

**Cold War Implications in the 1950s:
Foreign Policy Changes in Iraq and Spain**

Asso.Prof./ Amany Salaheldin Soliman
Fucly of Arts – Alex. University

Cold War Implications in the 1950s:
Foreign Policy Changes in Iraq and Spain
Asso.Prof./ Amany Salaheldin Soliman
Fuculty of Arts – Alex. University

Key Words: Spain, Iraq, Foreign Policy, Soviet Union, Basque, Kurds.

Introduction

Several military coups took place in many Arab countries after the Second World War. One of the reasons that provoked the military uprising in these countries was the defeat in the 1948 war (called Nakba- or catastrophe in Arabic literature), which has happened due to many reasons, of which the unfound trust between the political leadership and the military was. That course took place in Egypt, Syria and Iraq during the nineteen fifties. The young nationalist officers in Arab militaries felt that their leaders betrayed them in favor of their own interests and for their tight relations with imperial powers as well. The officers claimed they should save their own countries from the corrupt monarchs and their oligarchies before dreaming of real national independence, as well as of freeing Palestine.

The Iraqi government took a warm leaning towards the West after announcing the British mandate in 1920. The peak point of this proximity was during the period of 1955-1958. The former period represented the eighth term of Nuri As-Said¹ as a prime minister of the Hashemite Kingdom in Iraq. This government was accused of giving total monopoly over Iraqi's oil mining, industry and exports to Western powers, precisely the British.²

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

The 1958 Iraqi Coup was inspired by the Egyptian Revolution of 1952, the Mosaddegh's³ reform procedures in Iran, the unity of Egypt and Syria in February of the same year and the Pact of Baghdad⁴ and which As- Said signed in 1955 against the public will.

The 1958 coup d'état in Iraq took place in a perfect timing with the presentation of Nikita Khrushchev⁵ to the Kremlin. On the contrary of Stalin, Khrushchev wanted his country to intervene in the politics of the third world liberation movements instead of waiting to the third world communist parties to contact Moscow. Stalin approach was marked by the slogan of "who is not with us, is against us" a principle caused the USSR in the after-war world and until late fifties not to build strong ties with the new emerging independent states in either Asia or Africa later on. Khrushchev saw a possibility of making more gains by taking the first step and approach for these countries before imperialism finds its way to them.⁶

Qassim found mutual interest in cooperating with the Soviets. He can guarantee them path to the Arabian Gulf and footstep across the Baghdad Pact countries, while the Soviets can help him to silence the Pan Arab nationalists and the Kurdish separatists. The still alive images of Baghdad Pact and Nuri As-Said were threatening pictures to use when negotiating with the Soviets.⁷

Regarding the situation in 1949 Spain; it was obvious that Francisco Franco's⁸ fascist rule of Spain dragged the country to an even worse conditions than what it has experienced under the Second Republic⁹ and even during the civil war. Many diplomats and reporters stated that the Spaniards were struggling to live under the highest inflation rates the country witnessed in its modern

history and with a ruined infrastructure and severe lack of basic needs of food and medical treatment.¹⁰

It was a challenge to Franco to prove that he is the only guarantor for Spain not to turn its face towards the East. He had to convince the Americans and the West in general that despite being a dictator and oppressor with all the accusations that he might have helped the Axis during World War Two, he was the only reason that the USSR failed to maintain the Republic that would have announced Spain as a communist and Pro-USSR country.¹¹

This paper argues that the arrangements of world politics after World War Two were a great opportunity for embracing dictatorships in many regions of the world. This embracing was not just by political alliances, since the Great Powers did all what it could to help those dictatorships flourish and prosper. They helped their non-democratic allies with economic, technical and military aid to offer more stability and to decrease the possibilities of a public revolt due to poor livelihoods or economic recessions. Hence, they helped these dictators with resources to feed their people and keep them calm.

Qassim in Iraq reminded the Soviet Union of his regime's importance since he was the alternative for the Pro-British monarchy. Franco also reminded the US and Europe of how communist and socialist his predecessors were during the Second Republic.

In comparison, Qassim in Iraq and Franco in Spain took a counter-course to prove their loyalty to an old enemy. This paper will focus on three points to prove that claim:

- Political alliances and neighborhood policy.
- Economic and military cooperation.

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

- Domestic oppression of the nationalist movements.

Changes in Foreign Policy to approach a previous enemy

The American foreign policy in the early Cold War period towards the Middle East was revolving around the Truman Doctrine¹² which implied the creation of a buffering belt to stand against communism and protection of the Arabian Peninsula' treasure of Oil.

