

## **Tarih ve Günce**

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# **THE ATTITUDE OF EGYPT TOWARDS BAGHDAD PACT**

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### **Abstract**

Middle East has become the attraction center of the World through the human history. It has been home to many of civilizations. A big colonial race began with the industry era in the World and the petroleum and raw material race of colonial states were accelerated vehemently. Especially, after the math of 19 century, the weakening power of Ottoman Empire resulted in a big gap in the Middle East. It caused the severe competition between the states which were eager to fill that gap. It made the region which was important from the view of strategical and having wealthy oil reserves more attractive.

The region was shared in 1st World War with secret agreements. Western countries foremost UK made the deals with tribal leaders and prominent families to organize the rebellions against Ottoman in order to collapse it. After 1st World War, The Kingdoms and the states were established based on colonial and mandate regime in place of Ottoman Empire. The colonial states which Imperial states never give up were established. Until 2nd World War, Colonial Systems and Mandate regime were led, after 2nd World War, The dipole system which was comprised of USA and USSR was dominated the World.

Until that time, USA, UK and France had been dominant in the region, USSR became the rival of them. Soviet Expansionism was reflected as a threat to the regional states by the western block and the precautions were thought in order to protect regional countries which were Turkey, Greece, Iraq, Pakistan and alongside Arab States. Regional cooperations and Defence Organization foremost NATO were supported against this threat. Baghdad Pact was one of the defence pacts which was established under the pioneer of Turkey and Iraq and supported by USA and UK in order to prevent Soviet Expansionism. In a short time, while Pakistan, Iran and UK also joined to the pact. The other Arab States were expected to join to the pact. Nevertheless, the oppositions of pacts foremost Egypt conducted a campaign that The aim of the establishing of Baghdad Pact was the other method for the western countries to control the region. Egypt which was

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led by Cemal Abdul Nasser reacted a severe opposition to the pact since they thought Baghdad Pact as a threat which would lose their leadership over the region and make Turkey to control the region. At the same time, it was propangandized that Israel would become the member of the pact and that would mean all Arab States would be supposed to recognize Israel because of that reson and that would mean the betrayal of Arab Movement. With the effects of the hampering of Egypt, Baghdad Pact couldnt reach expansions that it was aimed but it served for the sake of good relations between Pact's members, especially Turkey and Iraq relations and it contributed to Turkey's reputation due to the attitude of Turkey in terms of World peace.

**Keywords:** Baghdad Pact, Turkey, Egypt, Middle East, Defence Cooperation, Soviet Expansionism

## Bağdat Paktı'na Karşı Mısır'ın Tutumu

### Öz

Orta Doğu insanlık tarihi boyunca dünyanın cazibe merkezi olmayı başarmış, birçok medeniyete ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Sanayi Çağı ile beraber dünyada büyük bir sömürge yarışı başlamış, emperyal devletlerin petrol ve hammadde yarışı kıyasıya hızlanmıştır. Özellikle XIX. yüzyıldan sonra Osmanlı Devleti'nin zayıflaması Ortadoğu'da bir boşluk doğurmuş, bu boşluğu doldurmaya hevesli ülkelerin kıyasıya rekabetini daha da artırmış, stratejik ve jeopolitik açıdan önemli ve zengin petrol rezervlerinin bulunduğu bu bölgeyi daha da cazip hale getirmiştir.

I. Dünya Savaşında bölge gizli anlaşmalarla paylaşılmış, Osmanlı'nın bölgedeki hakimiyetine son vermek için yerel aşiretler ve bazı ileri gelen ailelerle anlaşmalar yapılarak Osmanlı'ya karşı ayaklanmaları sağlanmıştır. I. Dünya Savaşından sonra yıkılan Osmanlı'nın yerini mandaterlik ve sömürü düzenine kurulu krallıklar almış, batılı devletlerin vazgeçemeyeceği sömürü devletler kurulmuştur. II. Dünya Savaşına kadar sömürge düzeni ve mandaterlikler sürerken II. Dünya Savaşından sonra dünyada ABD ve SSCB' den oluşan iki kutuplu düzen hâkim olmuştur.

Bu zamana kadar Ortadoğu'nun kontrolünü elinde tutan ABD, İngiltere ve Fransa'ya bölgede rakip olarak görülen SSCB çıkmıştır. Batılı devletler tarafından Sovyet yayılmacılığı tehdit olarak adledilerek Türkiye, Yunanistan, Pakistan ve Irak'ın yanı sıra Ortadoğu'daki diğer Arap devletlerinin bu tehdiye karşı korumak için tedbirler düşünülmüştür. Bu tehdiye karşı NATO başta olmak üzere bölgesel savunma iş birlikleri ve ittifaklar desteklenmiştir. Bağdat Paktı'nda bu kapsamda Türkiye ve Irak'ın önderliğinde başta ABD ve İngiltere'nin desteği ile Sovyet yayılmacılığına karşı kurulmuş savunma paktlarından biriydi. Kısa zamanda pakta Pakistan, İran ve İngiltere katılırken, diğer Arap Devletlerinde katılması beklenmiştir. Ancak Mısır'ın başını çektiği muhalefet, paktın kuruluş amacının bölgenin batılı ülkelerin güdümüne gireceği olgusu olarak yansıtılmıştır. Cemal Abdul Nasser liderliğindeki Mısır, pakta karşı sert bir muhalefet göstererek, pakta

