CHAPTER II

GENERAL TREATY ORGANIZATION

1. The Baghdad Pact

The Baghdad Pact Organization, which did not include America as a member was the substitute option followed by the West after proposal of a Middle East Defence Pact to be bound to N.A.T.O. in certain manner was promptly discarded by the Egyptians. It was informed on February 24, 1955 when Turkey and Iraq signed a Treaty of Mutual Co-operation renewable every five years. It was contemplated as the nucleus of a defensive bloc of Middle East States working in co-operation with the Western Powers to contain Soviet Communism. Britain, Pakistan, and Iran joined it on April 5, on September 23 and November 3 1955 respectively. The United States did not sign, the Pact but took full part in the organization. Afterward Iraq withdrew from the Pact in view of its neutral policy. Bilateral agreements of co-operation for mutual security and defence were signed between the United States and Iran, Pakistan and Turkey at Ankara on 5th March 1959.

1. Article 7 of the Baghdad Pact.

2. The Pressure from the North

Russia was believed to threaten the sovereignty of Turkey and Iran since the time of Peter the Great. Since 1689 the Turks had seen Crimean Tartars their kinsmen crushed down by Russians. They themselves fought twelve separate wars losing territories east of Black-sea including port of Batum. There was Russian military interference in Northern Iran in 1901 and 1911. Iran was forced to accept Russian annexation of the ancient kingdom of Georgia and lost large parts of Armenia and Azerbaijan, including the port of Baku. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Russians also advanced east of the Caspian. They went over the Kirghis step-through Turkestan. They had the upper hand over the ancient Moslem Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara and Kokand. The Russians advanced towards Afghanistan and reached the borders of Afghanistan and India in 1885.

3. Soviet Aspirations in the Middle East

The Oil resources of Middle East, that is Iran, Iraq and Arabian peninsula were the economic and political considerations which increased the desire of Russians to absorb...
those countries into the Communist regime. Inequality among rich and poor, in Middle East was to their advantage. The Soviet regime of 1917 also adopted an expansionist policy. Independent republics of Armenia Azerbaijan and Georgia lost their independence either by internal subversion leading to internal Communist take over or by armed invasion by the Soviet Union. Georgia got international recognition during 1920-31, but lost it within a month. In Northern Iran. The Soviet Union tried to set up a Soviet regime in Gilan to restore its prewar position. The U.S.S.R. signed a treaty with Nazi Germany in August 1939, with a condition that, the region south of Baku and Batum, in the general direction of the Persian Gulf should be acknowledged as the centre of the aspirations of the Soviet Union.

4. Soviet Middle East Policy since 1945:

After World War II Soviet Union continued its expansionist policy. Communist parties in Southern Asia either took upon of heightened manoeuvres of Militant revolt. In March 1945, it terminated a non-aggression treaty which it had signed with Turkey in 1925. It tried to set-up a

5. Tweedy Owen, "The Middle East a Longer view", The Asiatic Review, April 1949, p. 61A.

Communist state in Iranian Azerbaijan. Turks had lost regions of Karak and Ardakan in 1878 and regained in 1919. The Soviet Union tried for its cession. Soviet troops and Commonwealth troops entered Iran in 1945 to check German advance, stopped Iranian forces from interference against an armed rebellion organized by Communists in December 1945. Afterwards Soviet troops withdrew from Iran's territory only after United Nation's intervention, two months after they were required under the treaty. It established puppet regimes in Bulgaria and Romania.

After 1945, The Soviet Union established diplomatic posts in Cairo, Baghdad, Damascus and Beirut, signed various mutual assistance treaties, with Poland, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, The German Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Korea. Seventeen bilateral treaties were signed by the U.S.S.R. in relation to Eastern Europe directed against German aggression alone between 1943 and 1949. Out of these seventeen treaties leaving one, sixteen were for twenty years i.e. same duration, as the North Atlantic Pact.


Later like N.A.T.O. and Warsaw Pact a multilateral treaty was signed by the U.S.S.R. with seventeen other communist countries. Another treaty, in the far east for thirty years was signed by the Soviet Union on February 14, 1950, with China. From 1947 communist started petty warfare, in Burma, Indonesia Philippines, Indochina and Malaya, The offensive in Asia reached at its heighest in the Korean dispute.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the conference of Youth and students of South East Asia fighting for freedom and independence convened in Calcutta during 1948, which was very large and widely participated because nationalists expected that it would be practicable to get the co-operation of Communists in their anti-colonial moves.


One school considered it a place where instructions for military revolts were transmitted from Moscow to the national communists in Asia, another school regarded the conference not to be a place for getting orders from Moscow. At that time prevailing subject, were praise of armed influences of the Indonesian, Chinese, Indochina's disputes and enemies towards local citizens. At such a time the Calcutta meeting stimulated perceptibly the speed of all revolutionary activities in Southern Asia. Military moves of China in the national liberation movements in many colonies and semi-colonies were clearly sanctioned by Moscow during January 1950.

Different Facts were signed by Moslem countries too in 1937 a non-aggression Pact was signed at Saadabad by Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. Again Turkey signed an agreement on mutual Co-operation and defence with Pakistan.

on April 2, 1945. The U.S.A. signed a mutual defence Agreement with Pakistan on May 19, 1945.

5. **Terms of the Baghdad Pact**

Baghdad Pact, bound the members to co-operate in matters of security and defence consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. It was open for admittance, to any member state of the Arab League or any other states actively concerned with the peace and security in this area and which is fully acknowledged by both of the high contracting parties. A permanent council of ministers was to be set up when at least four Powers had joined it. The Pact was to come into force as from the exchange of ratifications and refrained interference in each other's internal affairs. In an exchange of letters, in order to ensure the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East region, the parties agreed to work in close co-operation for effecting the carrying out of the United Nation's resolution concerning Palestine.

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18. Article I of the Baghdad Pact, it reads "consistent with article 51 of the Charter.
19. Article V of the Baghdad Pact.
20. Article VI of the Baghdad Pact.
21. Article 8 of the Baghdad Pact.
22. Article 3 of Baghdad Pact.
6. **United Kingdom Accession:**

Although British Government joined the pact in April 1955, yet it did not associate itself with the letters exchanged between the original signatories about Palestine. United Kingdom welcomed the Baghdad Pact, to safeguard and strengthen the extreme right flank of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Because in the British view it was deterrent to aggression and it would have reduced likelihood of war.

7. **External Reactions:**

Although Baghdad Pact was envisaged by its framers, as the nucleus of a defensive partnership of Middle Eastern states, working in partnership with Western Power, not only the Soviet Union but Arab states opposed it. The United Arab Republic did not support it. Egypt criticised the pact since the beginning, Jordan refused to adhere to it. The Soviet Union consistently stigmatised the pact as an instrument of aggression. The pact has been criticised adversely, in some of those non-Communist countries, whose foreign policy is based on the principle of neutralism for splitting the Arab world into contending groups and provoking the Soviet Union, to take a more active interest in the Middle East than it would otherwise have done.
classification of Regional Arrangements:

At this point of time power of the United Nations as a tool of collective security was showing indiscision in tackling the security problems. The UN Charter had been drawn on the supposition of continued mutual working between the major nations and this condition was not fulfilled. The Military pacts subsequently arranged by the Western Bloc, viz., namely the Brussels Pact, North Atlantic Treaty, NATO and Baghdad Pact afterwards known as CENTO stipulated for collective self-defence, later rationalised to be in conformity with the Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. They are not regional arrangements of the kind visualised in Chapter VIII by Article 52 of the Charter.