The Truman Doctrine belt of countries was called the Northern Tier and included Greece, Turkey and Iran initially.¹³ The US relied on the British long-term existence in Iraq, Egypt and the Peninsula to secure the Northern and Western borders of the region. While the Soviet interest in the region started earlier during war time, when Mayaski- USSR Foreign Affairs minister- held a tour in the Middle East to start his country's diplomatic representation in Iraq, Lebanon and Syria. Iraq precisely was extremely important for the USSR due to its location on the borders of pro- West countries which were Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kuwait, Turkey and Iran. Of which the last two were on the borders of the Soviet Union Republics. The Location itself was important but also the oil reservoirs and the shores on the Arabian Gulf.¹⁴

However, Nuri As-Said cabinet of 1950 announced bluntly that it saw the interests of Iraq with the West, not with the USSR. As-Said held a press conference to say that neutrality was not possible, and he has to take sides. Large segments of the public opinion in Iraq refused this declaration and its implications. They formed the so-called "United People's Front" of which the Iraqi Communist Party was heavily involved.¹⁵

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

In May 1953, The US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and CIA Director Harold Stassen visited eleven countries around the world to establish partnerships against communism. This crucial visit included Iraq where the US delegation met the Prime Minister Jamil Al-Madfai and his minister of Foreign Affairs who said that the Iraqi public opinion is sympathizing with the USSR, and it was so hard to collaborate with the US especially after the 1948 War.¹⁶

Few years later, in January 1955 As-said who became a prime minister once again broke diplomatic ties with the USSR due to Soviet criticism of Iraq's membership in the Baghdad Pact.¹⁷

On July 14th 1958, Abdulkarim Qassim and other Iraqi officers toppled King Faisal II and took over in Iraq. A few days later, telegrams were exchanged between Moscow and Baghdad. The USSR wanted to resume diplomatic relations with Iraq. The first telegram was sent from Moscow on the 16th and recognized the new established republic and Baghdad replied with a welcome on the 18th.¹⁸

When Gamal Abdel-Nasser addressed the nation on December 23rd, 1958- few months after Qassim's coup- and he attacked the communists in Syria very harshly, it was another enchantment to the Soviet Union regarding Nasser who was not the kind of ally they hoped for. They became certain that Nasser would not empower the Syrian communists or even play a major role in Syrian politics under the United Arab Republic. In this Speech, Nasser also affirmed the positive neutrality approach of the UAR and said that it would never take sides in the battle between East and West, but it will just commit to the Pan Arab Nationalism ideology. This course of action made the Soviets welcome Qassim even more as a perfect ally with a strong communist domestic front.¹⁹

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

The British Foreign Office report in 1958 also highlighted the major influence of the Iraqi communists on Qassim. The British ambassador reported on the total domination of the communist discourse over the press and radio. Iraqi communists surrounded all entrances to Qassim to feed him with communist ideas as they cut access of any other ideology or thoughts to him. The report said that this approach frightened the Pan Arab nationalist, the Ba'athists and the Shiite who tried to outreach for Nasser to save their country before turning into a communist state, which actually led Qassim- according to the report- to more and more hanging on to the Soviets externally and to the Iraqi communists domestically.²⁰

On the other hand, coldness and suspicions were controlling the relation between Franco and the West. The allies refused to admit Spain to the United Nations. As they thought of Franco to be a fascist dictator still in power and reminding them of Hitler and Mussolini. Several countries cut or limited their diplomatic ties with Spain after the War accusing based on accusations of Franco's sympathy or perhaps clandestine help to the Axis during the War. On August 4th, 1949, the US Senate refused to admit Spain to the already active Marshall plan due to what they called the policies and practices of Franco and his regime.²¹

Franco decided to reintroduce himself to the US as an ally against communism. His rapprochement to the West was not built on assumptions or possibilities, there was a real time experience in Spain during the thirties when the Spanish socialist and communist parties were freely elected, formed governments and ruled the country in favor of the USSR till the fall of Madrid in March 1939. Franco did not have to spend a long time convincing the West

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

that his country would choose communism to alternate his regime if democracy was reintroduced. The recent history of Spain was supporting evidence of Franco's claims.

One of the major turning points of the American policies towards Franco was the advice of a confidential report sent on October 24th, 1947, by the State Department's policy planning staff. The memorandum expressed a pressing need to change the American policy towards Franco because his regime, despite the total exclusion from the European and the international family made Franco even more stubborn and not willing to change his autocratic regime. At the same time, there was no evidence- mentions the memorandum- on an anti-communism opposition leader that can replace Franco. The State department said that excluding Spain from any aids or recovery plans will lead it to internal turmoil as a result for the economic crisis and lack of basic needs, which would be met with extreme oppression. In that case, the Soviet Union might take advantage and agitate Spanish communists and socialists to start a revolution in the country.²²

After the Berlin Blockade in 1948 and the emergence of the Korea war in 1950, there was no doubt that the new conflict will be an East-West battle. The US realized that having Spain to its side in that delicate time, would be an asset especially that Franco seemed not to be leaving power any soon.

