of the plot. In Appendix B, it contains the operational plan for the coup which includes detailed instructions on the massive propaganda campaign to destabilize Mosaddeq's government. The history was disclosed by James Risen of the *New York Times* in its editions of April 16 and June 18, 2000.⁷⁰ On the same day as the latter article, the *New York Times* posted the documents in their entirety on its Web site.⁷¹

Earlier, in 1999, the National Security Archive had filed a lawsuit against the CIA for the Wilber and another history of the 1953 coup that were known to exist. CIA refused to release the documents, except for the phrase "Headquarters spent a day featured by depression and

⁶⁸ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*.

⁶⁹ Mark J. Gasiorowski, "The CIA Looks Back at the 1953 Coup in Iran," *Middle East Report* no. 216 (Fall, 2000): 4.

⁷⁰ James Risen, "Secrets of History: The C.I.A. In Iran -- a Special Report.; How a Plot Convulsed Iran in '53 (and in '79)," *New York Times*, April 16, 2000, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9902E7DB1731F935A25757C0A9669C8B63>, ———, "Word for Word/Abc's of Coups; Oh, What a Fine Plot We Hatched. (and Here's What to Do the Next Time)." *New York Times*, June 18, 2000, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=990CE6D61631F93BA25755C0A9669C8B63>.

⁷¹ James Risen, "Secrets of History; the CIA in Iran," *New York Times* on the Web, <http://www.nytimes.com/library/world/mideast/041600iran-cia-index.html>.

despair,” on the grounds that doing so would jeopardize United States national security.⁷² The Wilber history leaves no doubt that the 1953 coup was “planned and executed by the CIA, with some help from Britain’s Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) – not in a ‘national uprising’ as some Iranians claim.”⁷³ The history is obviously the tip of an iceberg as about an additional 1000 pages of CIA documents about TPAJAX (the official codename for the coup) remain classified, according to the CIA. This is while the CIA had earlier claimed that all documentation about the 1953 plot was destroyed.⁷⁴ Kermit Roosevelt’s account of the coup,⁷⁵ a major actor in the coup, was not used as a primary source because, while it is useful to read, the memoir may be more self-serving and more withholding compared to Wilber’s history because it was intended for an external rather than internal audience.

In addition to the above primary sources, the study makes use of secondary material on the U.S. role in the coup. As the author is a native Farsi speaker, she was able to supplement English sources with those in Farsi, incorporating the voices of some of the Iranians who witnessed the events of the 1951 to 1953 period. Evidently, this study is limited to the analysis of American propaganda in Iran in the above time period and, as such, it does not draw on sources related to relevant British or Russian propaganda activities in Iran. These projects remain for future studies to attend to.

Chapter Outline

Following the introduction (chapter I) and the methodology (chapter II), chapter III will focus on propaganda theory and practice. Chapter III gives an overview of the nuances of propaganda and a historical summary of United States’ propaganda practices since World War I.

⁷² Malcolm Byrne, *The Secret CIA History of the Coup, 1953* (Washington, DC: National Security Archive, November 29, 2000), <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/>.

⁷³ Gasiorowski, "The CIA Looks Back at the 1953 Coup in Iran," 4.

⁷⁴ Byrne, *The Secret CIA History of the Coup, 1953*.

⁷⁵ Kermit Roosevelt, *Countercoup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979).

Chapter IV elaborates on U.S. policy regarding Iran's nationalization of oil and Iranian public opinion at the time. Chapter V is an extended chapter entailing the case study of American propaganda in Iran during the 1951 to 1953 period. Chapter VI is devoted to concluding remarks about the implications of the 1953 coup.

CHAPTER III – PROPAGANDA THEORY AND PRACTICE

Defining Propaganda

Propaganda got its name from an institution in the Roman Catholic Church established to contain the effects of the Protestant revolution. Despite the widespread suggestion that the “origin [of the word propaganda] stands in sharp contrast to [its] current meaning,”⁷⁶ Black suggests that the original usage of the word directs us to the following general definition: “the spreading of ideas that would not occur naturally, but only via a cultivated or artificial generation.”⁷⁷ At this stage, propaganda was considered a moral endeavor and did not have the derogatory connotation it has today. Definitions of propaganda abound, but adopting one over the other inhibits the understanding of propaganda as a concept that is “grounded on something more sturdy than mere intuition and popular misconception.”⁷⁸ Consequently, it is necessary to analyze the commonalities among these definitions and examine their distinguishing features.

In a comprehensive review of the definitions of propaganda, Cunningham finds the following elements common to the many definitions furnished. First, propaganda is an activity that aims to control opinion through significant symbols (e.g., language, art, film, etc.).⁷⁹ Second, the ultimate goal of propaganda is to influence action or behavior. Cunningham concurs with Ellul in that “what ultimately defines propaganda’s success is the generation of unthinking behavior by virtue of which the individual conforms himself to the larger group or society.”⁸⁰ By circumventing thoughtful action, propaganda inhibits freedom and choice. Another

⁷⁶ Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton, “Propaganda: A Misnomer of Rhetoric and Persuasion?,” in *Themes in History: Propaganda, Political Rhetoric and Identity, 1300-2000*, ed. Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton (Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999), 1.

⁷⁷ Jay Black, “Semantics and Ethics of Propaganda,” *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 16 no. 2/3 (2001): 121.

⁷⁸ Cunningham, *The Idea of Propaganda: A Reconstruction*, 57.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

important defining element is the centrality of intention and deliberateness in manipulating the beliefs and actions of others. In other words, for communication to be propagandistic, it has to be a deliberate attempt at shaping/manipulating others' behavior by influencing their opinions and beliefs. A final element common to the majority of definitions of propaganda, according to Cunningham, is the assumption that propaganda is a neutral activity that can be directed to achieve good or bad ends.⁸¹

Jowett and O'Donnell provide a useful definition that encompasses most of the above elements. They contend, "Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist."⁸² As such, propaganda has an essential relationship with power. It is a deliberate and systematic method of legitimating and reproducing a certain ideology, or a certain construction of reality, to further the interests of the propagandizing group. From the mentioned defining elements of propaganda, it follows that disinformation and lies are not necessary conditions for propaganda. Propaganda "operates instead with many kinds of truth – half truth, limited truth, truth out of context."⁸³ Although propaganda does not necessitate resorting to lies, it does not exclude it either.

Nelson's definition of propaganda gives a more detailed conceptualization of the term:

Propaganda is neutrally defined as a systematic form of PURPOSEFUL PERSUASION that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions, and actions of specified target audiences for ideological, political, or commercial purposes through the controlled transmission of one-sided messages (which may or may not be factual) via mass and direct media channels.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 7.

⁸³ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), v.

⁸⁴ Richard Alan Nelson, *A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda in the United States* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 232-33.

Based on Nelson's definition, propaganda has several characteristics: it is a process involving organized manipulative mass communication artifacts to influence public opinion for the promotion of a particular cause. Nelson also suggests that modern propaganda is less about "changing minds" and more about achieving psychological resonance with the existing prejudices and attitudes of the targeted publics.⁸⁵

The main difference between propaganda and other forms of communication, according to Jowett and O'Donnell, lies in propaganda's self-serving purpose. Unlike informative communication, which has the goal of mutual understanding, and unlike persuasive communication, which should necessarily fulfill mutual needs (i.e., being mutually beneficial to all parties), propaganda is a propagandist's attempt to fulfill his/her interests regardless of the needs of the receiving party.⁸⁶ Jowett and O'Donnell, however, do contend that, to be effective, propaganda is often disguised as a neutral form of communication. This is done by concealing the purpose of the propaganda, in which case, the propagandist appears "as a persuader with a stated purpose that seems to satisfy mutual needs"⁸⁷ Moreover, the propagandist sometimes conceals his/her identity, capitalizing on the credibility of the pseudo-sender of the message, to avoid public backlash.

In the same light, Lumley conceptualizes propaganda as a form of communication that by its very nature involves some form of concealment.⁸⁸ He thus gives the following definition:

Propaganda is promotion which is veiled in one way or another as to (1) its origin or sources, (2) the interests involved, (3) the methods employed, (4) the content spread, and (5) the results accruing to the victims – any one, any two, any three, any four, or all five.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 44.

⁸⁸ Frederick Elmore Lumley, *The Propaganda Menace* (New York: Century, 1933).

⁸⁹ Ibid., 44.

Categories of Propaganda

Ellul believes effective propaganda must be total in that it should utilize all available media and use all forms of propaganda.⁹⁰ Classifications of propaganda forms that reappear in the literature include pre-propaganda, black propaganda, white propaganda, gray propaganda, integration propaganda, agitation propaganda, and propaganda of the deed.⁹¹

Ellul is of the opinion that direct propaganda, which aims to affect opinions and attitudes, should be preceded by what he calls “pre-propaganda.”⁹² Pre-propaganda is of sociological character, is slow and general, and is conducted with the aim to set the climate for the ultimate change in opinions and/or behaviors. Jowett and O’Donnell use the terms “sub-propaganda” and “facilitative communication” to capture the same notion.⁹³

White propaganda involves a self-serving, selective use of accurate information from an identifiable source.⁹⁴ “Persuaders who have facts or events on their side often rely on a white propaganda approach utilizing straightforward, honest communication to make their case.”⁹⁵ Black propaganda, on the other hand, signifies deceptive messaging or disinformation and is often accompanied by the concealment of the source of the message. Gray propaganda lies in between white and black propaganda, in which case the accuracy of the information may be in question and the source may or may not be correctly identified⁹⁶

Jowett and O’Donnell develop the following two models with regard to the source of the propaganda: the deflective model and the legitimating model.⁹⁷ In the deflective model, the

⁹⁰ Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*.

⁹¹ Cunningham, *The Idea of Propaganda: A Reconstruction*, Jowett and O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*.

⁹² Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, 15.

⁹³ Jowett and O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Nelson, *A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda in the United States*, 274.

⁹⁶ Jowett and O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Nelson, *A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda in the United States*.

⁹⁷ Jowett and O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*.

actual source is unknown because it secretly passes information to an apparent source that would then pass it on to the target audience. In a legitimating model, the actual source first secretly transfers the information to a second party and then receives it back and transfers it to the target audience. In this model, the actual source of the message is obscured. The actual source pretends to be a mere channel of information flow. This model is used to create credibility for the message. These two models are related to the two categories of black and gray propaganda.

Ellul doubts that propaganda is merely “a manipulation of symbols, an abstract influence on opinions.”⁹⁸ Rather, he believes propaganda’s existence rests on the formation of institutions supporting the aims of the propaganda and the realization of propagated ideas and messages in action. Accordingly, it is the existence of “external propaganda structures” and the concrete organization of propaganda that give it continuity.⁹⁹

Ellul suggests that the main difference between modern propaganda and the practice during earlier ages lies in their ultimate aim: “The aim of modern propaganda is no longer to modify ideas, but to provoke action. The aim is no longer to change adherence to a doctrine, but to make the individual cling irrationally to a process of action.”¹⁰⁰ This distinction is important since it undermines the pervasive definition of propaganda as the manipulation of symbols for changing ideas or opinions. Ellul further indicates that when gauging the effectiveness of propaganda, the only indicator of success is action. The change in attitudes and beliefs is not indicative of success. He also suggests that “to be effective propaganda must constantly short-circuit thought and decision,” so that individuals are channeled to take particular courses of

⁹⁸ Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, 20.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

action in political and social affairs without taking into consideration all their convictions and beliefs.¹⁰¹

The ultimate behavior sought could be integrative or agitative. Integration propaganda aims to direct individuals toward behaviors that “unify, integrate, and harmonize a society.”¹⁰² Integration propaganda, therefore, renders the public into passive acceptance of societal norms. Agitation propaganda, on the other hand, is a kind of propaganda that aims to incite the public to change. It “is designed and orchestrated to arouse the public, to generate turmoil, to incite fear and discontent, to destabilize, and to promote the repudiation of existing structures and social conditions.”¹⁰³

An additional category of propaganda is propaganda of the deed. Osgood defines this category of propaganda as “actions taken for the psychological effects they have on different publics.”¹⁰⁴ The most outright example of this kind of propaganda is the use of terrorist/violent activities, such as bombings and assassinations.¹⁰⁵ Osgood contends that other non-violent activities such as “educational and cultural exchanges, economic aid, disaster relief, disarmament initiatives, international agreements, the appointment of investigating commissions, legislation” and the like when “employed primarily for the effects they would have on public opinion” are also examples of propaganda of the deed.¹⁰⁶

Osgood classifies cultural propaganda as a sub-category of propaganda of the deed.¹⁰⁷ “Cultural propaganda is a long-term process intended to promote a better understanding of the nation that is sponsoring the activity” and includes the dissemination of cultural artifacts such as

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 27.

¹⁰² Cunningham, *The Idea of Propaganda: A Reconstruction*, 66.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Osgood, "Propaganda," 241.

¹⁰⁵ Nelson, *A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda in the United States*.

