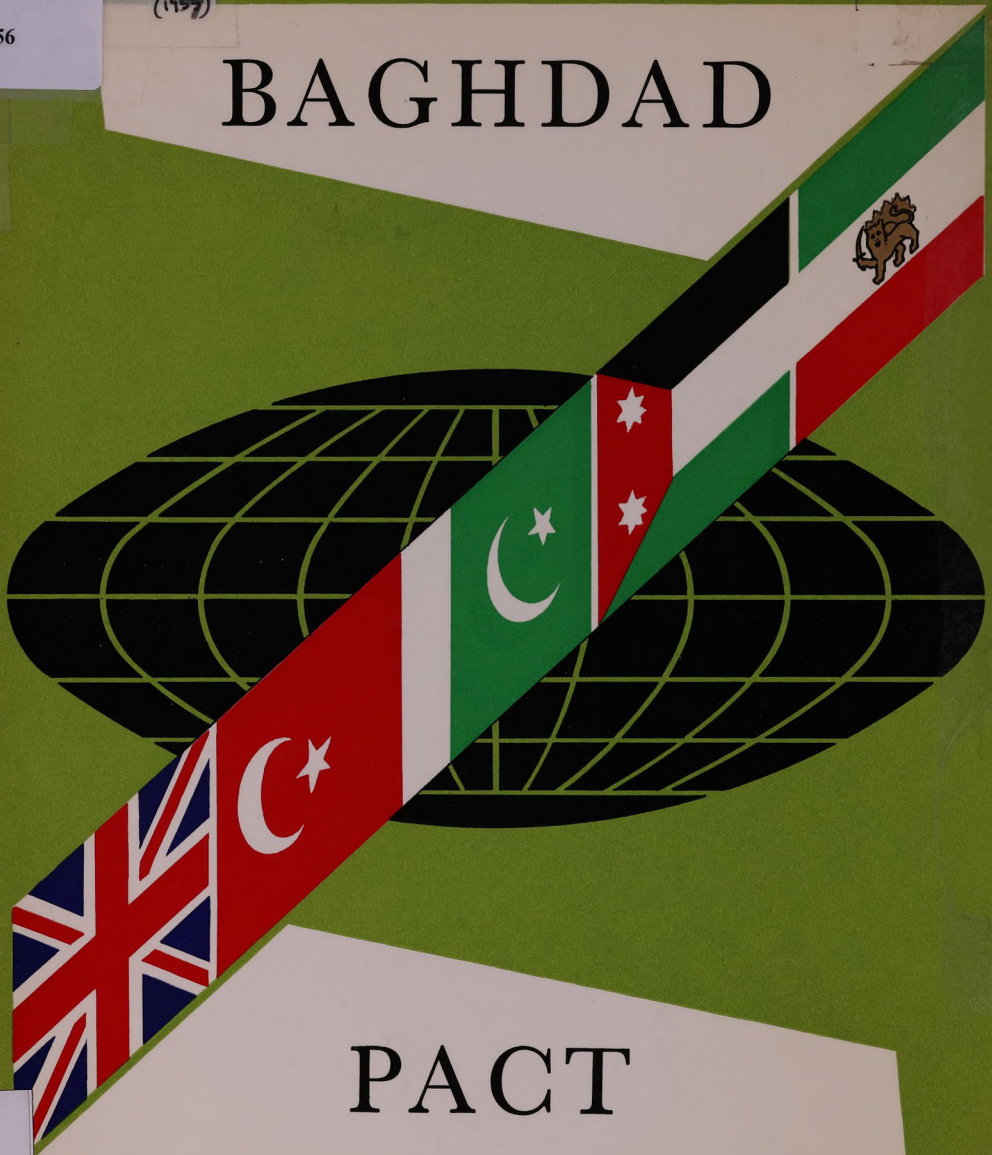


R7m:110.  
9156  
G

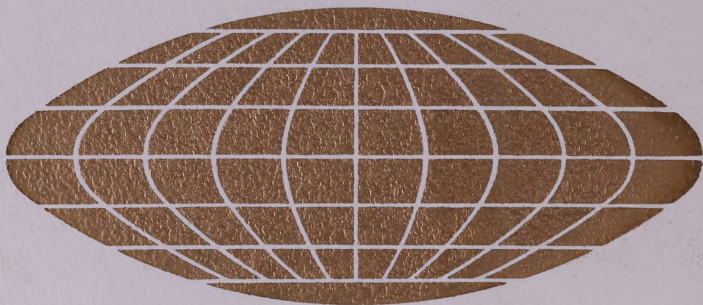
(1957)

# BAGHDAD



# PACT

BAGHDAD



PACT

b12945560

1  
1-2-4  
Ba

BPD  
382,9156  
BAG

# THE BAGHDAD PACT

**CENTRE FOR ARAB GULF STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF EXETER**

- 5 APR 1989

BAGHDAD 1957

BAGHDAD PACT PUBLIC RELATIONS DIVISION

## Contents

	<i>Page</i>
FOREWORD .. .. .	3
I NEED FOR A REGIONAL DEFENCE ORGANIZATION .. .. .	5
II EVOLUTION OF THE PACT .. .. .	22
III THE COUNCIL IN ACTION .. .. .	25
IV COMMITTEES OF THE COUNCIL .. .. .	29
V EXECUTIVE ORGANS .. .. .	32
VI THE AMERICAN DOCTRINE AND THE BAGHDAD PACT .. .. .	34
VII ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION .. .. .	51
VIII FUTURE PROSPECTS .. .. .	68
APPENDIX .. .. .	72

## Illustrations

Heads of State, Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the Member Countries .. .. .	9-19
Scenes in the Baghdad Pact Countries .. .. .	38-49
The Organization at work .. .. .	59-66
Maps .. .. .	4, 42-3
Picturegraphs .. .. .	20, 37, 50, 70, 71

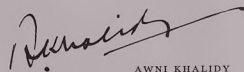
## Foreword

ALTHOUGH the Baghdad Pact has been in existence now for over two years, its aims and objectives are perhaps not as widely known as they should be. This lack of a broad understanding is by no means confined to the Middle East and Asia, but is equally prevalent in the Western World.

Public attention accorded the Pact to date has been directed almost entirely to its political and military aspects. Important as these undoubtedly are in the maintenance of collective security, other aspects of the Pact are of equal note and consequence to the nations and peoples of the Pact region.

Of particular significance in this regard is the economic co-operation between the member nations. From its inception, the Pact has given primary consideration to furthering the co-operative development of the region's resources—both human and physical—thereby raising the standard of living of all its inhabitants.

This brochure is intended as a general introduction to the Baghdad Pact. It is my earnest and sincere hope that the following pages will make a contribution towards a better understanding of the Pact by people everywhere.



AWNI KHALIDY  
SECRETARY-GENERAL





BAGHDAD PACT ORGANIZATION

## I. NEED FOR A REGIONAL DEFENCE ORGANIZATION

The right of individual or collective self-defence was enshrined in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. As in the case of NATO and SEATO, it was in the spirit of this Article that the Baghdad Pact was inaugurated on 21st November, 1955. On that day, representatives of Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and the United Kingdom joined together in a defensive organization designed to maintain their independence and promote their prosperity.

By so acting, in free and equal association, the five Governments laid the foundation for a new tradition of co-operation for peace and prosperity in the Middle East. The mounting threat of aggression and subversion to their common interests had found its answer.

\* The Baghdad Pact is based on the solid precedents of the North Atlantic Treaty (April 1949) and the South-East Asia Defence Treaty (September 1954). Its signatories were convinced that the surest way to peace was not to await aggression, but to deter any possible aggressor by pledging the resources of their countries for collective defence.

### *The World-wide Threat*

Why did the Baghdad Pact Powers create such an organization at this time?

The architects of the United Nations had been well aware of the dangers and difficulties they were facing. They had seen the pitfalls encountered by the League of Nations after World War I in its efforts to prevent war and remove its causes. Indeed, the situation faced by the United Nations in 1945 was not unlike that after 1919, with one major difference. The United States was this time solidly behind the idea of a world organization, and at San Francisco played a major role in establishing the United Nations.

Unhappily, it soon became clear that the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for world peace was threatened because of bad faith on the

part of certain nations. The desire of the post-war world for a new era of international co-operation was frustrated as the extent of Soviet expansionist ambitions became evident.

The instances of Soviet obstruction and outright aggression are legion. They explain why existing alliances had to be renewed and new ones formed under the provisions of the Charter.

In Europe, the Soviet Union, in collusion with its world-wide Communist Party network, forced the rejection of the Marshall Plan by Eastern Europe, strangled freedom in Czechoslovakia, organized the Cominform as an avowed centre of world revolution and subversion, and constantly violated the Potsdam Agreement. Then came the abortive blockade of Berlin. Huge military forces were built up in the Soviet satellite states to intimidate the nations of the free world.

