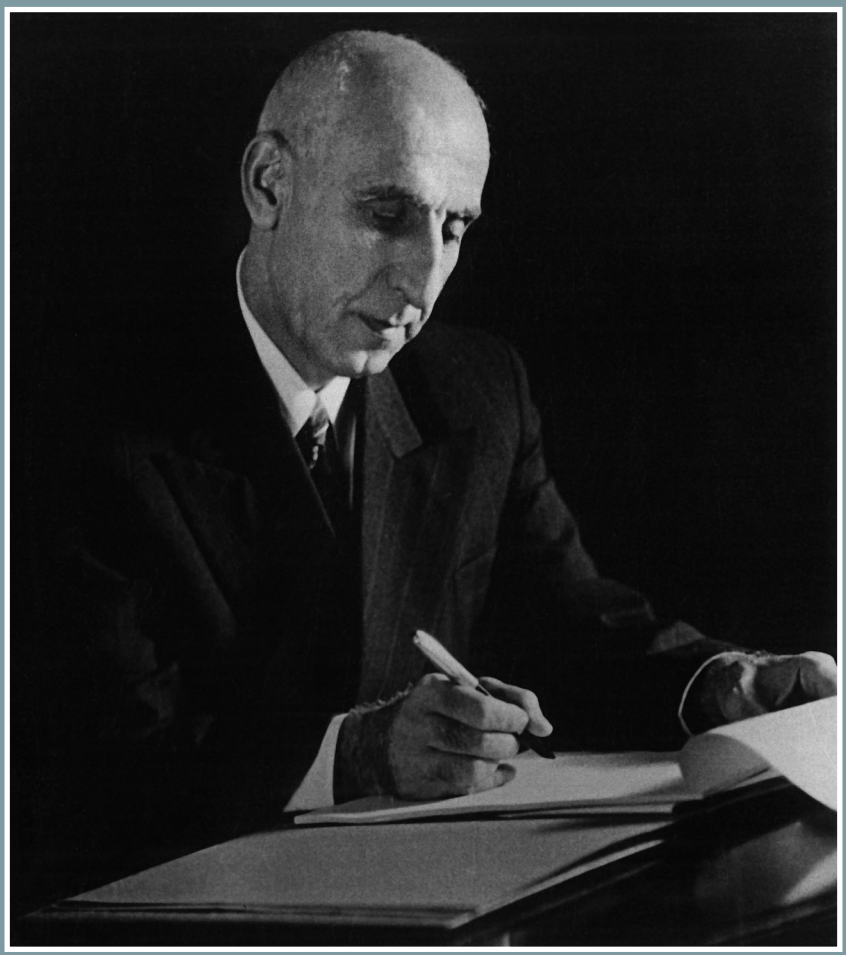
MOHAMMAD MOSSADEGH

A Comprehensive Bibliography of Sources In Western Languages



Farhad Diba

This is the first bibliography of works on Mohammad Mossadegh in European languages

Dr Mossadegh is one of the most important figures in modern Iranian history. Although he is best known in the West for his involvement in the nationalisation of Iranian oil in 1951, his career spanned over 50 years.

Throughout he espoused the cause of freedom and the establishment of a democratic society. These ideals brought him into conflict with the Pahlavi regimes of Reza Shah and his son, starting from the coup d'état in 1921. With Reza Shah's departure in 1941 Mossadegh was able to establish a powerful political base in the Iranian parliament.

In 1951, the nationalisation of Iranian oil and his appointment as prime minister placed him at the forefront of the international media. Although he was eventually forced from power in 1953, his challenge to Britain's hold on Iranian oil led the way for the producer countries' control of their own resources and an awakening of the Third World to its strength.