¹⁰⁶ Osgood, "Propaganda," 241.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

films, magazines, radio and television programs, art exhibitions, etc.¹⁰⁸ This propaganda activity also entails the promotion of language teaching and other educational programs such as student-exchange programs.

Propaganda and American Foreign Policy

The Origins of Official U.S. Propaganda

The United States has used propaganda as an instrumental tool of foreign policy, especially during times of crises, war, and conflict.¹⁰⁹ World War I, as the first total war, is considered the “launching pad” of modern propaganda.¹¹⁰ A week after the United States entered the war in 1917, President Woodrow Wilson ordered the establishment of the Committee on Public Information (CPI, otherwise known as the Creel Committee) to mobilize domestic support for the war as well as execute foreign propaganda. A life-long journalist himself, George Creel, the committee’s director, encouraged journalists to practice “self-censorship” when covering the war. The committee also encouraged the public to report to the authorities individuals who were opposed to the war or displayed disloyalty. Consequently, the committee grew unpopular among the media and Wilson’s rival politicians. As a result, Congress quickly abolished the organization in 1919 after the war ended, leaving the United States without an organized propaganda apparatus for the next two decades.¹¹¹

During World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt again established an official propaganda organization mainly to combat German propaganda. Nelson A. Rockefeller became the first director of the newly found Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA),

¹⁰⁸ David Welch, "Cultural Propaganda," in *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present*, ed. Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2003), 101.

¹⁰⁹ Osgood, "Propaganda."

¹¹⁰ Martin J. Manning and Herbert Romerstein, *Historical Dictionary of Propaganda* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), xxviii.

¹¹¹ Thomas C. Sorensen, *The Word War: The Story of American Propaganda* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 5-8.

which was a bureau inside the State Department. As director of CIAA, Rockefeller established many of the propaganda programs that became the basis for later U.S. propaganda in the Cold War and beyond. These included the Voice of America (VOA) and the Office of War Information (OWI), both formed in 1942. The U.S. government created, through the OWI, a worldwide network of information posts for the promotion of its interests abroad. These permanent information posts became the backbone of the United States Information Agency, which was later established as the American Cold War propaganda infrastructure. Like the Creel Committee, OWI was responsible for both domestic and foreign propaganda.¹¹²

American Cold War Propaganda

Although the United States used propaganda extensively during the two world wars, it “institutionalized” its use of propaganda during the Cold War, elevating it to “a central component of American foreign policy.”¹¹³ According to Parry-Guiles, “Truman and Eisenhower were the first two presidents to introduce and mobilize propaganda as an official peacetime institution. In a ‘war of words,’ propaganda acted as an integral component of the government’s foreign policy operation.”¹¹⁴ The first decade of the Cold War constituted the tensest period of ideological struggle.¹¹⁵ In this period, U.S. foreign policy was one of containment and aimed to isolate communism and prevent its expansion. As a result, the United States worked to secure a buffer of client states around the Soviet Union.¹¹⁶ Given its strategic importance and its long borders with the Soviet Union, Iran was in essence a strategic ideological

¹¹² Wilson P. Dizard, *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the U.S. Information Agency*. (Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2004), 9-11.

¹¹³ Osgood, "Propaganda," 239.

¹¹⁴ Shawn J. Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), xvii.

¹¹⁵ Robert Cole, *The Encyclopedia of Propaganda*, vol. 1 (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 1998).

¹¹⁶ Ibid, Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch, eds., *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2003).

battleground during the Cold War.¹¹⁷ More generally, the Middle East, with its vast petroleum resources, was perceived as the winning card of the battle between the Western world and the Soviet Union.¹¹⁸

As the Cold War solidified and anti-communism became the dominant framework of U.S. foreign policy, the tide of misgivings about the usefulness and necessity of propaganda in peacetime subsided. In the fall of 1947, a congressional fact-finding mission led by Senator H. Alexander Smith (R-New Jersey) and Representative Karl Mundt (R-North Dakota) assessed the ideological state of European and Middle Eastern countries and concluded that the Soviets were winning the war of ideas. As a result, in January of 1948, Congress passed the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act, which became known as the Smith-Mundt Act.¹¹⁹ The new law legitimized United States propaganda activities and gave the State Department jurisdiction over international propaganda programs as well as cultural and exchange programs. Given the widespread discontent with the government's use of domestic propaganda during the two world wars, the Smith-Mundt Act forbade it from propagandizing inside the United States.¹²⁰

In the 1950s, Truman initiated a propaganda program called the Campaign for Truth. Under this initiative, the budget for U.S. propaganda activities “jumped from \$20 million in 1948 to \$115 million in 1952.”¹²¹ In 1953, President Eisenhower established the United States Information Agency (USIA). While this was a little less than a decade into the Cold War, the USIA was the first official propaganda agency created during peacetime. Existing propaganda

¹¹⁷ Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy*.

¹¹⁸ Peter L. Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire: The United States and the Middle East since 1945* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, Inc., 2005).

¹¹⁹ *United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948*, Public Law 402, 80th Cong., 2nd sess., (January 27, 1948).

¹²⁰ Hans N. Tuch, *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), Sorensen, *The Word War: The Story of American Propaganda*, Alan L. Heil, *Voice of America: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

¹²¹ Osgood, "Propaganda," 247.

efforts, such as Voice of America, moved under the USIA's jurisdiction. In conjunction with the USIA, the newly created Central Intelligence Agency, agencies responsible for providing foreign aid, and the armed forces also conducted propaganda activities. The CIA, in particular, carried out covert psychological operations in allied and neutral countries. "It conducted numerous operations to influence political developments around the world, most notably in Italy, the Philippines, Iran, Guatemala, Indonesia, Cuba, Vietnam, Thailand, Chile, Iraq, and Angola."¹²² The present case study of early Cold War U.S. propaganda activities in Iran is significant for it captures a juncture of time when for the first time American propaganda apparatus was used to topple an elected foreign government.

¹²² Ibid., 248.

CHAPTER IV – THE CONTEXT, IDEOLOGY, AND PURPOSE OF THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

This chapter addresses two of the 10 stages in Jowett and O'Donnell's propaganda model. It aims to identify the ideology and purpose of U.S. propaganda in Iran in the 1951-1953 years while elaborating on the period's socio-political context. The chapter provides an overview of the events that ensued between the decision of the Iranian Majlis (parliament) to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in March 1951 and the CIA orchestrated coup that overthrew the government of Prime Minister Mosaddeq in August 1953. The focus of the present section is on U.S. policy toward the nationalization crisis and the state of Iranian public opinion. This information will elucidate on the goals and objectives of U.S. propaganda in the time period under study.

Iranian Public Opinion

Iran's decision to nationalize AIOC assets did not arise out of a vacuum. The decision was as much about uprooting British interference in Iran's internal affairs as it was about Iran's negligible share of the benefits of its natural resources. A 1952 article by an Iranian professor at Princeton University well captures Iranian sentiment in this regard: "The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company from the very outset, with the aid of British Government officials stationed in Iran, established itself as an independent state within the state of Iran."¹²³ Fatemi describes the nationalization movement as a "revolution" against "British oppression" that is by no means communist in character.¹²⁴ "It is a revolution against Red imperialism as well as against British Black imperialism," he says.¹²⁵ The Majlis, according to Fatemi, is simply acting in the national

¹²³ N. Saifpour Fatemi, "Tensions in the Middle East," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 282 (July 1952): 54.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*: 56.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

interest of Iran. The movement is, in essence, “anti-colonial and pro-Iran.”¹²⁶ In the words of Fatemi, this is what the Iranian people say:

We have toiled, sweated, and suffered in order that people in England should have a happy and gay life. Our misery and poverty – they are inconceivable; they could not be worse; our patience is exhausted and we can endure no more. We are prepared to cooperate with the West on the basis of equality and partnership, but the British slogan, ‘Just wait until the beggars need the money; that will bring them to their knees’ is no longer true. We would rather die than accept British or Russian or any other domination over our fatherland.¹²⁷

A study prepared for the National Security Council (NSC) in March of 1951 gave the following appraisal of the Iranian public opinion environment: “the belief is widespread in Iran that the company is unfairly exploiting the country by refusing to offer reasonable and equitable royalties and its entire operation is resented as a closed corporation exploiting Iranian wealth but beyond the reach of Iranian custom or law.”¹²⁸ This situation, according to the NSC study, resulted in “strong antagonism against the British, and, among the less educated, against all foreigners.”¹²⁹ Many Iranians at the time believed that “the Western powers are not seriously interested in the welfare and independence of the country but are concerned only with exploiting its primary resources for their own purposes.”¹³⁰ Given this widespread attitude, the study recommended that a successful U.S. policy requires, among other things, “a substantially enlarged program of information and cultural relations in Iran.”¹³¹

American officials on the ground acknowledged widespread support among the Iranian elite and general public for nationalization and putting an end to British political interference as

¹²⁶ Ibid.: 57.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ "Study Prepared by the Staff of the National Security Council (No. 6)," 14.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid., 13.

exemplified by the excesses of the oil company.¹³² In his visit to Iran, Averell Harriman, the special assistant to President Truman, for example, noted, “There is complete unanimity of opinion among qualified American officials that Mosaddeq is strongly supported by very large majority of Iranian people, and no Iranian program has ever been backed to the extent of his program to eliminate Brit influence in Iran and nationalize the oil industry.”¹³³ He urged Washington to take into account the very strong public emotion regarding nationalization noting, “In opinion of all Americans here and responsible Iranians with whom I have talked, any Iranian Government, whether it be that of Mosaddeq or someone else, cannot run counter to this emotion.”¹³⁴ In other words, Iranian officials felt very much constrained, due to this overwhelming public demand for nationalization, against giving in to any British concession that could bring back the status quo. In his conversations with American officials, Mosaddeq often rhetorically asked, “what would the Iranian people say?”

The above-mentioned Iranian attitude of equating the exploitative policies of the Soviets with those of the Western powers would have been utterly destructive to the cause of anti-communism and run counter to the ultimate aim of using Iran as a buffer against Soviet expansionism. To mitigate this counter-productive mentality, a National Security Council directive, NSC 107/2, found it necessary for the United States to “strengthen the ability and desire of the Iranian people to resist communist subversion and pressure.”¹³⁵ Such a measure was determined to be a necessary prerequisite for ensuring “a government in power in Iran on the

¹³² "The Special Assistant to the President (Harriman) to the Department of State (No. 44)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 96.

"The Special Assistant to the President (Harriman) to the Department of State (No. 46)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 101.

¹³³ "The Special Assistant to the President (Harriman) to the Department of State (No. 44)," 97.

¹³⁴ "The Special Assistant to the President (Harriman) to the Department of State (No. 52)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 111.

¹³⁵ "Statement of Policy Proposed by the National Security Council (No. 32)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 73.

side of the free world, capable of maintaining internal order and determined to resist Soviet aggression.”¹³⁶ NSC 107/2 expressed the need for the United States “to extend political support, primarily to the Shah as the only present source of continuity of leadership” in this regard.¹³⁷ Given this policy, instilling an anti-communist sentiment in the Iranian public served as the overarching objective of U.S. propaganda in this time period.

Throughout the nationalization crisis, the internal communication of the State Department showed little sympathy with the Iranian public for their grievances against the AIOC that had led to their nationalist outburst. The situation is framed, for instance, as a result of “the highly emotional atmosphere surrounding the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company dispute, which fanatical nationalist elements in Iran have used to stir up popular feeling.”¹³⁸ Iranians’ inflexible support for nationalization is said to be “highly irrational and emotional ... even when the economic stakes are high,” to use the words of George McGhee, the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African affairs.¹³⁹ Henry Grady, U.S. ambassador in Iran from 1950 to 1951, described Iranian nationalism in similar terms: “The fanaticism is a reflection of the ‘independence’ complex which I have seen in a number of countries.” He goes on to say, “This is not by any means all bad as it also affects their attitude toward Russia.”¹⁴⁰

Initially, Iranian sentiment toward the United States was generally positive,¹⁴¹ but it deteriorated as U.S. support for the British policy became more apparent. By the time of the coup, Iranian public opinion had turned anti-American. In the words of Secretary of State John

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ "Memorandum by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Berry) to the Secretary of State (No. 5)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 9.

¹³⁹ "Memorandum of Conversation, by the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (McGhee) (No. 40)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 90.

¹⁴⁰ "The Ambassador in Iran (Grady) to the Department of State (No. 18)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 46-47.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 47.

