



Behavioral Analysis of the Toilers' Party of Iranian Nation - Third Force from Its Establishment to the 19th August, 1953 Coup D'état, Based on the Third Force Newspaper

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Extended Abstract

The government of Mohammad Mossadegh, from its establishment in May 1951 to its dissolution in August 1953, faced numerous crises in domestic and international affairs. During this period, the *Toilers Party of the Iranian Nation—The Third Force*, led by Khalil Maleki, actively supported the Mossadegh government from its founding in October 1952 until the coup of August 19, 1953. The party provided solutions and proposals to address the ongoing crises.

This article seeks to examine the political behavior of *the Toilers Party of the Iranian Nation – The Third Force*, through a historical method and a descriptive-analytical approach based on the crisis theory proposed by Thomas Arthur Spragens. By analyzing the party's official organ, the newspaper *Third Force*, this article investigates the party's responses to the economic, political, and international crises that the Mossadegh government faced from October 1952 to August 19, 1953. Data collection is conducted through library and archival sources, and data analysis employs a historical approach combined with descriptive-analytical techniques.

Spragens' crisis theory, which focuses on behavior, consists of four stages. The first stage involves identifying and observing a problem or disorder. According to Spragens, most political theories arise in response to civic order breakdown or potential breakdown. In this stage, the theorist identifies instability and crisis within society. The second stage focuses on discovering the causes of the crisis. At this stage, the theorist analyzes the causal relationships between events and proposes solutions for the crisis. In the third stage, the theorist reconstructs an ideal society in their imagination and assesses existing capacities to envision a utopian future. Finally, in the fourth stage, the theorist offers actionable solutions based on their findings, ensuring they are practical



and implementable.

In this study, the authors reviewed 247 issues of *The Third Force* party's official organ, published between October 14, 1952, and August 19, 1953, to analyze the political behavior of the *Toilers Party of the Iranian Nation – The Third Force*. The findings reveal that, in the first step, the party identified three major crises: economic, political, and international. In the second step, the party examined the sources of these crises within society. From the party's perspective, the main cause of the economic crisis was the British-imposed sanctions on Iran, coupled with the government's heavy reliance on a non-oil-dependent economy. The party believed oil sales were the most effective solution for breaking the sanctions.

Regarding foreign policy, *The Third Force* identified the conspiracies of Britain, the United States, and Russia as the primary sources of instability. According to the party, Britain sought to regain access to Iranian oil and attempted to align the United States with these efforts. Meanwhile, Russia, through its domestic agents in Iran, aimed to secure a share of Iran's oil resources. The party believed that all three powers were pursuing their own interests in Iranian oil.

Regarding domestic politics, *The Third Force* attributed the political crisis to the reign of tyranny in the country. Khalil Maleki described the governing regime as colonialism's strongest tool, referring to it as a "decadent system" and a "medieval ruling apparatus."

In the third step, the party leaders envisioned an ideal society by addressing economic, political, and international crises through the pages of their official organ. As presented by *The Third Force*, this vision included both constructive and critical proposals.

In the fourth step, the party offered solutions to overcome the three crises. Economically, the party suggested strengthening the non-oil-dependent budget and implementing domestic economic reforms. They argued for minimizing the country's reliance on oil revenues. The proposals for economic empowerment included reducing unnecessary imports, focusing on domestic production, expanding agriculture, strengthening industrial infrastructure, extracting underground resources (other than oil), imposing direct income taxes, and reducing government expenses.

To address the international crisis, *The Third Force* argued for prioritizing relations with Third World countries rather than with colonial powers and recommended leveraging the East-West bloc rivalry for Iran's benefit. The party proposed a foreign policy independent of both the Eastern and Western blocs.

During the political crisis, *The Third Force* advocated abolishing the monarchy and establishing a republican system. After the failed coup of August 16, 1953, when Mohammad Reza Pahlavi fled the country, *The Third Force* was among the groups that called for consulting the people's vote to form a new political system. The party mobilized its supporters to participate in anti-monarchy demonstrations to achieve this.

Although the Toilers Party of the Iranian Nation – *The Third Force* made significant efforts to support the national movement and Mossadegh's government through



constructive proposals and activism, it ultimately failed in its mission. On August 19, 1953, Mossadegh's government was overthrown through a coup, and nearly a year later, with the signing of the Consortium Agreement, the national oil movement was officially defeated.

Keywords: Toilers Party of the Iranian Nation - Third Force, Nationalization of the Iranian oil industry, coup d'état on August 19, 1953, Khalil Maleki, Spragens' crisis theory.



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