kendisini Ortadoğu'nun lider ülke konumunda olma tezini Türkiye lehine değiştirecek bir tehdit olarak görmüştür. Bunun yanısıra Pakt'ın hedefleri arasında İsrail'in de pakta dahil edilerek İsrail'in Arap dünyası tarafından tanınmasının sağlanacağı savunulmuş ve bunun Arap davasına büyük bir ihanet olduğu propagandası yapılmıştır. Mısır'ın engellemelerinin de etkisiyle hedeflediği genişliği yakalamasa da özellikle Türkiye'nin Irak ve diğer pakt üyesi ülkelerle ilişkilerine olumlu yansımış ancak hedeflenen bölgesel iş birliği ve savunma amaçlarına ulaşamadan dağılmıştır. Bu çalışmada Bağdat Paktına karşı Mısır'ın tutumu ve yaptığı propaganda üzerinde durulacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Bağdat Paktı, Türkiye, Mısır, Orta Doğu, Savunma İş birliği, Sovyet Yayılması.

## Introduction

Gazi After the 2'nd World War, USA, France, UK and Turkey tried to establish a defence organization in the Middle East against the threat of Soviet expansionism. It was thought that Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt, Iran and the other countries in middle east would have joined that defence organization which would have been established. But, After establishment of the Israel State, The Arab countries started to see the main threat as Israel state rather than USSR. Moreover, The Arab Countries didnt count on USA, UK and Egypt and also Egypt didnt want to make a political cooperation with UK unless UK would have pulled her troops back from Suez channel.

USA thought that Turkey, Greece and Iran were shield in the middle east for preventing the Soviet expansionism. While UK was planning to establish a defence organization which she would confer very big responsibilities to Turkey, she wanted to be leader and the controller of that organization. By that way UK wanted to establish the influence over the Arab States thus She would protect the east Mediterrean and the India from the external powers. UK wanted Turkey to take responsibility of being leader of this project and she aimed to improve her image in the Middle East. Furthermore, UK tried to preserve Suez Base with the new regulations which would be made in this project.

Jeopolitical situation and the military and the economical power of Turkey had vital importance for any defence organization which would be thought to establish in the Middle East. But firstly being member of NATO was the top priority of Turkey. Turkey didnt see any advantages to join a defence organization which would be established in the Middle East. When Turkey understood

and took granted for being the member of NATO. She abondened to make opposition to the Middle East Defence Organization and she supported this idea<sup>1</sup>. It was another effective reason for Turkey that USSR had some efforts to establish influence over some Arab countries by giving them military and economic support<sup>2</sup>.

In 1952, Turkey had become a member of NATO and some sort of military bases were established in Turkey, in order to stop Soviet expansionism and also communism over the region. Afterwards Turkey began to improve her Middle East policy by caring about the stability and security of the region, finding out the solution of Arab-Israel conflict and preventing the spread out of communism in the region. Democratic party and Menderes Government had worked for re-developing of Turkish- Arab relations which were neglected before the period of single party<sup>3</sup>. At the same time Wester block which were especially USA, UK, France wanted to establish a Middle East Defence Command which would be comprised of Middle East Countries including Turkey.

However, Egypt desired to be leader of this command and she wanted to transform this command's aim to gather just Arab Countries against Israel, it was obviously clear that Western block's aim was different from Egypt's intention.

After this period, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, Iran tried to develop good relations between each other and with western block while Egypt tried to hold herself back this kinds of cooperations because she thought that all the efforts to establish a defence cooperation serve a purpose of the benefits of western block, especially, UK and strenghten the position of Israel State.

### **1. Middle East Defence Command and It's transformation to Middle East Defence Organization due to Egypt.**

After second World War, UK understood that she would have to retreat from Middle East because the foundation of United Nation and the development of the liberty and freedom over the World but she didnt hesitate to come up with new projects which preserve her benefits in the region. There is no doubt that one of the most important ones was "Middle East Command" As a matter of

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<sup>1</sup> Ömer Osman Umar, **Bağdat Paktı**, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Pbl., Ankara 2013, p.4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.5.

fact, the difference between the political systems of the East and West and the irreconcilable competition between these systems made the offer of UK was attractive<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, after the war of Korean, the cold war which made tension and shaped a critical situation between USA and USSR and so Utilizing of the bases of UK in the Middle East for western defence ally became a necessity for USA<sup>5</sup>. France was not late to support this idea. And the result of this idea, UK, USA signed this joint project in 25 May 1950.

By all means, joining of Turkey to this project contributed it to earn a new essence of it's form.

- a. *The power of Turkey was remarkable and due in no small part in the region.*
- b. *Turkey was Muslim country. Joining of Turkey to the Project of "Middle East Command" excluded the Project as the western and christian form and made it regional Project.*
- c. *Joining of Turkey to the project brought new opportunities which were the getting into dialog to new Middle East countries<sup>6</sup>.*

Thus, The founder of the idea of establishing "Middle East Command", USA, UK, France wanted Egypt to participate to this project by giving her an offer unanimously. These are the points which were presented by UK and the allies of her.