Foster Dulles, "Our unpopularity in Iran is largely a derivation of British unpopularity and our previous association in the minds of Iranians with unpopular British policies."¹⁴²

United States: From Quiet Support of British Policy to Covert Action

The primary objective of the United States in Iran was "to prevent the domination of that country by the USSR and to strengthen Iran's association with the free world."¹⁴³ Iran's attempt to nationalize its oil industry was believed to jeopardize both the independence of Iran from Soviet influence and "the free flow of Iranian oil into the economy of the free world," President Truman wrote to Prime Minister Attlee of Britain.¹⁴⁴ Evidently, from the beginning of the crisis, the United States did not favor Iran's nationalization because it gave the Soviet Union the chance to exert influence in the distribution of Iran's oil. In response to President Truman's letter, Attlee, on June 5, 1951, expressed doubt that Iran was willing to consider the interests of Great Britain since it was fixated on negotiating in terms of "the implementation of the Persian nationalization laws."¹⁴⁵ This, Attlee said, involves a unilateral cancellation of the company's 1933 concession-agreement, which could set in motion similar breaches of contracts elsewhere, greatly endangering the interests of Western powers worldwide.

To prevent such a disastrous outcome, the United States struggled in the ensuing two years to persuade the Iranians to reach an agreement with the British. U.S. policy was to protect the interests of the West in Iran first through "quiet support" for the British position, then through active intermediation, and finally through covert action to bring down the government of Mosaddeq. The preparation and planning for the covert CIA operation got under way during the

¹⁴² "Memorandum of Discussion at the 135th Meeting of the National Security Council (No. 312)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 694.

¹⁴³ "Study Prepared by the Staff of the National Security Council (No. 6)," 12.

¹⁴⁴ "President Truman to Prime Minister Attlee (No. 25)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 60.

¹⁴⁵ "Prime Minister Attlee to President Truman (No. 27)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 62.

Truman administration. The coup was eventually operationalized and implemented by the Eisenhower administration.

In a telegram on March 17, 1951, Secretary of State Acheson wrote to the American embassy in Iran that “while in general U.S. does not favor nationalization, U.S. recognizes [the] right of sovereign states to nationalize provided prompt payment [for] just compensation made.”¹⁴⁶ Acheson, however, noted that the United States did not wish to publicize this policy as it would have encouraged other nations to nationalize their oil industries as well. Acheson’s letter signaled the beginning of a period of “quiet support” for the British stance.¹⁴⁷ By avoiding outright opposition to nationalization, the Truman administration aimed to avoid alienating Iran from the Western camp. Knowing that most Iranians were in favor of nationalizing their oil industry, the Truman administration believed that any British offer should at least accept nationalization in principle as a “face-saving device for substantial segment in Iran which has gone on record as demanding nationalization.”¹⁴⁸ The United States proposed that the British superficially alter their settlement offer to add “more of a ‘flavor’ of nationalization in some form that would have minimum effect upon the actual control of the company’s operations.”¹⁴⁹

Iran had turned down previous AIOC offers that even lacked this “flavor” and had demanded complete control over the management and sale of oil. The Department of State

¹⁴⁶ "The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Egypt (No. 10)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 27.

¹⁴⁷ "Memorandum of Conversation, by the Director of Office of Greek, Turkish, and Iranian Affairs (Rountree) (No. 12)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 34.

¹⁴⁸ "The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Egypt (No. 10)," 27.

¹⁴⁹ "Memorandum of Conversation, by the Director of Office of Greek, Turkish, and Iranian Affairs (Rountree) (No. 13)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 38.

found this stance “reckless” and “completely unreasonable” and instructed Ambassador Grady to personally request the Shah “to use his personal influence to have this position modified.”¹⁵⁰

Britain had thus succeeded in persuading the United States that its apparent neutrality was hurting the prospect of any settlement since Iranians viewed American policy in opposition to that of the British and hoped to exploit that difference to their advantage. In a letter to Prime Minister Mosaddeq on July 8, 1951, President Truman urged Mosaddeq to find ways to “reconcile the principle of nationalization and British interests to the benefit of both” since Iran needed British skill and operating knowledge to run its oil industry.¹⁵¹ Upon reception of the letter, Mosaddeq expressed great disappointment at the U.S. position, saying to Ambassador Grady, “The message takes the British side entirely. The Americans have always taken the British side in this oil dispute and have never given aid to Iran.”¹⁵² Mosaddeq was referring to a \$25 million loan from the U.S. Export/Import Bank that the Americans had promised was forthcoming. The loan never materialized despite Iran’s grave economic difficulties that were intensified with a later boycott of Iranian oil.

On July 9, Truman offered to send Averell Harriman as United States special representative to act as a mediator between the British and Iranians to arrive at a solution. Harriman arrived in Tehran on July 15 while an angry group of demonstrators shouting anti-American slogans gathered in front of the airport. A violent clash ensued between the police and troops and left at least 15 people dead and 200 injured. The forceful quelling of demonstrations

¹⁵⁰ "Editorial Note (No. 29)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 66.

¹⁵¹ "President Truman to Prime Minister Mosadeq (No. 37)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 84.

¹⁵² "Memorandum of Conversation, by the Second Secretary of the Embassy in Iran (Stutesman) (No. 38)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 87.

happened under the command of General Zahedi, the interior minister at the time, who in two years replaced Mosaddeq following the CIA coup. Zahedi subsequently resigned.¹⁵³

During his stay, Harriman tried to convince the Iranians to accept British control of their oil industry on the condition that the British accede to nationalization in principle. The Iranian interpretation of the principle of nationalization, however, proved much different from that of the British and Americans. The Iranians aimed to bring the “discovery, extraction, [and] exploitation of oil” under the control of Iran’s government, something the British were not willing to give up.¹⁵⁴ The “British proposal was in fact for a concession in disguise,” Mosaddeq told Harriman; it called for something he “could never sell to the Iranian people.”¹⁵⁵

While trying to convince the Iranians to the contrary, Harriman reported his honest opinion regarding the British proposal to the Department of State as follows: “In my opinion arrangements under British proposal can be worked out to result in either camouflage for complete return of British control or adequate recognition of NIOC’s right to appropriate control, safeguarding against practices which Iranians objected to in past.”¹⁵⁶ On August 25, 1951, Harriman left Tehran without success in bringing Iran and Britain any closer to a negotiated settlement of the dispute. In an earlier telegram, he expressed frustration that “there was little if any chance to come to a workable arrangement with” Mosaddeq.¹⁵⁷

Mosadeq (sic) expects foreign staff to work on his terms, foreign oil companies to buy and distribute oil on his terms, and Iran to get all of the profits with compensation only to owners for property taken over. In his dream world the simple passage of legislation

¹⁵³ Chris Paine and Erica Schoenberger, "Iranian Nationalism and the Great Powers: 1872-1954," *MERIP Reports* no. 37 (May 1975).

¹⁵⁴ "The Ambassador in Iran (Grady) to the Embassy in the United Kingdom (No. 61)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 125.

¹⁵⁵ "The Special Assistant to the President (Harriman) to the Department of State (No. 71)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 139.

¹⁵⁶ "The Special Assistant to the President (Harriman) to the Department of State (No. 73)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 142.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

nationalizing oil industry creates profitable business and everyone is expected to help Iran on terms that he lays down.¹⁵⁸

Harriman's attitude and position shows that by this time, American policy was much in line with that of the British. Ambassador Grady warned the State Department that this policy could "lead to disaster." Upon Harriman's departure, Grady wrote the following:

We have reached the point now where we must decide to maintain our own policy or accept that of British. It is my strong conviction that British policy has been and is one that may well lead to disaster in this country. They are using economic sanctions to get Mosaddeq out and want us to do the same ... The British definitely want us to join with them in economic sanctions. If we decide to let them call all the plays, we will absorb a large part of present deep antagonism toward British.¹⁵⁹

Grady urged Secretary Acheson to realize that the main goal in Iran was to keep the country in the Western camp not to push the British policy. "To do this at least one of the great western democracies must maintain a position of basic friendliness for Iran," he said.

"Otherwise, it will have no place to look for friendship and assistance except to Russia."¹⁶⁰

Grady resigned from his post and left Iran on September 19, 1951. He was replaced with Loy Henderson, who was approved by the Senate on September 13 and arrived at Tehran on

September 22. In a speech in 1952, Grady asserted that the British policy in Iran was based on "the colonial approach – financial and economic pressures to prevent control from slipping away."¹⁶¹ Grady continued, "And as time went on, particularly at the time I left, we seemed to

be underwriting this policy," a policy that amounts to "doing things exactly the wrong way."¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ "The Special Assistant to the President (Harriman) to the Department of State (No. 74)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 145.

¹⁵⁹ "The Ambassador in Iran (Grady) to the Department of State (No. 77)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 149.

¹⁶⁰ "The Special Assistant to the President (Harriman) to the Department of State (No. 78)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 150.

¹⁶¹ Henry Francis Grady, "Tensions in the Middle East with Particular Reference to Iran," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 24 no. 4 (January 1952): 556.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

Faced with Iran's resistance to return the control of its oil industry to Britain, American and British officials intensified a parallel track of talks with the Shah regarding ways to remove Mosaddeq from the scene. The Shah, however, felt he could do little in face of Iranian public opinion. The issue of Mosaddeq's replacement was discussed even as negotiations transpired. On June 26, 1951, Walter Gifford, U.S. ambassador to the United Kingdom, informed the State Department that British Foreign Minister Herbert Morrison had expressed the view that "Shah should dismiss Mossadeq (sic) and dissolve Majlis, but felt that Shah has not courage to do so."¹⁶³

On July 1, 1951, Ambassador Grady wrote to the State Department, "The British, led by Mr. Morrison, seem to be determined to follow the old tactics of getting the government out with which it has difficulties... Mosadeq (sic) has the backing of 95 to 98 percent of the people of this country. It is utter folly to try to push him out."¹⁶⁴ Secretary Acheson disagreed with Grady and expressed the view that if Iran's pursuit of "ultra-nationalism" endangered its security, the State "Department perceives possibility that extraordinary political measures might be required in effort [to] prevent loss of Iran to the free world."¹⁶⁵ A few months later, following a conversation with the Shah, Harriman noted that the Shah said, "It would be difficult or impossible to replace the Mosaddeq Government unless there is a complete change of attitude in the country towards him and his program."¹⁶⁶

Upon the breakdown of the Harriman negotiations, Ambassador Henderson was instructed by Secretary Acheson to tell the Shah in his first meeting that "while decision as to

¹⁶³ "The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Gifford) to the Department of State (No. 31)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 70.

¹⁶⁴ "The Ambassador in Iran (Grady) to the Department of State (No. 35)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 80.

¹⁶⁵ "The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Iran (No. 20)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 50.

¹⁶⁶ "The Special Assistant to the President (Harriman) to the Department of State (No. 42)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 94.

whether Mosaddeq should be replaced at this time is entirely up to Shah to make, he should be strongly encouraged if he feels he is in position to bring this about.”¹⁶⁷ Britain had a similar message for the Shah. “The Shah should be informed that the British might make more acceptable proposals if they could deal with a more reasonable Iranian Government,” the British cabinet decided on September 27, 1951.¹⁶⁸

On September 5, 1951, AIOC issued a notice warning that it would take action against any company opting to purchase Iranian oil. The boycott was coupled with British sanctions and the United States’ refusal to give Iran aid, including the \$25 million loan it had offered before. The aim was to bring Mosaddeq’s government to its knees, but more importantly to cause public resentment of Mosaddeq’s inability to settle the oil issue. In the words of Secretary Acheson, “Failure of Mosadeq (sic) government to do anything for its country either by settling oil controversy or obtaining foreign loans might tend to bring about a more reasonable attitude and possibly a change in politics if not of government.”¹⁶⁹ These actions were expected to have the most effect if they were seen as a result of Mosaddeq’s inept policies.

Mosaddeq had underestimated how much U.S. policy was congruent with that of the British. He had wrongly believed that, because of its Cold War objectives, the United States would come to its rescue by purchasing Iranian oil and offering technical assistance. However, the United States was not even ready to offer a loan to Iran because, in the words of Acheson, “proceeding with loan would unduly strain U.S.-U.K. relations.”¹⁷⁰ As of January 1952, the net amount of economic aid the United States had offered Iran since the inception of the crisis was

¹⁶⁷ "The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Iran (No. 90)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 170.

¹⁶⁸ "Editorial Note (No. 92)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 173.

¹⁶⁹ "The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in Iran (No. 84)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 160.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

less than two million dollars, according to Ambassador Grady. Grady compares this to his two years in Greece, when U.S. aid amounted to over a million dollars a day.¹⁷¹

On October 4, 1951, Mosaddeq expelled all British employees from the Abadan refinery. The expulsion of the British employees was seen as a “blow to Brit and ... to Western influence and prestige in area,” in Acheson’s words.¹⁷² Britain took its case to the United Nations Security Council. Mosaddeq traveled to New York in mid-October to defend Iran’s position. He found this trip an opportunity not only to defend Iran’s case before an international body but also to have direct talks with President Truman and Secretary Acheson.