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Dedication

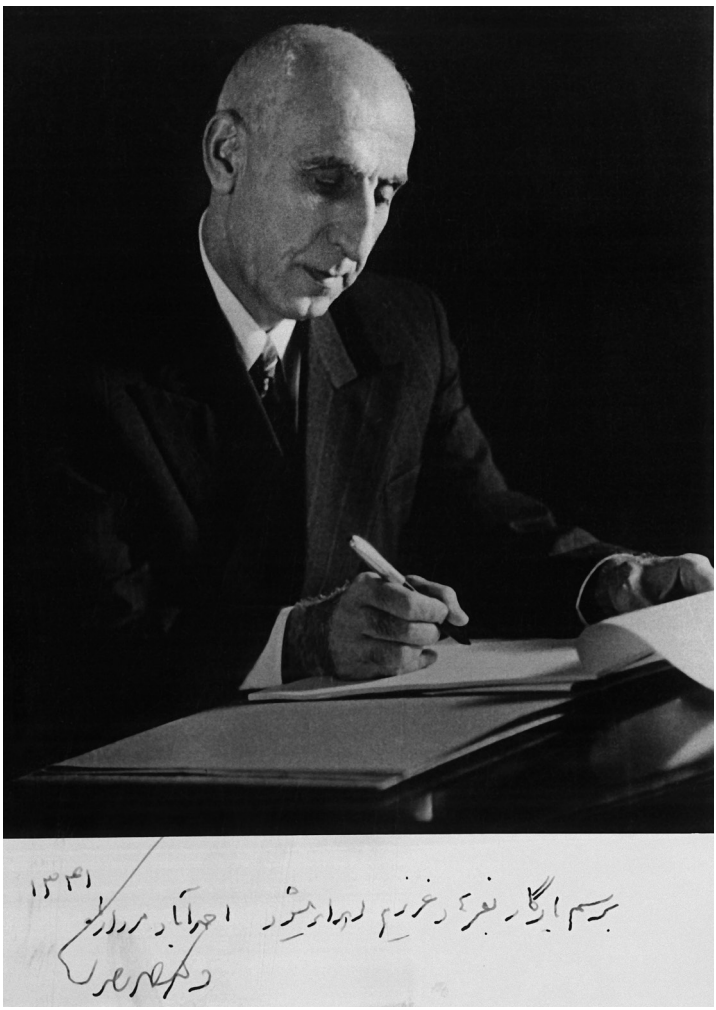
To the Fondation Mossadegh, Geneva,
a fount of knowledge on democracy.

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Mossadegh signing the White House guest book, October 1951.
Photograph dedicated to "My dear Farhad", 1341 (1963).
(Signed during internal exile at Ahmadabad, Iran.)

A Short Biography of Dr Mohammad Mossadegh (1882–1967)

Mohammad Mossadegh was born on May 19, 1882. His father Mirza Hedayat Ashtiani was the Finance Minister of Nasser al-Din Shah Qajar, and his mother was a grand-daughter of the Crown Prince Abbas Mirza (son of Fath-Ali Shah).

During his childhood, Mossadegh lost his father (1892). In his youth he became the government's tax collecting representative in the province of Khorasan. He was given the Qajar title of 'Mossadegh-Saltaneh'.

After the Constitutional Revolution of 1906, Mossadegh was elected from Isfahan to the first Majless (parliament), but since he was under the age of 30 – the legal age for taking a seat – he declined to take up his position as a deputy.

When Mohammad Ali Shah bombarded the Majless, and liberals were either executed or imprisoned, Mossadegh spent a while in concealment until, in 1909, he undertook a trip to France through Russia. He studied at the Paris Institute of Political Science (Sciences Po) for two years. Due to falling ill, Mossadegh was forced to return to Iran but after five months he travelled to Switzerland where he continued his education at the law school of the University of Neuchâtel.

Mossadegh obtained his law doctorate and his permit to practice in 1913, becoming the first Iranian to obtain a degree from a European university. From then on he was known as Dr. Mossadegh.

In 1914 he returned to Iran and began his career at the Dar el-Fonoon (Political Science Institute) of Tehran, as a professor. During this time Mossadegh wrote two books in Persian, "Civil Legal Procedure," and "Capitulations and Iran".

In 1917, Mossadegh became the deputy Finance minister and took many steps against corruption inside the ministry.

Early Years

When the cabinet of Vossough al-Dowleh signed the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1919 with the British government, Mossadegh strongly criticised the terms of the agreement and left the country for Europe, in order to be able to show the danger to Iran of the proposed treaty. There, he went about publicising the deleterious clauses of this agreement, which would have made Iran into virtually a British colony.

For signing the agreement, Vossough is said to have received £120,000 to divide among himself and his Foreign and Finance ministers.

A few months later, Vossough's cabinet fell because of the public antagonism, and Moshir al-Dowleh became Prime Minister. The new Premier invited Dr. Mossadegh to join him as his minister of Justice.

On his return to Iran via the Persian Gulf, upon the request of the people of Shiraz, he accepted the governorship of the Fars province, until the British-backed coup d'état of 1921 and, whilst in Fars, took effective steps towards providing the needs and security of the people.

When the British-backed coup of Seyyed Zia and Reza Khan took place in 1921, Mossadegh was one of the few Iranian politicians who questioned the legitimacy of the new government and resigned his post as the governor of Fars. After his resignation, on his way to Tehran, the Bakhtiari tribe invited Mossadegh to be their guest, and he lived there until the Seyyed Zia government collapsed after 100 days.

Ghavam al-Saltaneh became the new Premier and Dr. Mossadegh was selected as the Finance minister.