In Asia, too, the same pattern of Communist expansion, through subversion and the force of arms, became evident. In the Philippines, the Hukbalahap movement was fostered and finally controlled by the Communist Party which led it to open insurrection. In Malaya the Communists resorted to force in their attempt to overthrow the Government. In Indonesia, the Communists' attempt to take control of their independence movement had to be forcibly crushed by the Indonesian nationalists themselves at Madiun in 1948. In the same year in Burma, the Communists began an armed revolt which is still continuing. This pattern of expansion culminated, in 1950, in the brutal assault on the Republic of Korea. In blatant disregard of the expressed will of the United Nations, Moscow came out in support of this clear-cut case of aggression. To the south, the advance of the Vietminh in Indo-China, bolstered by Communist help and direction, finally led to the establishment of a Communist régime in North Vietnam.

Throughout this period in the United Nations, Soviet spokesmen cynically vetoed, or otherwise obstructed, constructive proposals for the establishment and maintenance of real peace.

### *The Threat to the Middle East*

In building its sinister record of obstruction and aggression on a world-wide scale, the Soviet Union has by no means neglected the Middle East.

From the time of Peter the Great, the Russia of the Tsars had expanded southwards, seeking outlets on the Mediterranean, on the Persian Gulf and towards the Indian Ocean. Soviet Russia inherited these policies and has never wavered in their execution.

Since 1945 the astonishing development of the oil resources of the Middle East has enhanced the attractions of the region in the eyes of the Communist strategists. Recent events have merely emphasized the depth and extent of Soviet designs in the area.

In Iran, in March 1946, Soviet forces remained in occupation of the northern territories in violation of the Tripartite Treaty of 1941 and in defiance of world protests. The inhabitants of Azerbaijan, who recalled the Communist puppet régime in Gilan in 1920, were forced to experience a second Soviet attempt to set up a Communist controlled 'Azerbaijan Democratic Republic' carved from the soil of their Iranian homeland.

This formidable threat was stemmed. The Iranian people, led by the Shahinshah, fought back. Soviet troops were forced to withdraw before the end of May 1946. By 12th December of that year Tabriz, the provincial capital of Azerbaijan, had been liberated and the Communist puppet régime had collapsed.

At the same time, Iraq and Iran were jointly faced with a Soviet attempt to provoke a coup among certain border tribes, designed to sever the tribal territories from Iraq and Iran and to bring them within the Soviet orbit. A clandestine Communist radio station spread seditious propaganda throughout the region in a flagrant attempt to disrupt law and order. Co-operation between the armies of Iraq and Iran and the loyalty of the tribes frustrated the attempted coup. The Soviet-appointed leaders of the conspiracy fled across the Soviet border. By 1947 the situation in Northern Iraq and Iran had been restored.

Despite these setbacks the Kremlin leaders promoted the abortive Tudeh Communist coup of 1953.

Turkey and Pakistan have had a no less vivid experience of Russian imperialist designs. Domination of the Khyber Pass and control of the Turkish Straits have been twin objectives of Russian and Soviet strategy in the area. Two centuries' experience of Russian pressure towards the Khyber Pass and the surrounding area have made Pakistan alert to the threat from the North. Nevertheless, the Soviet masters of modern Russia have shown themselves only too willing to assume the menacing role of their Tsarist predecessors.

In the case of Turkey, Russian aspirations to the control of the Dardanelles were formulated by Peter the Great. In November 1940, they were vividly restated in the Molotov - Ribbentrop negotiations for the notorious Nazi - Soviet Paçt. The Nazi leaders agreed to Moscow's demands that the area south of Batum and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf should become a Soviet sphere of influence. Moscow was also to be granted land and naval bases on the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles.

In pursuit of this objective a war of nerves was reopened against Turkey in 1945. Military conditions wholly inconsistent with Turkish independence and sovereignty were accompanied by Soviet demands for the cession of the Turkish provinces of Kars and Ardahan, including the chief Turkish port of Trabzon on the Black Sea. The courage and determination of the Turkish people checked this further Soviet encroachment. However, as in the case of Iran, pressure has been maintained.

Internal subversion was attempted by the Soviets everywhere as a counterpart to their external aggressive moves. These moves should be viewed in close relation to the campaign of the Communist-controlled international front organizations. The World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the International Communist youth, women's and professional organizations are a strategic weapon of subversion no less dangerous than armies or hired infiltrators. Time after time these organizations have striven, under Moscow's guidance, to sap the morale and cohesion of Middle East peoples. Riots have been organized. Vital communications and industries have been disrupted. Progressive measures of economic benefit to ordinary people have been subjected [Continued on p. 21

## THE MEMBER COUNTRIES

•

*Heads of State*

*Prime Ministers*

*Foreign Ministers*

•



H.I.M. MOHAMMED REZA PAHLAVI



H.E. DR. MANOCHEHR EGHBAL,  
*Prime Minister*



H.E. DR. ALI GHOLI ARDALAN,  
*Foreign Minister*







H.M. KING FAISAL II

IRAQ

H.E. MR. ABDUL WAHAB MIRJAN,  
*Prime Minister*



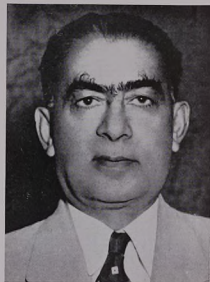
H.E. MR. BURHANUDDIN BASHAYAN,  
*Foreign Minister*





MAJOR-GENERAL ISKANDER MIRZA, *President*

PAKISTAN



MALIK FIROZ KHAN NOON,  
*Prime Minister and Foreign Minister*

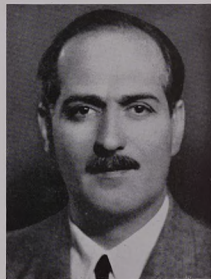


H.E. CELÂL BAYAR, *President*

TURKEY



H.E. MR. ADNAN MENDERES,  
*Prime Minister*



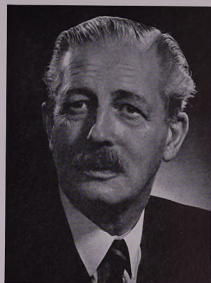
H.E. MR. FATİH RÜSTÜ ZORLU,  
*Foreign Minister*



H.M. QUEEN ELIZABETH II

UNITED  
KINGDOM

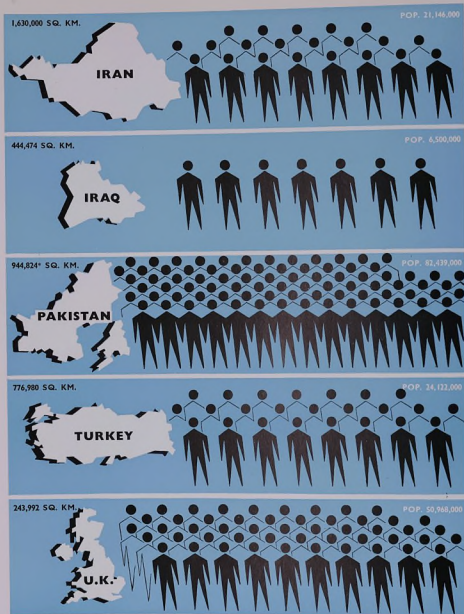
RT. HON. HAROLD MACMILLAN, M.P.,  
*Prime Minister*



RT. HON. SELWYN LLOYD, M.P.,  
*Foreign Secretary*







\* Excluding Jammu-Kashmir, Gilgit, Balistan, Junagadh and Manavadar.

AREAS AND POPULATIONS: A COMPARISON

to a barrage of hostile propaganda and sabotage. Nevertheless, popular awareness of the threat to Middle East freedom and progress has grown.

#### Collective Security

*NATO.* The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was the fruit of long labour on the part of many statesmen on both sides of the North Atlantic to develop a new type of international organization to halt the new force which threatened the peace of the entire world.

*SEATO.* Likewise in Asia the reality of the Communist threat made it crystal clear that collective action was essential to ensure the independence of the nations of Asia. The defensive military alliance known as the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, the aim of which is to unite its members in their readiness to resist external aggression and to root out subversion from within, was the response.

*THE BAGHDAD PACT.* Accordingly it was sound reading of history both past and present which led enlightened statesmen of the Middle East to plan a new defensive association linking the Arab, Muslim and Western peoples. In the Middle East the Baghdad Pact is the natural complement to the efforts of free nations in the West and in Asia to shield their security from the expansionist designs of Soviet Communism.