The field of enquiry is enormously large and the problems raised are immensely complicated. At present there is very little difference between offence and defence, there is also something like offensive defense and more so when the warfare, has changed from local wars to total wars, then this difference is further reduced. In an age of long-range bombers and continental ballistic missiles frontiers and geographical distances have lost their meaning. From a satellite a signal from Alaska to Madagascar or vice-versa can be sent
in the same time as it can be transmitted to a neighbour. Today security belts are extended as events would allow.

"Security adjustment", is a wider and more inclusive term than "security, capability". The latter suggests the presence of a typical military consideration (for instance, nations and conventional military treaties have a certain kind of security competence), while the previous of course does not do so. In a general way, each and every existing universal arrangements is upheld, at least up to a degree, for a wish of sharing nations to strengthen security by means of grouping. Were it not that certain extent of unsafeness were perceived by nations, there would be small motive for them to establish or organize an alliance. Clearly, this danger is not at all times felt merely as an external military threat. It possibly likewise concern, for instance, economic insecurity, or to political discord, which is hardly peace menacing but, in any case, is considered as superfluous and bad. The structural reaction, then, to whatsoever its cause of danger that is apprehended by arranging nations creates that groupings security orientation.

On this foundation, many theoretical adaptations are
possible. Groupings construction and action possibly be
planned to help settling of disputes between its own parti-
cipants either by the political proceedings or through more
developed peace maintaining mechanism. (b) The association
possibly be intended to introduce a military and, likely,
political resistance in opposition to an external nation or
nations (c) the two of the above mentioned orientations be
looked at as inappropriate to the inclinations of the
organization (conceivably for different groupings with iden-
tical members react to them). Therefore, the concept of this
third kind of grouping is to be based on the idea of what
can adequately be named, "functional insecurity", which means,
in the common wish to develop economic affairs to concern
different technological questions ensuing from nearness and
increasing inter-relationships. The functional grouping's
relations with different organizations and measures concerned
with security abilities explains, its went of consideration
with military plans. Each present regional grouping can be
catalogued on the hypothesis of these three types of bearings;
(1) Co-operative, (2) Alliance, and (3) Functional.

Co-operative arrangement contains groupings that
combine to a larger or smaller degree, the first and second
security adjustments analysed above. These are organisations
that have originated as indication of certain kind of regional
unity in the presence of political affairs of external community, and which also have mechanism, at least in the initial stage, to restrain application of compulsion in their own area. In the most fully advanced of these associations, is the Organization of American States. Means assumed in it accord both (1) the evolution of mutual plan in the presence of intrusion from outside of grouping.

(2) The settlement of disputes between its members. For the other two classifications that range into this regional kind (the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity), the conditions of settlement of disputes among its members are not much advanced then are those for making mutual plans. Peculiarity of this kind, nevertheless, is the reality that they are not treaties in conventional understanding, but are apparently more durable arrangements whose declared chief objective is to maintain peace in a specified region. Their aim originates from the regional homogeneity, which itself likely aid to ideological or racial mutual basis. Still, collaboration manifestly has not developed between the participants to the degree of their majority co-operation, (i.e., a majority safety society is one made of


two or more independent nations, formally sovereign, whose interdependence is noted, by sure intentions of pacific moves between its inhabitants) or there would be no necessity for structural mechanisms planned to help the conciliation of quarrels in which compulsion is applied or suggested. Another set of alliances at times named regional groupings is constituted of nations stuck Co-operatively by multilateral defence alliance. This class encloses various treaties of the post-war community, such as ANNUS, CHIETO, SEATO, NATO, the Warsaw Pact. In a way alliance plans containing a mutual defence promise that do not come in this class, in fact, are those which are bilateral and not multilateral. (These lack the permanent establishments of the multilateral plans, like secretariats and councils and usually form no preparation of any kind for an Organization of military plans prior to down right military implication, with a third nation). These are externally aimed arrangements which have emerged as an effect of sensed menace from a mutual outside opponent, and they do not have establishments except, likely, occasionally, to regulate application of compulsion, in the arrangement.

Significant examples of Co-operative, alliance and functional kind of regional international groupings are as follows:
Co-operative, Arab League, AL, Joint African and Malagasy Organization OCAM, (OCAM was created by 13 French speaking
states during February, 1963. It is aimed in the outline of OAU to restore collaboration between the African nations and Madagascar. It intends to hasten the advancement of these states in the political, economic social, technical and cultural arenas). Organization of American States, OAS, Organizations of African unity, OAU.

Alliance, - Central Treaty Organization, CENTO, South East Asia Treaty Organization, SEATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO, Warsaw Pact, WP.; Western European Union, WEU.

Functional I, East African Community, EAC, European Economic Community (Common Market) EEC.

European Coal and Steel Community; ECSC

European Atomic Energy Commission; Euratom.

EEA, Association of South East Asian Nations ASEAN

Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg Union, BENELUX.

Conseil del Entente; CE. Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, COMCON, European Free Trade Association, EFTA

27. This is the functional sub kind in which groupings be likely characterized as community adjusted that means, as aimed to discard the conventional obstructions of state sovereignty in stipulated, functional regions. For this intention, supernational influence is final objective.

28. This is the functional sub kind whose groupings are aimed to advance functional positions in such regions as trade and economic improvement, but without the condition of a supernational governing arrand in the procedure.
Sudia-Chana-Vali Union, UAS (Union of African States).
Latin American Free Trade Association, LAFTA
Central American Common Market, CACM
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD.
Nordic Council, NC.

The present constructional classification, to show the motives of member nations and relations of regional groupings, to the orderly analysis of global relevance of regions is based on Miller's analysis.

9. Regional Organizations and Subordinate Systems:

As a self restraint in the making of aspect of evolution political studies attempt large scope of approaches to the choice in theoretical outlines and actual practices.

Though in relative political discussion a comparatively wide range of analysis rival with each other, in the sphere of global politics, the options have left restricted to the selection of systems and nation action examination. In workable thesis some determination is normally made among the universal or major global system and state in actual usage.

as actor at the surface on which discussion is to be conducted. Every access has separate benefits. The efforts have been made to choose the best approach. One of the indicative but not much elaborated idea, "Subordinate International System", was first sketched by Leonard Binder during 1953, as an attempt to analyse Middle East and afterwards used by different writers to other areas.