With the fall of Ghavam's government, and when Moshir al-Dowleh became premier once again, Mossadegh was asked to become the governor of the Azerbaijan province, and accepted the post from 1921 to 1922, upon the condition of having authority over the province's armed forces. However, due to disagreement with the provincial army commander, who got his orders from Reza Khan (the War Minister), Mossadegh resigned and returned to Tehran.

In May 1923, Mossadegh became the Foreign Minister of Moshir al-Dowleh's cabinet, and strongly opposed the British government's demand of two million Pounds from Iran, for the maintenance of the South Persia Rifles unit (which protected British interests).

After Moshir al-Dowleh's resignation, Reza Khan (Commander of the Armed Forces) assumed the Premiership.

Change of Dynasty

Dr. Mossadegh was elected to the Parliament from Tehran, and it was during this period that the Qajar dynasty was overthrown and Reza Khan declared himself the Shah of Iran. Mossadegh strongly criticised the kingship of Reza Khan and, when the sixth Majless ended and Reza Khan became the absolute dictator of Iran, Mossadegh was forced to stay at home for many years. During the last years of Reza Shah's reign, when most of the political figures were either deceased or had succumbed to the policies of the Pahlavi regime, Mossadegh was arrested and exiled for several months but, finally, he was sent back to his Ahmad Abad country estate under house arrest. After the occupation of Iran by the British and Russian armies in 1941, Reza Shah was forced to abdicate by the British who sent him into exile in Mauritius and South Africa until his death, replacing him with his son, and Mossadegh returned to Tehran.

In the elections of the 14th Majless, Dr. Mossadegh was elected as the first representative from the capital. On 2nd December 1944, in his speech to the 14th Majless, he established the principle of equilibrium in Iran's relations with other powers, as being vital for the survival of Iran.

During the elections to the 15th Majless, because of the interference of Mohammad Reza Shah, and Premier Ghavam, Mossadegh was excluded from being elected as a deputy. Therefore, the British were nearly able to persuade the new cabinet to confirm the 1933 oil agreement that was signed by the ex-Shah. Fortunately, because of public pressure, the plan of the British government did not materialise, and the life of the 15th Majless ended. But the Shah, at the request of the British, formed a Constituent Assembly, and extended his powers as a constitutional monarch. It was also during this period that Dr. Mossadegh and his companions formed the political group Jebhe Melli (National Front) of Iran, which played an important role in nationalising the Iranian oil industry.

The Shah and the Royal Court interfered in the 16th Majless elections but, in the end, the ballot boxes were declared invalid and the election annulled. Also, at this time Hajir, the Royal Court minister, was assassinated.

In the second round of the elections, Mossadegh and a group of his companions were elected, and it was this Parliament that approved the nationalisation of the Iranian oil industry, under the leadership of the Oil Committee chaired by Dr. Mossadegh. A while later the Majless elected Mossadegh as the new Prime Minister.

First Premiership

When Mossadegh became Premier in April 1951, the first thing he did, after introducing his cabinet, was the enactment of the Oil Nationalisation Bill.

Following the British complaint against Iran at the United Nations Security Council, Dr. Mossadegh made a trip to New York in order to defend the rights of Iran. Then he made a trip to the Netherlands and defended Iran at the International Court of Justice, at the Hague, and Iran won its case for nationalising its oil. On his return to Iran, Mossadegh also visited Egypt and was welcomed by its people as a champion of the Middle East.

After the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, President Gamal Abdel Nasser is said to have stated: "I went to take the British lion by its tail. However, when I got there, I found that Dr. Mossadegh had already cut it off."

The 17th Majless elections ended in violence because of interference by the army and the royal court. After only 80 deputies had been elected, Mossadegh had to announce the suspension of the elections.

In order to avoid the army's interference, Mossadegh asked that the control of the War Ministry, thus far held by the Shah, be transferred to cabinet level. The Shah refused and Mossadegh resigned in July 1952.

The next day, Ghavam was elected the new premier and he announced his Premiership with a harsh statement, threatening to set up revolutionary tribunals.

The people, who were angered by Mossadegh's dismissal, revolted in favour of him and Ayatollah Kashani (who was a close ally of Mossadegh at that time), and against the new government and the Shah. After three days of bloody riots, the people toppled Ghavam's government and the Shah's army withdrew, and once again Mossadegh became Prime Minister.

Second Premiership

By controlling the Defence Ministry (the re-named War Ministry), Mossadegh succeeded in weeding out the corrupt officers from the army, an act which angered the royal court and made sworn enemies of the officers who had been retired.