In 1950, the United States and its allies supported a UN resolution to stop the boycott against Spain. President Truman of the US wanted to show both political and economic support to Franco and his regime. Spain and the United States retrieved full diplomatic relations in 1951.²³

Political alliances and neighborhood policy

When Qassim seized power in Iraq, he declared the principles of the republic's new foreign policy. He said that his country would be in closest cooperation with all other Arab countries specially the United Arab Republic and that it will pursue a neutral stance between the East and the West. He also declared that all Iraq's international relations and obligations will be committed to. He did not declare the withdrawal of the Baghdad Pact however he did afterwards. The only previous commitment that Qassim dissolved directly after the coup was the Arab Union which the people hated and thought of as another British attempt to split the Arab World Unity and common future.²⁴

On the 19th of July 1958, the next morning to the revolution, Abdulsalam Aref -Qassim's partner and co-leader of the coup- and three members of the new cabinet met Nasser in Damascus and signed with him a bilateral treaty for defense and military cooperation that had no specific obligations but showed readiness to cooperate both strategically and military with the UAR. In fact, Nasser was the first leader to recognize the Republic of Iraq when it was declared in 1958. The new Iraqi government asked directly for military aid from Egypt, which Nasser responded to positively and ordered to send troops, equipments and trainers to Baghdad immediately.²⁵

As mentioned earlier, the coup officers in Iraq were inspired by many factors including the revolt of the Egyptian Free Officers in 1952. So, they wanted to imitate the Egyptian revolt that was running the country for six successive years in a stable way proving continuity, in comparison to other failed coups that took place in Syria, Lebanon and even in Iraq itself.²⁶

The same concerns that Nuri As-Said had towards Egypt- precisely to Nasser- and made him established the Arab Union²⁷ and were worrying Qassim as well.

Qassim thought that he should put as much power as he can for affirming the Iraqi nationalist picture of the Republic. He was ruling his country of three cycles he felt threatening his leadership:

- The Pro-British Baghdad Pact that forces him to ally with the West which he resented and preferred allying with USSR which suited his communist ideas and approach and totally confirmed his picture as the anti-imperialism fighter.
- The Arab Union which would force him to keep his unity with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan which he disliked and knew that the Iraqis resented for being an anti- United Arab Republic initiative
- The biggest threat that was Nasser and the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria led by Nasser

The third fear was the biggest based on two main factors. First, the Iraqi public opinion that was eager to see their country as part of the United Arab Republic. The second factor was the officers of his cabinet advisors and leaders who were pro the idea especially the Ba'athists and the Arab nationalists. Abdel-Salam Aref his close friend and partner in revolution was practicing the biggest pressure over Qassim to join the UAR. Qassim knew that he has to get rid of all these people, nevertheless Aref if he cares to keep power in his hand, since Aref and others thought that they should be attached to the UAR under the united commandership of Nasser in Cairo. Which Qassim of course did not want to happen.²⁸

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

Qassim feared that joining the UAR would just mean his being a subordinate to Nasser; the same fears that his predecessor had. Her majesty's ambassador to Iraq confidentially reported that "The pressure from the pan-Arab nationalists drove him- Qassim- to rely more and more on the support of the communists."²⁹

Qassim started his moves to ally with the red wing both in his country and in the USSR in August- the following month after the coup. He wanted to send positive signals to Moscow that he is not taking any oppressive moves against the Iraqi communists as what As-Said used to do. He wanted also to acquire the communists – Iraqi and Russians- to his side in order to guarantee their support when the time is on for getting rid of the nationalists and Ba'athists. In the new cabinet and commandership of the revolution government, many of the leaders were Iraqi communists. They had very important positions as the minister of Economics. Qassim afterwards put a lot of pressure on the nationalists calling them the followers of Nasser. He even accused Nasser of having part in the riot of Mosul in 1959³⁰ with internal support from the Arab Nationalists.³¹

In his public speech in Cairo on November 26th, 1959, Nasser said that the Iraqi press and Radio- specially during El Mahdawy tribunal³²- were leading campaigns that are not resembling pan Arab solidarity or even Arab neighborhood. He also said that it was clear that the communists in Iraq –and imperialists- were trying to cause subversion between Iraq and the UAR.³³

The pressure from Nasser, the Arab nationalist and Ba'athists forced Qassim to take major unprecedented moves in the way he was running his country. Domestically, he strengthened the Iraqi and Kurdish nationalists and took

sever coercive actions towards Ba'athists and Arab nationalists. Internationally, he approached the Soviet Union and presented himself as the ally of Moscow that will both solve the problems they experienced with As-Said, as well as replace Nasser who was not as sincere an ally as much as the USSR hoped in the early stage of his reign. Both fronts had implications- as mentioned before- on the Iraqi neighborhood policy and acquirement of both allies and enemies.