Something is always added to every discussion of universal practice of nations at a plane of intervening examination among the regional and international ground particularly if it is not related with a structural unit. Louis J. Cantori, and Steven L. Spiegel have tried to fix a premise for the orderly treatment of the regions as separate entities sharing in international affairs, in his article named, "The International Politics of Regions". Their chief attempt


is to distinctly outline the notion of subordinate system, in connection to a intricate universal order and to give a list of reasonable forms particularly, "core", periphery, and "intrusive system", to be able to get inter-territorial comparison. The purpose here is to develop a similar type of analysis as has been evolved of inter-regional grounds of similarity.

Nations of a subordinate system are actually interlinked only in Functional groupings. Each Functional organisation, (with the exclusion of Finland in EFTA) contains nations wholly included in a special subordinate system, if core periphery and interfering nations all are enclosed. On the other side the two kind, Co-operative and Alliance groupings incline to include nations from more than one subordinate system, additionally only the community subkind of Functional organisation is constituted of nations all of

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which compose the completeness of the system, core (in West Europe, the Members of the three European Communities).
Contrarily, the two Alliance and Co-operative groupings, incline to have members extracted beyond one subordinate system. Exclusions are OAS amongst the Co-operative organizations and the Warsaw Pact and the NATO said Alliance groupings. Moreover if nations of interfering systems are enclosed with core and peripheral nations. The Arab League includes nations contained in both subordinate systems (the Middle East and North Africa); The OAU nations are derived from five subordinate systems of African mainland; CENTO nations are drawn from the two subordinate systems Middle East and South Asia; and SEATO participants are included in three subordinate systems Southern Asia, South West Pacific, and South East Asia.

Moreover significant partners of Alliance groupings are usually to be discovered in the intruding system like United States in CENTO, SEATO, and NATO, Britain in CENTO and Soviet Union in Warsaw Pact United Kingdom and France in SEATO.

10. Middle East as a Subordinate International System:

Continuance of the bipolar system is owing to the approximately matching influence of United States and Soviet
Union. Theory of bipolar system is inapplicable to the international politics of Middle East. The influence of America and Soviet Union is much more than the power of all other nations. Their competition guides both to retaliate every move of the other not withstanding its regions or events. Middle Eastern nations are weak. They are not able to forcefully oppose major nations intrusions in their region. Formal result of the idea of bipolarity is the capability of major nations to neglect the smaller nations and indicates that any effort of one of the major nations to get a footing in the region suggests voluntary imperialism. The constructional effect of the idea is that the influence of the America and Soviet Union is dangerous and so the uncommitted nations likely be not overlooked. But this conception does not solve the achievement or fault of special major nation activities. Uncommitted nations want to isolate their own matters from its influences or take advantage of it to acquire their own objective or interrupt bipolarity, like the effort made in 1973 by Arabs to overthrow the influence of Russia and the United States.


From 1948 up to the middle of 1955, Russian activity and aspirations were comparatively inert in the Middle East. After 1948, America focussed on arranging the protection of the region. While resumed Russian action appears to have advanced merely following the first and small achievement of the United States generating the Baghdad Pact.

Russian activity in the region prior to 1948 was plainly directed to territorial expansion and authority during the disorganized events after the war. The United States succeeding attempts to arrange the protection of the region were justified by earlier Russian offensive conduct. But these attempts likewise be connected to the aim of strengthening Great Britain's authority in this region. In contact with setting of Russian inactivity and general adoption of bipolarity the United States reasoning has been doubtful.

The event under which Soviet action was renewed with more vigour is rather significant than the cause of Russian inactivity up to the middle of the year 1955. After the meagre accomplishment of America in bringing the Baghdad Pact

into existence, besides successive warnings there was no Soviet response. What evoked a more effective reaction was the emergence of significant break in Arab unity over the past. Therefore Russia was encouraged to intervene in the Middle East not originally as the result of the action of the United States but as a consequence of the occurrence of events of discord in that region.

In Iran and most of the Arab States the threat to the security of the nations is both internal and external. Aggression by the Soviet Union and United States has not been suitable in this region still their security is often threatened by disjoined acts of violence. Egyptian-Iraqi disputes was the consequence of totally innate situations distinguishing this region.


But later American action in Syria and with respect to Jordan are different conditions. This direction has not been realized, however, as represented in Eisenhower Doctrine. This Doctrine was a response to the Russian activity but its effectuation was not anyhow fitted to then events presented by the intrinsic ways of this region’s relationships. The Doctrine was pointed toward a theoretical activity of Russian aggressiveness, so that the attachment to it a objectives by certain nations of this region likely appear of genuine zeal. To them who apprehended no danger of bare Russian aggressiveness and who believed in bipolarity the Doctrine meant an act of imperialism. They accepted as the Baghdad Pact would exist it would rather gradually weaken the policy which it was believed to represent. If Russian aggressiveness was thought of questionable in this region inter-territorial aggressiveness and revolution had come to be increasingly probable Suez interruption cancelled the Tripartite Declaration of 1950. It ruined the Anglo Egyptian Treaty concluded in 1950. It greatly weakened British Treaty signed with Egypt during 1936.

39. New York Times, August 17, 1957 and following particularly August dispatch by D.A. Schmidt, The American by itself can not succeed in the Middle East, it is up to the administration of these regions. August 1, 1957, New York Times, New York p.5.


41. Jawharsh Nepru, in The Indian Times, New Delhi, August 8, 1952.
But one sided backing of Tripartite pact by United States was also both doubtful and unsatisfactory. Latest reassertion of the Tripartite declaration emphasized its relevance only to Arab Israeli dispute.

Advances in Jordan however provided the America to have its first occasion for seagre yet influential activity directed not at structural alteration of this region's constitution, but, to defend it. Backing Jordan's King Hussein by every kind of informal ways without extracting any conventional affirmation out of its administration and beyond intruding their unequal major influence in the Middle East was prosperous to a certain extent for some time. In Jordan and in Syria encouraging events of discord brought Russian reaction to light. When the Syrian attachment to Russia improved and came to light the America started a strong counter-action. The scheme was worded as "quarantine" of Syria by adjoining nations. But this phrase was never clearly described. Looking at following events particularly the Syrian refusal of King Saud's attempt to intervene in Syro-Turkish issue the quarantine action was not suitable with Middle Eastern political


connections abilities and disposition. To discontinue the
assistance for the Aswan High Dam Project was aimed at
undermining Nasser Government. The attempt was obviously
wrong and showed restrictions on external nations efforts
to participate in the politics of Middle Eastern States.
United States was unsuccessful in Middle East not because of
Russian counteraction. But because of domestic events fight-
ing against offers of the United States. These native factors
explain why King Saud took United States assistance but
tried to align Arab's against Egypt, likewise favoured
Eisenhower Doctrine but attempted to back Syria against Turkey
and America at the global organization. Thus great power
efforts are "refracted", when applied to Middle Eastern
politics.

Leonard Binder treats Middle East as subordinate
international system. His diagnosis clearly shows one premise,
that Middle East system can not be known clearly in shapes
of bloc hostility happening in the international relations.
It is also plain that the attempts of major nations to domi-
nate nations of Middle East fluctuate as the result of their

44. Guyvint and Peter Calvocoressi, Middle East Crisis,

45. Leonard Binder, "The Middle East as a subordinate
International System," World Politics, Volume, 10, No.3,
insensibility to the significance of their subordinate order's worth and influence. Binder shows, Middle East is a subordinate order, for its weakness, major nations influence on it is more in comparison to its pressure on universal matters and due to a recognizable extent of self determination of Middle East. The result of the earlier political solidarity of the region is the facility with which native policies can influence matters in adjoining states.

