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HISTORY EXTENDED ESSAY

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Research Question: *What was the aim of Baghdad Pact and its impacts on Turkey's Middle East Policy; why did it fail between the years 1950-1960?*

Abstract:

The aim of this essay, is to analyze and discuss the Baghdad Pact, its impacts on the Turkish Middle East policy and Turkey-American relationships; the reasons for its failure between the years 1950-1960. The research question is “What was the aim of Baghdad Pact and its impacts on Turkey’s Middle East Policy; why did it fail between the years 1950-1960?”

The extended essay is divided into nine parts based on the process of the Baghdad Pact. In this essay, limited issues are being addressed, which are “World and Middle East after the World War II”, “The Middle East after World War II”, “Baghdad Pact’s impacts on Turkey’s Middle East Policy” and “Baghdad Pact’s failure”. In this essay, books of famous academicians, important online sources and the newspapers published during those years in both Turkish and English have been examined.

At the end of my study, it is understood that Baghdad Pact had an important impact on Turkish Middle East Policy and how Turkey was left alone in the region. This essay is also significant for the USA’s Middle East policy, and how Western powers failed to unite Middle Eastern countries against the Soviet threat.

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Introduction

In 1945, World War II ended, and World divided in to two polar. One of them is Socialist Block and the other one is Capitalist Block. These two sides also affected the Middle East. Most of the Middle Eastern countries divided between these two sides. Most of the Middle Eastern countries followed Soviet Union and the Egyptian leader Nasser, and the other ones Turkey, Iran, Iraq followed USA's policy in the region. After the Suez Crisis, Middle Eastern countries heavily influenced by Soviet Union around the leadership of Nasser and Egypt. In addition, Israel was also another conflict reason In the Middle East. Turkey and the other countries that followed a close policy to USA recognized Israel. This was another reason for Baghdad Pact failed to create unity between Middle Eastern countries. Also, Turkey left alone in the region, having recognized Israel and joined the Baghdad Pact.

Secondly Radical Islamic, movements are caused the division in the Middle East. As we see that, Baghdad Pact became a failure. USA and other western powers efforts to united Middle Eastern countries against the Soviet Union became a failure.

1) World's situation in Cold War period in between 1950-1960

After the end of the World War II, the world divided into two sides. One of them is Western Block (Capitalist Block) and the other one Eastern Block (Socialist Block). Capitalist Block included all countries that are against the communism and sided with USA. In addition, Socialist Block included all countries that is sided with Soviet Russia. In East European Countries, communist parties gained an important majority eventually they captured the government and purged the other to connect Socialist these countries, ideologically, Soviet Union set up COMINFORM (1947) and COMECON (1949).COMINFORM was established by Soviet Union against the

Marshall Plan¹, COMINFORM's main purpose was to coordinate between other communist parties in Europe. COMECON's main purpose was an economical collaboration between COMECON's member states. This eventually led USA and its allies to form NATO.² As we look at the Middle East, most of the Arabic countries became independent. United Kingdom and France nearly lost all of their mandates, however still these newly independent countries struggled to get their economical independence.³

2) Reasons of the American Intervention in Middle East

2.1) Petroleum

American Intervention in Middle East first started in 1944 just before the end of the world war. Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement signed between USA and United Kingdom on 8th of August 1944 to divide Middle East petroleum reserves but indeed it failed. It is important because it shows us one of the reasons of the American intervention in Middle East that is "petroleum".⁴ It was one of the important resources on the earth. The region contains a large percentage of the world's oil supply, and it was perceived that if it were to fall to communism, the United States and its allies would suffer immense economic consequences. It was heavily used on warfare technology and many others that mankind found useful to use it.⁵

¹ Marshall Plan also known as (European Recovery Program) is a program of the USA for rebuilding Europe after World War II and an economic foundation for European countries.

² "The Post War World". 12 Jan. 2009 <<http://worldwar2database.com/html/postwar.htm>>.

³ Arı, Tayyar. Geçmişten Günümüze Orta Doğu Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi. Bursa: Mkm Yayıncılık, 2008.

⁴ Kolko, Joyce. "Oil: The Rewards of Power". 25 March 2009
<<http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/185/40457.html>>.

⁵ Arı, Tayyar. Geçmişten Günümüze Orta Doğu Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi. Bursa: Mkm Yayıncılık, 2008.