- 1) Egypt and Middle East Countries's defence against assault from outside just can be possible with the cooperation of related countries.
- 2) The mission of Middle East Command would just be guiding to Middle East Countries and supporting them about planning.
- 3) Provided that peace and safety could be settled in Middle East. There would be progresses of economic and social fields.
- 4) Defending of Middle East was as vital importance for Middle East Countries as the freedom of the World.

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<sup>4</sup> Yaşar Canatan, **Türk- Irak Münasebetleri (1926-1958)**, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Pbl., Ankara, 1996, p.64.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.65.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.65.

- 5) In case that Egypt accepted the offer, she would have equal rights with the other members of the Command.

The desires of the members of the Middle East Command to make Egypt to be member of the Command was not coincidence or innocent as it was shown for World peace. Egypt had Suez Channel which was key and important place from the view of international and intercontinental aspect. Also, Egypt had influence on the other Arab states and the expectation was that if Egypt were the member of the Command, the other Arab States would follow her. Meanwhile, the idea of the command didnt neglect that Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Israel were wanted to be member of the command<sup>7</sup>.

Egypt government gathered for the offer of being the member of the "Middle East Command". They argued all the details and possible result of being member of the Command. The result was negative. Egypt rejected to participate to the Command<sup>8</sup>. It was not unexpected attitude of Egypt. Because, Egypt was just released of the invasion of UK. It was not convenient for Egypt and the expectation of the region's people to participate to this project which was the UK's leading and If Egypt had accepted the offer. The international and regional effects would have been so widely. Actually, this would have meant that UK's dominance on Egypt would have been maintained under the different appearance<sup>9</sup>.

The rejection decision of Egypt to participate "Middle East Command" was welcomed by the people of the region. Demonstrations were prolonged for the days. The reactions of the Arab community to "Middle East Command" could be explained with two reasons.

1. Participating of Egypt to Middle East Command would make USA, UK and France to utilize Egypt as a permanent base.
2. Arab States were not only called but also Israel was being called. At the beginning of 1948, Israel was seen as a small district of which population was just 40.000-50.000 in Arab Palestine. With the economic and military support of the founder of this project which was called "Middle East Command". Israel became a stronger and assaulter state which

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<sup>7</sup> Canatan, *Ibid.*, p.66.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.66.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p.67.

threat the existence of the Arab states in the region. Moreover, These states planned to bring Israel together with the other Arab states under the same roof with this friendship cooperation. The aim was obvious. Israel would be recognized as a state by Arab states, further away, Israel and Arab States would become ally. This strangeness situation of course couldnt be accepted by Arab States<sup>10</sup>.

In deed, It was predicted that Suez Channel would be utilized by the Command in the offer of UK and her allies to Egypt. This meant that it would be clearly betrayal to the idea of the nationalization of Suez Channel and the martyrs for this cause. Alfred Lilental told about this subject that *“UK and her allies notified that Utilizing Suez Channel initiative would belong to themselves with the offer presented to Egypt”*. According to Egyptians, This was obviously and cleverly planned that Suez Channel would be left to UK forever.

Despite the rejection of offer by Egypt, The efforts for establishing “Middle East Command” continued. UK, USA, France and Turkey which were the countries trying to establish the Command declared a notification which was comprised of eleven articles in 10 November 1951<sup>11</sup>. In this declaration, it was emphasized that that defence organization was needed for the freedom of the region and the World, all the countries would have equal rights in this organization and that organization wouldnt interfere with the domestic issues of the regional states<sup>12</sup>.

UK was in very difficult position about renewing the agreements between Egypt and Iraq. UK would maintain the benefits about the oil, raw materials, cheap agriculture products in case of renewing the agreements with these countries but in June of 1952, the negotiations between Egypt and UK come out badly. Thus, UK offered establishing Middle East Defence Organization in place of Middle East Command. Because of this reason, negotiations of this subject went along with the name of “Middle East Defence Organization”, furthermore with this change, the subject was excluded from the Military Command term and transformed to Defence Organization which was wide-ranging and more political. In 26 June 1952, The foreign minister of UK, Anthony Eden and the foreign minister of USA, Dean Acheson made a compromise about Middle East Defence Organization in London. In Truman period USA and the UK stratejists had

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p.67.

<sup>11</sup> Umar, Ibid., p.17.

<sup>12</sup> Umar, Ibid., p.17.

started to work on this project and they thought Egypt would have been a key role in this project<sup>13</sup>. UK had planned that Middle East Defence Organization would inaugurate a headquarter in Cyprus. It didnt mean that UK would give up Suez channel, the negotiations continued between USA an UK and it was hoped that Arab countries would participate to this organization. Especially, UK had thought that The Arabs would like this organization much more<sup>14</sup>.

The other eminent author, Pirer Nedo explained the thoughts of USA about the future. *“USA thought that Planning “Arab Defence Cooperation Project” would be the extension of NATO and the sign of existence of USA in the region.”*<sup>15</sup>

Up to now, in the light of the explanations which have been made above, there were two main reasons for which “Middle East Defence Command” couldnt be realized.

1. Western countries established NATO pact based on some joint and essential benefits. They inspired from that organizattin and decided to establish a similar organization which was named “Middle East Defence Command” but situation and and the conjuncture was more complex and wouldnt be able to compare with NATO. Because Both political conflicts between Arab States and the existence of Israel which threat the existence of Arab forever prevented the cooperation with western countries.
2. The rejection of decision of Egypt by taking into consideration above mentioned made the Project dead born<sup>16</sup>.