Jordan has small population. But till lately its strength could be estimated in terms of Great Britain's guided, skilled furnished, endowed Arab multitudes. The opportunity of external intrusion in the Middle East is extensive. Subject to common weakness of region comparatively, excessive sums of material and professional assistance can advance an interim pre-eminence of influence still in such a unit as Jordan. The United States joining the military committee of the Baghdad Pact during 1957 showed full United States support for the 46 pact against communism.

The Suez invasion represents a weak military transaction and even worse political military management. It demonstrates the restraining power of external nations to commission influence in this region. And the short time while such a

promise likely be continued. An additional present effect of the general, if however, restricted, opportunity of outside intrusion is the related balance of the function of each action of this region in the system, circumscribed merely by internal political events. These elements increased an intrinsic instability of subordinate system. However, the direction lately has been for external power of both the America and the Soviet Union. United States did not join the Baghdad Pact to avoid accentuating the tensions and rivalries between Arab States.

Characteristic of the security issue in this region is mere obscurity connected to the question of security in the major international system. The idea of security in an atomic war is so much out of compass of these region's administrations as to be insignificant. The security issue in this region is different from that in major international system. These nations do not make proper goals for atomic weapons. External help, population, respect for leaders, mobilisation of pan-Arab ideology and oil wealth are the key-elements of purposes the Middle Eastern power, structure. To be significant for/of examining community co-relations of Middle East the influential security consideration must be connected with present foreign

47. Eleanor Landis, American Foreign Policy in the Making, Dulles, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, p. 271.
policies and therefore to regional questions. Subordinate systems security intentions must be affirmed on the continuation of existing systems, that means, national security in this region signify the security of separate units and not the protection of independent community at large or of Islam or of Arab Group of nations.

There are some people who indicate an Arab national motive in the expression of Arab nationalist ideology. This defence imply either that the incentive of Arab persons is adverse to their own administrations in most of the conditions or that ideal is in some way a motive and that intention likely continue to be somewhat away from helping any stipulated kind of persons. Anyway, that likely be the idea of Arab national consideration so far it press on the political consolidation of Arab nations and likely regional enlargement at the cost of Iran, Turkey and Israel, it is more a menace than a replacement for security interest of all present units.

The trend of the Arab nations has been to reject existence of Turkey and this corresponds in anticipation with reservation of Turkey from Arab issues. Turkey acknowledged Iran and it joined the western bloc in view of the tendency of United States.

These tendencies rested on the cautions of difference of opinion, of the two power blocs. Turkey did not align with West, because of the peculiarities of Middle Eastern system. Distinctly the plan broke for valid motive. But it proved the particular function of this country in this region of joining of east and west. Place of Turkey in quite uncertain. After World War I foreign policies of Turkey were not imperialist. These had been so in past. Turkey be looked as a recent state directing the well off political renewal for other present European nations. Because this way Turkey can be more influential in this region.

11. Iran:

Iran had a particular relationship with Arab-States and it like Turkey filled the gap in the major global system and subordinate system. Iranian foreign policies are not imperialist. Generally Iran has underwent great imperialist interference. The specially unfortunate position of the country was that it was coveted by both the Russia and the Great Britain but was not aligned to either. Iran lately tried to copy Turkey in joining with the West. This opportunity was made available to Iran by gradual decline of the British influence in the Middle East.

Iran is given by the variance of its religion in Islam and by a history of four hundred year long political border dispute. It has insisted in maintaining its stand which has rendered the entire political and cultural integration of Iran and Iraq difficult. On its side existence of important shi'ah religious seats in Iraq exemplifies the common Middle Eastern flood of domestic into international politics. Though rivaling oil industry competes with that of adjoining Arab States yet it is not a separating factor. While Iran can possibly gain from the interruption of oil production in the Arab States, just as these states gained from the disruption of Iranian oil production. This kind of rivaling means an intimate reciprocal relationship rather than an unconnected lack of relationship. There is a complex interdependence of economic political and military factors between the Iran and the United States.

In spite of its attachment to Baghdad Pact Iran had an intimate relationship with Arab States in many ways. The feeling of unaccomplished nationalism in Iran was well-known and made Iran an honoured member of the group of new emerging nations. Although Iran or to be more exact Shah of Iran had entered into a treaty with the West under the equal pressure of the Soviet Union and the United States. It is obvious that

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the greatest benefit for Iran is in the absence of any compulsion. In this way Iran is with many neutral nations in wishing to interrupt the bipolar relations. But Iran could not practically follow this policy, because the pressure from Soviet Union was very great and the private position of Shah and his son was very weak in the absence of foreign assistance.

Because of its non-Arab nature Iran could not intervene in mutual relations of Arab States. But because of its past as a prey of imperialist, selfish, ambitions Iran more than Turkey honoured the Baghdad Pact. This reality had certain appeal in the Middle East; in the of Iran under Mossadegh an attempt was made to gain Arab backing in opposition to Great Britain. It appeared as if an intimate relationship possibly would grow between Iran and Egypt. Nothing came out of these efforts for reason of greatest divergence in the nature of issues facing each state as neither had the strength to aid the other.

An absolutely powerful Iran possibly and intentionally would try to bind itself in the tactful strategy amidst the Arab states and possibly be more capable of giving support to the Government of Iraq should that country come to be separated from other Arab countries. But one of the prominent characteristics of the periphery is that its diplomatic alignment is distinguishably beyond the region. For example peripheral
countries often look to their diplomatic arrangements beyond of rather than in the subordinate order. This can be seen for instance in the vital part played by Nigeria a state of West African peripheral sector and in the adherence of Iran and Turkey which are states of the Middle East peripheral sector in the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

Inspite of Indian and neutralist view, member countries pressed the United States to join the Baghdad Pact. Because so long as ideological containment was given priority, the United States could only interfere in opposition to Communism that is Soviet Union. To be successful great power involvement in Middle East must be modest and initiative should be left to state concerned, because powers outside the region were suspicious of such alliances hence such alliances were not likely to be durable. Because the regional powers were interested in regional rather than the problems outside the region for instance in Baghdad Pact relations between the United Kingdom and Iraq could have been amended not relations between Iraq and Turkey. An external state cannot force a regional nation to serve extraneous interest. It can only help it to achieve its own interests through technical and material aid. It can support but not change the situation. North Atlantic Treaty

Organisation linked United States with Turkey and United Kingdom and South East Asia Treaty Organisation linked Pakistan with United States. Iran was the only member of the Baghdad Pact not yet linked directly with the United States by a collective defence arrangement.

12. The Organisation at Work:

The delegates of U.K., Iraq, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, attended the first meeting of Ministerial Council at Baghdad in 1955. United States was also invited. A Military Committee and a permanent council were set up, to strengthen the defensive capacity against communism. The second meeting of the Council was held at Tehran in April 1956. Eisenhower Doctrine against Communism, to support a Middle East nation was also adopted by U.S. Congress.