2.2) Radical Islamic Movements in the Middle East

Middle East became heavily influenced by Soviet Union after Nasser became the leader in Egypt and after the establishment of Israel. After the Suez Crisis⁶, Arabian Nasser became a hero and even a leader of the Arab World. Soviet Union supported Nasser and Soviet Union gained the admiration of Arabic states. The "revolution" spread to the other parts of the Middle East and USA heavily concerned about this situation. Indeed after the events in Lebanon, President Dwight D. Eisenhower declared Eisenhower Doctrine in the United States Congress on January 5, 1957.⁷ According to the Eisenhower Doctrine, a country could request American economic assistance and/or aid from U.S. military forces if it was being threatened by armed aggression from another state. Eisenhower singled out the Soviet threat in his doctrine by authorizing the commitment of U.S. forces "to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations, requesting such aid against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism."⁸ Therefore, USA revised its Middle East. According to the revision some important points had been made. Those points would make the basis of the USA Middle East policy later on.⁹ Those points were:

- 1) Israel was the first treat to the Arab Countries rather than Soviet Union.
- 2) Middle Eastern countries were become independent newly so they would not trust any interference by France and United Kingdom.

⁶ Suez Crisis also known as Tripartite Aggression was a military attack on Egypt by United Kingdom, France and Israel on 29 October 1956. After the attack, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal.

⁷ "Special Message to the Congress on the Situation in the Middle East." The American Presidency Project. 9 May 2009 <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=11007&st=&st1=>>.

⁸ "The Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957". U.S Department of State. 10 May 2009 <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/lw/82548.htm>>.

⁹ Oran, Baskın. Türk Dış Politikası. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.

- 3) After gaining their economic independence, Middle Eastern Countries found that they need closer relations with the Soviet government because of their economical development.
- 4) Egypt has a special place in the Middle East. Egypt became the leader of the countries, which has tendency to the Soviet government.. Without solving problems with UK and Egypt especially on Suez, cooperation with Arab countries is not possible.¹⁰

2.3) Soviet Influence in the Middle East

After Nasser came to the power in Egypt, Soviet Influence in the Middle East was becoming a big threat to USA and her allies. That's why USA used "softer" politics then United Kingdom and France did.¹¹ So, USA started to be more influential then United Kingdom which had been the most influential power in the Middle East until Suez Crisis. Soviet Union's influence and radical movements after Nasser came into power in Egypt continued to reach every part of the Middle East and USA's supported monarchies and government started to fell down. That's why Eisenhower Doctrine symbolizes that USA and Soviet Russia was against each other in the Middle East. In addition, after the Korean War, USA realized that Soviet's revisionist policies became more dangerous. That's why USA supported the idea of a local pact in the Middle East which would be called as Middle East Command Project and then Baghdad Pact later.

3) Turkey's Middle East Policy

3.1) Turkey's Relations with USA in the Context of the Middle East Policy

In 1948, USA declared Truman Doctrine and that was the turning point of the USA-

¹⁰ Oran, Baskın. Türk Dış Politikası. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.

¹¹ Arı, Tayyar. Geçmişten Günümüze Orta Doğu Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi. Bursa: Mkm Yayıncılık, 2008.

Turkey relations. "Truman Doctrine was the start of the Cold War."¹². Truman Doctrine meant that finally USA and her allies started to concern about the Soviet threat on Turkey. Turkey started to strengthen her relations with the west and relations with Middle East nations started to decay. Turkey supported both Truman Doctrine and Eisenhower Doctrine because Turkey was threatened by Soviet Union. Soviet Union, demanded military bases in Turkish Strait and also, demanded the change of Montreux Agreement. That's why Turkish foreign policy was "Turkey's benefits are same as USA's benefits"¹³. As well as Turkey's entrance to NATO and her recognition of Israel caused very close relations with USA. Nevertheless, this foreign policy criticized by the Middle Eastern countries.

In addition, Turkey's NATO membership is important because, Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs Fuat Köprülü stated that "Turkish Government are ready to negotiate with USA, France and United Kingdom about Middle East Command Project however if Turkey's NATO membership is not guaranteed, Middle East Command Project negotiations would not come to a certainty"¹⁴. Another turning point with USA-Turkish relations was, Turkey voted in favor of establishment Palestine Negotiations Commission along with USA against the Arab countries who were not in favor of the establishment. In addition, Turkey elected for the Commission along with USA and France. In 28th March 1949, Turkey recognized Israel, Turkey was the first country where the majority of people are Muslim that's why Arab countries protested Turkey. Israel's recognition means that a local pact idea includes all Arabic and Middle Eastern Countries would not be successful.¹⁵

¹² Oran, Baskın. Türk Dış Politikası. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.