Mosaddeq spoke to the U.N. Security Council on October 14 and 16, arguing that it was Britain that had put international peace in danger and not Iran. In his defense, Mosaddeq showed documents obtained from the residence of Sodon, the AIOC representative in Iran, illustrating that Britain had acquired the 1933 oil contract for the continuation of the D’Arcy concession through threats and pressures on Iranian officials. The 1933 concession agreement was thus an illegal contract. He further argued that Iran, like any other country, has the right to decide which foreign company operates in its territory and that this is a matter of internal politics and out of the jurisdiction of the United Nations and the International Court of Justice, which had earlier ruled against the unilateral breach of contracts.¹⁷³

The U.N. Security Council resolution failed to pass and the case was sent back to the International Court of Justice to decide about its own authority on the matter.¹⁷⁴ In June 1952, Mosaddeq headed a delegation to defend Iran’s case before the International Court of Justice.

¹⁷¹ Grady, "Tensions in the Middle East with Particular Reference to Iran."

¹⁷² "The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Tehran (No. 89)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 168.

¹⁷³ Tolu'ee, *The Narration of Good and Bad: The Adventurous History of Iran-U.S. Relations (Hadise Nik Va Bad: Tarikhe Por Ma Jaraye Ravabete Iran Va Amrica)*.

¹⁷⁴ "Editorial Note (No. 114)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 230.

The court ruled in Iran's favor, which meant that the dispute had to be settled under Iranian law.¹⁷⁵

Upon the conclusion of the U.N. sessions, Mosaddeq and the Iranian delegation headed to Washington, where they stayed for 47 days in hopes of arriving at a negotiated solution to the oil crisis. While in Washington, Mosaddeq met with President Truman, Secretary Acheson, and Assistant Secretary McGhee. In these meetings, State Department officials "endeavored to obtain from him maximum concessions" which would restart negotiations in a way acceptable to the British.¹⁷⁶ The British, however, were hoping for Mosaddeq's downfall and the emergence of "a more amenable government."¹⁷⁷ Later, Iran turned down a U.S.-backed February 1952 proposal that entailed the vesting of the control and management of Iran's oil industry in the authority of the World Bank and that required the rehiring of ex-AIOC employees.¹⁷⁸

Meanwhile, U.S. representatives, most notably Ambassador Loy Henderson, were keen to tell Mosaddeq and the Shah that the nationalization of Iran's oil resources had been destructive to the political and economic wellbeing of the country. The main theme in these conversations was that Iran did not have the capacity to run the oil industry and would thus bring about its own destruction while alienating the country from the free world. In a conversation with the Shah on December 22, 1951, for example, Henderson said, "AIOC had been driven out and Brit influence in Iran had been greatly reduced. Practically nothing had been done, however,

¹⁷⁵ Paine and Schoenberger, "Iranian Nationalism and the Great Powers: 1872-1954."

¹⁷⁶ "The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in the United Kingdom (No. 119)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 249.

¹⁷⁷ "Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State (No. 120)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 257.

¹⁷⁸ ———, "Iranian Nationalism and the Great Powers: 1872-1954."

to heal gaping political and economic wounds which Iran had suffered in gaining control of its own oil.”¹⁷⁹

In a conversation with the Shah on June 13, 1952, Ambassador Henderson reassured the Shah that the United States was not supporting Mosaddeq and did not approve of his actions. He impressed on the Shah that it was time to take action, saying the following:

If Shah allowed Iran to continue drift towards ruin without taking some action himself or indicating to statesmen looking to him so anxiously for guidance that he would not object to their taking action, confidence in Throne might ebb to such extent it would be more difficult to rally people round it later in last minute effort to save country.¹⁸⁰

On July 16, 1952, the Shah attempted for the first time to intervene. Mosaddeq asked for increased powers to deal with the political and economic crisis, including the selection of the War Minister (which was hitherto appointed by the Shah, although contrary to the Iranian constitution). Upon Shah’s refusal, Mosaddeq resigned. Shah asked for the Majlis to appoint a new premier. The Majlis voted for the veteran politician Ahmad Qavam, but only in the absence of 28 pro-Mosaddeq deputies.

Mosaddeq supporters “called for protest strikes and mass demonstrations in favor of his reinstatement. Most notably, Ayatollah Kashani condemned Qavam as “the enemy of religion, freedom, and national independence,” as quoted by Abrahamian, and called on the people to come to the streets.¹⁸¹ In the subsequent four days, huge crowds demonstrated asking for the return of Mosaddeq. The Shah who was afraid for his crown agreed with Qavam’s resignation and reappointed Mosaddeq as prime minister with the powers he had requested.¹⁸² This day came to be known as the 30th *Teer* (July 21st) uprising. In a matter of six months, however, when

¹⁷⁹ "The Ambassador in Iran (Henderson) to the Department of State (No. 138)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 299.

¹⁸⁰ "The Ambassador in Iran (Henderson) to the Department of State (No. 181)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 397.

¹⁸¹ Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, 271.

¹⁸² Tolu'ee, *The Narration of Good and Bad: The Adventurous History of Iran-U.S. Relations (Hadise Nik Va Bad: Tarikhe Por Ma Jaraye Ravabete Iran Va Amrica)*.

Mosaddeq asked Majlis to extend his emergency powers, including the permission “to decree any law he felt necessary for obtaining not only financial solvency, but also electoral, judicial, and educational reforms,” the cohesion among nationalization allies dwindled.¹⁸³

On August 7, 1952, Mosaddeq sent a diplomatic note to the British embassy in Tehran demanding that the AIOC pay all the funds due to Iran that the company was withholding, that Britain unfreeze all Iranian assets in U.K. banks, and that AIOC cease its measures to boycott the sale of Iranian oil. With these measures in place, Mosaddeq wrote, Iran would be ready to enter into negotiations with representatives of the AIOC to settle the company’s claims.¹⁸⁴ Doubtful of British agreement, Mosaddeq told Ambassador Henderson that “Britishers who advocated leisurely approach really hoped, and were working, for some kind of *coup d’état*” and that he would sever relations with Britain if they did not respond constructively to his note by August 27.¹⁸⁵

The United States decided to take a coordinated approach with the United Kingdom, sending a joint reply from President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill (who had succeeded Attlee in late 1951) on August 27. The message proposed that the question of compensation to AIOC be taken to the International Court of Justice. The United States also pledged to give Iran an immediate grant of \$10 million.¹⁸⁶ Mosaddeq refused the proposal on the grounds that it would change the nature of the dispute from one between Iran and a foreign company to a dispute between Iran, Britain, and the United States. The international repercussions outweighed

¹⁸³ Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, 273.

¹⁸⁴ "The British Embassy to the Department of State (No. 197)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 435.

¹⁸⁵ "The Ambassador in Iran (Henderson) to the Department of State (No. 208)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 459.

¹⁸⁶ "President Truman to Prime Minister Churchill (No. 212)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 470.

the forthcoming gift.¹⁸⁷ On October 22, 1952, Mosaddeq severed diplomatic relations with Britain.

By this time, it was clear that the chances of a negotiated settlement of the crisis on terms agreeable to the United States and Britain were slim. The Truman administration was convinced that the only chance was Mosaddeq's removal. The United States hoped for a non-military measure to solve the Iran crisis, but, as of November 1952, the Defense Department was working on possible military courses of action against likely Soviet intrusions.¹⁸⁸ While NSC 136 and 136/1 "estimated that communist forces will probably not gain control of the Iranian government during 1953,"¹⁸⁹ in Paragraph 5, it called for plans for "specific military, economic, diplomatic, and psychological measures which should be taken to support a non-communist Iranian Government or to prevent all or part of Iran or adjacent areas from falling under communist domination."¹⁹⁰ Francis Gavin, an associate professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, believes that this shift in policy occurred also due to the significant improvements made in U.S. military capabilities, making it feasible for the Truman administration to attempt more risky ventures.¹⁹¹

According to a progress report for the NSC, as quoted by Gavin, the "CIA's detailed plan for covert operations in Iran during 1953 was approved by the PSB [Psychological Strategy Board] on January 8, 1953," just 12 days before Eisenhower's inauguration.¹⁹² The issue of an Anglo-American covert action was first formally discussed, according to a CIA account of the

¹⁸⁷ Tolu'ee, *The Narration of Good and Bad: The Adventurous History of Iran-U.S. Relations (Hadise Nik Va Bad: Tarikhe Por Ma Jaraye Ravabete Iran Va Amrica)*.

¹⁸⁸ "Memorandum for the President of Discussion at the 125th Meeting of the National Security Council (No. 238)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 526.

¹⁸⁹ "Statement of Policy Proposed by the National Security Council (No. 240)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 530.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Francis J. Gavin, "Power, Politics, and U.S. Policy in Iran, 1950-1953," *The Journal of Cold War Studies* 1 no. 1 (1999).

¹⁹² Ibid.: 80.

coup, in Washington between November and December of 1952 when British and U.S. representatives were discussing the issue of joint war against a possible Soviet attack.¹⁹³

The use of CIA covert psychological operations had been authorized in 1947, when the newly established National Security Council issued a directive titled "Coordination of Foreign Information Measures."¹⁹⁴ The directive determined that "in the interests of world peace and U.S. national security, the foreign information activities of the U.S. Government must be supplemented by covert psychological operations."¹⁹⁵ As part of the directive, NSC-4A detailed the responsibilities of the CIA in this regard:

The similarity of operational methods involved in covert psychological and intelligence activities and the need to ensure their secrecy and obviate costly duplication renders the Central Intelligence Agency the logical agency to conduct such operations. Hence, under authority of Section 102 (d) (5) of the National Security Act of 1947, the National Security Council directs the Director of Central Intelligence to initiate and conduct, within the limit of available funds, covert psychological operations designed to counteract Soviet and Soviet-inspired activities which constitute a threat to world peace and security or are designed to discredit and defeat the United States in its endeavors to promote world peace and security.¹⁹⁶

After the Shah's unsuccessful attempt to replace Mosaddeq with Qavam, Ambassador Henderson had repeated correspondence with the State Department about the possibility of a coup against Mosaddeq.¹⁹⁷ As an example, Henderson reported on March 6, 1953, that the "possibility and advisability of attempting military *coup d'état* continues [to] be surreptitiously

¹⁹³ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*.

¹⁹⁴ "Memorandum from the Executive Secretary to the Members of the National Security Council: NSC 4," June 8, 1947, (Washington, DC: National Security Council), <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-4.htm>.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ "Memorandum from the Executive Secretary to the Members of the National Security Council: NSC 4-A," June 8, 1947, (Washington, DC: National Security Council), <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-4.htm>.

¹⁹⁷ "The Ambassador in Iran (Henderson) to the Department of State (No. 192)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989).

"Memorandum for the President of Discussion at the 121th Meeting of the National Security Council (No. 238)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989). "The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in the United Kingdom (No. 199)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989). "The Ambassador in Iran (Henderson) to the Department of State (No. 313)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989). "The Ambassador in Iran (Henderson) to the Department of State (No. 322)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989).

discussed.”¹⁹⁸ U.S. policy was now strongly in line with that of Britain, working to bring about the overthrow of Mosaddeq.

Conclusion

This section has shown that the primary objectives of U.S. policy in Iran were to maintain Anglo-American control of the country’s oil resources and to curb Soviet power in the region. American officials realized that nationalism was a real and potent force in the country and that Mosaddeq enjoyed overwhelming public support. Given the frustration of negotiations, removing Mosaddeq from power was an option from the start. As Grady notes in a speech in 1952, “There would be no great concern about the upsurging of nationalism in the Middle East were it not for the hazards inherent in its geographic position and its great resources in oil.”¹⁹⁹ The Truman administration was only willing to support a veneer of nationalization, one that did not entrust the Iranians with the management and control of their oil industry.

Faced with Iranian resistance, the Truman administration adopted a parallel channel of talks while covertly planning to weaken and eventually bring down the government of Mosaddeq. This aim was fulfilled through the CIA coup implemented under the Eisenhower administration. To achieve a successful Iran policy, it naturally follows that U.S. propaganda would have aimed to propagate an anti-communist ideology and would have attempted to reduce Mosaddeq’s popularity and legitimacy by, among other things, alleging that his actions were in line with the Tudeh Party (the Iranian communist party). The following chapter gives an account of the propaganda campaign in support of U.S. Iran policy during this critical period.

¹⁹⁸ "The Ambassador in Iran (Henderson) to the Department of State (No. 313)," 701.

¹⁹⁹ Grady, "Tensions in the Middle East with Particular Reference to Iran," 554.

CHAPTER V – U.S. PROPAGANDA IN IRAN: 1951-1953

The Pre-Coup Years

As the previous chapter showed, the main objective of the United States in Iran was for Iran to align itself with the dominant Western countries. For this to happen, United States government officials found it necessary to create the desire and strength in the Iranian public to resist communism and to convince them of the benefits of siding with the West. In the period preceding the CIA coup, the United States Information Service (USIS) in Iran had two distinct propaganda programs to achieve the mentioned objective: a long range program targeting the rural population and a short range program targeting the ruling class, opinion leaders, labor leaders, intellectuals, and students. While the former program aimed to achieve some degree of economic and political stability in the long term, the latter aimed to directly foster an anti-communist attitude in the short term.