## II. EVOLUTION OF THE PACT

As early as April 1954 an Agreement For Friendly Co-operation signed between Pākīstan and Turkey gave evidence of the will towards unity. As the year progressed the Prime Minister of Iraq worked unceasingly amongst his fellow statesmen of the Middle East to create a regional defence alignment. After full consultation with other Arab countries, Iraq took the dramatic step of alliance with Turkey. On 24th February, 1955, a Pact of Mutual Co-operation was signed in Baghdad.

### *The Iraq-Turkey Pact*

The announcement by Iraq and Turkey of their decision to conclude an agreement for extending co-operation 'to ensure the stability and security of the Middle East' marked the end of an old era and the beginning of a new one. The preamble to the Mutual Co-operation Pact demonstrates the high sense of international responsibility which inspired the two countries.

The preamble states:

'Whereas the friendly and brotherly relations existing between Iraq and Turkey are in constant progress, and in order to complement the contents of the Treaty of friendship and good neighbourhood concluded between His Majesty the King of Iraq and His Excellency the President of the Turkish Republic signed in Ankara on the 29th March, 1946, which recognized the fact that peace and security between the two countries is an integral part of the peace and security of all the Nations of the world and in particular the Nations of the Middle East, and that it is the basis for their foreign policies;

'Whereas Article 11 of the Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation between the Arab League states provides that no provision of that Treaty shall in any way affect, or is designed to affect any of the rights and obligations accruing to the contracting parties from the United Nations Charter;

'And having realized the great responsibilities borne by them in their capacity as members of the United Nations concerned with the maintenance of peace and

security in the Middle East region which necessitate taking the required measures in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter;

'They have been fully convinced of the necessity of concluding a pact fulfilling these aims....'

Ratification of the Pact followed immediately. On 26th February, 1955, it was unanimously ratified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly. On the same date it was ratified by the Iraq Chamber of Deputies by 112 votes to 4, and by the Senate by 25 votes to 1.

A vital feature of this agreement is Article 5, which contains an open invitation to any member state of the Arab League or any other state actively concerned with security and peace in the region to accede.

### *Accession of the United Kingdom*

The Iraq-Turkey Pact was warmly welcomed by the United Kingdom. During the weeks following its conclusion, negotiations between the United Kingdom and the parties of the Pact took place. The negotiations culminated in the accession of the United Kingdom to the Pact. At the same time, under the terms of Article 1 of the Pact, the United Kingdom and Iraq signed an agreement for mutual defence co-operation, which replaced the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930.

United Kingdom accession to the Pact took effect from 5th April, 1955.

### *Accession of Pakistan*

Pakistan's decision to join the Pact was announced by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, on 1st July, 1955. Explaining the decision, he said that Pakistan would adhere to the Pact 'in pursuance of her policy of strengthening herself and of promoting international peace through co-operation with like-minded nations'.

An official spokesman in Karachi subsequently indicated that the defence aspects of the Turco-Pakistan Agreement signed on 2nd April, 1954, would become merged with those of the new Pact. This was accomplished.

Pakistan's instrument of accession to the Pact was deposited by the Pakistan Ambassador in Baghdad on 23rd September, 1955.

The Iraq-Turkey Pact provides for a Permanent Council to be set up when at least four Powers had become parties to the Pact. Pakistan's accession fulfilled this requirement. However, yet another accession took place before the establishment of the Council.

#### *Accession of Iran*

The next nation to join the Baghdad Pact was Iran, which thereby made a dramatic departure from its traditional policy of neutrality.

On the occasion of the inauguration of the Iranian Senate on 9th October, 1955, the Shahinshah in a speech from the throne pointed out that Iran's neutrality in the past two wars had not saved the country from invasion, and could not be relied upon to save it in the future. He said: 'The events which have come to pass in this country have made manifest the error of this assumption to all the peoples in the world, and particularly to the weak nations. They have proved that neutrality not only fails to restrain the powerful from resorting to unreasonableness and to encroachment, but indeed provokes them to violence and aggression.'

On 11th October, it was announced from Tehran that the Imperial Government of Iran had decided to accede to the Baghdad Pact. Iran's formal membership began on 3rd November, 1955.

### III. THE COUNCIL IN ACTION

#### *The Council*

Article 6 of the Iraq-Turkey Pact of Mutual Co-operation provided that a Permanent Council at Ministerial level be constituted when at least four nations should become parties to the Pact. Following the accession of the United Kingdom, Pakistan and Iran, the five member nations convened the First Session of the Council at Baghdad in November 1955.

The Council, which is the supreme body of the Baghdad Pact Organization, provides for 'continuous consultation on political and economic questions as well as military matters' affecting the mutual interests of the member states.

The Council meets at two levels—the Ministerial and the Deputy. At the Ministerial level member governments are normally represented either by Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers or by senior Cabinet Ministers. The Deputies are of Ambassadorial rank. At the invitation of the Council, the United States is represented at the Council Meetings, both at the Ministerial and at the Deputy level, by an observer who participates fully in the discussions.

The decisions of the Council must be reached unanimously. Accordingly, no grouping of countries within the Pact can impose its will on any other member or members of the Pact. It has become the practice for Ministers to exchange views on common international problems in a completely free and frank manner in the Council. In order further to develop this beneficial process of intimate political consultation, the Deputies hold such discussions between sessions of the Council at the Ministerial level.

The Council at the Ministerial level meets once or twice a year. At least one session takes place in the country holding the Chair for the year. The Chairmanship of the Council rotates annually between the member countries in alphabetical order according to the English language. At the First Session of the Council in Baghdad in November of 1955, His Excellency Al-Sayed Nouri

Al-Said, the Prime Minister of Iraq, was elected Chairman for the remainder of 1955 and for 1956. His Excellency Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, assumed the Chair at the beginning of the year 1957.

The Council has determined that, when meetings at the Ministerial level are held outside Baghdad, the Chair should be offered to the host country for that particular session. Consequently, at the Second Session of the Council at the Ministerial level, which was held in Tehran in April of 1956, His Excellency Mr. Hussein Ala, the Prime Minister of Iran, took the Chair.

Meetings at the Deputy level are usually held once every two weeks, with additional meetings as required. The first Chairman of the Deputies was His Excellency Mr. Burhanuddin Bashayan, the Foreign Minister of Iraq. His Excellency Mr. Shuaib Qureshi, the Pakistan Ambassador to Iraq, is the Chairman for 1957.

The Council, with headquarters in Baghdad, is in permanent session. The provision for regular meetings of the Council at the Deputy level ensures the continuity of the Council's work. The official and working language of the Pact Organization is English.

#### *First Session of the Council: Baghdad, 1955*

The First Session of the Council at the Ministerial level was held in Baghdad from 21st to 22nd November, 1955, under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Iraq, His Excellency Al-Sayed Nouri Al-Said. At the First Session Iran was represented by Prime Minister Mr. Hussein Ala, Pakistan by Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, Turkey by her Prime Minister Mr. Adnan Menderes, and the United Kingdom by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Harold Macmillan.

At the First Session of the Council the five member nations extended an invitation to the United States to attend and participate in the Council proceedings in the role of observer. The Council's invitation was accepted by the United States, and a delegation of observers headed by His Excellency Mr.

Waldemar J. Gallman, the American Ambassador to Iraq, took its place at the proceedings.

Procedural and organizational matters were worked out at the First Session to provide for continuity of action and execution of the Council's decisions. A Secretariat with permanent headquarters in Baghdad was established, and four Committees were created: the Military Committee, the Economic Committee, the Counter-Subversion Committee and the Liaison Committee.

#### *Second Session of the Council: Tehran, 1956*

The Second Session of the Council at the Ministerial level was held in Tehran from 16th to 19th April, 1956, under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Iran, His Excellency Mr. Hussein Ala. At this session Iraq was represented by Prime Minister Al-Sayed Nouri Al-Said, Pakistan by Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, Turkey by Prime Minister Mr. Adnan Menderes, and the United Kingdom by the Minister of Defence, Sir Walter Monckton. The United States delegation of observers was headed by the Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Loy W. Henderson.

During the Second Session of the Council at Tehran, the United States announced that it would establish permanent military liaison with the Baghdad Pact Organization, and, at the invitation of the Council, joined the Economic and Counter-Subversion Committees.

#### *Third Session of the Council: Karachi, 1957*

The Third Session of the Council at the Ministerial level was held in Karachi from 3rd to 6th June, 1957, under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, His Excellency Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. At this session Iran was represented by Prime Minister Dr. Manoochehr Eghbal, Iraq by Prime Minister Al-Sayed Nouri Al-Said, Turkey by Prime Minister Mr. Adnan Menderes, and the United Kingdom by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,



Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. The United States delegation of observers was headed by the Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Loy W. Henderson.