¹³ Oran, Baskın. Türk Dış Politikası. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.

¹⁴ Oran, Baskın. Türk Dış Politikası. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.

¹⁵ Arı, Tayyar. Geçmişten Günümüze Orta Doğu Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi. Bursa: Mkm Yayıncılık, 2008.

3.2) Relations with Middle East

Turkey's relations with the Middle Eastern countries were same as USA and other Western powers especially France and United Kingdom. In the region, Turkey had an objective to become representative of the newly independent Arabian countries in the west and tried to connect these countries with the west. Turkey was more interested in this region then ever and that made Turkey to follow a more active policy in this region since Turkey's foreign policy was so "close" to the USA's and it was heavily criticized by the Arabic countries in the region because, Turkey ignored the self determination policy after World War II and was against the nationalist movements in the former mandate's of France and United Kingdom. That's why Arab countries criticized Turkey and "Arab countries saw Turkey as spokesperson of the imperialism"¹⁶ Therefore, Turkey's Middle Eastern policy became a failure and it caused some damage in Turkish-Arab relations.

4) Middle East Command Project

USA and United Kingdom agreed on the basis of the Middle East Command Project. To this agreement, Middle East Command Project would not be a directly linked with NATO however; it would be in close relations with it. United Kingdom, especially insisted on Turkey joining the Middle East Command Project because of her benefits since Turkey had the strongest army in Middle East, and bigger than any other Middle Eastern countries. USA and UK gave importance to Turkey's membership to Middle East Command Project, because Turkey was a country which has a majority

¹⁶ Oran, Baskın. Türk Dış Politikası. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008

of Muslims, so this project would not be only a western plan. However, Turkey's recognition of State of Israel had a great impact on Turkish-Arab relations negatively so it was a failure to make a common defense against Soviets in the Middle East. In addition, Egypt's refusal to join Middle East Command Project (which western powers gave an importance to Egypt) because of the British soldiers in Egypt and due to the disagreements with United Kingdom. Turkey's decision on joining the Middle East Command Project caused a negative reaction against Turkey in the Arab Countries. That's why, it was understood that Arab Countries would not be supporting to strengthen western powers' influence on the region with Turkey's efforts. Also, United Kingdom's failure with Egypt meant that UK influence on the Middle East became weaker however; USA was still active in the region.

5) Northern Tier

As it can be observed, USA understood that there should be a new approach needed because the Middle Eastern countries, because they didn't recognize the USSR threat. On 26th-27th of May, USA's foreign minister John Foster Dulles and Turkish authorities had arranged a meeting. "Turkey's message was clear: The Defense system's basis which would be built in the Middle East Turkey and Pakistan must be included in this system."¹⁷ Dulles agreed with the Turkish authorities and told that Arab countries would not be alienized. After this meeting, Dulles had a speech in National Security Conference and came up with the concept Northern Tier. The Northern Tier consisted of countries that recognized the Soviets as a threat these countries were: Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Syria. In addition, Dulles included in his speech that, Middle East Defense should be built in Northern Tier countries because

¹⁷ Oran, Baskın. Türk Dış Politikası. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008 p.615

the other Arabic countries recognized Israel as the first threat instead of the Soviet Union. USA's this new Middle policy created some positive winds in Turkey because of being one of the most important countries in the region for the western countries. In addition, Democrat Party government in Turkey needed debts because of the bad economy after the 1945, especially from USA. Nevertheless, this caused deep problems in Middle East especially for Turkey, Turkey's relations with the other Middle East countries got worse especially, when Turkey recognized Israel and supported France and other western powers in the Algeria crisis. Therefore, because of the differences of opinion between the Middle Eastern countries in terms of Soviet threat so, local pact idea involving all the Middle Eastern countries would not be successful.

6) Baghdad Pact

The Baghdad Pact was a defensive organization for promoting shared political, military and economic goals founded in 1955 by Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran. Similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Southeast, the main purpose of the Baghdad Pact was to prevent communist incursions and foster peace in the Middle East. It was renamed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO, in 1959 after Iraq pulled out of the Pact.