In conjunction with U.S.-sponsored development programs in Iran, the United States carried out a wide range of educational programs for rural populations with the long term goal of improving living conditions to avoid a communist outbreak similar to China. These programs did not directly attack communism. The decision to avoid a direct anti-communist campaign in the rural areas stemmed in part from the realization that anti-Soviet propaganda would not be very effective given the extreme misery and poverty of these populations:

The lot of the large proportion of the rural population is a miserable one and the people feel that their condition could not be any worse under any government. Therefore, they are not at all impressed or even interested in out and out anti-Soviet propaganda.²⁰⁰

In addition, the rural population is said to have “a deep and abiding hatred and distrust of the ruling class which leads them to the belief that our economic and military aid programs are

²⁰⁰ "United States Embassy, Iran Cable from Edward C. Wells to the Department of State: Notes on Expanded Program for Iran," January 12, 1951, (Washington, DC: National Security Archive), 2, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20016.pdf>.

designed to further strengthen the ruling class whom they regard as their oppressors.”²⁰¹ This state of public opinion is seen as an impediment to direct U.S. propaganda in the rural region. To mitigate this feeling, United States propaganda programs in rural regions concentrated on agricultural and public health educational programs and made them appear as programs of the Iranian government that were, nonetheless, supported by the United States.

The United States planned the program in collaboration with the Iranian government and supplied all the material, equipment, and personnel. It then branded U.S. activities as those of the Iranian government by having “various equipment such as mobile units, posters, photo displays, etc. bear the name and insignia of the Imperial Government of Iran.”²⁰² The media used for the long term program were mainly visual, such as films, film-strips, posters, photo displays and exhibits. These programs were supplemented by radio, press, educational books, and brochures.²⁰³ The data under study did not give specific description of the content of the above media.

Given the political reality on the ground, U.S. long-term propaganda, in effect, employed a deflective model, whereby it used the Iranian government as the channel for the dissemination of its propaganda material. The propaganda program targeting the rural areas, in effect, aimed to achieve several objectives at once: increase the prestige of the United States, decrease the hostility toward the Iranian government, and bring about some degree of political and economic stability in the long run. With the intensification of the oil crisis and the United States’ refusal to offer economic aid to Iran, such programs became less relevant.

²⁰¹ "United States Embassy, Iran Cable from Edward C. Wells to the Department of State: Notes on Expanded Program for Iran - Memorandum," January 12, 1951, (Washington, DC: National Security Archive), 2, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20016.pdf>.

²⁰² Ibid., 1.

²⁰³ Ibid., 2.

In its short term propaganda program, the United States employed all available media, including radio, press, films, publications, library, and exchange programs, to influence the attitudes of influential sectors of the Tehran public. These targeted populations, which were deemed significant because they “actually control[ed] the destiny of the country,” included the Shah’s Court, members of the government, intellectuals, and wealthy landowners.²⁰⁴ Thus, in its direct efforts to orient Iran towards the United States and the so-called free world and to increase U.S. prestige, U.S. propaganda aimed to influence Iran’s ruling class and influential opinion leaders. All available media were employed to give “the widest possible coverage to our [i.e., U.S.] side of world developments.”²⁰⁵

Although, as part of this program, large doses of anti-communist material were administered to this audience, a U.S. embassy cable to the Department of State “strongly emphasized that this can only be done on an ideological basis and that no direct reference can be made to the Soviet Union, its satellites, or Soviet personalities.”²⁰⁶ This restriction was in response to a September 1949 Imperial Iranian Decree that restricted foreign governments from disseminating material that “make Iran a center and place of political propaganda against a third government.”²⁰⁷ In effect, Iran had declared neutrality in the Cold War. Therefore, initially, anti-communist material emphasized the fallacies and shortcomings of communism rather than a direct attack on the Soviet Union and its leaders. Despite this reservation, a summary report from the U.S. embassy in Tehran in May 1953 shows that, at least in 1953, the USIS Tehran

²⁰⁴ "United States Embassy, Iran Cable from Edward C. Wells to the Department of State: Notes on Expanded Program for Iran," 3.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ "United States Embassy, Iran Despatch from Loy Henderson to the Department of State: Report on the Use of Anti-Soviet Material within Iran During Period Covered by Last Two Years," May 29, 1953, (Washington, DC: National Security Archive), 1, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20096.pdf>.

station did at times directly propagandize against the Soviet Union and other communist countries.

Among the media used to influence Iranian elites were anti-communist books, leaflets, brochures, and films. In this, embassy libraries and reading rooms were an important means of distributing anti-communist and pro-Western material. The USIS library was the only free public library in Iran.²⁰⁸ To more prominently display anti-communist books, the embassy placed “a special shelf in a prominent position in the Library” labeled “IN VIEW OF INQUIRIES RECEIVED, THIS SHELF IS RESERVED FOR PUBLICATIONS EXPOSING THE AGGRESSIVE OBJECTIVES OF COMMUNISM AND THE METHODS EMPLOYED BY INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM AND BY ITS AGENT IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.”²⁰⁹

The anti-communist publications exclusively published for use in Iran included the following:

- *Commissar! Commissar!* – an “8-page cartoon leaflet” rebutting Soviet “germ warfare propaganda” against the United States,
- *Tale of the Beautiful Red Flower* – an indirect attack on the Soviet Union in a 4-page leaflet telling the story of a red flower that symbolized Soviet communism “in which lazy and frivolous bees are lured to destruction,”
- *From Whom Help Is Coming for Me?* – a 4-page brochure making a comparison between the rhetoric of the Soviet Union and the generous deeds of the “free world” demonstrated by its multitude of international aid,
- *Which Way to Prosperity and Peace* – a 4-page brochure telling the story of two Iranian boys, one who chooses communism and dies in a demonstration and the other who chooses the “hard, sure way” of studying and serves his country,
- *Voices of God* – a 4-page brochure containing quotes from the *Quran*, the Iranian poet Hafez, Jesus Christ, and influential figures such as Abraham Lincoln and Mahatma Gandhi, and

²⁰⁸ "United States Embassy, Iran Despatch from Loy Henderson to the Department of State," September 6, 1952, (Washington, DC: National Security Archive),

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20071.pdf>.

²⁰⁹ "United States Embassy, Iran Despatch from Loy Henderson to the Department of State: Report on the Use of Anti-Soviet Material within Iran During Period Covered by Last Two Years," 4.

- *Plan for Disarmament* – an 8-page brochure explaining the U.N. plan for international disarmament.²¹⁰

In addition to the above publications, the U.S. embassy in Tehran placed “260 articles, features, editorials, and commentaries” in various Tehran and provincial newspapers on anti-communist subjects during the 1951-1953 period.²¹¹ Although the names of the newspapers are not available, a May 1953 embassy report on U.S. propaganda activities mentions the following articles:

- “Iran on the Brink of a Precipice” – series of articles on the dangers of communism for Iran,
- “Road to Salvation,”
- “Social Relations from Beginning of Man to the Present” – an article comparing social relations in the “free world” and communist countries,
- “The Pleasant Scent of Love” – an article on the false attractions of communism,
- “Capitalism, Democracy, Socialism, Communism” – series of articles explicating the mentioned various ideologies, and
- “Contrast between American and Russian Methods in International Affairs.”²¹²

Of the films distributed, *Azerbaijan Day* dealt with the “Iranian communist problem” and concentrated on Russian occupation of the Iranian Azerbaijan province following World War II. Four films, the first three in English and the last in Farsi, focused on the justifications for the Korean War. These comprised *One Year in Korea*, *Why Korea*, *In Defense of Peace-Times*, and *U.S. Aids Republic of Korea*. Films of three foreign policy speeches of President Truman and one of President Eisenhower, dubbed into Farsi, were shown. Five films concentrated on the theme that anti-communism is an international cause, evidenced by the participation of countries other than the United States in the Korean War. These included films on Turkish, Greek,

²¹⁰ Ibid., 4-5.

²¹¹ Ibid., 6.

²¹² Ibid., 5-6.

Philippine, and Thailand troops in Korea. Other films tackled life under European, Chinese, and Burmese communism.²¹³

According to Ambassador Henderson, the USIS film program operated with collaboration with the Iranian government and constituted the largest such program in Iran.²¹⁴ To ensure that the Iranian government did not use any American film with a pro-Soviet slant, even those made during World War II, the U.S. embassy in Iran asked the State Department to approach U.S. film distributors and request that prints of films with positive portrayal of the Soviet Union be withdrawn from “critical areas” such as Iran. “To display publicly an American-made film which praises the Soviet Union can do considerable harm at this time,” said Edward C. Wells, U.S. public affairs officer in Iran.²¹⁵

In early 1952, a revised country plan for U.S. propaganda in Iran indicated the following target groups comprised the main audience for United States’ direct anti-communist propaganda:

1. “The Shah, Royal Court, and wealthy landowners;
2. “University professors and students, secondary school teachers and students, professional men, including government employees;
3. “Leaders of public opinion amongst illiterate masses, Mullahs (Priests), village headmen, tribal chiefs, etc.;
4. “Labor leaders and army officers.”²¹⁶

The first target group is said to have been of significance because it had a vital interest in preserving the integrity of Iran and because “if they could be stirred to more positive action would represent the strongest possible rallying point for all anti-communist elements.”²¹⁷

Despite the restricted access to this target group, USIS was to work through Ambassador

²¹³ Ibid., 7-8.

²¹⁴ “United States Embassy, Iran Despatch from Loy Henderson to the Department of State.”

²¹⁵ “United States Embassy, Iran Cable from Edward C. Wells to the Department of State: Motion Pictures - Pro-Soviet Feature Film North Star,” December 28, 1950, (Washington, DC: National Security Archive), <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/docs.htm>.

²¹⁶ “United States Embassy, Iran Despatch from Edward C. Wells to the Department of State: IIA: Country Plan,” April 28, 1952, (Washington, DC: National Security Archive), 1-2, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20060.pdf>.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 1.

Henderson to achieve maximum influence. The other three populations were deemed important because they represented “the public opinion molders.”²¹⁸ The second group also comprised those sectors of Iranian society that were most active in the nationalization of the oil movement and who were more susceptible to communist propaganda.

While much of the USIS programming targeted the elite sectors of the society and the opinion leaders, the Voice of America represented a propaganda apparatus accessible to the general public. The VOA had initiated its Farsi Service on March 31, 1949, as its first postwar radio service in the Middle East.²¹⁹ The station operated in two intervals during the Shah’s era, initially from 1949 to 1960 and later from 1964 to 1966. VOA programs resumed operation after the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran and continue to broadcast today.²²⁰ Following President Truman’s abolition of the Office of War Information in late August 1945, the State Department gained direct supervision over the activities of the Voice of America.²²¹ The Office of International Information (OII) within the State Department was directly responsible for all VOA programs and dictated the content to be broadcast.²²²

VOA “country” programs, including the Farsi Service, did not have autonomy as to what they could put on the air; instead, they had to abide by the policy guidance that “flowed twice or more daily, via telephone, telegraph, and mail, from the Policy Guidance Staff of the State Department’s Office of International Information in Washington DC, to the Policy Control Staff

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Deborah Kisatsky, "Voice of America and Iran, 1949 - 1953: U.S. Liberal Developmentalism, Propaganda and the Cold War," *Intelligence and National Security* 14 no. 3 (1999).

²²⁰ Hansjoerg Biener, "The Arrival of Radio Farda: International Broadcasting to Iran at a Crossroads," *Middle East Review of International Affairs Journal* 7, no. 1 (March 2003), <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2003/issue1/jv7n1a2.html>.

²²¹ David F. Krugler, *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945-1953* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000).

²²² Kisatsky, "Voice of America and Iran, 1949 - 1953: U.S. Liberal Developmentalism, Propaganda and the Cold War."

of IBD [i.e., the International Broadcast Division then located in New York City].”²²³ In addition to these “Daily,” “Overnight,” and “Special Guidance Notes,” IBD employees were briefed by the Policy Control Staff twice daily, in the morning and in the afternoon, about how to play different stories.²²⁴ The staff at VOA Farsi Service received additional instructions from the U.S. embassy in Tehran and the Tehran USIS facility about the issues and events that merited prioritization and received guidance as to what stories to “play up” or “play down” based on the USIS and the embassy’s appraisal of audience reaction to broadcasts and U.S. policy.²²⁵

According to Deborah Kisatsky’s study of VOA Farsi programs in 1949-1953, VOA broadcasts focused on three themes: “straight news” focusing on the Korean War, “special feature” programming about American culture and way of life, and anti-communist propaganda.²²⁶ Throughout all these programs, VOA “described America’s desire for world peace, collective security, and global prosperity,” while, at the same time, reporting on Soviet intentions to threaten world peace and international harmony.²²⁷ The anti-communist features and reports did not hesitate to directly attack Soviet leaders as “evil, power hungry, and determined to transform most of the world into a slave labor force in order to achieve global domination.”²²⁸

VOA also publicized American aid programs exclusive to Iran, showcasing them as examples of American generosity. In the duration of the oil crisis, American officials “professed complete neutrality in the affair.”²²⁹ In the heat of the oil controversy, Ambassador Henderson, as quoted by Kisatsky, advised, “Stick to hard news stories. In view of the present emotional

²²³ Ibid.: 164.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.: 166.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.: 173.