In February 1953, the royal court with the help of a group of the clergy, together with expelled army officers and some local thugs, decided to perform a conspiracy plan against Dr. Mossadegh. The plan was that, on the first day of March, the Shah would leave the capital for Europe and pretend that Mossadegh had forced him to leave the country. Meanwhile, the hooligans and dismissed army officers would gather in front of the Royal Palace to prevent the Shah's departure. At the same time when Mossadegh came out of the Royal Palace, they would attack and assassinate him. But since Mossadegh suspected the conspiracy, he was able to escape the scene through a rear door.

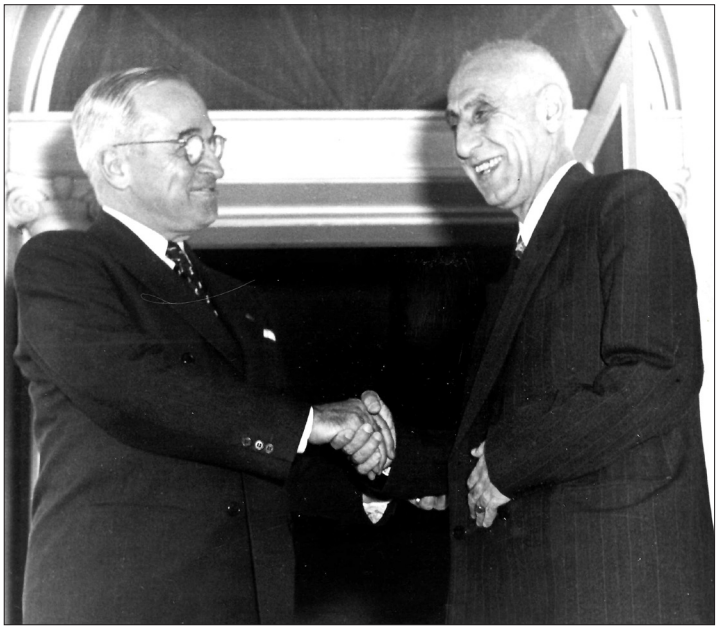
General Afshar-Toos, the loyal police chief of Mossadegh's government, was brutally murdered by the Royal Court's agents, under the direction of British intelligence and the discontented officers.

Because of the continuous disputes between the Parliament and the cabinet, and following the resignation of many members of the Majless, Mossadegh declared a national referendum to let the people choose between dissolution of the Parliament, or the cabinet's resignation. In this referendum (which was criticized by many, because of the separation of the Yes and No ballot boxes, and also for not being held at the same time in Tehran and other cities), the majority of the votes were for dissolution of the Majless, and it was dissolved in August of 1953.

28 Mordad Coup d'état

On August 16, 1953, in accordance with an Anglo-American plan which had been in the making since many months, the Shah was persuaded to sign blank pages for a Firman (Royal Decree), to be later completed under CIA-MI6 supervision, dismissing Dr. Mossadegh. This was done and Nassiri. The chief of the Royal Guards, carried the formal notice to Mossadegh's house (which was also the Prime Ministry), with orders to occupy the house by the Royal troops. But when the troops reached Mossadegh's house, the security guards