In the early 1950s, the United States Government expressed an interest in the formation of a Middle East Command to protect the region against communist encroachment. The nature of some of the ongoing tensions in the region, like Arab-Israeli conflict and Egyptian-led anti-colonialism, made it difficult to forge an alliance that would include both Israel and Western colonial powers. Turkey and Pakistan signed an agreement in 1954 to increase security and stability in the region. In February 1955, Iraq and Turkey signed a 'pact of mutual cooperation' in Baghdad to resist outside aggression, and they opened it to other countries in the region as well.

In April, the United Kingdom announced its intention to adhere to the Pact, and it was followed by Pakistan and finally, Iran.

7) First steps to Baghdad Pact

Despite all the opinion differences in the region, the basis of the pact begins to occur. First step of the Baghdad Pact was an agreement with USA and Pakistan. This was an economic and a technical help agreement after that, Turkey and Pakistan signed a defense agreement. This caused some negative reactions in Soviets and Soviet Union sent note verbale to Turkey and Pakistan. In the note Soviet's stated that it is a dangerous NATO maneuver. After the Soviets, Egypt stated that this agreement was a threat to the Middle East countries. In addition, Iran stated that they would not join the agreement against Soviet Union. This agreement was signed in 2 April 1954 named Karachi agreement. In the 6th point of agreement, it is stated that this agreement is all open to the countries which wish to join. After this agreement, Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes officially visited USA. This visit was important because in one of the Menderes' statement said that "Recognizing the reality of Israel is a requirement for the Arab states"¹⁸ That showed, how Turkey acted in Cold War logic.¹⁹

After the visit of Menderes, United Kingdom signed an agreement with Egypt that made UK withdrew from Suez Canal. It increased the hopes of USA and Turkey of Arabian join to the Middle Eastern Defense System. Turkish prime minister Adnan Menderes proposed a negotiation with Nasser however, Nasser refused this

¹⁸ Oran, Baskın. Türk Dış Politikası. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008 p.615

¹⁹ Yeşilbursa, Behçet Kemal. The Baghdad Pact: Anglo-American defence policies in the Middle East 1950-1959. Abingdon: Frank Cass 2005

proposal. After the failure of this proposal, Turkey turned to Iraq; Iraq was heavily influenced by UK. In addition, Iraq was getting military aid from USA and Iraq was not against the agreement of Karachi which most of the Arab countries are against. UK's withdrawal from Suez made Iraq more supportive to agreement. 6-12th January 1955, Menderes officially visited Iraq. After the meeting Nuri Sait Paşa (president of Iraq) had with Menderes, a notice is published , including the basis of the future agreement. Later, Adnan Menderes visited Syria and Lebanon however, both of them refused the proposal mainly because of the Egypt's approach to the agreement. Also, Israel was against the agreement. Israel was afraid of possible political change against herself because of Turkey started to get closer to the Arab countries.²⁰

8) Basis of the Pact

In spite of all conflict, In 24th February 1955, Baghdad Pact was signed with the support from USA and UK.²¹ Iraq and Turkey signed the pact with Pakistan, Iran and later United Kingdom. The most important articles of the agreement were the 4th and 5th. The 4th article of the agreement was that the provisions of this agreement would not contradict with other obligations from the previous international agreements. From this article, it means that Turkey's NATO membership and Balkan Pact and Iraq's Arab Union and Arabian Security and Economic Cooperation Agreement would be valid. The 5th article was that "This agreement was open to all the countries from Arab Union, that are interested in region's peace and security and also neutrally recognized". This article made the agreement open to all Arab Countries and UK and USA and blocked the Israel's involvement in the pact.

²⁰ Kleijen, Tore. "Baghdad Pact" .2005. 10 Jan. 2010. <http://i-cias.com/e.o/baghdad_pact.htm>

²¹ "Türk-Irak Paktı Dün Gece İmzalandı" Cumhuriyet Gazetesi 25 February 1955

Baghdad Pact caused bad reception in Israel. Israel's Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated just after the sign of the agreement that, there is no obligation in this agreement to not to use any force.