At this Third Session the Council noted with gratification the constant strengthening and the continuing progress of the alliance. 'The Pact', said the official communiqué, 'has emerged as a constructive force for regional co-operation and as an important element promoting world peace and security. Events have proved the soundness and solidarity of its moral basis. With its roots deep in the region, the Pact symbolizes the spirit of association in equal partnership.'

The United States, whose representatives had previously sat, as observers, with the Military Committee, accepted the Council's invitation to become a member of that Committee. The military structure of the Pact was further strengthened as a result of a decision to establish a permanent military planning organization, and through the declaration of the United Kingdom that it was prepared to make a substantial contribution towards meeting Baghdad Pact military infrastructure and training requirements.

*Fourth Session of the Council: Ankara, 1958*

The Fourth Session of the Council at the Ministerial level is scheduled to be held in Ankara on 27th January, 1958.

## IV. COMMITTEES OF THE COUNCIL

Membership on the Committees of the Council may be extended to nations which, while not members of the Baghdad Pact, are sincerely interested in the peace and stability of the Pact region. For example, the United States, which belongs to three of the four Committees.

### THE MILITARY COMMITTEE

The Military Committee makes recommendations to the Council with a view to strengthening the military security of the member countries and their co-operation in defence matters. It also directs the military planning of the Pact undertaken by the Combined Military Planning Organization. Each country is normally represented on the Military Committee by its Chief of Staff or Commander-in-Chief.

The Chairmanship of the Military Committee rotates annually in the same way as that of the Council. The Chief of Staff of Iraq, General Refik Arif, was Chairman of the Military Committee for 1955 and 1956. The Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, General Mohamed Ayub Khan, is the Chairman for 1957.

The Military Committee held its First Session in Baghdad in November 1955 at the time of the First Session of the Council. Like the Council at the Ministerial level, it held its Second Session in Tehran in April 1956, and its Third Session in Karachi in June 1957.

### *Deputies of the Military Committee*

Immediately below the Military Committee are the Deputies of the Military Committee who, on behalf of the parent body, give more detailed direction to military planning within the Pact.

The Chairman of the Military Deputies for 1955 and 1956 was the Deputy Chief of the Iraqi General Staff, General Ghazi Al-Daghistani. The Chairman

for the first part of 1957 was Major-General Mohamed Habibullah Khan, Chief of the Pakistani General Staff.

#### THE COUNTER-SUBVERSION COMMITTEE

At its inaugural session, the Council decided to establish a Committee charged with advising how the threat of subversion to the member countries in the region could best be countered. The Committee held its first session in Tehran in April 1956, and decided, with the Council's approval, to establish a permanent organization under the administrative control of the Secretary-General. It met subsequently in Ankara in June 1956, in Tehran in October 1956, in Karachi in May 1957, and in London in September 1957.

The Chairmanship of the Committee, which also rotates annually, was held in 1956 by Turkey, and in 1957 by Iran.

#### THE LIAISON COMMITTEE

The Liaison Committee's general responsibility is to facilitate the exchange of information between member countries on questions relating to the security of the region.

The Chairmanship of the Liaison Committee was held in 1956 by Iran, and in 1957 is held by Iraq.

#### THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

At its inaugural session in November 1955, the Council decided that a high priority should be given to the Organization's economic activities. It thereupon established an Economic Committee with the following terms of reference:

1. To study and report to the Council on measures of economic co-operation designed to develop and strengthen the joint economic and financial resources of member countries.
2. To undertake special studies at the request of the Council.

Member countries of the Economic Committee are represented at the sessions by Ministers or senior officials. The Chairmanship, which rotates annually, was held in 1956 by Iran (Mr. Abol Hassan Ebtehaj) and in 1957 is held by Iraq (Mr. Abdul Qadir Al-Gaylani).

The Economic Committee has met at Baghdad in January 1956, at Tehran in April 1956, and at Karachi in May 1957.

#### *Experts of the Economic Committee*

The sessions of the Economic Committee are normally preceded by meetings of Economic Experts from the member countries. These Experts co-ordinate and review the reports of the various sub-committees and working parties and prepare the ground for meetings of the Committee. In this way the Committee is better able to devote itself to larger issues of economic policy.

The Chairman of the Experts of the Economic Committee in 1956 was Mr. Taha Carim of Turkey. Mr. Akbar Adil of Pakistan is the Chairman for 1957.

#### *Sub-Committees and Working Parties*

The Economic Committee has set up four main sub-committees, to which a number of working parties are responsible. The present structure of the Economic Committee is:

1. *Sub-Committee on Communications and Public Works*
  - (a) Working Party on Highways
  - (b) Working Party on Joint Development Plan for the Tigris and the Euphrates Basin
2. *Sub-Committee on Trade*
  - (a) Working Party on Transit Trade and Customs Regulations
  - (b) Working Party on Customs Union / Free Trade Area / Common Market
3. *Sub-Committee on Agriculture*
  - (a) Working Party on Pest Control
  - (b) Working Party on Animal Husbandry, Animal Diseases and Biologics
4. *Sub-Committee on Health*
  - (a) Seminar of Directors of Anti-Malaria Operations.

The work of the Committee and its subsidiary bodies in furthering the economic development of the region is described in the chapter on Economic Co-operation.

## V. EXECUTIVE ORGANS

### THE SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat is international in character. It is composed of nationals of all the countries which contribute to the international budget (the five members of the Pact, together with the U.S.). The Secretariat is under the direction of a Secretary-General, who is the chief executive of the Organization and is responsible to the Council for all Secretariat operations. The appointment is at present held by His Excellency Mr. Awni Khalid, formerly Iraq's Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

#### *The Political and Administration Division*

The Political and Administration Division is directed by a Deputy Secretary-General, Mr. John Bushell (United Kingdom), who acts as the Secretary of the Council. The political section of the Division is responsible for assisting the Deputy Secretary-General in co-ordinating the work of the Secretariat for meetings of the Council. It maintains liaison with other international organizations on political matters, and advises on all political questions affecting the Organization. The administrative section is responsible for planning and executing the administrative and financial programmes of the Secretariat and provides the necessary general services for meetings of the Council and all other bodies of the Organization.

#### *The Economic Division*

The Economic Division is directed by a Deputy Secretary-General, Mr. Bülend N. Keşelli (Turkey). It provides material for all meetings of the Economic Committee and its subordinate bodies, and gives advice on all economic questions affecting the Organization. It directs the Organization's Technical Assistance Programme, acts as a clearing house for technical exchanges between member countries, develops statistical material, and maintains liaison with inter-

governmental organizations such as the Scientific Council and the Baghdad Pact Nuclear Centre.

#### *The Public Relations Division*

The Public Relations Division is directed by a Deputy Secretary-General, Mr. Mohamad Sarfraz (Pakistan). Its aim is to promote knowledge and understanding of the nature and activities of the Pact through all publicity media.

#### *The Counter-Subversion Office*

Under the direction of a Deputy Secretary-General, this office services the meetings of the Counter-Subversion Committee.

#### *The Security Organization*

The Security Organization, directed by the Security Adviser, is responsible for making recommendations on all matters affecting the civilian and military security of the Pact Organization.

### THE COMBINED MILITARY PLANNING ORGANIZATION

At its Karachi Session of June 1957, the Council decided, on the recommendation of the Military Committee, to establish a permanent military planning structure to be known as the Combined Military Planning Organization, which would incorporate the previously established Military Secretariat. The first Director of Combined Military Planning is Major-General Mohamed Habibullah Khan (Pakistan), and the first Deputy Director, Major-General Daniel S. Campbell (U.S.).

## VI. THE AMERICAN DOCTRINE AND THE BAGHDAD PACT

Soviet actions since World War II have made it evident that the achievement of stability and lasting peace in the Middle East runs counter to Soviet objectives in the area. Past events have clearly indicated that the Soviet Union pursues a systematic policy designed first to turn the peoples of the area against the West, and ultimately to incorporate the nations of the region into the Soviet orbit.

From its inception the Baghdad Pact, and its respective member states individually, had been subjected to unrelenting attack from Soviet propaganda organs. By late 1956 these attacks had become particularly virulent.

On 29th November, 1956, the United States Department of State, after careful consideration of the Middle East situation with President Eisenhower, issued a statement which significantly reiterated United States support for the Baghdad Pact. The statement further declared that any threat to the territorial integrity or political independence of the Pact members 'would be viewed by the United States with the utmost gravity'.