Qassim kept his skepticism against Nasser and the Arab World. His atrocity against Kuwait in 1961 and his claims for it to be Iraqi land after few days from his recognition of Kuwait's independence, led him to more problems with the Arab World. When the Arab League of States condemned his attempts to invade Kuwait and sent Arab forces to the Kuwaiti lands in 1961, Qassim suspended his country's membership to the organization and almost broke all the ties between Iraq and its Arab neighbors. These relations were only restored when Aref and the Ba'athists took over in 1963.³⁴

Most of the affiliation that Qassim's Iraq had with the world was through the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. The USSR did not stop the efforts to make the Iraqis not to feel disconnected from the world due to their approach of friendship and cooperation with the East. In May 1959, after two months only of signing the economic and cultural cooperation treaty between Qassim and Moscow, another treaty³⁵ was signed for cultural cooperation to open the doors of Moscow and its Warsaw allies for Iraqi students, and for Soviet instructors and teachers to take part in the educational and cultural process of Iraq. The Soviets also- according to the treaty- were to send medical personnel and other specialists in Radio, TV and Media to Iraq.³⁶

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

The British ambassador in Baghdad reported to the Foreign Office that all the countries of the Iron Curtain has opened diplomatic mission head quarters in Baghdad few weeks after the Coup. He said that Qassim was exchanging delegations in all fields with the communist world. The Soviet Union wanted to be the only channel that Qassim is dealing with the world through without any feelings of isolation or exclusion specially from the Arab world.³⁷

It was not just Qassim who experienced tension and even boycott from his neighbors. The neighbors of Franco in Europe had emotions of both fear and resentment towards him and his regime. The Americans were less skeptical towards Franco and followed a pragmatic approach with him. It was the Spanish people who did not have much confidence in the Americans.

The Spanish memories and conceived picture of the United States in Spain during the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century were saturated with resentment and bitterness. The traumatic loss of the Spanish colonies in 1898³⁸ was still painful to the Spaniards. Major losses in economy, colonies and finance were caused by this loss, especially of Cuba. However, the source of defeat was felt more hurting to the Spanish glory, pride and the respect of the Spanish flag on these lands.³⁹

These events caused the emergence of the 1898 generation in Spain which was a legion of intelligentsia who called for comprehensive political, intellectual and economic reform in Spain through what was known the *Regeneracionismo* or the Regeneration of Spain.⁴⁰

Both the Americans and Franco had good reasons to forget about the past and start a new term of alliance. Europe could not forget that Franco ruled Spain after major support of the fascist powers. They claimed that the Spanish Civil

War was one of the triggers of World War Two which destroyed Europe and caused the death over fifty million humans. For the after war world, Franco was on the list of wanted to the Europeans, as governments and for people as well.

The Council of Europe⁴¹ which was founded as an early step of the European integration process refused the accession of Spain to its membership. The article three of its statute states that “every member state must accept the principles of the rule of law and fundamental freedoms”. The members found that this article- among others- did not apply to 1949 Spain, thus they refused to accept it into their Council.⁴²

However, Spain was not totally excluded from the Council. The CoE made arrangements to have contacts with the nonmember European states after categorizing them as communist and noncommunist states; and Franco’s Spain of course was put in the second category. Although the Council allowed Spanish representatives to take part in many of its activities, there were series of reports issued by the Council starting in 1960 to report on the undemocratic practices of the Franco regime in Spain. The committee of non represented nations invited many of the leaders of the exiled Spanish opposition and Spanish politicians where they have made harsh statements about the Franco regime and its practices.⁴³

The most criticizing report was introduced by the German PM Annemarie Renger⁴⁴ as a rapporteur on November 6th, 1961. The German PM made it clear that Franco’s regime is extremely oppressive to its people and following many political and economic plans that does not respond to the demands and needs of the Spanish people, along with many practices that bans the freedom

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

of association and publication. Most of the political participation rights known to the world, mentioned the report, were prohibited in Spain. Renger also condemned the Western Powers for the economic and financial aid presented to Franco. In article 30 of the report, Renger points specifically to the governments of the United States, Federal Germany and Great Britain for being political and economic allies to Franco which helped in enforcing and strengthening his regime. The report was known as the Renger Report and was unanimously adopted by the committee for submission to the political committee.⁴⁵

The Spanish attempts to integrate with the European neighborhood were continued with eyes on the Council of Europe, which seemed like a possible door for that integration. In February 9th 1962, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs tried to apply for his country to join the European Economic community EEC. In the following April, Renger introduced another negative report on Spain with recommendations on not to access it to the EEC. The report and another recommendation by Maurice McMillan – a British diplomat- led the Council to decide that Spain failed to meet the democratic principles that lay in the heart of both the Council and EEC, thus it was inconvincible to admit Spain to the EEC or the Council in that time.⁴⁶