²²⁹ Ibid.: 168.

state of the Iranian mind and increased anti-U.S. commentary in the press, we believe this to be particularly important at the present juncture.”²³⁰ In a matter of months, the U.S.-sponsored coup that overthrew Mosaddeq’s government in favor of the puppet government of Zahedi would reveal the hypocrisy of America’s respect for Iranian sovereignty and its willingness to sacrifice Iranian independence and national interests for the preservation of the interests of the United States and its allies in the Middle East.

August of 1953 – CIA Stages a Coup

The CIA coup against Mosaddeq comprised, among other things, a massive propaganda campaign “to create, extend, and enhance public hostility and distrust and fear of Mossadeq (sic) and his government.”²³¹ This propaganda campaign is presently analyzed using Jowett and O’Donnell’s 10-stage system of propaganda analysis as outlined in the methodology chapter. As the preceding sections have illuminated the context of the propaganda campaign, this section will focus on the other nine stages. Where relevant, several stages are grouped under the same heading.

The Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Campaign

During the final months of the Truman administration, U.S. and U.K. government leaders agreed that Mosaddeq represented the single most important impediment to the settlement of the oil crisis on terms that took into account the interests of the Western powers. This premise resulted in a unified U.S.-U.K. policy to replace Mosaddeq before his government collapsed due to economic failure, which would have resulted in an extremely unstable political environment that would have made Iran most vulnerable to the Soviet Union.²³²

²³⁰ Ibid.: 169.

²³¹ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*, Appedix B, 15.

²³² Ibid., Appedix B.

The United States and Britain picked General Fazlullah Zahedi as Mosaddeq's replacement because, according to CIA appraisal, he represented "the only figure in Iran currently capable of heading a new government who could be relied upon to repress Soviet-Communist penetration."²³³ The coup was said to be exceptional in that it was the first one against "a head of government having powerful popular following."²³⁴ As a result, to achieve success, the coup was preceded by a massive black propaganda campaign with the intention of creating, extending, and enhancing "public hostility and distrust and fear of Mossadeq (sic) and his government."²³⁵

As such, the propaganda campaign mainly aimed to bring about agitation, turmoil, fear, and discontent among the public so that they would be roused to go against the government of Mosaddeq or, at the least, to refrain from actively supporting him. The propaganda campaign attempted to manufacture the belief that Mosaddeq was pro-communist and that he wanted to abolish the monarchy in favor of a communist government. According to the final operational plan of the coup, the propaganda campaign was believed to be of "real value to the mutual interests of U.S. and U.K." even if the military coup failed since, at least, it would have made "the position of Mossadeq (sic) increasingly vulnerable and unsteady."²³⁶ Therefore, although the full aim of the campaign was to remove Mosaddeq, at the minimum it had the purpose of making his government vulnerable so that later actions could mitigate his policies or eventually result in his downfall.

Several themes were to be used in the propaganda campaign especially in the articles, broadsheets, and pamphlets the U.S. personnel drafted and translated into Farsi. The first theme underscored that the public and the elite should come to believe that Mosaddeq favored the

²³³ Ibid., Appedix B, 1.

²³⁴ Ibid., Appedix B, 26.

²³⁵ Ibid., Appedix B, 15.

²³⁶ Ibid.

Tudeh Party (Iranian communist party) and the USSR. This, according to the operational plan, was to be evidenced through “black documents.”²³⁷ Another theme stressed that not only did Mosaddeq favor the Tudeh, but he was an outright “enemy of Islam” since he advocated communist aims.²³⁸ The next line of propaganda incriminated Mosaddeq with “deliberately destroying the morale of the Army and its ability to maintain order.”²³⁹ Other themes included the following: Mosaddeq is actively colluding with the Soviets by removing army control of Iranian tribal areas adjacent to the Soviet Union. He aims to facilitate the Soviet takeover of the northern provinces. The next propaganda theme alleged that “Mossadeq (sic) is deliberately leading the country to economic collapse.”²⁴⁰

Given Mosaddeq’s popularity, the operational plan also deemed it necessary for the coup press and publicity material to hammer the point that Mosaddeq has become a corrupted politician thirsty for power: “Mossadeq (sic) has been corrupted by power to such an extent that no trace is left of the fine man of earlier years, and he now has all the repressive instincts of the dictator.” To increase the effectiveness of these themes, U.S. personnel were instructed to make a final line of propaganda that Mosaddeq “has been the unwitting victim of his unscrupulous personally ambitious advisors.”²⁴¹ Through an intense propaganda campaign, the United States and Britain hoped Mosaddeq’s popularity would subside to establish conditions ready for the eventual military coup that was to follow.

While the Shah had to operate as the focal point of the opposition against Mosaddeq, the CIA knew that “... the Shah would act only with great reluctance but he could be forced to do

²³⁷ Ibid., Appedix B, 16.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., Appedix B, 17.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

so.”²⁴² To achieve compliance, a separate personal propaganda campaign was set up to induce the Shah to play his role. To realize this purpose, the Shah had to be assured of the joint U.S.-U.K. nature of the coup, that both governments put their complete support behind the Shah in opposition to Mosaddeq, and that the United States would offer no aid while Mosaddeq was in office. The Shah eventually signed the documents prepared by CIA as a result of “relentless pressure” the CIA “exerted in frustrating attempts to overcome an entrenched attitude of vacillation and indecision.”²⁴³ The Shah was warned that if he did not cooperate, the United States and Britain would not sit idly to see Iran become a target of communist intrusion, that the coup will go on without him, that he would be responsible for the repercussions of his inaction, and that his dynasty would soon come to an end.

Identification of the Propagandist and the Structure of the Propaganda Organization

The United States and Britain together provided the funds for the project, drew up the plans for the execution of the coup, and put their intelligence assets in Iran to the service of the coup. The United States, however, was the sole implementing agent in this regard since Iran had earlier cut all relations with the British. Also, all measures were taken to ensure that U.S. overt policy conformed with the objectives of the propaganda campaign.²⁴⁴ In this regard, Donald Wilber said, “The Americans were placated and allowed to run things as they pleased,” and the British agents were ordered to follow CIA directions.²⁴⁵ Moreover, all propaganda material for the coup was prepared by the CIA team, and the eventual implementation of the massive propaganda campaign was carried under the supervision and direction of the U.S. personnel.

²⁴² Ibid., 8.

²⁴³ Ibid., 30.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., Appedix B.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 14.

Wilber, an American Orientalist writer and CIA spy, headed the psychological operation team. Thus, the U.S. government served as the prime propagandist. The U.S. government as propagandist was assisted by a handful of Iranian CIA and British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) principal agents and informants, the Shah, a handful of Iranian generals, the purchased members of Majlis (Iranian parliament), the paid Iranian newspapers (such as *Shahed*, *Dad*, *Setareh Islam*, *Asia Javanan*, *Aram*, *Mard-i-Asia*, *Mellat-i-Ma*, and the *Journal de Tehran*.), and the U.S. prestigious press. (As will be mentioned later, the Wilber history mentions the *New York Times* and the Associated Press in this regard.) While these elements assisted U.S. propaganda aims, only a handful had knowledge of CIA operations. In many occasions, the services of the mentioned operatives were purchased by funds made available through the U.S. and U.K. governments.²⁴⁶

In the face-to-face campaign to induce the Shah's cooperation, according to Wilber, Asadullah Rashidian served as the British special representative, and General Norman Schwarzkopf Sr. (former head of the U.S. Military Mission to the Iranian Gendarmerie) served as the special representative from the United States. His son, Norman Schwarzkopf Jr., would later become commander of the Coalition Forces in the Gulf War of 1991. Schwarzkopf Sr. was chosen for this task because he was already "well known to and admired by the Shah."²⁴⁷ Shah's "forceful and scheming twin sister" Ashraf was chosen to "prepare" the Shah for the reception of the U.S. and U.K. representatives and to induce him to sign the *firman*s (royal decrees) dismissing Mosaddeq and appointing Zahedi.²⁴⁸

Asadullah Rashidian and his brother (Seifullah) were well-known British spies, and it is extremely unlikely for the secretive British SIS to have used them as its main representative in a

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., Appedix B, 5.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., Appedix B, 3.

covert operation against Mosaddeq.²⁴⁹ Interestingly, the operational plan of the coup did not mention Asadullah's name; rather, it referred to the British representative as "the leader of the British group" only.²⁵⁰ Abdullah Shahbazi, an Iranian historian, is of the belief that the term "the Rashidian brothers" is just a code name for special British SIS agents and that the actual British representative to the Shah was none other than Sir Shapour Reporter, who was a family friend of the Shah and who had previously served as Queen Sorayyah's English teacher.²⁵¹

Shahbazi refers, among other things, to Reporter's official biographical document as evidence of the plausibility of his opinion. According to the document, Sir Shapour Reporter, who was a longtime British SIS agent, was appointed by the British to serve as a special political advisor to U.S. Ambassador Loy Henderson for a period of three years during the oil crisis. The document further asserts that Reporter had the principal responsibility from the British SIS to supervise "the field operations" that led to the downfall of Mosaddeq.²⁵² Upon the termination of his mission, Reporter received U.S. citizenship and lifetime membership in the U.S. State Department to serve as a special political advisor at the U.S. Tehran embassy's political section. Sir Shapour was also a reporter for the *London Times*, *U.S. News and World Report*, and other newspapers not mentioned by name.²⁵³ Thus, his reporting was an additional propaganda asset. What makes Shahbazi's claim more plausible is that the Wilber history at one point refers to "the

²⁴⁹ Abdullah Shahbazi, "Sir Shapour Reporter Va Koudetayi 28 Mordadi 1332, Shabakehayi Ettela'ateeyi Beritania Va Iyalati Mottahediyi Amrica Dar Iran (1320-1332) (Sir Shapour Reporter and the August 19, 1953, Coup D'état, the Intelligence Services of Britain and the United States in Iran (1941-1953))," The Personal Webpage of Abdullah Shahbazi, <http://www.shahbazi.org/Articles/Reporter.pdf>.

²⁵⁰ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*, Appedix B, 4.

²⁵¹ Shahbazi, "Sir Shapour Reporter Va Koudetayi 28 Mordadi 1332, Shabakehayi Ettela'ateeyi Beritania Va Iyalati Mottahediyi Amrica Dar Iran (1320-1332) (Sir Shapour Reporter and the August 19, 1953, Coup D'état, the Intelligence Services of Britain and the United States in Iran (1941-1953))."

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

three Rashidian brothers” while the actual Rashidian brothers were two.²⁵⁴ Thus, it is likely that “Rashidian” stands for all those British agents whose identity was not to be revealed.

Early in April of 1953, Ambassador Henderson and the Chief of Station Roger Goiran were given authority to spend \$1,000,000 in any way they found necessary that would contribute to the overthrow of Prime Minister Mosaddeq without further notice. In the preliminary support stage to the coup, General Zahedi, the U.S. and U.K. choice for next prime minister, was given \$50,000 to win the support of additional friends and influential persons to expand his circle of political and military supporters. These funds were provided to create the impression among Zahedi’s contacts that the Shah was supporting Zahedi by the provision of funds. Meanwhile, CIA and SIS teams drew up operational plans for the coup in a series of meetings in Nicosia, Beirut, and London.²⁵⁵

The final operational plan made Zahedi responsible to select his director of press and propaganda who could also serve as his deputy prime minister to ensure the continuation of propaganda in favor of the new government. This person “must [be] acceptable to the United States and the United Kingdom,”²⁵⁶ Zahedi was told. Esfandiar Bozorgmehr was chosen for this post. Bozorgmehr was a newspaper reporter and, at the time of Mosaddeq’s government, had a close relationship with publishers of many of Tehran’s newspapers. Thus, his services were critical to the propaganda campaign.²⁵⁷ The operational plan also indicates that CIA and SIS had compiled a list for “the proposed cabinet of Zahedi.”²⁵⁸ This list, however, is not provided in the

²⁵⁴ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*, 56.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., Appedix B, 17.

²⁵⁷ Shahbazi, "Sir Shapour Reporter Va Koudetayi 28 Mordadi 1332, Shabakehayi Ettela'ateyi Beritania Va Iyalati Mottahediyi Amrica Dar Iran (1320-1332) (Sir Shapour Reporter and the August 19, 1953, Coup D'état, the Intelligence Services of Britain and the United States in Iran (1941-1953))."

²⁵⁸ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*, Appedix B, 29.