13. Attitude of India:

Jawaharlal Nehru was real anxious about this military assistance promised to Pakistan under this Doctrine. In his


view. Baghdad Pact divided Arab world and West Asian World instead of stopping aggression it had made the situation worse by originating tensions more, than they existed it had raised disunity amongst the Arab countries. He said President Nasser was the symbol of Arab Nationalism and while people looked more and more to Arab nationalism governments looked away from Arab nationalism, and people, it has promoted disunity among Arab States.

He was really concerned at Pakistan's joining the Baghdad Pact, as it threatened Indian Security. Though again and again United States spokesmen refuted the fact, even before Baghdad Pact came into existence Pakistan and United States signed the mutual defense Assistance Agreement at Karachi. On May 19, 1954, before signing the U.S. Pakistan agreement, promising assistance to Pakistan in case of armed aggression, President Eisenhower, wrote to J.L. Nehru, on February 24, 1954 the assistance assured to Pakistan under this agreement, was not in any way directed against India. Mr. Bunker repeated the same assurance, in November 1954. Still it is said

55. Ibid., pp. 94-96, and 281-283.
57. Ibid., pp. 374-375.
Pakistan used Patton tanks in the Rann of Kutch, which it had no right to do, as the claim of India over Rann was stronger according to preparation survey of India maps. It was however contradicted by Pakistan, but ultimately dispute was settled by peaceful means. Still it was understood if Pakistan joined the Baghdad Pact "to get arms to attack India to settle the Kashmir dispute. Members pressed United States to give its greater support to Baghdad Pact."

14. Withdrawal and Change of Name:

Iraq's joining the Baghdad Pact was unfavourable to the Arab world. Iraq was treated as an outcast. At the meeting of Baghdad Pact nations, after the successful Iraqi revolution of July 14, 1958, Prime Minister General Qassim said that membership of a military and aggressive Pact was not in harmony with Iraqi neutralism. Iraq formally withdrew from the pact and its headquarter were transferred from Baghdad to...

59. The Times, London, April 1965, for the report of its Delhi Correspondent "The photographs of Patton tanks, deployed for action in the Rann are understood to have been, accepted as proof by the American military mission here. It is reported that Washington has taken up this question with Pakistan."


61. The Hindustan Times, November 6, 1965, Political Diary by Insaaf, Col.9, paragraph I, p.7.

Ankara. Delegates of Pakistan Iran and United Kingdom affirmed on July 22, 1959 that conditions which necessitated the Pact still existed and the Pact was needed more than ever. After withdrawal of Baghdad, the pact was renamed Central Treaty Organization on August 19, 1959, CENTO chiefly remained a security organization.

It's member countries were Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and Great Britain. The main objective of the member countries was cooperation for mutual security and defence. Turkey Israel and Iran exist in a special relation with Arab group of states in the Middle East. Turkey persist to be with Europe. It is a member of NATO as well as CENTO complete result of these special characteristics has been to weaken the prevailing influence of Turkey in Middle Eastern matters. Turkey's cultural disputes are very deep and it is insignificantly joined with Europe in commerce. Its existing linkage with the European states in United Nations and the continuance of its favouring of Western bloc in international organization is questionable as these trends get merely restricted effect.


64. S.C.G.R., 9th Year 67st - 696 Meetings.
15. **MINISTRY:**

a. The Council: The Ministerial Council, the controlling body in CENFO was set up in accordance with Article 6 of the pact, following the accession of the Pakistan as the fourth member in 1955. Each member government has on the council a permanent deputy representative of ambassadorial rank, and meetings at deputy level are held regularly at head quarters. United States representatives attend as observers at both ministerial and deputies meetings and at the invitation of the council take full part in the meetings.

b. Subsidiary Committees: The Military Committee: The Military Committee is composed of Chiefs of Staff or Commanders in Chief, who normally meet, shortly before the Ministerial Council. The United States has been a member since 1957.

It is in the field of co-ordination that the military work of the organization largely lies. Since there is no CENFO command and military assistance. The bilateral agreements of March 5, 1959 are instances of such special agreements. These agreements are mainly provided bilaterally and not multilaterally. At its ninth session in Ankara, the

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Text of the Treaty with Turkey, Ibid., pp. 320-322.
Text of the Treaty with Iran, Ibid., pp. 314-316.
Ministerial Council agreed in April 1961, to appoint a
Commander CENTO Military Staff, to improve co-ordination among
the participating States.

c. Economic Committee: Since all member countries
estimate that military planning and security vigilance would
be ineffective in building up resistance to Communism if
extremes of poverty and inequality exist, increasing emphasis
in the work of CENTO, has been placed on economic development.
Hence an Economic Committee was set up by its members, in
January 1956 to examine measures of co-operation which would
strengthen the economies of member countries. The United
States became a member of this committee in 1956.

The Economic Committee deals with the work of impact
on daily life of the people. It has nominated a scientific
Council and four main sub-committees, to deal with public
works and communications, health, agriculture, animals and
trade. United States became a member of the Committee in
April 1956.

d. The Counter-Subversion Committee: The United
States became a member of this committee in year 1956. The
Counter Subversion Committee generally meets twice a year, to
inform the member countries on ways of opposing, the threat
of subversion in the region.
e. The Liaison Committee: This committee helps in exchanging information between countries.

f. The Secretariat: All these committees function with the help of a permanent secretariat, whose head is Secretary General. Mr. Kemuran Gurun took command on March 31 as Secretary General of CENTO, after Mr. Unit Haluk Beyulken. There is a Security Organization under Secretary General. Deputy Secretaries - General direct a Public Relations Division, and Economic Division and a Political Division.

16. Strengthening the Defences

Many important actions were taken to resist Communist aggression. United States gave monetary aid on a long-term basis to newly developing countries under Development Loan Fund in July 1957. United Kingdom announced in June 1957 to contribute £500,000 a year in cash or in kind, for educating for the supply of a defense infrastructure (i.e., the fixed installations required for the service of a modern fighting force) for building the military force of the alliance. Two radar stations were established in Iran and expenditure was more than announced by British Foreign Secretary. In December 1957, a light mobile training unit was built to be managed by Iran. Turkish Government was given £3.3 million on hire-purchase (loan) by the British Government, to purchase and re-equip...

four large British destroyers, besides such military help, which Turkey gets under NATO from the United States to purchase modern equipments like anti-aircraft missiles. Under the United States military aid programme, assistance was given to Pakistan. A loan equal to £40,000 was given to Pakistan for an indefinite period, to purchase anti-aircraft equipment besides training facilities, for Pakistan services person and technicians in the United Kingdom. Members of the forces of Pakistan Turkey and Iran were given training facilities in United Kingdom.

Joint Staff air defence and naval exercises, are undertaken by United Kingdom, United States and regional countries to co-ordinate regional defence training. These exercises are planned by Combined Military Planning Staff with the objective to secure economic development. Iran, Pakistan, United Kingdom United States contributed naval units and air cover by aircraft of the Royal Air Force and the Pakistan air force in year 1961 at Karachi. Turkey was given larged quantity of foreign economic and military aid.