On 5th January, 1957, President Eisenhower in a message to the United States Congress made a major declaration of policy which has become known as 'the Eisenhower or American Doctrine'. Proposing a basis for further U.S. aid programmes to nations of the Middle East, the President asked that he be authorized to render economic and military assistance to any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East that expressed a desire to receive such aid; and the President further pointed out that such assistance would be given for the purpose of developing the strength of nations dedicated to the maintenance of their national independence.

The President expressed his country's admiration and approval of the steady evolution towards self-government and independence in the Middle East, which has been so evident in recent years. He spoke of Russia's historic designs for the

domination of the Middle East which were as true of the Communists as of the Tsars. Russia's interest in the Middle East was solely that of power politics.

President Eisenhower's message declared:

'The action which I propose would have the following features:

'It would, first of all, authorize the United States to co-operate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence.

'It would, in the second place, authorize the executive to undertake in the same region programmes of military assistance and co-operation with any nation or group of nations which desire such aid.

'It would, in the third place, authorize such assistance and co-operation to include the employment of the armed forces of the United States 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.

'These measures would have to be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States, including the Charter of the United Nations and with any action or recommendations of the United Nations. They would also, if armed attack occurs, be subject to the overriding authority of the United Nations Security Council in accordance with the Charter.'

The President concluded his message by saying that this programme was designed primarily to deal with the possibility of Communist aggression, and was only part of the effort that would go to the solution of the problems of the Middle East. The United States would not employ its armed forces except at the desire of the nation attacked, and indeed it was the President's profound hope that this authority would never have to be exercised at all.

### *The Richards Mission*

Three months after President Eisenhower's message, the principles of which had been duly endorsed by the United States Congress, Ambassador James P.



Richards, the President's Personal Representative, made a tour of the Middle East, including the Baghdad Pact capitals, and consulted with Mr. Awni Khalidy, the Secretary-General.

On 8th April, 1957, Ambassador Richards made the following announcement in Baghdad:

'The U.S. Government is prepared in principle to initiate the necessary procedural and legal steps to make available through the Secretary-General of the Baghdad Pact up to \$1,000,000 to cover the cost of certain railroad, highway, and telecommunications surveys as recommended by the economic experts of the Baghdad Pact Economic Committee.

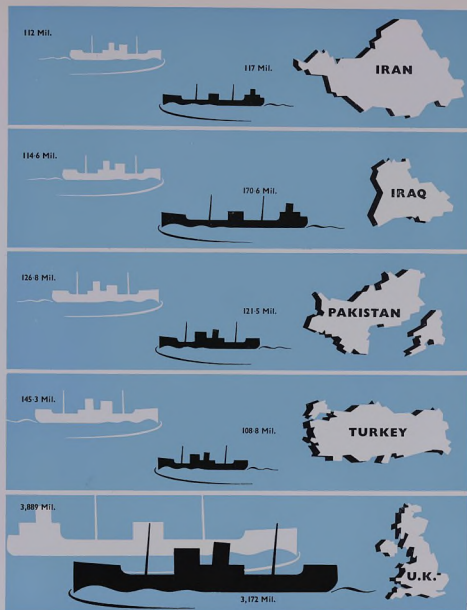
'Further, the United States is prepared in principle to initiate the necessary procedural and legal steps to furnish \$11,500,000 of grant assistance to the four member nations of the Baghdad Pact cited above to cover the cost of certain consultant and engineering studies and equipment in support of the foregoing projects.

'I am sure the Baghdad Pact Governments will approve as early as possible the recommendations of the economic experts of the Baghdad Pact in order that implementation of the projects may be initiated with minimum delay.

'Implementation of the projects will follow the conclusion of bilateral agreements between the United States Government and each member government concerned.'

The United States Government has already signed agreements with the four countries of the Pact region for the flow of the aid announced by Ambassador Richards.

When the Council met in Karachi in June 1957, it expressed deep gratification for the purposes and principles of the American Doctrine on the Middle East and for the assistance extended thereunder.



TOTAL EXPORTS AND IMPORTS: VALUES IN £ STERLING



Aerial view of Abadan, Iran, showing the National Iranian Oil Company's refinery, largest in the world



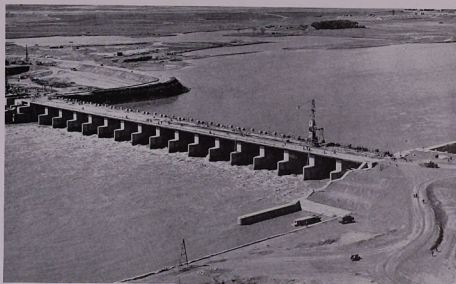
Cattle on this modern dairy farm on reclaimed salt marshes in Iran include Jerseys from U.K. and Red Sindhi from Pakistan



Iran's carpets have an almost legendary reputation



Compiling an agricultural census to provide data for an expanded agricultural programme in Iraq



The Samarra Barrage, part of the £15,000,000 Wadi Thartha Scheme on the Tigris

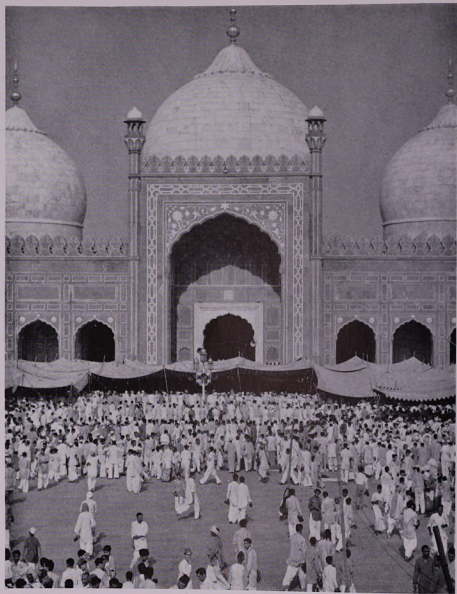


Dora refineries. In 1956 Iraq's exports of petrol-um amounted to £156,600,000





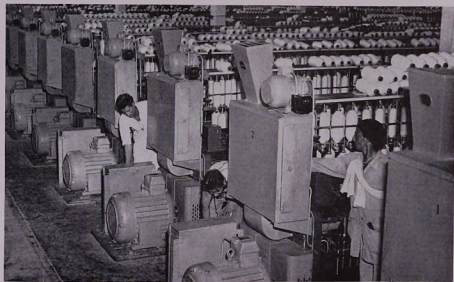




Crowd in the main courtyard of the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore, Pakistan



Raw jute stocks. East Pakistan is the world's chief source of supply



Ring spinning frames at Khairpur Textile Mill, Pakistan



The Sultanahmet Mosque, Istanbul



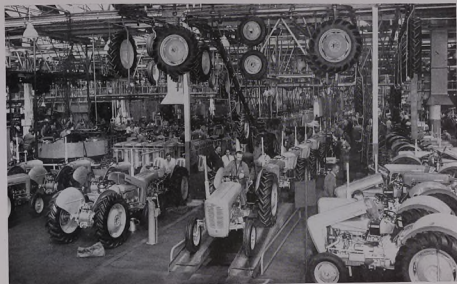
This oil refinery in Batman, Turkey, has a daily capacity of 1,000 tons



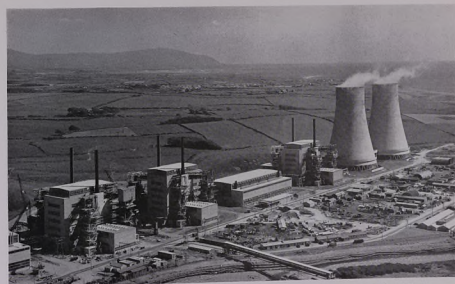
Tobacco-drying at Bursa. Turkey exports tobacco to the value of £33,400,000 annually



The Thames in the heart of London

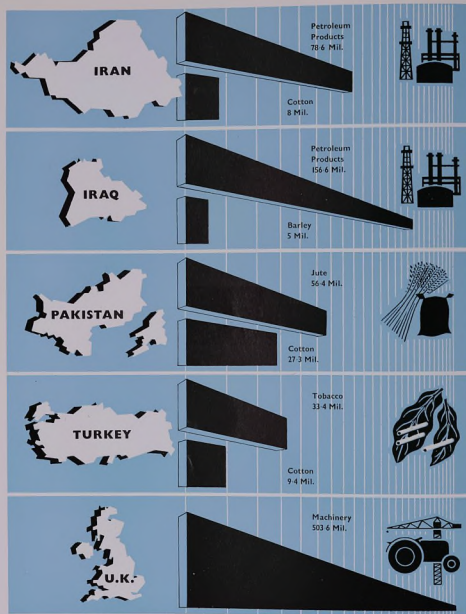


Tractors for 120 countries come off the assembly line at this British factory at the rate of 360-380 a day



Part of the world's first full-scale Atomic Power Plant at Calder Hall





COMPARATIVE EXPORTS OF MAIN COMMODITIES  
VALUES IN £ STERLING

## VII. ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

### INTRODUCTION

The importance of the Paçt's economic programme in the Organization's aspirations for the region was expressed by Mr. Ebtehaj when he convened the First Session of the Economic Committee in January 1956. 'While we all recognize the vital importance to the defence of our countries of the military significance of the Paçt', he said, 'it is undeniably true that the economic impact of the organization which has been set up is of equally great importance. It is through economic development and the bringing about of better conditions and the improvement of living standards that we can best serve our peoples and create in them faith in themselves and confidence and hope in their future.