Wilber history. The operational plan was signed on July 1, 1953, by Prime Minister Churchill of England and on July 11, 1953, by President Eisenhower.²⁵⁹

As the U.S. leading team had an Orientalist view of Iranians, they dictated the steps that were to be taken to carry out the coup. Wilber writes in his history, “It was felt that every effort should be made to bring the rather long-winded and often illogical Persians into a position where each one knew exactly what specific action was required of him.”²⁶⁰ The coup was directed under the authority and supervision of Kermit Roosevelt Jr., the grandson of President Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt came to Tehran on July 26, 1953. The coup initially failed on August 15th after Mosaddeq’s government was informed of the coup through a leak. During the next few days, a second coup eventually brought down the government of Mosaddeq on August 19th.²⁶¹

Media Utilization Techniques

Under the supervision of Wilber, the CIA team prepared a considerable number of pro-Shah and anti-Mosaddeq articles, broadsheets, cartoons, and pamphlets, focusing on the themes described above. A special courier delivered this material to the Tehran station on July 19, 1953. On July 22, the station began distributing the material to CIA agents. The CIA mainly employed the services of paid newspapers to place press and publicity material it had earlier manufactured.²⁶² According to Wilber, one newspaper owner, for example, was given a “personal loan of some \$45,000 on signed notes in the belief that this would make his organ amenable to our [CIA] purposes.”²⁶³ A separate propaganda campaign employed the prepared pro-Shah material in Iran’s north-western province of Azerbaijan, the Tudeh’s stronghold.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 16.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid., 20.

²⁶³ Ibid., 26.

In addition to the pre-planned propaganda themes, the CIA team prepared new material for the press as events transpired. On July 14, when the opposition in the Majlis was growing, mainly as a result of CIA funds, Mosaddeq directed the deputies supportive of him to resign so he could then dissolve the Majlis. Some 28 deputies resigned. To bypass constitutional restrictions, Mosaddeq organized a referendum on the dissolution of the Majlis, citing that the will of the public should supersede that of the monarch. This event supplied the CIA-paid press with additional propaganda material. Some 20 newspapers that, according to Wilber, were at this time in “violent opposition” to Mosaddeq orchestrated on the theme that the referendum was unconstitutional. Given a new opportunity to attack Mosaddeq, the papers made use of some 15 CIA-prepared anti-Mosaddeq cartoons. The CIA team requested the State Department to ensure that the U.S. press reflected the CIA press campaign against Mosaddeq. The State Department was to place “inspired articles” in the U.S. press.²⁶⁴

Special Techniques to Achieve Success

As part of the propaganda campaign, the United States echoed the main anti-Mosaddeq themes in its overt policy toward Iran. High ranking U.S. officials cut down on their contacts with the officials of the government of Mosaddeq. In May 1953, for example, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles bypassed Iran in his tour of the Middle East to show United States lack of support for Mosaddeq’s government.²⁶⁵ Similarly, Ambassador Henderson left Iran for Washington and then for Beirut on June 3, 1953, and was absent during the duration of the propaganda campaign. His very absence was considered to be “an important factor in the war of

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 29.

²⁶⁵ Tolu'ee, *The Narration of Good and Bad: The Adventurous History of Iran-U.S. Relations (Hadise Nik Va Bad: Tarikhe Por Ma Jaraye Ravabete Iran Va Amrica)*.

nerves which was to be conducted against Mossadeq (sic).”²⁶⁶ Henderson returned to Tehran on August 17, after the initial failure of the coup.

As another example, Chief of the U.S. Military Mission General Frank McClure was instructed “to appear less friendly” with officers who were pro-Mosaddeq.²⁶⁷ Moreover, the propaganda campaign made effective use of several statements by top U.S. officials that reiterated the propaganda themes that associated Mosaddeq with the Tudeh Party and that made clear that no U.S. aid was forthcoming. Based on CIA suggestion, Secretary of State Dulles made the following statement at a press conference on July 28: “The growing activities of the illegal Communist Party in Iran and the toleration of them by the Iranian Government has caused our government concern. These developments make it more difficult to grant aid to Iran.”²⁶⁸ Also, on August 4, while addressing the Governors’ Convention in Seattle, President Eisenhower pointed out that the United States would not tolerate a communist Iran.

Bribery, black propaganda, and terrorism were some of the other special techniques used to increase the campaign’s effectiveness. Bribery was used to solicit support from key actors. Beginning on May 20, 1953, the CIA team was authorized to spend one million rials a week (about \$11,110) “in purchasing the cooperation of members of the Iranian Majlis.”²⁶⁹ This was in addition to the \$1,000,000 that the station had received in April.

Through the use of black propaganda and terrorist attacks, the CIA team attempted to rally religious leaders against Mosaddeq. CIA agents distributed forged statements in the name of the Tudeh Party that threatened the targeted religious leaders “with savage punishment if they opposed Mossadeq (sic).”²⁷⁰ CIA agents also made threatening phone calls to some of these

²⁶⁶ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*, 18.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

leaders in the name of the Tudeh and bombed the house of one of them. The CIA apparently wanted to carry out terrorist attacks on a wider scale as the plan for the coup shows. According to the operational plan, “On the appointed day, staged attacks will be made against respected religious leaders in Tehran,” with the intention to incite other religious leaders to blame Mosaddeq for the assaults.²⁷¹ These offensives were to be supplemented with a propaganda campaign publicizing “the U.S. station fabricated documents which prove and record in detail a secret agreement between Mossadeq (sic) and the Tudeh, with the latter promising to use all their force in support of Mossadeq (sic) and against the religious leaders, the Army, and the Police.”²⁷²

The use of *bast* – or seeking sanctuary – was another special technique that the coup planners used to maximize the manufactured reality of widespread opposition to Mosaddeq. The practice of *bast* is a traditional Iranian “form of symbolic protest regarding individual treatment by the state or another powerful figure.”²⁷³ During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, *bast* became a political strategy whereby political dissidents occupied symbolic spaces, such as mosques, the parliament, and telegraph stations, in order to publicize their political movements. This practice was effectively employed in Iran’s Constitutional Revolution in which a group of 12,000 to 14,000 *bazaaris* (merchants) took sanctuary in the British embassy.²⁷⁴ *Bast* was used to show that the opposition was greatly fearful of Mosaddeq’s retaliatory actions because of their opposition to Mosaddeq. According to Wilber’s history of the coup, anti-Mosaddeq Majlis members were directed to take sanctuary in the Majlis.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ Ibid., Appedix B, 23.

²⁷² Ibid., Appedix B, 24.

²⁷³ Stephen C. Poulson, *Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Iran: Culture, Ideology, and Mobilizing Frameworks* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 57.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*.

In short, the CIA propaganda campaign made use of every available means for attacking Mosaddeq. Using fear appeals, the massive propaganda campaign attempted to influence the Iranian general public to withhold the support that they had hitherto given to Mosaddeq. Special attention was given to influencing opinion leaders that would in turn have substantial influence on different sectors of the Iranian public. Despite all these measures, the military coup initially failed. On August 15, a few hours before the military stage of the coup, General Riahi, Mosaddeq's chief of staff received information about the coup. The coup was aborted, and the Shah fled.²⁷⁶

The Second Try

Upon the failure of the coup, the CIA team initiated a second propaganda campaign “to convince the Iranian public that Zahedi was the legal head of the government and that Mossadeq (sic) was the usurper who had staged a coup.”²⁷⁷ In this second round of propaganda, the CIA used the U.S. media as a legitimating source. The CIA sent a message to the New York Associated Press from the Tehran embassy stating, “Unofficial reports are current to the effect that leaders of the plot are armed with two decrees of the Shah, one dismissing Mossadeq (sic) and the other appointing General Zahedi to replace him.”²⁷⁸

CIA agents also arranged for two *New York Times* reporters in Tehran to see Zahedi's son Ardeshir, who served as the liaison between his father and the CIA and later became the son-in-law of the Shah. Ardeshir showed them the original *firman* that named Zahedi as Prime Minister and also gave them copies of the *firman*. The station then prepared a public statement for General Zahedi, which he signed, and distributed copies along with copies of the *firman* to foreign correspondents, local newspaper reporters, and army officers. The statement, in part,

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 45.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

read, “Be ready for sacrifices and loss of your lives for the maintenance of independence and of the monarchy of Iran and of the holy religion of Islam which is now being threatened by infidel Communists.”²⁷⁹ The statement was later used by an AP reporter.

The Tehran station sent out propaganda guidelines to U.S. stations in “Karachi, New Delhi, Cairo, Damascus, Istanbul, and Beirut that the Zahedi’s government was the only legal one.”²⁸⁰ Meanwhile, rumor spread that the coup was staged by Mosaddeq’s government in order to give it a pretext to move against the Shah and abolish the monarchy. CIA agents put out a broadsheet that “documented” the rumor that Mosaddeq had arranged the coup to force out the Shah. Several of the paid newspapers, including *Dad* and *Shahed*, were put to the service of the new line of propaganda.

On August 17, the opposition newspapers, including *Dad* and *Shahed*, publicized the CIA propaganda that the coup was Mosaddeq’s plot to remove the Shah. Figure 5 is an image of the front page of the August 17th copy of *Shahed*, which was the official newspaper of the Zahmatkeshan Party (The “Toilers” Party). The headlines on this page read as follows: “Mosaddeq’s coup d’etat show is still to continue,” “The government’s faked coup d’etat for changing the regime,” “The horrific specter of bullying and communism haunts Iran,” “To complete Mosaddeq’s coup d’etat [i.e., the referendum to dissolve the Majlis], they brought about this coup d’etat. Our party opposes any coup d’etat against the constitutional parliamentary regime,” “A puppet show: How the coup d’etat plot was revealed,” and “People! Don’t you be fooled. The coup d’etat is the second stage of the referendum comedy.”²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 60.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 58.

²⁸¹ Abdullah Shahbazi, “Barresiye Asnad Va Manabe’i Koudeta: Mosahebeh Ba Vizhenameyi Rouznameyi Hamshahri Be Monasebati Panjahomin Salgardi Koudetayi 28 Mordadi 1332 (Analyzing the Documents and Sources on the Coup D’etat: An Interview with the Special Edition of the Hamshahri Newspaper on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the August 19, 1953 Coup D’etat),” The Personal Webpage of Abdullah Shahbazi.

While CIA propaganda aimed to conceal the true nature of the coup, Tudeh papers, such as *Shojat*, reported that the coup was backed by the United States as the plans for the coup had gone into effect after General Schwarzkopf met with the Shah. The Central Committee of the Tudeh Party issued a statement blaming the coup on “Anglo-American intrigue.”²⁸³ Another pro-Mosaddeq newspaper, *Niruye Sevum* (The “Third Force”), which was the official newspaper of a Marxist non-Tudeh political group of the same name, reported on the coup in similar terms. Pro-Mosaddeq ex-Majlis members, including ex-deputies Mousavi, Dr. Sayyid Ali Shayegan, Engineer Zirakzadeh, Engineer Razavi, and Foreign Minister Hossein Fatemi, gave speeches in the Majlis square. These speeches attracted crowds and were broadcast over Radio Tehran. “The speakers attacked the Shah and demanded that he abdicate.”²⁸⁴ Mosaddeq’s foreign minister, Fatemi, wrote two anti-Shah editorials in the Tehran-based *Bakhtar Emrooz* (“Today’s West”) newspaper. Scattered Tudeh and pro-Mosaddeq groups demonstrated in the streets. A picture of demonstrators shows them carrying a banner that read, “The Shah is the main director of the conspiracy and his house is the conspiracy’s headquarter.”²⁸⁵

According to Gasiorowski, CIA had direct involvement in the apparent activities of the Tudeh in the day following the coup.²⁸⁶ On the evening of the day after the coup, CIA agents Jalili and Kayvani were supplied with \$50,000 to finance their anti-Mosaddeq propaganda campaign. On the morning of August 19th, CIA agents arranged for more propaganda. Thousands of broadsheets carrying copies of the *firmons* appeared in Tehran streets as more newspapers printed copies. Wilber names the following newspapers in this regard: *Shahed*, *Dad*,

²⁸³ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*, 60.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁸⁵ Reza Zariiri, *Koudetayi 28 Mordadi 1332 Dar Ayineyi Tasvir (the August 19, 1953, Coup D'etat in the Mirror of Pictures)* (Tehran, Iran: Entesharate Markaze Asnade Enghelabe Eslami (The Islamic Revolution Documents Center Publications), 2005), 153.

²⁸⁶ Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'etat against Mosaddeq."