## 2. DULLES Middle East Voyage

All the efforts made by western countries to establish a defence organization in Middle East and the rejection of Egypt didnt be enough for giving up the project. USA and the other western countries were still concsious and worried about the Soviet Expansionism and they had no intention to give up the cooperation in the region.

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<sup>13</sup> Fahir Armaoğlu, **20.Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi**, Alkım Yay., İstanbul, 2009, p.595; David Fromkin, **Ba- rıřa Son Veren Barıř**, Ppsilon Pbl., İstanbul, 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Umar, *Ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>15</sup> Canatan, *Ibid.*, p.67.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68.

When Eisenhower became a president of the USA, He began to be more interested in defending the Middle East. Since the region was in strategic point and having very important oil reserves, it was more attractive for USA than before. The foreign minister of USA, John Foster Dulles made a speech about the importance and the result of compulsory of keeping the region. The important parts of the speech is *"We see that Communists make efforts to prompt the Arabs to hate us, British in Middle East. This region has the largest known oil reserve in the World. The interests of USSR are seen very obviously form the statement which was made by Stalin to Hitler in 1940, he said that Middle East must be seen as the center of Soviet desire. If all the region were captured by our probable enemies, there would be very big difference in economic balance. At the same time, this region has the Suez Channel which is vital importance and is connected to Europe."*<sup>17</sup>

There was no positive result happened about the defence of the Middle East in elapsed time. Because UK didnt want to retreat from Suez Channel and so, Egypt didnt want to join to this pact. Thus, the foreign minister of USA, Dulles wanted to visit the countries of the region and to learn what the region countries think about "Middle East Defence Organization" Dulles visited 7 Arab countries and in addition that he visited Israel, India, Pakistan, Greece and Turkey<sup>18</sup>.

The most important station of Dulles voyage was Egypt. Dulles had meetings with Egypt foreign minister, Mahmud Fevzi, Prime Minister Necib and the leader of junta, Colonel Nasser and some representatives of the junta. Dulles expressed in the meetings that the aim of the visit was to learn the the attitudes and the view of Egypt to the problems of the region. Foreign Minister Mahmud Fevzi mentioned political, economical, agriculture developments, construction of the dam, radical ideas and the prevention of the socialism in his speech. Fevzi stated that USA was wanted to accept the leader role of Egypt in the defence of the Middle East and Egypt people wanted USA to be pioneer about this subject and Egypt was ready to give any kinds of supports which wouldnt be hampered of the independence of herself. Fevzi mentioned that Egypt had no concern with "Middle East Defence Organization" as for Israel conflict *"Palestine was not only shared but Arab Community was also shared by Israel. Latening of fair solutions of the problems of the Middle East was the most effective way to make the people communist. He added that for now maybe we*

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<sup>17</sup> Umar, Ibid., p.132.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p.32.

*werent communist and we didnt want to become but it could change in the future* <sup>19</sup>.” Mahmud Fevzi said that *As long as British Armed Forces and the people who were controlled by the British existed in our country, There wouldnt be peace and the constructive efforts in Egypt*<sup>20</sup>.” General Necip stated that Palestine problem had weakened the dignity of USA on Arab Community and British invasion and stubborn hamper the independence of Egypt<sup>21</sup>.

After the meetings he conducted in Egypt, Dulles sent a telegram to Washington and he stated that Egypt rejected the “Middle East Defence Organization” and he expressed that Egypt wanted USA to let the Arabs to defend the region. Dulles had learned that As long as UK continued her existence in Egypt. Egypt government wouldnt participate any defence organization in the region. Moreover, Dulles became sure that if good relations were wanted to develop with Egypt, The bases of UK in Suez Channel must be abolished<sup>22</sup>.

After Dulles finished the voyage to Middle East. He prepared a report about his voyage. He emphasized in his report that “it was not seen available for the possibility and the condition of establishing Middle East Defence Organization. Arab States were not aware of the threat of Soviet. There were just two countries in the region which had border with Soviet and were aware of this danger. He implied Turkey and Pakistan<sup>23</sup>.

### 3. Establishment of Baghdad Pact and The Reaction of Egypt

As mentioned above the efforts which had been done by western block and some regional countries like Turkey and Iraq continued to try to establish a defence organization in Middle East. Especially after the voyage of the foreign minister of USA, Dulles, volunteer countries about this subject revealed obviously like Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq , some developments happened after this period.

It was declared that Turkey and Iraq decided to establish a defence organization in Middle East after the visit of foreign minister of Iraq, Nuri es-Said but this attempt was reacted by the Arab community foremost Egypt very negatively although it was declared that Israel wouldnt be part of this defence organization. Because at that time, Egypt wanted to establish a Arab Unity under

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.33.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.33.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p.33.

<sup>22</sup> Umar, Ibid., p.35.

<sup>23</sup> Canatan, Ibid., p.68.

leader of herself<sup>24</sup>. This attempt done by Turkey and Iraq was seen impact which was done to Arab Unity. For that reason, Egypt immediately stated that she wouldnt join that defence organization and she made pressures to other Arab States in that way. These were the hamperers to the efforts done by Turkey and Iraq. Turkish Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes made visits to Damascus and Beirut in January 1955. Syria rejected to join to the pact which would be established on the other hand Lebanon abstained from giving an exact answer. The other Arab States objected to join and forced Iraq not to join this pact. Mutual cooperation agreement was signed between Turkey and Iraq on 24 February 1955 with these political developments and Thus, Baghdad Pact was established<sup>25</sup>.