'With the potential wealth of member countries, the latent talent of their peoples, and their historic heritage and culture, there exist all the essential conditions that our countries need, in order to move ahead on three fronts simultaneously; one, within each country an orderly development programme based on the distinctive character of its people and resources; two, a co-ordinated economic programme among the member states; and three, the united economic strength of the group to make its contribution to world economic stability. In accomplishing these tasks, our peoples will feel they have a larger stake in their homes worth defending, and we will have thereby strengthened the military security in the Middle East. To this task we dedicate ourselves with the knowledge that our efforts will be a valuable contribution to peace and goodwill amongst all nations.'

The Paçt's attack on the economic problems of the region is made both frontally and from several flanks. As an essential first step, the extent and depth of the region's economic shortcomings are thoroughly and objectively explored by the sub-committees and working parties of the Economic Committee, and the causes of these shortcomings are ascertained. Consideration is then given by these



sub-committees and working parties, by the Economic Committee, and by the Council, to the measures for economic improvement that may most appropriately be taken by the Baghdad Paçt Organization.

The more dramatic measures, which might be termed 'frontal attacks', are the jointly developed survey and construction projects, particularly in the communications field, which are knitting the member countries more closely together. In the same category are the training centres, which provide central facilities and concentrated instruction for the rapid dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge. Less dramatic, but equally important, are the exchanges, between contributing countries, of experts, instructors and students under the Organization's Technical Assistance Programme. Finally, there is the progressive concerting of the economic policies of the member countries which is steadily developed through the meetings of the Economic Committee and its subordinate organs.

The special financial requirements of the several components of the Paçt's economic programme, which the country or countries directly benefiting cannot satisfactorily meet, are met from voluntary grants from one or more contributing governments. The United States is making available up to \$12,600,000 for the improvement of communications in the region, and the United Kingdom has announced the availability of £1,000,000 for the implementation of Baghdad Paçt joint projects, particularly in the communications field.

#### TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

At the May 1957 Session of the Economic Committee in Karachi, the United Kingdom increased its technical assistance contribution from the £250,000 which had been pledged at the Second Session of the Council to £1,000,000. At the same time an offer by the Pakiřtan Government to make available Rs.500,000 for technical assistance was accepted. The representative of the Government of Turkey announced at the same time that a request would be submitted to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for an allocation of funds for the Paçt's Technical Assistance Programme.

#### COMMUNICATIONS

Lack of communications between neighbours is one of the handicaps from which the region suffers, and to which the Baghdad Paçt, through its Subcommittee on Communications and Public Works, has paid attention from the beginning. Each of the member countries of the region has drawn up reports on work in progress and planned within its national boundaries, and put forward ideas on how these programmes could be made to fit into a comprehensive communications network which will bring the Paçt nations into closer contact with each other.

*Telecommunications*—The weaving together of existing telecommunication lines between the Paçt capitals and their improvement, to form a fabric of fast and reliable telecommunications, is soon to be achieved. A substantial part of the \$12,600,000 grant by the United States is being used for surveys and equipment for improved telecommunication lines between Karachi and Tehran, Tehran and Ankara, Ankara and Baghdad, and Baghdad and Tehran. Telecommunications between London and the four Paçt regional capitals will be improved by using a part of the £1,000,000 grant of the United Kingdom for joint projects. Improvements in the telecommunication links between Karachi and the other Paçt capitals, beyond those already provided for, have been approved by the Council and thereby made eligible for financial assistance as a Baghdad Paçt project.

*Highways*—Each of the Paçt regional countries is now devoting substantial sums to the improvement of its major and secondary highway routes. Through the Baghdad Paçt, what might otherwise be a fragmented pattern of highways is to become an integrated regional highway system. The United States grant is meeting a part of the cost of the surveys and equipment necessary to link Cizre and Silopi in Turkey with Zakho in Iraq, and to link Shivelan and Bajirge in Turkey with the Tehran-Tabriz main road through Rezayeh in Iran. Routes linking Pakiřtan with Iran and Iraq—one between Karachi and Kerman in Iran, via Lasbela, Quetta and Zahidan, and the other between Karachi and Basra in Iraq, via the coastal points of Chahbahar and Bandar Abbas in Iran—are further joint projects which the Baghdad Paçt hopes to put into effect.

As the regional highway system comes into being, its usefulness will depend not only upon the degree of excellence achieved in its engineering aspects, but also upon the degree of uniformity achieved in the total operational environment. In consequence, the Working Party on Highways is now charged with studies concerning traffic regulation and control, road signs, drivers' licences, and related subjects.

*Railroads*—The priority assigned by the Council to the linking together of the national highway systems of the countries of the region is equalled by its interest in the rapid development of railway interconnections. The United States grant is being used to meet a part of the cost of surveys and equipment required to effect a rail link between Mus, Tatvan and Van in Turkey, through the border town of Qutur, with Khoy and Tabriz in Iran. In addition, the Council has approved, as Baghdad Pact projects, the development of a railway link between Zahidan in Iran and a suitable point on the Pakistan railway system, and the development of an improved railway link between Baghdad and Tehran via Khanaqin.

#### TRADE

Trade between the Pact countries of the region is recognized to be at a comparatively low level. The Economic Committee and its Sub-Committee on Trade have therefore been requested to recommend ways and means of expanding and facilitating trade within the area. The problems studied include transit trade and the simplification of customs formalities between member countries. The question of expanding the facilities available to visiting businessmen has also been considered, and recommendations made. Co-operation in the marketing of common products and the standardization of agricultural products is being considered. A draft convention on customs has been approved by the Council and it is before the member nations for adoption. A detailed study has been made on the possibility of establishing a customs union, free trade area or common market in the Pact region, with due regard to the existing obligations and commitments of the member nations. A comparative study is being undertaken of the different transit routes, freight rates, charges, and transit costs existing at the

present time. The results of this study will be of assistance to the governments of the region in establishing freight rates and charges on newly developing transit routes.

#### AGRICULTURE

The foundation of the economy of each member nation of the region is, without exception, agriculture. The problems of agricultural production and land management are, in many respects, similar, and a principal objective of the Economic Committee and its Sub-Committee on Agriculture is to achieve the maximum interchange of technical knowledge and helpful experience. Beyond this there is the objective of increasing, as far as possible, the extent to which the agricultural economies are complementary one to the other, so that all may benefit from specialization based on natural advantage. The overall objective is to secure an increase in agricultural production and income from agriculture, and to encourage establishment of industries for processing the yield of fields, flocks and herds.

Through the Baghdad Pact the nations of the region are co-operating in agricultural planning, produce marketing, the improvement of animal husbandry, plant protection and the control of animal diseases and of pests. Progress is being made towards the establishment of training centres in the use of agricultural machinery and in soil and water conservation techniques.

*Animal Husbandry, Animal Diseases, Biologics*—The Working Party on Animal Husbandry, Animal Diseases and Biologics has examined and made specific recommendations on a number of subjects in this field. Heavy losses of animals through illness can be averted by better use of biologics in treatment. A study has, therefore, been organized on the production, supply and interchange of biologics among member countries to see how far production and research can be expanded. Prospects of establishing a regional centre for testing and standardizing biologics are also being examined.

Diseases like anthrax, blackleg, sheep-pox, rinderpest, mange and liver fluke destroy vast numbers of animals throughout the region every year. To combat them, control plans will be prepared by each member country, and the necessary

personnel trained with the help of the member countries having training facilities. Arrangements are to be made for the exchange of trainees.

Eradication or prevention of infectious and parasitical diseases in animals could make an important contribution to the higher standards of living, especially in the districts of the Paçt countries; but to raise the general standard of flocks and herds so that they will yield more wool, milk, meat and animals for draught purposes, better feeding is required. The member countries of the Paçt region are working out methods of exchanging reports on pasture and fodder resources and are encouraging the development of feed industries.