When Sir Peter Smithers became the president of the Council of Europe he enforced the pro- Franco politics of his country. He said that Spain “has its issues” but the Spanish Dictatorship which he described as a “serious government” kept Spain out of the War, which was a good service to the country, but Spain was not a good candidate for a united Europe.⁴⁷ Since his appointment to the position in 1964, Smithers allowed Spain to attend the

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

Council of ministers and many of the CoE committees and also took steps towards avoiding the issue of negative reports as Renger's to the Council. He even gave Spain an official visit for several days in 1967.⁴⁸

Although Franco and his regime were condemned and looked down to by most of the European nations, the Western powers such as Great Britain and the US made tremendous efforts into integrating Franco's Spain to the European neighborhood and giving him a footstep in European organizations as a representative, observer or any title possible.

The New York Times newspaper called Alberto Martín-Artajo Álvarez the voice of Franco abroad, in the edition of April 10th, 1956. The Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs managed to get Spain welcomed into the international family again. His biggest achievement was the acceptance of Spain as a United Nations full member state in 1955.⁴⁹

From studying the relationship of Qassim and Franco with their neighbors, we can conclude that the tension with the region surrounding them was a main reason behind asking for help from the Great Powers. However, it was obvious that both dictatorships had grave issues in dealing with their cultural and geographical regions.

Economic and military aid during the Cold War

The Soviets helped in building the infra structure of Iraq in a way and sequence that served their interests. This is why they focused on military and naval construction that would be possible for use in case they needed it or in case any threat tackled the southern borders of the Soviet Union. Their traces could be easily found in technical, financial and executive aid that they offered Iraq to establish Gulf bases and airfields. Even the aid that they have offered

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

the Iraqi for civil infra structure was directed towards the same military and strategic goals, like linking Baghdad to Basra by a railroad which meant connecting the capital to the tip of the Arabian gulf on which Basra lies.⁵⁰

The Foreign Office report prepared by the British Embassy in Baghdad in 1959 mentioned that the Soviets urged Qassim to expel the British and European experts from Iraq. The Soviets sent their own experts to replace the Western experts. They have also received many Iraqis in all technical fields to the USSR to acquire the needed experience for running their country instead of relying on the West.⁵¹

An agreement⁵² to exchange commodities was signed between the USSR and the Iraqi coup government in October 1958 concerning the Soviet trade mission in Baghdad. The agreement included two lists of commodities and goods that are to be exchanged between the two parties. The Soviet Union is to import seed oils, wool, cotton and skin from Iraq which in turn will import farm machineries, tractors, motorcars, paper and medicines. The agreement showed that priority will be provided from each part to the other on most favored nation terms in trade and in navigation.⁵³

A few months after the coup of Qassim and on March 16th, 1959, the USSR signed a very broad and general treaty⁵⁴ with Qassim. Iraq was to receive a grant 550 million USSR rubles to achieve what was called “economic and technical cooperation” between the two countries. The Soviet Union was to help Baghdad with infrastructure, research, food, rail roads constructions, heavy machinery buildings, light industry and even enhancement of the irrigation system. The credit was to be granted over seven years with 2.5% interest.⁵⁵

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

Signing such an important treaty after eight months of the coup raises questions about the time when the negotiations started for it. It refers to a channel of contacts that probably was opened with Qassim and his close circle in the eve of the coup, perhaps even earlier.

On August 18th, 1960, another treaty⁵⁶ was signed in Baghdad by the USSR and Iraq to affirm the bonds between the two countries. The agreement of economic and technical cooperation was to increase the grant given to Iraq in 1959 by another 180 million rubles. The grant was given to Iraq- as announced- to enhance technical research and to help Baghdad in building the infra structure including trains and locomotives from Soviet factories which Iraq needed for the Baghdad- Basra railroad, as well as other needs such as repair and maintenance shops. The treaty was implemented on January 9th of 1961 after being ratified in Moscow earlier during October 1960.⁵⁷

The Soviets laid eyes on a possible naval base in Umm Kasser⁵⁸ on the shores of the Arabian Gulf that will help them keep watching the Anglo- American movements in the Arabian Peninsula, Iran and to the Arabian Sea.

The Soviets did their best to guarantee a footstep in Umm Kasser. They started by helping the Qassim government to establish the railroad of Baghdad- Basra which was followed by signing a protocol⁵⁹ on July 3rd, 1962, that made the Soviets again partners in establishing the railroad between Umm Kasser and Shuyebe. This partnership was not only in terms of technical or engineering help, but the Soviet Union also provided the project with iron and steel and other needed material. The foreign office report of 1959 describes the military relations between communist countries and Qassim as being good. The report

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

states that the Soviet Union is military aiding Iraq in a politically acceptable way by “selling Iraq large quantities of arms on cut-rates.”⁶⁰

The Western powers were no less generous with Franco. They have supplied him and his regime with a lot of technical and financial help to achieve what was called the Spanish economic miracle in the late fifties and early sixties.