According to this agreement which was made for “Defence and Cooperation” and comprised of 8 articles and would be refreshed in 5 year interval, These two countries wouldnt interfere in the internal affairs each other and they would solve their problems peacefully<sup>26</sup>. The agreement would be opened to the members of Arab Unity and related countries for the regional problems and the countries which were recognized exactly by the pact members. Signing the pact of Baghdad was reacted negatively by the other Arab Countries. Egypt and Syria decided to make an agreement which would keep Iraq out of the agreement. Saudia Arabia participated to them. As a result of the reactions of these Arab Countries, it was decided that Baghdad Pact would be expanded. USA welcomed to the pact signed between Turkey and Iraq but Baghdad pact standed UK in good stand. Firstly, UK didnt like “North Belt” project but later Changing conditions approached her to Baghdad Pact in Middle East. Thus, UK became a member of Baghdad Pact on 5 April 1955<sup>27</sup>.

At the same time, a special agreement was signed between UK and Iraq replaced the agreement of 1930 and So, She took the responsibility of leader of Baghdad Pact and She owned the opportunity to keep her profits in Middle East. Meanwhile Pakistan wanted to join the pact since she wanted to participate western block due to Kashmir problem. An agreement between Turkey and Pakistan which was related not to defence cooperation but close friendship was already signed on 2 April 1955. Because of this reason these two countries developed

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<sup>24</sup> Rifat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih*, DER. Pbl., İstanbul, 2015, p.1031.

<sup>25</sup> Uçarol, *Ibid.*, p.1031.

<sup>26</sup> Turan Silleli, **Türkiye-Irak İlişkileri**, IQ Kültür Sanat Pbl., İstanbul, 2005, p. 81.

<sup>27</sup> Uçarol, *Ibid.*, p.1032.

good relations with each other. Thus, Pakistan's wish to join to the pact was welcomed and she joined to the pact on 23 September 1955 and so the number of the member of Baghdad Pact became four<sup>28</sup>. The fifth member of pact became Iran. This state adopted the impartiality at external policy but domestic and external affairs forced her to join this pact at that time and she decided to make cooperation with western block. Consequently, Iran became the member of pact on 3 November 1955<sup>29</sup>.

Thus, Baghdad Pact was established and developed although the opposition of Arab Countries but USA didn't become the member of this pact officially due to the reactions of Arab Countries. Despite this, USA declared that she would continue to give military and technical supports to the members of pact and she would also give economic support if the member of pact make a cooperation about economical project<sup>30</sup>.

There was no doubt leading figure became UK for this pact. It is clearly understood from the telegrams which come from the region. It was not unexpected situation that UK was the member of Baghdad Pact. Ambassador of Baghdad reported the relation between Turkey and Iraq and suggested UK to encourage the relations between Turkey and Iraq about establishment of Defence Organization, ".... *The Iraqi Prime Minister is anxious to improve relations between Iraq and Turkey. Communism was a danger to them both and they ought to combine to resist it. Dr. Jamali<sup>31</sup> is thinking of sending a mission to Turkey to find out how the Turks overcome the problems of relations with American Military establishments and service personnel in Turkey. They were accepting American Military aid without feeling that their sovereignty was infringed. The United States- Turkish relationship might be a pattern for the development of Anglo-Iraq relations. Both these approaches are encouraging, though the latter may also have disadvantages unless carefully handled*<sup>32</sup>. It is clearly understood that UK confirmed and liked the relations between Turkey and Iraq for her own sake. Because, UK had problems with Arab Unity and Turkey was a good model for her to show these countries how you conduct a good relation with a powerful country unless you come under the influence of her.

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p.1032.

<sup>29</sup> İsmail Soysal, *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Siyasi Bağlıları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Pbl., Ankara, 2000, p.502.

<sup>30</sup> Umar, Ibid., p.33.

<sup>31</sup> Dr. Jamali was the prime minister of Iraq between 1953-1954.

<sup>32</sup> FO.371-115486, No:30, 20 January 1955

The continuence of the report, "...Relations between Iraq and Turkey have been cool since the break up of the Ottoman Empire. Iraqis were for long afraid that The Turks wished to recover the province of Mosul. This fear has diminished but, as Dr. Jamali admits, there is still a certain amount of suspicion against Turkey. The Iraqis and the other Arab League States, have felt that Turkey should have shown more sympathy with them against Israel and with the Arab "liberation" struggle in Egypt, the Sudan and French North Africa. Syria'a unfriendly attitude toward Turkey has also been a complicating factor; but it appears that the Turks, despite the propaganda pin-pricks inflicted on them by the Syrians, are now taking the initiative in trying to improve relations<sup>33</sup>.

At the end of the report Ambassador of Baghdad stated that "... We should, I think, encourage the Iraqis and Turks to strengthen their relations as much as possible. Turkey needs the active support of Iraq to defend her eastern and southern flanks against a possible Soviet attack. We want Iraq to give Turkey this support, and to give us facilities for making our own contribution in this theatre, since the Turks South eastern flank forms the exposed end of the N.A.T.O front. The Turks could, by their example and advice, help us to convince the Iraqis of the role which they should play and of the important of our continuing to enjoy our base facilities in Iraq<sup>34</sup>.