One of the stimuli for the attention given to the question of livestock is the recognition that human diets in the area are, in general, unbalanced, and that there is need for a larger intake of animal proteins. To secure this increase, planning for development demands that crop raising and animal husbandry should be complementary. It has therefore been decided that effective steps shall be taken to increase the supply of animals of better breeds, such as the Red Sindhi cattle of Pakiřtan and the Zebu cattle. The total number of Red Sindhi cattle in the other member countries being small, it has been decided that an International Artificial Insemination Centre should be established at the Central Government Red Sindhi Cattle Breeding Farm at Malir, near Karachi.

The Working Party on Peřt Control has initiated a vigorous campaign to control the depredators of grains and plants. An extensive field survey is now under way in the countries of the Paçt region under the leadership of international experts on peřt control, grain storage and plant quarantine problems.

Although Turkey, Iran and Pakiřtan have been free from attacks by the Desert Locuřt in the pařt year (1956), swarms breeding in the Arabian Peninsula constitute a grave potential threat. Through the Baghdad Paçt, the nations are concerting their plans for defence against the Desert Locuřt. Less attention is normally paid to the Moroccan Locuřt, probably because it is smaller and does not move in the vařt spectacular swarms of its cousin. But in bad years it can inflict losses as great as those caused by the heavy invasion of the Desert Locuřt. An expert on the Moroccan Locuřt has already made a preliminary

survey of the problem in the Paçt countries and has begun a three-year survey of the peřt so that detailed information can be made available to the countries in the Paçt region about the relevant topographical features, soil, vegetation and locuřt population.

In the pařt year, grasshopper infestation has been even more serious than that of the Moroccan Locuřt in Turkey and some parts of Iran. An experienced entomologist has instituted a survey of all the relevant facts about grasshoppers in the cultivated areas, marginal lands, and on land to be reclaimed in Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The expert now in the field will work with and train local entomologists so that the survey can be run on uniform lines in each country.

The Soun Peřt, which attacks cereals, is endemic throughout the area. It appears without warning, bores the řems of growing wheat and barley, and kills as much as half the crop wherever severe infestation occurs. Iran has discovered a parasite which preys on the Soun and has given satisfactory control of the peřt in the Isfahan neighbourhood. Through the Baghdad Paçt, Iran has offered to assist the Government of Turkey in obtaining supplies of the parasite and to send a technician to set up an insectary, so that the same method of control can be tried there. Meanwhile, a special working party has evolved a programme of experimentation using both aircraft and ground equipment, and four insecticides in addition to varying forms of DDT.

#### HEALTH

Under the auspices of the Sub-Committee on Health, a general plan is being drawn up for correlating national activities in the fields of health and sanitation. Under survey at the present time are anti-malaria, small-pox vaccination, nutritional and industrial hygiene activities and facilities.

A programme of technical assistance has been formulated to increase the trained manpower resources of member nations in the fields of preventive measures, health education, environmental sanitation, control of contagious diseases, and the application of isotopes in medicine. In addition to a fairly extensive programme of fellowships and the provision of expert advisory services

in the various fields, X-ray equipment is to be provided for static anti-TB centres in the rural areas of the region.

Liaison arrangements are being made for co-ordination of the anti-malarial operations of the member countries. This objective will be served by exchange of research workers and by periodic seminars of directors of anti-malarial operations, such as that held in Tehran in August 1957.

#### EMERGENCY SERVICES AND FOOD RESERVES

A working party has been set up to consider means whereby national emergency services may be developed and co-ordinated through the Baghdad Pact to provide for more effective assistance to any country within the region in time of emergency or disaster, such as flood, drought, epidemic or earthquake. This working party will examine the feasibility of maintaining stockpiles of essential materials (medicines, blood-plasma, blankets, etc.) at various locations within the area in order to cope with such emergencies.

Besides this, consultants are being engaged to study the establishment of national reserves of basic foodstuffs and their co-ordination to serve regional requirements. The region is subject to natural disasters which cause wide fluctuations in crops with consequent shortages of foodstuffs and the danger of economic and political instability.

#### NUCLEAR TRAINING AND RESEARCH

The potential benefits to be derived from the application of nuclear science in the region are vast. It was in recognition of this that the Council decided at its first session to establish a Nuclear Centre for the Baghdad Pact, following an offer by the United Kingdom to make its experience in this field available to the Pact.

Subsequently, at its second session, the Council decided to establish a Scientific Council. This Council, which includes one representative from each member country, exercises general control over the scientific and technical policies of the Nuclear Centre. Its first meeting was held in [Continued on p. 67

## THE ORGANIZATION AT WORK



H. E. MR. AWNI KHALIDY  
*Secretary-General of the Baghdad Pact*





H.E. MR. HUSSEIN ALA,  
then Prime Minister of Iran



H.E. AL-SAYED NOURI AL-SAID,  
then Prime Minister of Iraq (Chairman)



MR. MOHAMMED ALI,  
then Prime Minister of Pakistan

THE INAUGURAL SESSION OF



Left to right—Rt. Hon. Harold  
Macmillan (U.K.), Mr. C. A. E.  
Shuckburgh (U.K.), Sd. Khalil  
Ibrahim (Secretary to Conference),

THE COUNCIL, BAGHDAD, 1955



H.E. MR. ADNAN MENDERES,  
Prime Minister of Turkey



RT. HON. HAROLD MACMILLAN,  
then United Kingdom Foreign Secretary

Sd. H.E. Al-Sayed Nouri Al-Said  
(Iraq), H.E. Mr. Burhanuddin  
Bashayan (Iraq), Yusuf Gaylani  
(Iraq), Gen. Relik Arif (Iraq)



Second Session of the Council, Tehran, April 1956.  
Left to right—the delegations from Pakistan, Iraq and Iran



The Third Session of the Council at Karachi, June 1957



The Deputies, November 1957. In the chair, Mr. Shuaib Qureshi (Pakistan).  
On his right, H.E. Mr. Awni Khalidy (Secretary-General)



King Faisal II with Pact Dignitaries

Left to right—H.E. Mr. Waldemar J. Gallman (U.S.A.),  
H.E. Mr. Quds Nakha'i (Iran), H.E. Mr. Fatih Ruştu  
Zorlu (Turkey), H.M. King Faisal II, Sir Michael Wright  
(U.K.), Mr. Shuaib Qureshi (Pakistan), H.E. Mr.  
Muzaffer Gökseven (Turkey)



The Economic Committee



The Military Committee

Left to right—Gen. Ismail Hakkis Tunaboylu (*C.G.S. Turkey*), Gen. Mohamed Ayub Khan (*C.in C. Pakistan*), Gen. Hedayat (*C.G.S. Iran*), Lt.-Gen. Refik Arif (*C.G.S. Iraq*), Marshal of the R.A.F. Sir William F. Dickson (*U.K.*), Admiral John H. Cassady (*U.S.A.*)



The Secretary-General speaks at the opening of the Baghdad Pact Nuclear Centre



First Session of the Scientific Council

Left to right—Dr. G. A. Bazargan (*Professor at Tehran University*), Dr. Sheeth Numann (*Director of Industries, Baghdad*), H.E. Mr. Awni Khalidy (*Secretary-General Baghdad Pact*), Sir John Cockcroft (*Director Britain's Atomic Energy Research Establishment, Harwell*)



The Baghdad Pact Nuclear Centre, which combines three intensive training courses a year with applied research



Mr. W. J. Whitehouse (*Director of the Baghdad Pact Nuclear Centre*) shows H.M. King Faisal II a biological demonstration using radioactive iodine at the Centre

March 1957, under the chairmanship of Sir John Cockcroft, Director of the United Kingdom's Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell.

The Nuclear Centre has been established in Baghdad in a laboratory building provided by the Iraq Government. It was inaugurated by His Majesty King Faisal II of Iraq on 31st March, 1957.

The first director of the Centre is Mr. W. J. Whitehouse, a senior member of the staff of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority. The other members of the permanent staff of the Centre are drawn from the United Kingdom and from each of the four member countries in the region. The first course of instruction began in April 1957, and was attended by 20 students from the member countries of the region. The policy of the Nuclear Centre is to continue with short intensive courses for post-graduate students and research workers, with the permanent staff undertaking applied research and assisting member countries in the practical application of isotope techniques in various fields of medicine, agriculture and industry. It is intended that, at a later stage, the activities of the Centre shall be extended to include basic nuclear research.



## VIII. FUTURE PROSPECTS

Since its formation, the Paçt has been subjected to a campaign of misrepresentation and vilification from many quarters. Its collapse has often been predicted.

The members of the Paçt do not share this pessimism. Their leaders have constantly reaffirmed their belief in the vitality of the Paçt and its ability to promote the common interests of the peoples of the region. Their confidence has been fully borne out by recent history. The Suez crisis undoubtedly exposed the Paçt to severe stresses and strains. However, it emerged from this crisis stronger than ever.