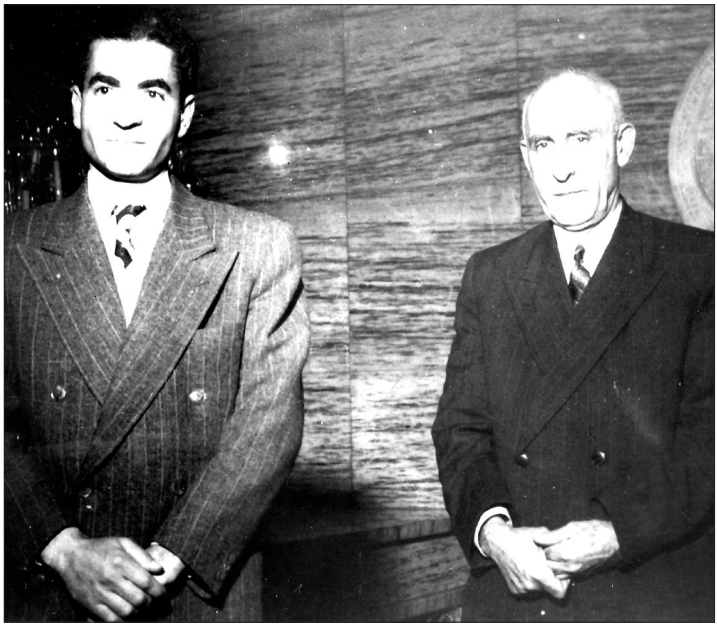
Plate 1



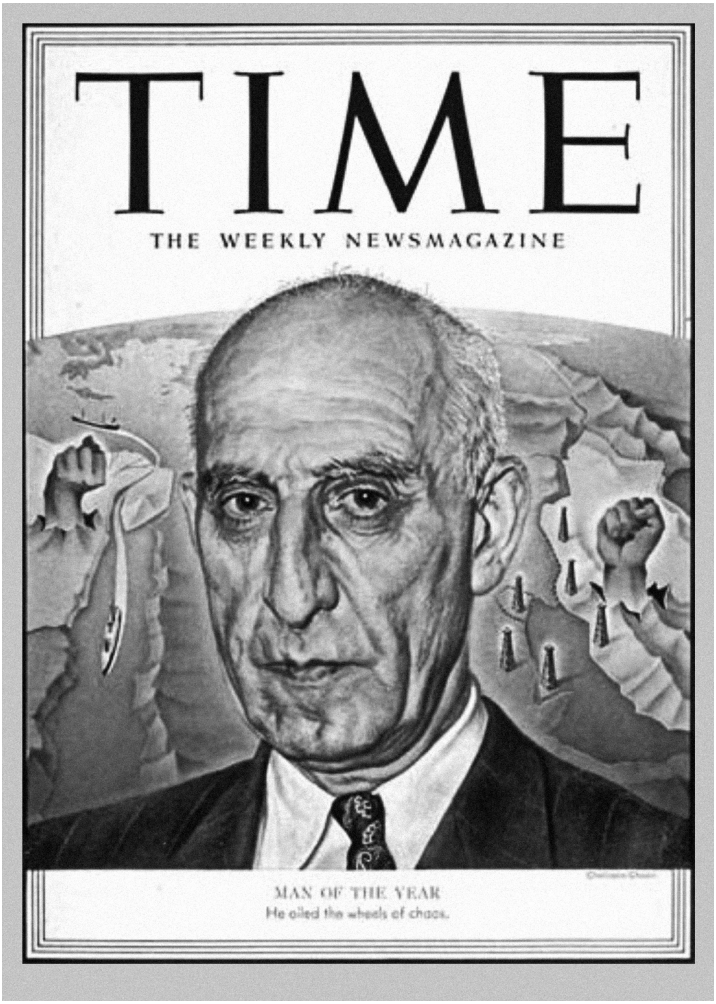
With President Truman, Washington, DC. 23 October 1951



With Prime Minister Nahas Pasha of Egypt,
Cairo 19 November 1951



With the Shah, 23 November 1951



Time magazine, 7 January 1952.
Although both Eisenhower and Churchill were in the running for the year's title of 'Man of the Year', Time magazine awarded it to Mossadegh, albeit with the contentious sub-heading: "He oiled the wheels of chaos".

immediately arrested the Royal Guard's chief and his troops. News of the attempted coup was broadcast and the Shah fled the country for Italy.

On 17th and 18th of August 1953, people poured into the streets in support of Mossadegh and the statues of Mohammad Reza Shah and his father were pulled down all over the country.

On August 19, 1953, the intelligence services of U.S.A. and Britain (CIA – MI6), put in motion a more precise and costly plan for a coup d'état and, this time, succeeded in overthrowing Mossadegh's government. On this day, after bribing some of the grand Ayatollahs, army officers and ruffians from the south of Teheran, the coup makers pulled large mobs into the streets to demonstrate against the national government of Dr. Mossadegh. Due to defections on the part of some police and army officers, the mob was allowed to reach the house of the Prime Minister and, after several hours of bombarding the house in a bloody battle with a small group of Mossadegh's loyal guards, they entered the house and, after plundering it, burned it down. Mossadegh and his companions used a ladder and took refuge inside a neighbour's house.

On the next day, Dr. Mossadegh and all those with him surrendered to the new Prime Minister, General Zahedi. A few days later, the Shah returned to Iran from Italy, and began 25 years of an increasingly despotic reign.

Last Years

During the military trial of Dr. Mossadegh, he made people aware of the secrets of the two coups against his government. In conclusion, Mossadegh was given a sentence of three years in prison and, after serving the three years in solitary confinement, now 74, was sent into internal exile to his country house in Ahmad Abad, where he lived under strict house arrest until he died.

Mossadegh's wife passed away in 1964, at the age of 84, and left Dr. Mossadegh and their two sons and three daughters in grief.

On March 4, 1967, Dr. Mossadegh died of cancer at the age of 84. His body was buried in one of the rooms of his Ahmad Abad residence, as the Shah refused to allow a funeral and burial in a place where crowds were sure to gather to pay respect.

In March 1979, on the first anniversary of his death to occur after the Iranian Revolution (and before the imposition of the Islamic regime), about one million Iranians honoured their national hero by gathering in Ahmad Abad.