The first decade after the Spanish civil war witnessed comprehensive alteration of the economic and financial policies practiced by the former republican governments. This led to major economic failure of which the highest inflation rate in Spain’s modern history occurred. Franco made a great use of the Cold War competition to attract American aid and foreign investments to his country. The Spanish Stabilization plan was inspired by the International Monetary Fund and the Technocrat cabinet that planned a less restrained economic policies under direct supervision from the West. If Franco had not approached the US in that critical moment of his rule in the mid fifties and afterwards, his regime would have totally collapsed.⁶¹

Many economists take the Spanish experience as a proof that a dictatorship would not cut the road for development. Since the historic circumstances and the international arena was in favor of an anti-communist regime in Iberia. The dominant factor in the Spanish success story then was based on taking advantage from the Cold War. Franco knew how to present his regime as the only buffer against communism in Spain.⁶²

The European Recovery Plan ERP known for the public as Marshal Plan excluded Spain until late 1950s. The allies in their attempt to recover Europe saw the ghosts of the fascist powers in Franco’s regime, which resembled the same kind of leadership that led the world to this catastrophic war.

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

Nevertheless, Hitler and Mussolini were allied to Franco during the Spanish civil war. Franco was also accused of announcing fake neutrality during World War Two and many statesmen in Europe and the United States believed that he was somehow helping the Axis. All these reasons led the European nations to refuse integrating Franco's Spain in the after-war plans for recovery, development and reform on all levels. It was a mix of fear and tendency for punishment. Great Britain refused to admit Spain to Marshal Plan despite the efforts of the American ambassador Culbertson⁶³ towards normalization of Spain and the Western World. Until the Berlin blockade, Britain was trying not to follow the Americans who started to support Franco, to avoid the internal opposition, but the escalating tension with the East gave the opposition in both countries a push back with the real start of the Cold War.⁶⁴

On August 1st, 1950, the American Senate approved a loan to Spain of 100 million US dollars, the same day that Spain announced it was ready to fight at with the West in Korea. The huge grant was delivered to Spain in 1953 along other military grants and agreements. Spain was granted 500 million dollars. By signing those agreements and receiving money from the Western Powers, Spain was being embraced- with its dictatorship- back to the international family. Foreign investments and international projects started to find their way to Spain finally. These series of agreements and grants signed in 1953 were part of the so called The Pact of Madrid.⁶⁵

In the following years Spain received over 500 million dollars from the Export and Import bank of America along with more than one billion dollars grants from defferent donors and investors from the US alone. The great American trust in Franco and his plans to enhance the Spanish economy were in the

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

center of the international investments' plans. All investors, donors and financial institutions took it as a strong proof of confidence and protection at the same time. It was a green light to follow the Americans and to do business in Spain.⁶⁶

Despite all the American support to Franco and the gradual change of the Western treatment to Franco, NATO membership remained a goal impossible to achieve. After World War Two, Churchill tried to convince the allies of the importance of Spain to fortify the European Western front. However, all the allies knew that the arsenal and the rest of the military forces in Spain were not up to this responsibility in 1950. Unlike Britain, the United States wanted to help Spain to refurbish its military system despite knowing its miserable condition.⁶⁷

The American president Truman hold a press conference and announced that although he was satisfied of the Human Rights and democracy conditions in Spain, that cannot be a reason to override the military interests of the United States and its allies that could be fulfilled by military cooperation with Spain. It was agreed to take advantage of the Spanish naval bases which will be available to the use of NATO, even if Spain is not a member of the Treaty.⁶⁸

During the long and hard course of negotiations between the NATO and Spain, Franco was putting pressure on the NATO members to modernize the Spanish military capabilities as much as it needed; to make sure that his exclusion from a full membership in will not mean only the use of his lands and bases without making any benefits. Franco insisted on modernizing his military and that those bases will not be used without consultation. In the final

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

phase of these agreements in 1953, Spain received a military aid grant of 600 million dollars.⁶⁹

After being described as the hidden or silent advocate of the Axis during the war, Franco and his regime were found heavily important for the newborn North Atlantic Treaty Organization known as NATO⁷⁰.

The US military leaders were convinced that Spain could be very beneficial in any potential confrontation with the Soviets. One month before the US joined NATO, Senator Connally urged the senate on March 8th, 1949, to reanalyze and reassess the military profile and strategic value of Spain. The Senator also said that the importance of Spain to the US is much more than of Italy which was to be admitted with the first batch of members in 1949.⁷¹

Hence Spain was a military and strategic partner for the US and the West through its strong ties with the American defense system. Accusations of aiding the Axis during the War did not stop the US to take advantage of the strategic position of Spain as the Western gate to the Mediterranean and to advocate with the Franco regime to secure the Anglo-American and Western security and military interests during the time of the Cold War.