From that point, All the members of the pact were following the reactions of Arab Unity and the other figures in the region. Especially, British diplomat in the region always reported the developments about this subject to Foreign Office.

19 January 1955, the telegram was sent by Baghdad Office, the evaluations of Egyptian Ambassador was taken place in that report "... We had a long conversation which it might be dreary to record in detail. Briefly, the Ambassador's complaint was that the Iraqis, who had undertaken two months ago not to do anything of this sort, had broken Arab Unity by flagrantly departing from the policy accepted by all the Arab States. I told the Ambassador that this sort of thing constantly happened amongst allies and that the wisest course was to seek to repair the damage rather than aggravate it. The ambassador did not criticise our action, although I feel that he would like to have done so. Nor did I raise the point. So he confined himself to repeating that the Iraq Government had broken Arab Unity and so delayed the day on which the Arab league could side with the West. I for my part repeated that patience and good will were required to repair any damage which might be done. At one point the ambassador asked

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<sup>33</sup> FO.371-115486, No:30, 20 January 1955

<sup>34</sup> FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955

*me against whom the alliance was directed. I replied that it was directed primarily against Russia but that it appeared that the proposed treaty would also cover an act of aggression by Israel. The Ambassador said that he harboured dark thoughts. Turkey had designs on portions of northern Syria. It seemed to him that The treaty might well provide cover for an eventual partition of Syria between Turkey and Iraq. I dont think that I was able to dissipate the Ambassadors suspicion<sup>35</sup>.*

It is understood that Turkish- Iraq relations annoyed Egyptians very much and they started to produce new excuses not to join to the pact. First excuses of her not to join to the pact was UK and Israel, The Egyptian ambassador of Baghdad put forward the idea about the Baghdad pact that Turkey and Iraq wanted to shape North part of Syria together. As a matter of fact, it is main reason for Egypt to defend her idea and affect the other country not to join that pact especially for Syria, Egypt tried to show Turkey to expand her influence over the Arab Countries.

Egypt Prime Minister Nasser, after the military coup happened at 1952 and when the UK's military forces had retreated from Suez Channel, put on airs about leadership of Middle East. He endeavoured for Arab Nationalism on foreign policy and tried to follow the policy of neutrality. Because of the fact that the Arab countries recogized the Egypt's leadership as "defacto", Nasser took the resbonsibility of the leadership of "non-aligned movement" which just emerged with the prime minister of India, Nehru and The president of Jugoslavia, Marshall Tito<sup>36</sup>. Since the attitudes of Nasser and the politics of his foreign policy affected Baghdad Pact<sup>37</sup>. Egypt followed the policy to prevent Baghdad Pact to be expanded in the Middle East after Turkish- Pakistan Pact was established. As it was thought that Egypt would have approached the pact positively, he approached negatively and Baghdad pact became the target of Nasser. Due to Nasser influence, the other Arab countries didnt participate to the pact. Because, Nasser endeavoured anything for Syria, Jordan, Lebanon not to participate to the pact. Severe reaction of Nasser to the pact resulted in increased tension in the region<sup>38</sup>.

Egypt government called the prime ministers of Arab countries for which it alleged that Turkey and Iraq agreement hit Arab Unity for six. In deed, the main resason was the worries of Nasser that his leadership over the region would be weakened. Nasser disrupted Arab Unity by making pressure to Iraq.

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<sup>35</sup> FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955.

<sup>36</sup> Umar, Ibid., p.354.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.355.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p.356.

Nevertheless, Neither Iraq nor Egypt took the responsibility of spoiling of Arab Unity. Nasser made effort to prevent the other Arab countries to enter the Baghdad Pact since he thought that the characteristics of Baghdad Pact was the nature of spoiling Arab Unity. Egypt made efforts to dissuade firstly Syria, Jordan and later Lebanon not to participate to the pact. There were already dynamic social opposition to Baghdad Pact in these countries such that the nationalitarians and communists in every Arab states were opposed to Baghdad Pact<sup>39</sup>. Because of the Egypt reactions, most of Arab Countries didnt decide to be member of Turco-Iraq Pact and didnt be the side of anyblock. The Voice of Cairo Radio conducted a severe campaign against the prime minister of Iraq, Nuri Es-Said. Egypt began a campaign for which Arab States wouldnt make cooperations with Turkey. Egypt provoked the Arab Community by attacking the admistarators who made the deals with Adnan Menderes<sup>40</sup>.

Egypt Government began the campaign to prevent the cooperation between Arab Countries and Turkey. Cairo Radio alleged and defended that to form the alliance with Turkey who was the friend of Israel meant that to form a alliance with Israel indirectly and this meant the betrayal of Arab Movement. It even alleged that Turkey and Israel made a deal about military cooperation<sup>41</sup>.