A Note on writing the Bibliography of Dr. Mossadegh

This is a bibliography in western languages only and, thus, no Persian-language works have been included. Based on this parameter, there is a dearth of publications covering the early period of his life. There is one exception: in 1909, a journalist called Renée Vieillard, recognized the democratic zeal in a young Mossadegh studying in Paris and published an article on him.

During his early life and political career for thirty years, from 1920 to 1950, there is no publication in the west on Dr. Mossadegh. He is, though, often mentioned in diplomatic papers sent from foreign embassies in Teheran to their home bases.

He made a forceful entry into the world of western press upon becoming prime minister in 1951. This was due to two reasons. First, an unprecedented opposition to British hegemony in Iran as shown by the law nationalising Iran's heritage of its oil. Secondly, the physical aspect of a prime minister conducting affairs of state from his bed was fodder for the western press.

However, although reams of newspaper columns were devoted to incredulity at a man in his pajamas taking on the might of the British government, yet no one took the time to make a documented study of the situation, enough to write a book, whether in favour or in opposition. Inside reference books of general biography can be found a one-page mention of him but it was not until 1986 that was published the first comprehensive full-length English-language political biography.

The reason for this lack of literature is that, from his downfall after the coup d'état of 1953 until the fall of the Shah in 1979 at the time of the Iranian revolution, the name 'Mossadegh' was erased from public view, in a Stalinist manner. In Iran, no one was permitted to write about him and, as in all writing there, self-censorship was strictly enforced. Therefore, no news of him reached the outside world. He was a non-person. Only on his death, in March 1967, a few obituaries were observed in the western media.

Another reason is that the files of national archives, such as in the USA or in the UK, were not opened for the period of the Mossadegh premiership until the 1980s. Even then, sensitive material was partially or wholly redacted. Requests under Freedom of Information legislation were laborious and not assured of success. Revelation of the history of that period differed from nation to nation. In the USA, the documents of relations with Iran between 1951–1954 were not (partially) released until 2017. The British government is still to do so, seventy years after the events.

The Iranian revolution resulted in a significant exodus of Iranian intelligentsia to the west. Students, teachers, professors of Iranian origin became established in western seats of learning. The revolution was studied and many traced its cause to the 1953 overthrow of Dr. Mossadegh, leading to multiple works on both the coup itself as well as on Dr. Mossadegh.

As the academic Iranians outside of Iran became aware of this gap in the country's history, more and more research and studies delved into the Mossadegh period and into the character of the man himself. Many conferences on the specific subject were held throughout the world, resulting in academic papers, some expanding into books.

This awareness and recognition of the importance of the Mossadegh era in Iranian history, brought about resistance from a group of academics and journalists, who took up a revisionist mantra, rejecting the accepted facts of the 1953 coup and re-positioning Mossadegh's policies, in an attempt to give the Shah a veneer of control.

This bibliography has attempted to cover every aspect of writings on and about Mossadegh in western languages. This has been supplemented with a short list of available videos and films.

In some instances, an entry is repeated with a translation of the same into a different language. This is for the ease of readers who may prefer the alternative language.

* * * * * * *

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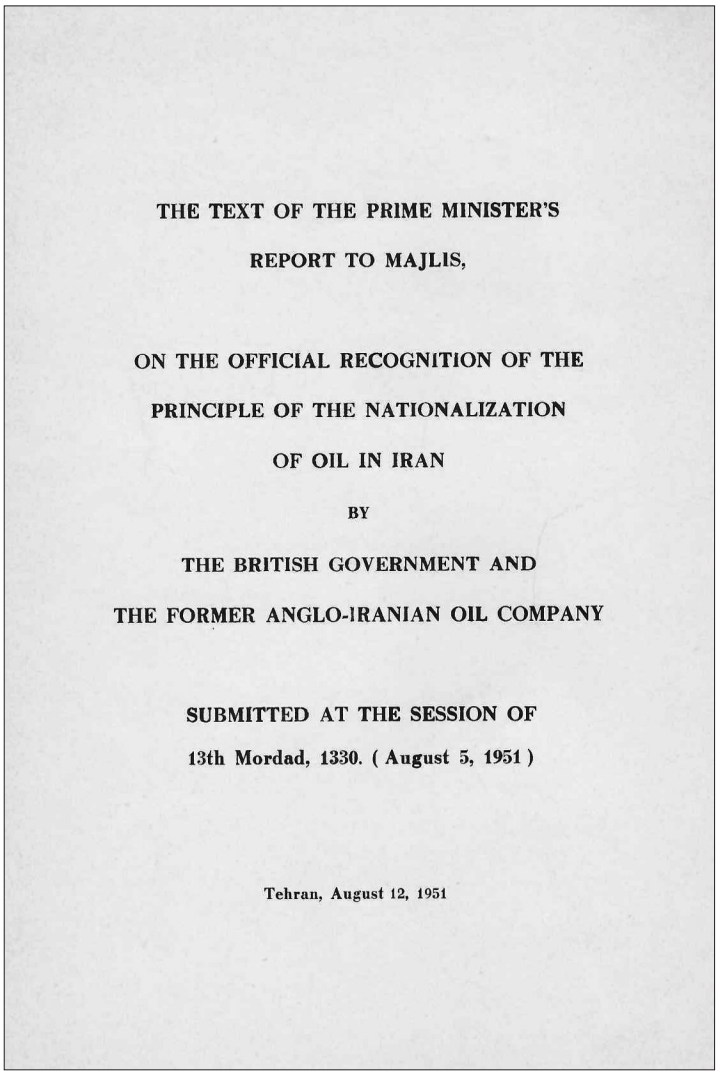
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Plate 5