Madrid tried to apply for a full and announced membership to the NATO more than once. This application was supported by the US, but the European partners refused to admit Spain since it lacked democracy that was- according to their assessment- a reason not to get Franco and his regime into the political and military organization of NATO. Franco kept trying to join the organization until 1975 -the same year he died-and his proposal was strongly supported by the US. After his death, the transition administration of Spain under Adolfo Suarez⁷² reapplied to the Organization. After a long marathon to convince the

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

Parliament, the Spanish people and the left powers in the country of the importance of such membership.⁷³

The US wanted to no longer depend on the British bases in the region. The Six Fleet was operating since the World War Two from British naval bases in Gibraltar, Malta and Suez causing many political, logistical and financial complications to the US Navy. An American naval base in Spain sounded like a perfect solution for this situation. It was obvious that the accession of Spain to NATO was not possible in that mean time, but other arrangements as naval bases and common defense plans can be arranged with Franco. It was until 1982 when Spain was fully admitted as a NATO members state.⁷⁴

The Mediterranean bases that both the Americans and the British wanted to establish or to enhance were a major factor in determining the way of dealing with both leaderships in Iraq and Spain and the Mediterranean Littoral as a whole. For the same reasons that the Soviets were arming Qassim and modernizing his army, the Americans and the West approached Franco after years of break up. It was the strategic location and regional importance of the two countries that made those dictatorships earn all the military aid and improvement they have received.

Thus, there was no room for evaluating the regimes of these countries according to idealistic criteria based on democracy, legitimacy or any other element of domestic politics. The question of military alliances was more important and decisive during the Cold War.

Domestic oppression and silencing the nationalist movements

One of the books that were published by the Iraqi ministry of Defense in July 1959- the first anniversary of the Coup- was entitled “Iraqi Nationalisms: Past

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

and present”. It was written by an Iraqi author and senior officer called Gergeus Hoamy. The book subtitle also shows that this book was issued to celebrate the great efforts that the various Nationalisms and ethnicities of Iraq exerted in favor of what he called (the Eternal Republic) of July Revolution.

The entire introduction of the mentioned book was dedicated to criticizing the Egyptian president- by then- Nasser and to accuse him of being a new Nuri As-Said but pro-American instead of pro- British as As-Said was. The author condemned Nasser’s statement about the importance of protecting Arab ethnicity from what Nasser called the “intruding ethnicities”, and the author considered this attack to be against the Non- Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula of which the Iraqi ethnicities were the most notable.⁷⁵

The Kurds of Iraq represented by the late 1940s almost 25% of the population. They have found refuge, political and military training and advocacy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe after the fall of their Mahabad Republic and the exile of Moustfa Barazani in 1947 to the Soviet Union.⁷⁶ After the overthrow of the Monarchy and Nuri As-Said in 1958, there was a revival of hope to the Kurds of at least an autonomous community within the new Iraq if not a total secession of their province to establish a Kurdish state in the North. The USSR indeed cared for strong relations with the Kurds who were in possession – at least by location- of the largest Iraqi oil fields and reserves and as well as very strategic border alignment with the pro- Western states of Turkey and Iran. The three states also had Kurdish minorities on their borders and the loyalty of the one Kurdish people can be guaranteed by recruiting one Chief to the Soviet side.⁷⁷

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

However, the Soviets could not have a one hundred percent trust in the KDP or any Kurdish nationalist movement for two main reasons. First, the leadership of the Kurdish people that was centralized in the hands of the “Agha” elite or the capitalist landowners who believed in a capitalist nationalist Kurdish state. Second, the visit that the Kurds gave to the British Consul in Mosul in December 1956 asking him for weapons and military aid from Britain to establish a national anti communist Kurdish republic in the Northern region of Iraq.⁷⁸

Hence, the Soviets were following a tactical approach in dealing with the Kurds after the 1958 events. Their plans were revolving around building a strong relation with the central government of Baghdad and of course with Qassim before any other consideration including the Kurdish issues. Moscow would have never helped the Kurds in a way that would jeopardize its relations with Qassim in Baghdad. Hence, the card of “supporting the liberation movement of the third world” was to be played very carefully here and with eyes on Gulf, Oil, naval bases and friendship with Baghdad. The Soviets who helped Moustafa Barzani (Known as Mulla Moustafa) to relocate himself and his fighters in Baku Azerbaijan were no longer threatened by the Pro- British Hashmite Kingdom of Iraq. Qassim was a close ally who saved them the fear for the strategic location and oil reservoirs in Kurdish area of the north. The Kurds were proven as a source of trouble and even when they had the Soviet umbrella above their heads after the world war, the three hosting countries (Iraq, Iran and Turkey) allied for once just to destroy the Kurdish dream. It was an easy decision for the Soviets to make. Why would they ally with a

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

chased fragmented minority while they have the leader of the eternal republic in their side.