B. **Economic Advances:**

Even before the Baghdad Pact came into existence £700 million aid and much loan was given to regional countries for capital development and technical assistance, by 1956, under United States Mutual Security Programme; this aid continued. £ ten million worth aid for the development of food production was given to Pakistan, by the British Government, besides many million £ allowance, by the Canada Australia and Newzealand and aid by members of Commonwealth under Colombo Plan. Iran has much resources of its own from its growing oil industries, still an aid of ten million £ was given to it by the British Government, for economic and social improvement. Resident advisers of the British Middle East Development Division at Beirut also assisted, regional countries on economic and social issues.

C. **The CEHTO Institute of Nuclear Science:**

Post graduate students were trained, for the peaceful application of radioisotopes and a Nuclear Centre was opened, at Baghdad in March 1957. After Iraq's withdrawal from CEHTO, a nuclear centre was opened at Tehran, in its place on 23rd June 1959. The United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority gave specialised apparatus and supplied directors and assisted with scientific staff. Additional £ 30,000 are annually given by British Government to net for obtaining items of equipment for research projects and consultative work.
17. Technical Assistance Programmes:

United Kingdom gave £1,000,000 and £1,000,000, for capital equipment and technical assistance respectively at Karachi, in May 1957 for five years for planning and execution of joint economic projects and United States gave a grant of £12,57,000 for the same. Afterwards, in 1961 United Kingdom gave a grant of £450,000 per annum for the aforesaid.

a. Communications: The United States gave £13 1/2 million and United Kingdom gave £650,000 for telecommunications service. Tehran Ankara and London were linked by telecommunication service in June 1961. British Government gave another £350,000 worth aid for meteorological and meteorological telecommunications equipment. Roads and railways were improved between Turkey and Iran, and Turkey and Iraq, with an additional £420,000 aid from British Government, besides such number of cranes and ancillary equipment, which this Government gave for port development in Trabzon in Turkey and Iskenderun.

b. Agriculture: During 1961 in Iran an Agricultural Machinery and Soil Conservation Centre was opened by the United Kingdom and three regional governments with the support of the organization's Multilateral Technical Co-operation Fund. Twenty four students from Pakistan, Turkey and Iran were taken in it.
The United States and United Kingdom scientists arranged seminars and a number of scholarships and fellowships were awarded to the nationals of regional countries. Agricultural Engineers Association gave agricultural machinery on indefinite loan. British Government supplied facilities of the director, four instructors and other equipments. United Kingdom gave £ 50,000 and £ 40,000 for the Rezi Institute in Iran and for a soil fertility survey in Pakistan, supplied staff and equipment to Pakistan, for an animal reproduction centre at-Mailir; gave £ 20,000 worth of equipment to Tehran University to open a biological laboratory in the faculty of Veterinary sciences. Turkey was given, for a brucellosis laboratory, equipment worth, £ 20,000. Pakistan was given £ 12,000 worth equipment for the making of rinderpest vaccine. Three regional countries were given £ 5000 worth of materials for pilot projects to fight animal parasites.

c. Trade: The United States Government financed many technical seminars and conferences, which were held to discuss narcotics control, role of banking in development, statistics, mineral resources and tourism. Under the patronage of the organization many seminars were held on various problems like customs procedure.

d. Health: The United States, financed within the region plans, for exchange visits of research workers especially in
antisalerial problems, besides travelling fellowships. United Kingdom has given to three regional countries, X-ray equipment for tuberculosis centres. Many nurses were sent to help a three year nursing school to Tabriz, in Iran, and to Ankara hospital in Turkey. A cesium unit for the University of Shiraz, in Iran; and a number of fellowships for study in the United Kingdom were awarded.

e. Technical Education Equipment for the laboratories in the Faculties of Physics and Engineering, senior staff in these faculties and in the Department of English language and Faculty of Administrative Sciences to the Middle-East Technical University was given by United Kingdom. A British Registrar was nominated to this University from 1960 to 1963. To help Tehran £ 75,000 worth of equipment was given, and three teachers were sent to Mechanical Engineering Institute of Polytechnic Tehran; Five British teachers were sent to Vocational Training Centre in Tehran.

18. Intervention by Major Nations:

There are two types of regional interference, from outside of the region. Politically important intervention and politically unimportant participation. Politically insignificant contribution includes material help, economic investment, trade educational and cultural attempts which do not generally
cause sharing in the authority of the area for instance
Canadian help to India and Spanish participation in Middle
East.

Politically important sharing, on the otherwise, causes
participation in the sovereignty of the subordinate order and
can influence the balance of dominant system. For instance
military or economic help creating a change in the dominion
of the area, holding of the colony, structural groupings,
military promise, or any compact which motivate the outside
nation to step in manners which be like the kinds of the
functions, that would generally be followed by nation intrinsic
to the area. Outside nations share in the politics of
an area by multilateral organizations, bilateral arrangement,
holding of a colony, trade and economic investment, military
intrusion, subversion, International Organization, Cultural
and educational activities, and propaganda. These peculiar
manner of sharing in the interfering order have positive and
negative influence on power-cohesion, structure of relations,
and communications. Interfering nations have been capable to
affect whether or not they have been members of these universal
groupings for instance CSHTO, NATO and COMECON. Recently
significant changes have occurred in Middle East. One of the
chief important incidents which have been forming political and
economic realities all over Middle East during the years

Of direct significance is economic help, which exempts capital for buying of military equipment aids, or disposals of military weapons and the know how for the handling of these weapons, impartation of technological knowledge and skill, and material required to permit making of the military arms in the region, and ultimately, the promise of military units, for instance supply of American weapons and nuclear reactors to Iran, in Middle East.

Lead by Truman Doctrine basis of American foreign policy of containing communism on universal basis, the United States created Marshall Plan, which involved economic help to sixteen Western European Nations. As a reaction the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy, France and Czechoslovakia, drew up cominform, no Asian Country participated in its creation. Pakistan is a member of United States

69. Editors, Patricia Ann O'Connor; major contributor Margaret Thompson; contributors Howard Fields and others 4th edition, Congressional Quarterly, Inc. 1979, p. 244.


initiated anti-communist arrangements of SEATO and CENTO, Pakistan concluded a regional arrangement with Communist China at the same time it continued to be a member of anti-communist arrangements, neither did the United States proclaim its ejection nor China persist on Pakistan leaving its anti-communist arrangements.

By her self Pakistan was more interested in CENTO than SEATO and attempted to use CENTO arrangement in her 1971 dispute opposite to Bangla Desh crisis. Problems of hegemonic power in CENTO are very different than what they are in NATO. In CENTO every member's country has many economic political and internal problems, which are not solved. The work of hegemonic power is two fold, in first instance, it helps a member country in economic development, so that chances of internal threat, may end like these are almost non-existent in European countries. In the second place it helps the member country already engaged in civil war with communists, as in Vietnam.