THE TEXT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S

REPORT TO MAJLIS,

ON THE OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF THE

PRINCIPLE OF THE NATIONALIZATION

OF OIL IN IRAN

BY

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND

THE FORMER ANGLO-IRANIAN OIL COMPANY

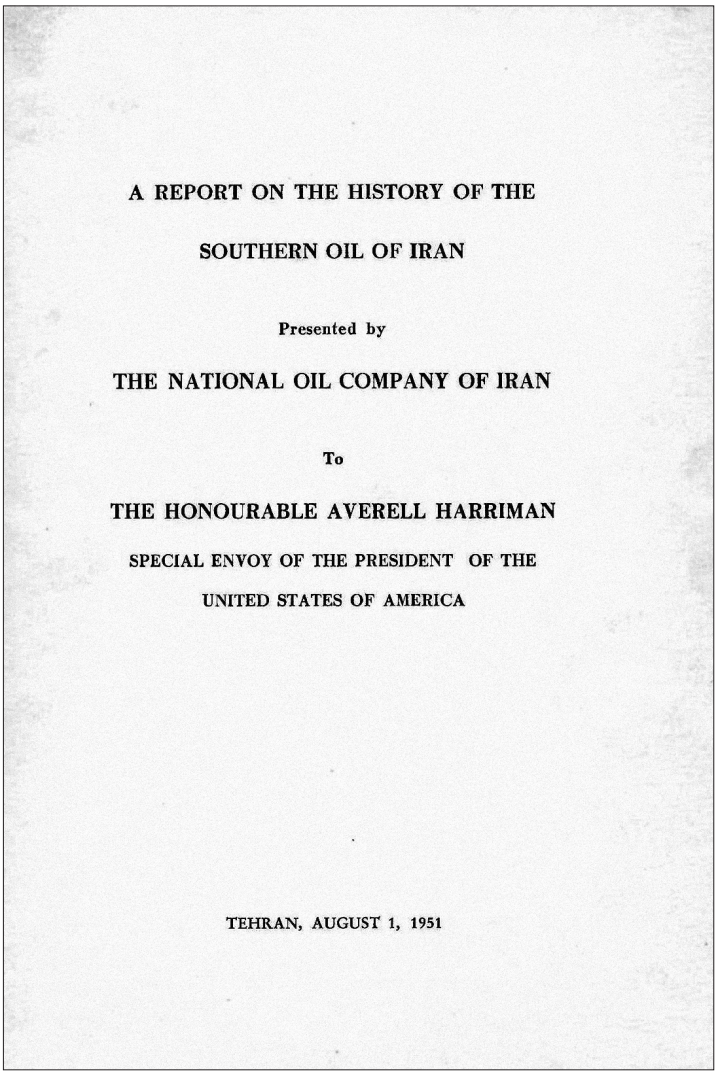
SUBMITTED AT THE SESSION OF

13th Mordad, 1330. (August 5, 1951)