The member countries are resolved to maintain the Paçt both as a deterrent to any potential aggressor—through the knowledge that retaliation will be certain and swift—and as a defensive military shield should, nevertheless, aggression take place. In order to safeguard their national integrity, all member countries of the Paçt are jointly taking the necessary measures to increase their defensive strength. The necessary defensive plans are being made and a planning structure has been set up. The decision of the United States to join the Military Committee of the Paçt as full member gives further promise that, in pursuing their common resolve, the member countries will have the full backing of the United States.

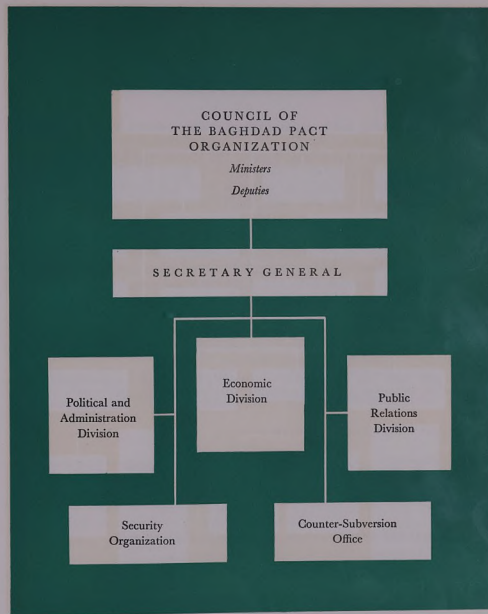
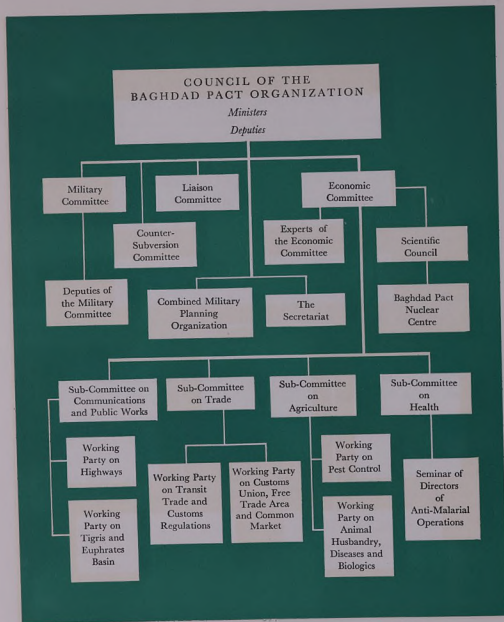
The Paçt, however, is more than a military alliance. Its members are alive to the realities of the contemporary world. They recognize that aggression against them may not be of a military nature. It can also assume the insidious and equally dangerous guise of subversion. To help guard against this the Counter-Subversion Committee, with its permanent Organization, has been created. Much useful work in this essential field has already been accomplished. Much remains to be done in order to make certain that the dangers of subversion in the region are correctly diagnosed and that the correct remedies are applied in time.

Subversion in its turn thrives on poverty. For many centuries, through no fault of its inhabitants, the Paçt region has been a depressed area. It has now

entered into a new era of economic and social construction. Economic progress is being made throughout the whole region, stimulated by the determination of the member governments to raise the living standards of their peoples. They recognize that co-operation on a regional basis can help to make their individual efforts bear better fruit more quickly. Accordingly, the Paçt is becoming an increasingly important instrument of economic co-operation between the member countries who rightly consider it as an indispensable supplement to individual development plans.

Progress in certain fields will not be rapid or dramatic. The task, especially on the economic front, is so great that its accomplishment will necessarily take time. But part of the strength of the Paçt lies in the fact that its members frankly recognize this. As a result they are planning for their immediate and longer term needs in a practical and objective manner.

With the growth of modern means of communication the inter-dependence of the world has become increasingly evident. One of the unanswered questions of the twentieth century is how this process will develop. Inter-dependence could be imposed on the region from without, by an alien and communist organization of society. Alternatively, this growing inter-dependence can be fostered and developed through a process of spontaneous and organic growth. The members of the Paçt believe in the latter process. With this belief Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey, in a free and equal partnership with the United Kingdom and with the support of the United States, have created this Paçt. They see in it a new and vital form of association, founded on the twin principles of partnership between neighbours and of partnership between these neighbours and their associates in the West. They believe that their association will prosper.



THE BAGHDAD PACT  
 PACT OF MUTUAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN  
 IRAQ AND TURKEY

WHEREAS the friendly and brotherly relations existing between Iraq and Turkey are in constant progress, and in order to complement the contents of the Treaty of friendship and good neighbourhood concluded between His Majesty The King of Iraq and His Excellency The President of the Turkish Republic signed in Ankara on the 29th of March, 1946, which recognized the fact that peace and security between the two countries is an integral part of the peace and security of all the Nations of the world and in particular the Nations of the Middle East, and that it is the basis for their foreign policies;

Whereas Article 11 of the Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation between the Arab League states provides that no provision of that Treaty shall in any way affect, or is designed to affect any of the rights and obligations accruing to the contracting parties from the United Nations Charter;

And having realized the great responsibilities borne by them in their capacity as members of the United Nations concerned with the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East region which necessitate taking the required measures in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter;

They have been fully convinced of the necessity of concluding a pact fulfilling these aims and for that purpose have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

HIS MAJESTY KING FAISAL II KING OF IRAQ

HIS EXCELLENCY AL FARIK NURI AS-SAID *Prime Minister*

HIS EXCELLENCY BURHANUDDIN BASH-AYAN *Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs*

HIS EXCELLENCY CELAL BAYAR *President of the Turkish Republic*

HIS EXCELLENCY ADNAN MENDERES *Prime Minister*

HIS EXCELLENCY PROFESSOR FUAT KÖPRÜLÜ *Minister for Foreign Affairs*

who having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

*Article 1*

Consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter the High Contracting Parties will co-operate for their security and defence. Such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this co-operation may form the subject of special agreements with each other.

*Article 2*

In order to ensure the realization and effect application of the co-operation provided for in Article 1 above, the competent authorities of the High Contracting Parties will determine the measures to be taken as soon as the present Pact enters into force. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the High Contracting Parties.

*Article 3*

The High Contracting Parties undertake to refrain from any interference whatsoever in each other's internal affairs. They will settle any dispute between themselves in a peaceful way in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

*Article 4*

The High Contracting Parties declare that the dispositions of the present Pact are not in contradiction with any of the international obligations contracted by either of them with any third state or states. They do not derogate from, and cannot be interpreted as derogating from, the said international obligations. The High Contracting Parties undertake not to enter into any international obligation incompatible with the present Pact.

*Article 5*

This Pact shall be open for accession to any member state of the Arab League or any other state actively concerned with the security and peace in this region and which is fully recognized by both of the High Contracting Parties. Accession shall come into force from the date of which the instrument of accession of the state concerned is deposited with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

Any acceding state Party to the present Pact may conclude special agreements, in accordance with Article 1, with one or more states Parties to the present Pact. The competent authority of any acceding state may determine measures in accordance with Article 2. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the Parties concerned.

*Article 6*

A Permanent Council at Ministerial level will be set up to function within the framework of the purposes of this Paçt when at least four Powers become parties to the Paçt.

The Council will draw up its own rules of procedure.

*Article 7*

This Paçt remains in force for a period of five years renewable for other five-year periods. Any Contracting Party may withdraw from the Paçt by notifying the other parties in writing of its desire to do so, six months before the expiration of any of the above-mentioned periods, in which case the Paçt remains valid for the other Parties.

*Article 8*

This Paçt shall be ratified by the Contracting Parties and ratifications shall be exchanged at Ankara as soon as possible. Thereafter it shall come into force from the date of the exchange of ratifications.

IN WITNESS whereof, the said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Paçt in Arabic, Turkish and English all three texts being equally authentic except in the case of doubt when the English text shall prevail.

DONE in duplicate at BAGHDAD this second day of Rajab 1374 Hijri corresponding to the twenty-fourth day of February 1955.

NURI AS-SAID

*For His Majesty the King of Iraq.*

BURHANUDDIN BASH-AYAN

*For His Majesty the King of Iraq.*

ADNAN MENDERES

*For the President of the Turkish Republic.*

FUAT KÖPRÜLÜ

*For the President of the Turkish Republic.*

THE BAGHDAD PAÇT PUBLIC RELATIONS DIVISION, BEIT BAGHDAD, IRAQ.

Printed in Great Britain by John Wright & Sons Ltd., at the Stonebridge Press, Bristol.





1  
1  
B