Egypt wanted to maintain her sovereignty by staying neutral that she neither become a part of western block nor soviet block. Thus, Egypt took part in "non-aligned movement" and the leaders of this movement respected Nasser, besides, Egyptains were happy about the fact that their young and charismatic leader was respected and accepted by the World. But, Americans werent happy for this situation. The president of USA, Eisenhower firstly rejected "non-aligned movement". USA was angry about the fact that Nasser rejected to join to regional defence pact against SSCB. Nasser was directed to the communist block since he was always rejected by western countries for his weapon demands. He made a negotiation with the president of China, Zhou ENLAI about providing modern military equipment to his armed forces<sup>42</sup>. ENLAI offered to negotiate this issue with SSCB in behalf of Egypt. Soviet Ambassador in Cairo demanded a meeting with Nasser and starting negotiations maintained along the summer of 1955. Even if Nasser directed to SSCB about weapon support, he didnt want to dissatisfy USA. He informed USA about the fact that he had a connection with

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<sup>39</sup> Ömer Kürkçüođlu, **Türkiye'nin Arap Ortadođu'suna Karşı Politikası**, Barış Pbl., Ankara, p.62.

<sup>40</sup> Umar, *Ibid.*, p.365.

<sup>41</sup> Kürkçüođlu, *Ibid.*, p.63.

<sup>42</sup> Eugene Rogan, **Araplar, Bir Halkın Tarihi**, Çev.Cem Demirkan, Pegasus Pbl., İstanbul, p. 348.

SSCB. He informed the USA embassy in Cairo that he was given a very good offer about the procurement of weapon by SSCB but he was inclined to prefer USA. According the view of Muhammed Heykel, firstly, The foreign minister of USA thought that Nasser bluffed but later, they learned that Nasser was about to make a deal with SSCB and Dulles sent the deputation to prevent it. The September of 1955, Nasser declared that he would purchase the weapon from Czechoslovakia which was the satellite of SSCB. The dimensions of the weapon agreement changed the balance of power in the Middle East. Egypt owned 275 modern T-34 type tanks, 200 aircraft fleet including Mig-15, Mig-17, Ilyushin-28 types<sup>43</sup>.

Egypt made a deep impact on the efforts of USA about the prevention of Soviet expansionism in the region<sup>44</sup>. USA government was determined about dissuading Egypt to come back from that way. Britisher, French and Israelis were more demanding. They wanted the change of Egypt Government. They saw Nasser as the leader of Arab Nationalism which was very dangerous for them and they believed that he would harm the benefits of them in the Middle East. Ben Gurion was afraid that Nasser united Arab States and make a fatal blow to Israel. The Prime Minister, Anthony Eden believed that Nasser would terminate the influence of UK in Middle East. French believed that Nasser encouraged the Algerians so that The war in Algeria had been boosted and blown more<sup>45</sup>. Western block had seen Nasser as a hamper who prevent them to shape Middle East and Arab Community as they wish.

#### **4. The Attempt of Egypt to Form a Different Pact Against Baghdad Pact**

While Iraq, signed a pact with Turkey, she was trying to form a new pact in the Middle East, Egypt also tried to form a new pact with a new group. Also, Saudi Arabia following its traditional politics that is against Hasimi, supported Egypt at the fields of economic and political. The Minister of National Defence of Egypt, Salah SALIM, went to Damascus, Syria to discuss a new pact proposal between Arabian states against non-Arabian states on 26 February 1955. According to the proposal, under a joint command, combined army, foreign policy and economic partnership would be established. Lebanon and Jordan refused the proposal. Egypt and Syria decided

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p.348.

<sup>44</sup> Silleli, Ibid., p.81.

<sup>45</sup> Rogan, Ibid., p.350.

to form a new pact regarding political, economic and military issues to replace Arabian Union Defence Pact and take out Iraq on 2 March 1955.

After negotiations between Egypt and Saudi Arabia, a common declaration was published in Cairo, Damascus and Riad on the 6 March 1955. It was announced with the declaration that it was decided to build a new alliance to improve Arabian world in military, political and economic by Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia and these three states wouldn't join the Turkey-Iraq Pact. According to the declaration, the representatives of these three countries would prepare a frame for the mentioned alliance and then probably at the end of that month, the other Arabian states would be called to a conference to put the alliance into final form. Only Yemen agreed with the decision made by these three countries and Lebanon and Jordan avoided to be under any responsibilities and stayed away from the decision. According to Lebanon, Iraq should join the alliance proposed by these three countries but should promise not to have any other alliance with Israel<sup>46</sup>. What the result of Lebanon offered that proposal is Egypt press made news about the fact that There was a secret part of Baghdad Pact that Iraq would recognize Israel.

Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia started to work on establishing an alternative defence pact against Baghdad Pact. The meeting started 30 March 1955 night and lasted 3 hours. At the end of these efforts, a military agreement was signed between Syria and Egypt on 20 October 1955. According to the articles of this agreement, Syria and Egypt Armed Forces would be merged under the joint command. The aim of establishing this pact was to prevent the increasing influence of Iraq by equipping with it towards to Baghdad Pact which was supported by western block<sup>47</sup>. 27 October 1955, similar agreement was signed between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. According to agreement, it was accepted that conditions of peace and war, both countries armed forces would be under the command of joint headquarter. Thereby, there were two blocks in Middle East and some regional countries hadn't been member of these blocks. At this time, the efforts of making the countries which hadn't been members to be member started. Turkey and UK tried to make Jordan become the member of Baghdad Pact<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>46</sup> Umar, *Ibid.*, p.302.