Tehran, August 12, 1951

Oil Nationalisation Report, 1951

Plate 6



A REPORT ON THE HISTORY OF THE

SOUTHERN OIL OF IRAN

Presented by

THE NATIONAL OIL COMPANY OF IRAN

To

THE HONOURABLE AVERELL HARRIMAN

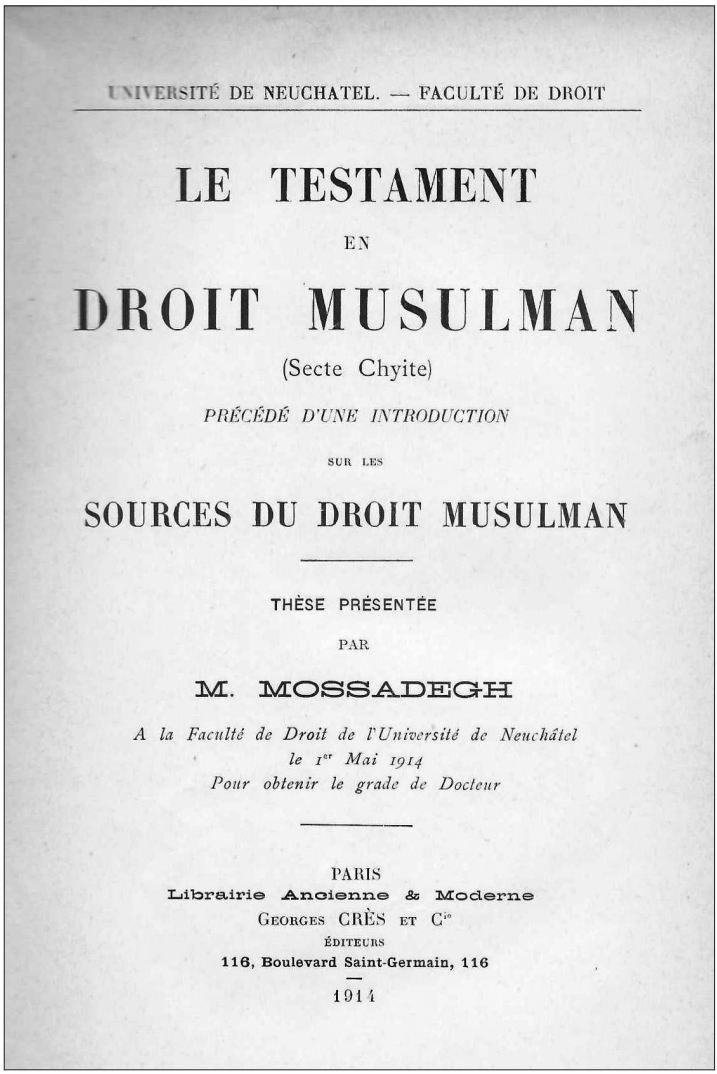
SPECIAL ENVOY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TEHRAN, AUGUST 1, 1951

History of Oil, 1951

Plate 7



UNIVERSITÉ DE NEUCHATEL. — FACULTÉ DE DROIT

LE TESTAMENT

EN

DROIT MUSULMAN

(Secte Chyite)

PRÉCÉDÉ D'UNE INTRODUCTION

SUR LES

SOURCES DU DROIT MUSULMAN

THÈSE PRÉSENTÉE

PAR

M. MOSSADEGH

A la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Neuchâtel
le 1er Mai 1914
Pour obtenir le grade de Docteur

PARIS
Librairie Ancienne & Moderne
GEORGES CRÈS ET Cie
ÉDITEURS
116, Boulevard Saint-Germain, 116
1914

Doctoral Thesis, 1914

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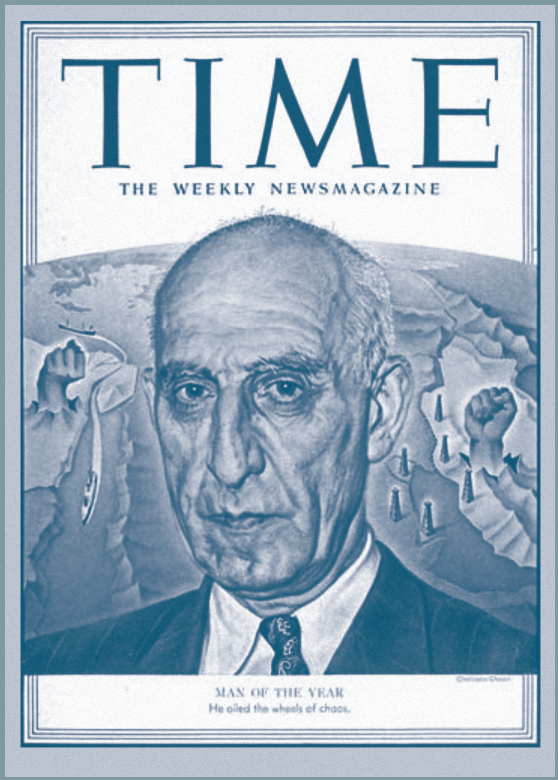
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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Mossadegh – A Political Biography (1986) is the first English language biography, which describes his career in full and establishes Mossadegh's rightful place as a key figure in modern history.

ABOVE
Time magazine, 7 January 1952.
Although both Eisenhower and Churchill were in the running for the year's title of 'Man of the Year', *Time* magazine awarded it to Mossadegh, albeit with the contentious sub-heading: "He oiled the wheels of chaos".

FRONT COVER
Mossadegh signing the White House guest book, October 1951.

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