Logically continued western leadership in alliances like CENTO and SEATO has become less acceptable not only to neutralists but even in western circles. In quickly deceived superficial alliances like CENTO western powers were not

concerned with regional problems, from the very beginning of their founding, hence their right of leadership in SEATO and CENTO grew thinner and poorer and by 1960 was almost done for. Blocs are not concerned with regional problems still they interfere, within internal matters of the regional countries with obstructed, certainty, through economic help for example Russian aid to Egypt, propaganda, actual war as in Uninterrupted Arab-Israel conflict Jordan and Lebanon in 1968, Kuwait in 1961. The American method is fundamentally different until 1959. America could meet any Communist challenge unaided. In South East Asia no one nation except Egypt and Afro-Asian neutralists at rare occasions, is strong enough to repel back the aggression and act like India, except through United Nations. In other words South East Asia is a power vacuum, exposed to extra area pressure, while America is not.

19. Regionalism and Military Pacts in Middle East:

In Middle East, the consolidation of Arab States still remains merely an ideal. The Arab group of nations have not


internationally accepted boundaries Iran and Israel are marginally included in the Middle Eastern system geographically speaking Arab States of Syria, Egypt, Sudan and Iraq are situated more in centre than Arab states of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia of the Maghrib while Kuwait, Jordan, Lebanon, and Libya are geographically scattered Arab States. In the Middle East social consistency is important in making out the periphery. Therefore three non-Arab states Iran, Israel and Turkey form the periphery. Distinctive religious contrast to nationalism being the foundation and standard to fix and mark the limit of a region, on condition to examine closely the comparison of system of governments, in addition with relation concerning short colonial experience of Middle Eastern states. Correct Middle East extends from Libya to Iran, with border regions embarrassing, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and, Maghrib and a core region including the Israel and Arab States. Binder fixes the limit of the proper Middle East as a geographic region shaped by Afghanistan, Maghrib and the Pakistan and a "core" of Israel and the Arab states, fixing the limits of Middle east in this manner Binder does not merely takes the geographical aspects in account, but also some common historical

elements as well concerning Pan Islamic ideals, Pan Arabism, and Ottoman Empire.

The subordinate order is self governing but depends on other systems because systems overlap. Nasser's three centres, the Arab, African, and Muslim circles, all include African states. Leaving Iran all members of Middle East, Arab States, Israel, and modern Turkey were at some period a part of the Ottoman Empire. No Middle Eastern country was gainer in the partition of the Ottoman Empire. Due to this reason, relations between them are more strained and doubtful than normal. A treaty between them is out of question, except where members have no common boundary like Syria and Egypt or a small boundary like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, or Jordan and Iraq. The treaty between Iraq and Turkey is thereby an exception to be explained in respect of provisions of a broader outline, including the major nations and in respect of special domestic political situation in Iraq.

The single existing principle for a treaty is to aim at reciprocal abstention of their mutual desires, by agreeing to

76. Leonard A. Binder, Prolegomena to the Comparative Study of Middle East Governments, American Political Science Review, LI No. 3 (September 1957) pp. 651-62.

existing conditions. This principal was introduced by Egyptians in the Arab League pact, and thus it gained common Arab backing and so much as power of enlisting states which were not then members of the United Nations. Arab League and organization of African Unity are regional security groupings beyond the arenas of concern of the two bipolar blocs. Article III of the charter of OAU records aims of the arrangement. In the end it asserts a policy of non-alignment with respect to all blocs, to attempt to restrict the cold war in to the region. Such a plan was both required and rendered practicable by the reality that no participant nations had approach to nuclear or atomic arms.

Eight Arab countries Algeria, Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Mauritania, Sudan, United Arab Republic and Somalia were members of both OAU and Arab League. But inefficiency of the Arab League was obvious due to the lack of Arab Union in the Palestine dispute. In the Arab League the Egyptian wish to lead Arab nations and the persisting resistance of following Iraqi administrations to a dominant Egyptian role show hegemonic basis in a regional institution. Besides in the Organizations of African Unity although no one member has until now placed itself as the influential or convincing power in structural matters. It appears plain that many politicians with hegemon

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78. Robert W. MacDonald, Arab States, op. cit., pp. 74-82.
aspirations of Pan African solidarity below their statesmanship resolved that such ambitions of Pan African uniformity could be followed forcefully by the making of Pan African Union.

Usually it has been estimated that regional emphasis on genuine neighbourliness that is on the nation in grouping is leading to the pacific settlement of disputes on a foundation of mutual working instead of compulsion. A correct equilibrium must be preserved in every regional organization. Where the stress comes to be completely one sided, it appears to be unsatisfactory to keep the grouping as a vital instrument of safety even for the restricted aims announced for it. For instance, when SEATO and CENTO were organized, their insistence was nearly and specially on the arrangement as actor. Western nations tried to consolidate their orbits of power, thereupon making plain to their adversaries that these regions of the South East Asia and Middle East formed legal areas of Western authority. The rejection of adjoining nations to stick to these military Pacts, throw doubt on the affirmations of western nations at the very start. Still, had it been practicable, but was not even earnestly tried to form these groupings tools for pacific settlement of regional dispute. These organisations possibly, have turned after some time, have consolidated

Western allegiance to these regions, whereas making the claim of Western hegemony reliable. Rather, in neglecting the practicability of these organizations in the area of inter-regional security, the Western nations exhibited and confirmed assertions to hegemony considered as more and more shadowy. Around 1950's CENTO was almost done for and SEATO was nearly lacking repute as an influential anti-Communist organization. Some American critics had by this time confessed, at the time United States was forming these pacts, they thought such groupings were realities not shadowy illusions, but they commented that they were wrong at that time.

New qualities meanings developed in power between Iraq and Egypt and have harrassed the Arab League from very beginning, restricting the successful working of the League members. On many events of recurring problems which faced the Arab League, both Arab nations have usually agreed merely in opposition to establish cordial relations with Israel. Although according to President Nasser's initiative, the policy of Arab non-alignment with both the cold war power blocs had been widely accepted, and constant insincere worship is rendered

32. Ibid., pp. 105-13.
to the idea of Arab Unity, competition among Arab nations have persistently restricted any development of this aspect. Any way this containment function for the Arab League after the short time for the O.A.U. advanced obviously during 1960's as the supposition and observance of "preventive Diplomacy" developed within the world organization. The function directed and put to the Arab League and O.A.U. is perceptibly concurrent of preventive diplomacy from regional point of view a reality with significant meaning for international system.

The development of regionalism in the non-aligned regions of the earth was, consequently, made practicable by the achievement of national freedom in various areas years under the influence of colonial rule of European nations. However, Arab League and Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) could be described at least to a certain degree as means for the unity of national freedom in the region and means of mutual working and regional arrangement. Thus, very nearly since its beginning, Arab League policy has been aimed towards encouraging a movement of national freedom still under the authority of external 33 nations.