On the 4th of April, UK joined the Baghdad Pact and on the same day signed a cooperation agreement with Iraq. It caused weakness on the agreement because of this cooperation the agreement showed that Western Powers still try to protect their profits in the region. Pakistan joined the Pact because Pakistan needed the Western support against India whom she had some problems with. Iran also joined the pact after USA coup and the restoration of Shah Regime.

9) Turkey's Diplomatic Efforts for the Pact

One of the important things is that, USA didn't join the Pact. First of all, USA did not want to corrupt its relations with Saudi Arabia and Egypt which were the strongest countries of the region. Secondly, Baghdad Pact excluded the state of Israel so USA membership to this pact would make Israel uncomfortable so this was another reason. In addition, Soviet Union would be provoked if USA would join the pact.

After the sign of Baghdad Pact, Turkey started diplomatic attack; nevertheless, Turkey didn't get any positive reaction. After the Baghdad Pact, Syria and Egypt decided to form a defensive and economical agreement. On the 6th of March, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria published a notice. According to this, these stated that they would not join to the Baghdad Pact. Egypt's refusal to join to the Baghdad Pact was not a surprise for Turkish Government; however Turkey's reaction to Syria was harsh. Turkey's message to Syria was "We hope that the agreement between Syria and Egypt was not a conclusion. If it is a conclusion, then Turkey would conclude that Syria had an aggressive attitude against Turkey and Turkey would change her

policies against Syria”²² Syria pointed out that, the pact which would be formed with Egypt was not against the Baghdad Pact in because of the Baghdad Pact’s Israel proponent view, Syria’s interpretation in this pact was not possible. After the tensions between Syria and Turkey, USA warned Turkey about the fact that her harsh policies that would make Arab countries to join the pact harder. After that, Turkey followed milder policies.

After Syria, Turkey’s next aim was Jordan. Because of its close relations between Iraq, Turkish president Celal Bayar officially visited Jordan on 3rd and 4th November. Nevertheless, Jordan felt highly threatened by Israel. Turkey used Israel trump, and stated that Turkey would support Jordan about Palestine if Jordan would join the pact. However, after Bayar’s visit, after fall of the Jordan’s government, the new government supported Egyptian leader Nasser and Jordan’s interpretation in the Baghdad Pact became obsolete.²³

Conclusion

As we see that, Baghdad Pact was a failure. If we look at why it is a failure we have to go through these points.

- First of all, Baghdad Pact could not form any military power. Turkey was already member of NATO and her army was in the service of NATO.

²² Oran, Baskın. Türk Dış Politikası. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008 p.620

²³ Yeşilbursa, Behçet Kemal. The Baghdad Pact: Anglo-American defence policies in the Middle East

The other regional countries, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan joined the pact because of USA aids to these countries rather than a Soviet threat.

- Baghdad Pact failed to make Arabic countries to unite against communism.
- Israel saw Baghdad Pact against her and made her policies was more harsh.
- Arab Countries became closer to Soviet Union, because Soviet Union supported their economic development and their national sovereignty.
- United Kingdom's interpretation in the Pact made the pact less reliable for the Arabic Countries because it is understood that United Kingdom still tried to apply her imperialist policies.
- There were no common objective between the member states as only Iran (partially) and Turkey recognized the Soviet Union as threat. Pakistan, as we stated joined the pact because with the aggressions with India, Iraq joined the pact because of her pan-Arabic aims.
- Also, Egyptian campaign against the pact was also effective. "The elimination of the Pact would mean a scaling back of British interests in the region, and the maximization of Egyptian power in the Middle East." Was the main purpose of Egypt against the pact because of the Nasser's role in the Middle East and his strong influence on other Arabian that made the pact collapse quickly.²⁴
- Baghdad Pact lacked strong foundations in its organizational and political structure. We can also say that, countries that joined the pact

had different goals. Especially, Pakistan who used the pact to get help from Western Powers in two occasions in 1965 and 1971.²⁵

After, Iraq's withdrawal from the pact, the pact's name changed to Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and its based moved to Ankara from Baghdad. The last concussion to pact came in 1979. As Iranian Revolution, Iran withdrew from the pact and the organization dissolved.²⁶

²⁵ Kleijen, Tore. "Baghdad Pact" .2005. 10 Jan. 2010. <http://i-cias.com/e.o/baghdad_pact.htm>

²⁶ "The Middle East: After the Baghdad Pact" TIME Aug 21 1958

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