*Setareh Islam, Asia Javanan, Aram, Mard-i-Asia, Mellat-i-Ma, and the Journal de Tehran.*²⁸⁷

The first four also ran a CIA concocted interview with Zahedi to the effect that “his government was the only legal one in existence.”²⁸⁸

CIA agents also arranged for a black Tudeh mob to march into Tehran downtown. Genuine Tudeh members joined the concocted Tudeh demonstrations. As a result, Tehran was entrenched in havoc.²⁸⁹ CIA agents Jalili and Kayvani instigated the Tudeh demonstrators to ransack the Pan-Iranist headquarters in Tehran.²⁹⁰ Also, they led “gangs of alleged Tudehites on the streets with orders to loot and smash shops on Lalezar and Amirieh streets whenever possible, and to make it clear that this was the Tudeh in action.”²⁹¹ All this was done with the propaganda aim of instilling in the general public the fear and hatred of “Tudeh terrorism.”²⁹² Wilber notes that this chaotic situation and the openly anti-Shah declarations of Mosaddeq’s government were instrumental in perpetuating the CIA propaganda line.²⁹³ CIA agents galvanized a group of pro-Shah people that were gathering in the bazaar. CIA agents took leadership of the preceding groups and incited them to set fire to the offices of pro-Mosaddeq and Tudeh newspapers as well as to ransack the headquarters of the Iran Party.

Truckloads of pro-Shah military personnel (mainly of the disbanded Imperial Guard) spread in critical areas of Tehran. Trucks and buses were used to take mobs to key areas of the city, seizing the central telegraph office, the Ministry of Press and Propaganda, and Radio Tehran.²⁹⁴ Two-hundred people were killed in fierce fighting between pro-Mosaddeq and anti-Mosaddeq forces at the residence of the prime minister. Mobs ransacked Mosaddeq’s house and

²⁸⁷ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*, 65.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'etat against Mosaddeq."

²⁹⁰ Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953*, 59.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

sold its belongings to the passersby. Another 100 people were killed elsewhere in Tehran.²⁹⁵ Mosaddeq surrendered to Zahedi's forces the next day on August 20, 1953.

U.S. propaganda objectives were realized. Under General Zahedi's government, hundreds were prosecuted including many communist Tudeh Party leaders and high ranking members of the National Front political group. Mosaddeq's minister of foreign affairs, Hossein Fatemi, was among the ones executed. Mosaddeq was tried for treason on November 8, 1953, in a military tribunal and sentenced to three years in solitary confinement followed by house arrest in his native village of Ahmadabad. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company resumed operation as a consortium of Western companies, with exclusive management and full rights to the output of Iranian oil to 1994. American companies received 40 percent of the shares, and the British Petroleum Company (as AIOC was renamed in 1954) received another 40 percent with \$510 million in compensation. Of the remaining 20 percent, 14 percent of the shares went to Royal Shell and six percent went to the French state company. Giving up the control over its oil industry, Iran acceded to a 50-50 profit sharing settlement.²⁹⁶

Two weeks after the coup, a State Department telegram underscored that the United States was now confronted with three propaganda problems: "a. charge [that] U.S. had hand [in] deposing Mosadeq (sic), b. charge [that] Zahedi [is a] U.S. tool, c. developing myth [that] Mosadeq (sic) [is the] Iranian grand man."²⁹⁷ To address these problems, the State Department noted, "Agency plans reiterate, re a. and b. above, U.S. policy [is] non-interference [in] internal

²⁹⁵ Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'etat against Mosaddeq," 256.

²⁹⁶ Tolu'ee, *The Narration of Good and Bad: The Adventurous History of Iran-U.S. Relations (Hadise Nik Va Bad: Tarikhe Por Ma Jaraye Ravabete Iran Va Amrica)*.

²⁹⁷ "Department of State Cable from Theodore C. Streibert to the United States Embassy, Iran," September 11, 1953, (Washington, DC: National Security Archive), 3, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20107.pdf>.

affairs of others.”²⁹⁸ A 1954 National Security Council directive (NSC 5428) asked that U.S. psychological programs in the Middle East include the following element:

Convince local leaders and peoples that the age of Western imperialism is over; and that Western positions are being willingly readjusted in an enlightened manner and with full respect for the national independence and sovereign equality of the Near Eastern states as rapidly as the interests of security allow.²⁹⁹

What the 1953 CIA coup in Iran demonstrated, however, was that Western imperialism had gone undercover.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ "National Security Council Report: United States Objectives and Policies with Respect to the near East," July 23, 1954, (Washington, DC: National Security Archive), 42, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20127.pdf>.

CHAPTER VI – CONCLUSIONS

Any analysis of the 1953 coup would be incomplete without attention to the internal realities that allowed the covert action to succeed and their implications. The case of Iran's nationalization of its oil industry shows that indigenous cultural forces, most notably religion, were critical factors in bringing about the public cohesion needed to gain nationalistic goals. The *ulama* (religious scholars), led by Ayatollah Kashani, played a key role in the mobilization of the masses to support the nationalization of oil and Mosaddeq's person as a leading figure in the struggle.

Mosaddeq's lack of appreciation for the mobilizing value of religion was a significant pitfall that scattered his support base. After Mosaddeq came back to power in July 21, 1952, mostly due to the support of Ayatollah Kashani, he gave some degree of freedom to the Tudeh Party (the Iranian communist party) to organize and publish newspapers. In doing so, he was playing the communist card aiming to convince the United States that if the U.S. failed to support his government, the Tudeh would eventually rise to power. This policy had an unintended byproduct: he alienated his religious constituency. In his memoirs, Mohammad Taqi Falsafi, a prominent clerical figure at the time of Mosaddeq, says, "The situation after the 30th Teer [July 21st], especially in the last months, became so that the religious people came to think that Mosaddeq was paving the way so that the Tudeh would come to power."³⁰⁰ Mosaddeq resisted pressure from the religious factions in society to restrain the activities of the Tudeh and lost their support.

The CIA readily used this opportunity to increase the rift between Mosaddeq, his allies, and a significant portion of the masses. The themes for CIA black propaganda well underscore

³⁰⁰ Mohammad Taqi Falsafi, *Khaterat Va Mobarezate Hojjatul Islam Falsafi (the Memoirs and Struggles of Hojjatul Islam Falsafi)* (Tehran, Iran: Entesharate Markaze Asnade Enghelabe Eslami (The Islamic Revolution Documents Center Publications), 1997), 141.

the significance of eliminating the religious constituency that had hitherto supported Mosaddeq's policies and actions. The fact that the CIA had to resort to black propaganda and forged documents in associating Mosaddeq with the Tudeh and creating an image of him as an anti-religious political figure shows that such an association was more a perception than reality. Nonetheless, Mosaddeq's failure to disassociate himself from the propagated allegations was one of the factors that ensured the successful permeation of U.S. propaganda.

From the 1953 coup experience, the implication follows that internal unity is an essential factor in the realization of the goals of nationalist movements, especially in face of foreign opposition. Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru, Mosaddeq's counterpart, wrote to him a few weeks prior to the coup pleading him to unite with his former allies including Ayatollah Kashani, Hossein Makki, and Mozaffar Baghai. Nehru, according to Makki, expressed the view that this solidarity was essential to contain plots in the making. Nehru warned that the crushing of nationalization in Iran would be a blow to such movements in other third world countries as well. He furthermore asserted that Mosaddeq's allies were like stairs he had taken to rise to power. He could choose to either keep them intact so as to gracefully descend from power when necessary or dismantle them only to fall tragically in case of his removal. In reply, Mosaddeq sent a message to Nehru asking him not to interfere in Iran's affairs.³⁰¹

In addition to disunity, Iran's case shows that dependency paves the way for external powers' interference in the internal affairs of the developing countries. The 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran was in large measure a movement to free Iran of its dependence on all external powers. One of the major mottos of the revolution was "*Na sharghi, na gharbi, jomhourie Islami:*" Neither East, nor West, an Islamic republic. The years of great power

³⁰¹ "Goftogoo Ba Hossein Makki: Koodetaye 1299, Doulate Mosaddeq, Naft, Va Tarikh (a Talk with Hossein Makki: The 1299 Coup, Mosaddeq, Oil, and History)," The Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies (IICHS), http://www.iichs.org/PDF_files/O_makki.pdf.

rivalry, the plunder of Iran's natural resources, the crushing of the nationalization of oil movement by the CIA-sponsored 1953 coup, and the U.S.-backed monarchical dictatorship that followed had convinced Iranians that self-sufficiency and non-alignment with external powers were key to Iran's independence, development, and progress. As in the earlier years of Mosaddeq's government, religion was a unifying factor critical to the success of the revolution, but this time it gained prominence over nationalism.

Two years after the demise of Mosaddeq's government, nationalist leaders of Egypt (President Gamal Abdel Nasser), India (Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru), and Yugoslavia (President Josip Broz Tito) instituted the idea of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) as an international organization of states seeking to resist formal alignment with or against any of the two superpowers. NAM was founded in April of 1955, and, as of 2009, it has 115 members.³⁰² The creation of NAM showed the realization that genuine independence from all power blocs was key to supporting the national interests of the developing countries in the face of great power rivalries. The unity of developing countries is essential in empowering them to resist foreign interference and overcoming dependency on hegemonic powers. Otherwise, third world countries' development would become conditional to the interests of those powers.

This thesis showed how U.S. policy in Iran during the early Cold War years, exemplified by its propaganda policies, embodied a utilitarian mentality in which case the ultimate objective of securing an upper hand over Soviet Union justified all means. Securing Western control over the Iranian oil supply figured prominently in achieving this superiority. Far from looking for a partner in the war against communism, the United States wished to achieve its ends in the region by using Iran and its resources as means to an end, actively interfering in the internal politics of

³⁰² The Non-Aligned Movement, "The Non-Aligned Movement: Description and History," <http://www.nam.gov.za/background/history.htm>.

the country. Because of this mindset, gray and black propaganda dominated U.S. communication programs directed at the Iranian public. Ironically, such activities were carried out without the slightest indication of remorse on the part of the United States.

Frustrated with the failure of three years of negotiations to contain a full-blown Iranian nationalization, the United States decided to use its CIA assets to bring about the downfall of the government of Mosaddeq. The United States got all that it wanted through the 1953 coup. The coup brought about a *de facto* denationalization of Iranian oil industry by handing back the controlling shares of the industry to Western powers. An intransigent nationalist government was replaced with a reliable client state. The apparent success of the coup made it a model for future CIA covert operations, and Wilber's history of how the mission was accomplished was intended to be a blueprint for similar CIA conspiracies to come.³⁰³ In reality though, what appeared to be complete victory for the United States set the stage for decades of anti-American sentiment culminating in Iran's struggle in 1979 to bring down the monarchy and with it Iran's servitude to Western interests. In effect, the coup had backfired. The thinly disguised imperialistic U.S. policies in Iran greatly damaged Iranian trust of the United States.

This study also revealed the centrality of propaganda in U.S. foreign policy. In August of 1953, the same month as the coup, the Eisenhower administration established the United States Information Agency, further institutionalizing the role of propaganda in advancing U.S. objectives around the world. The United States has, however, tried to contain the blowback of its early Cold War propaganda policies and activities in part by rebranding them as public diplomacy and "democracy promotion" and by mainstreaming some of the activities formerly carried out by the CIA. In the early 1980s, a congressional act created the National Endowment

³⁰³ Byrne, *The Secret CIA History of the Coup, 1953*.

for Democracy,³⁰⁴ as a paradoxical government-funded non-governmental organization, “to promote favored politicians and political parties abroad,” to use the words of Representative Ron Paul (R-Texas).³⁰⁵ A recent example is the 2002 NED-backed aborted coup against Venezuela’s President Hugo Chavez.³⁰⁶

In Iran in the post 9/11 years, according to a recently completed dissertation by Foad Izadi, the United States has sought to use all its public diplomacy assets, including the services of the NED, to bring about the overthrow of the Islamic Republic.³⁰⁷ What is clear is that propaganda, dressed as public diplomacy, still plays a central role in U.S. foreign policy, especially after the 9/11 attacks. The United States continues to use its informational infrastructure in influencing the internal political affairs of unfriendly countries. By doing so, it is neglecting an important reality: when powerful countries act surreptitiously, all in the name of national interest, their relationship with the victimized nations eventually tends to suffer from a trust deficit.

³⁰⁴ *Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1984 and 1985*, Public Law 98-164, 98th Cong., 1st sess., (November 22, 1983).

³⁰⁵ Ron Paul, "National Endowment for Democracy: Paying to Make Enemies of America," <http://www.antiwar.com/paul/paul79.html>.

³⁰⁶ Eva Golinger, "NED Back on the Offensive in Venezuela," ZNet, <http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/7359>.

³⁰⁷ Foad Izadi, "U.S. Public Diplomacy toward Iran: Structures, Actors, and Policy Communities" (Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 2009).

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VITA

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She attended the University of Houston from 1998 to 2002 where she received her Bachelor of Arts in communication with a concentration in media policy and media studies and a minor in journalism from the School of Communication. She was also a member of the Honors College at the University of Houston. Hakimeh received the 2002 "Outstanding Graduating Communication Student" award and graduated *summa cum laude*, with the highest GPA (3.96) in the University of Houston's College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences. During the fall of 2001, Hakimeh served as a staff reporter for the University of Houston's student newspaper the *Daily Cougar*. She joined the Manship School of Mass Communication in the fall of 2005. Hakimeh is married to Foad Izadi and has two daughters, Mahdiah, 6, and Masumah, 2.