The African subordinate order is distinguished by inferior armed abilities of the many administrations, inferior socio-economic advancement and comparatively limited association that

83. Ibid., pp. 94-96.
these nations have to universal system. The bipolar rivalries of the global order carry small connection on the forms of inter-relationships inside Africa. Looking at the normative peculiarities of African sub-system such an idea is a helpful addition to stress on the form and dispersion of nation's matters and the arrangement of affairs. In spite of inefficiency of these nations to the universal politics, there are circumstances on which bipolar competitions are important in section in the political affairs of the African system. Like Arab League O.A.U. tries to rescue left over colonies as one of the basic principles of the grouping. As the issue of Kuwait inside the Arab League showed this plan be as much the product of competition between the members and their reciprocal disinclination to allow one nation to add an additional region at the cost of other associates. Since it is an effect of a theoretical devotion to the privilege of independents. However, one consequence of the scheme has been to stress the kind of the organisation as the tool of national independence instead of regional co-ordination.


Under almost common revisionism treaties with external nations are very doubtful and unstable, as regional concerns generally get preference over external interests. Hence any effort by an external nations to establish intimate relations with one or two middle-Eastern states which had themselves been reluctant or incompetent to form bilateral arrangement will not be successful like Middle East Defence Organization. The U.N. means to bring situation under control are accidental and have proved insignificant in the current Iran-Iraq dispute. To the extent Iraq was interested in the Baghdad Pact, the Pact was more significant in improving relations with Great Britain than with Turkey. Clearly Turkey played an inferior part in deciding Baghdad Pact Policy lately importance has shifted from Military to political security in this region.

Generally speaking, the whole region is distinguished by great weakness, political instability, and governmental ineffectiveness. The common lack of resources, low conditions of economic growth, and low position of education are the primary causes of this weakness. The position of Turkey is comparatively better, it has largest population in the Middle East and has always enjoyed largest sums of external economic and military assistance. The population of Iran is third.

largest in the Middle-East (leaving Pakistan), but the inhabitants are scattered over a vast region and are characterized by much discord. The position in Iran is nearly like that of Egypt but it is less populated and has enjoyed greater sum of external assistance. Iraq, with a greater population than Syria, has continually received larger technical and military aid, and is more strong. Lately the expansion of Iraq's petroli industry has afforded a sufficiently sound basis her economic growth. In view of external assistance and the existing population, there are much chances of external intervention in this region. Growth of Moscow's influence in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, from June war of 1967 is very significant in this context. Relations among core Arab States are specially perfect, uninterrupted, extreme and multilateral. There are no relations with Israel, and restricted ties with Iran and Turkey.

Today in the Middle East there is democracy in Israel and, with restrictions, in Lebanon. Non-communist authoritarianism of different kinds - military in Egypt, Turkey and Yemen, and, constitutional autocracy in Jordan and Iran. Administrations in Middle East are unsuccessful to cope with unexpected shifts. The greatest weakness of these government is in the lack of means to meet, either growing needs for employment or better, standards of living or better military weapons or both.
at one and the same time. These matters induce Middle Eastern Governments to receive external assistance neither to make their nation more powerful or advanced nor as means to secure their safety against external intervention but as a measure to remain in power.

Iraq won its freedom early. It is rich in resources. This state admitted Pan Arabs in post World War I period. Turkey is a member of NATO since long the United States wanted to use Turkey as a Uniting medium in arranging defence in Middle East Iraq favoured Turkey but Arab world did not. Russian intervention comes to be a bit second to this local structural problem.

The system is of late origin. It has gained strength recently. In contains in itself seeds of its own destruction. The political borders that have been settled in the region have small historical and legal importance. These borders are often interferred hence miss stability and validity. To make them legal some competent action should be taken. The present dispute between Iran and Iraq is a pointless dispute over boundary the shatt-al Arab Water Way.

These nations could not by themselves meet what they considered to be a disruptive factor in their region. The part of major nations in accepting the division of Palestine
had lasting influence on the Middle East. Palestine question had hardly much to do with Africa. Although Africa and Arab nations have been made subject to very infamous type of colonial authority that is French and British domination later when the African countries to the South of Sahara got independence they left involvement in the crisis of Middle East.

Chatt-ai problem like Palestine problem can be resolved only if the power of major nations is completely taken back which does not seem to be likely in view of present and past foreign policies of these nations. These foreign policies rest much on the favour of major nations. The efforts of non-aligned nations have so far been unsuccessful; like Five year Egyptian-Saudi Yemen Defence Treaty of April 31, 1956; Egyptian-Syrian-Saudi joint command declared March 6, 1956; Jordan-Saudi-Syrian-Egyptian, "Unified Frontier", Plan announced March 23, 1956; Egyptian-Saudi-Yemeni Five year Defence Pact stated April 31, 1956. Lebanese-Jordanian Co-ordinated Defence Pact concluded May 21, 1956, similar Jordanian-Syrian agreement considered during May 31, 1956 and the Egyptian-Saudi-Syrian arrangement at assumed on January 19, 1957 to help Jordan.

It is among these nations that the equality of the part of every sharer is very singular with realities of

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influence among nations. Nevertheless all continue as though satisfied with in arrangement because of local governmental circumstances. On account of external intervention. Due to the existence of Israel among them. But if Iran and Iraq are not able to cope with the events peacefully at regional level they should both be prepared for further intervention by major nations in their region.

OSHA was originally set up for security reasons, but it can not in any way help settling disputes at regional level because of its restricted membership. It can neither settle Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan nor it can settle acute differences between Afghanistan and Pakistan, because neither India nor Afghanistan are its members. Likewise NATO can not settle a dispute between Malaya and Indonesia because neither Malaya nor Indonesia are its members. NATO also can not secure settlement in Italy and Austria regarding South Tyrol because Austria is a non-alligned country. Almost all unmanageable disputes Algeria Cuba, Sues, West Irian, Cyprus were turned to United Nations.

20. Hopeful signs:

Limits to the endless product of energy and raw materials consumption are not only physical but political and financial. The Oil price settlements during 1973-74 and the results of Arab Oil embargo increased the prices of the Oil from the
Middle East OPEC's success in withstanding political pressures of west made other raw material growing nations more confident for better arrangements with affluent nations. To day poor southern countries, mostly chief producers of raw material attained the economic success and the solidarity to deal with rich industrialized northern nation on a more just basis. The institutionalization of the Arab administrations is significant as the growing Arab prejudice with socio-economic interests and extending political schism and economic obstacles in Israeli community all of which have altered the face of international relation in this region.

The present rise of customs union organizations in Middle East Africa and Latin America rest on possibility of arrangements amidst smaller states, for social and economic progress, and removal of economic reliance on powerful nations. Zealous nationalism is found in these regions and considerable social and economic progress is essential. This aspect is not quite easy. But it is likely to be practicable and advantageous if sharing nations realize that national arrangement is a significant pre-requisite for successful regional partnership. Regional arrangements like CENCO geared in the better help of a nuclear major nation are more difficult and questionable.

39. R.D. Hebaurin, Ronald De and others, Foreign Policy Making in the Middle East, Domestic Influence on Policy in Egypt, Iraq, Israel and Syria, (Paragon 1977), p.313
41. George Linka, "Geographic Scope, The pattern of Integration", from "International Equilibrium" Cambridge, Massachus-