<sup>47</sup> Behçet Kemal Yeşilbursa, *The Baghdad Pact Anglo American Defence Policies in the Middle East 1950-1959*, London, 2005, p.142.

<sup>48</sup> Yeşilbursa, *Ibid.*, p.143.

The presidents of Egypt, Saudia Arabia and Syria gathered in Cairo on 10 March 1956 and made the fifth meeting. They dwelt on the Baghdad Pact and the effects of this pact on the Arab Unity in the meeting. British officers and Whitehall followed these developments very carefully and warned their diplomats in Cairo to follow all the details about Arab Unity and Nasser's efforts. Immediate confidential message was sent to Cairo by Whitehall on 11 March 1955 and it was related to proposed Egyptian/Syrian Treaty. it was reported that

*"Nasser's argument reported in paragraph two of your telegram No.350 is disingenuous. His proposed treaty, even if not directed against the west, precludes close western cooperation. It is not the best way of organazin the defence of the area and it certainly does not make Britain coordinating factor in the whole area defence. Nevertheless, I agree that we should try to avoid a head-on collision with Nasser. On the other hand, we must bear in mind the effect of our attitude toward his proposed defence agreement on Iraq and on Jordan and Lebanon. We must not say anything to Nasser which we can not equally say to the Iraqis, the Jordanies and Lebanese, if for no other reason because what we do say will certainly leak to them, probably in exaggerated form. At the present stage of our relations with Iraq, when we are on the point of trying to negotiate a new defence agreement under the Turco-Iraq pact, we cannot afford to say anything which will give Nuri the least reason to doubt our whole-hearted support of the pact. Nor must we say anything which might lead the Jordaians and Lebanese to think that we don't wish them to join the pact. Any indication at this stage that we migh in certain conditions regard the Egyptian proposal as a satisfactory complementary defence arrangement, might just be enough to undermine their resistance to Egyptian pressure. I can understand Egypt's reserves about joining the Turco-Iraqi Pact and we have not pressed her on thisbut I can not understand she should deliberately cut herslef off in this way from the prospect of doing so in the future; And what is worse, use all her influence to persuade other Arab States to do likewise<sup>49</sup>.*

The other report which was sent by Cairo Foreign Office diplomats to Foreign office informed about black propaganda which was conducted by Egyptian is that " The B.B.C Arabc Service have informed me that the following story was broadcast last night on the " Voice of Arabia" " It is reported in diplomatic circles in London that the secretry of state will himself take charge of talks between the Foreign Office and the Israelis concerning coordination of the Middle East Defence plans in such a way as to bring about Israelis participation in this plan ( Turco-Iraqi Pact) through to adherence of Britain to the pact and the conclusion of a defence agreement between the governments of the United Kingdom and Israel. Last week an important talk took place

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<sup>49</sup> FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955.

*between Israeli Ambassador in London and the Middle East Section of the foreign Office on the readiness of the Israeli government to conclude a defence pact with Britain*<sup>50</sup>. The continuation of the report, E.E.Key who was the diplomat in Cairo Bureau commented the news and suggested what foreign office should do " *I was told that the propaganda campaign of misrepresentation and distortion which is being conducted by the Egyptians against the Turks, Iraqis and ourselves is quite unprecedented. For example the suggestion that H.M.G instigated the Gaza incident is being assiduously fostered. It may be worth considering whether an official protest to the Egyptians should be made*"<sup>51</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

Baghdad Pact was established against SSCB and it was thought that it would have been welcomed by the countries in Middle East. But it was severely objected by some Arab Countries, especially, Egypt was opposed to Baghdad Pact. Because Egypt wanted to take responsibility of leadership in Arab Community and She thought that Turkey and Iraq tried to take leadership of Middle East, so She always tried to show Baghdad Pact as a defence organization which was established for the assurance of Israel existence in the region. In place of Baghdad Pact, the defence agreement was signed between Egypt, Saudia Arabia and Yemen on 21 April 1956. Thus, there was a defence block comprised of Egypt, Syria, Saudia Arabia and Yemen, which was against "North Belt Block"<sup>52</sup>. At the beginning of establishment stage of Baghdad Pact, it was thought that All the Arab Countries would join this pact as it hadnt happened, Middle East was divided three blocks. First block, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, second one is Egypt, Syria, Saudia Arabia and Yemen who were severely opposed to Baghdad Pact, third one is Jordan and Lebanon who abstained from approaching the other two sides. This division would make easier for USSR to enter to the Middle East. Whereas establishment of Baghdad Pact was to prevent Soviet Expansionism.

All these propanganda and campaign efforts against Baghdad Pact were made by Egypt. In addition, that Prime Minister, Nasser's attitude made Soviet affairs easier in terms of Middle East policy. Nasser wanted to reunite the Arab

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<sup>50</sup> FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955.

<sup>51</sup> FO.371/115498, No:597, 11 March 1955.

<sup>52</sup> Umar, *Ibid.*, p.391.

community under the leadership of himself. He perceived that that leadership would be passed to Turkey by Baghdad Pact. Baghdad Pact turned upside-down Nasser's plans. For that reason, Nasser followed a policy which was opposed to western block "Suez problem" and 1956 crisis resulted from that problem pushed Nasser to direct to SSCB<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Armaoğlu, *Ibid.*, p.597.

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