In his pursuit of confirming Iraqi's sovereignty and being a pluralist country rather than a pure Arab nation, Qassim invited Mulla Moustafa and his people to come back home after twelve years of exile. Qassim received Barzani in the Airport and accompanied him in his car through the streets and squares of Baghdad surrounded by the cheers and chants of the public and everyone called for national reconciliation. Qassim attempt to remind the Iraqis that they are not just Arabs seemed to be succeeding in that scenery. Barzani and his people thought that Qassim was giving them promises for an autonomous community led by the Iraqi KDP under the wider flag of a Pluralist Iraq. Hence, days proved that he was wrong.⁷⁹

In November 1959, Kurdish tribes started a minor civil war between each other. Violence escalated and Qassim feared unrest in the Kurdish territories. While attacks were less in number and danger by October 1960, Mostafa Barzani visited the USSR asking for help and support that he could not get from the British ambassador in Baghdad. Later in January 1961, when Mulla Moustafa arrived at Baghdad, Qassim ordered him to turn down all the rifles and ammunition he received from the government. Qassim issued orders to evict Barzani from his residence in Baghdad, confiscated his car and ordered to cut off the stipend allocated to Barzani and his tribe.⁸⁰

After long months of maneuver, prolonging then blunt refusal, Barzani realized that Qassim will not help him fulfilling any of his goals. Barzani traveled up north to announce a unilateral independence for the Iraqi Kurds and a civil war started in the Kurdish province in the autumn of 1961. As

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

strings fled from Qassim's hands in 1961, Barzani and other tribes did not just fight each other but also declared independence. There is no evidence that the Soviets promised any intervention to Mulla Moustafa during his visit to Moscow. They also refused to overtly intervene with Qassim's side. However, they kept providing Qassim with weaponry and machine guns that were exclusively used against the Kurdish fighters who were originally trained in the Soviet camps in the early fifties.⁸¹

It was not just the Kurds who got betrayed by the Soviets in favor of Qassim. The Basque people in Spain were led down by the international community as Franco and his men gave the separatist movement a very hard time. Franco labeled the Basque people as not just separatists but also communists to justify his crimes against Basque people to the Western World. He called them "*Los Rojos Separatistas*" or the red separatists. The first crime makes the Basques a domestic enemy but the second makes them an enemy of the entire free world and the West.⁸²

Since his first soldier to step on Basque lands in 1937- during the Spanish Civil War- and until the late forties, Franco and his men committed massacres in the Basque province. They have attacked the Basque people and their cultural and symbolic legacy. Franco banned the use of the Basque language even in the church masses or to name the newborns. He even forced many of the Basques either to exile out of the country or to reallocate themselves in other provinces of Spain, which was an act of compulsory displacement to change the demographic facts of the Basque province.

The Basque exiled leaders formed a Basque government in Diaspora, and they have tried to mobilize and show the world the fascist face of Franco's regime.

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

But the general strike that they called for in 1947 was met with a very positive response in the Spanish Basque especially in the industrial areas of Vizcaya. The Spanish police reaction was very hard, and Franco made use of the leftist workers who joined the nationalists to make it look like a communist strike not a nationalist one.

The Basque politicians in Diaspora tried to assure the Americans that the Basque struggle was not a communist act. In 1956, the first Basque congress was held in Paris to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Basque autonomous government that was declared in 1936 under the Second Republic. The gathering was financed by Basque businessmen and the congress excluded all Basque communist politicians and intellectuals from receiving invitations to calm down the American fears and give Franco no chance for anti-propaganda.⁸³

Jose Antonio Aguirre⁸⁴, the prominent Basque politician, was exposing the Franco regime as he tried to reveal his violations of human and cultural rights to the whole world, especially his atrocities against Basque people. Aguirre said that the UNESCO as an organization dedicated to culture, science and education, should not admit Franco's Spain to its membership. In his letter to UNESCO in 1952, Aguirre mentioned the crimes against cultural heritage that Franco was committing to the ethnic minorities of his country especially the Basque people. Closure of schools, banning of national language, armed occupation of cultural social and educational associations, elimination of Basque legacy from Media and publications and even a decree to force Basques to rewrite the tombstones of their families in Spanish/Castellano

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

instead of Basque were all among the crimes that Aguirre accused Franco of committing and hence not to join UNESCO.⁸⁵

However, Spain was admitted to UNESCO in 1952 amid all the US support it was receiving. All these proven and documented crimes against culture was not enough to ban Franco's Spain from being a full member of UNESCO. In 1955, Spain joined the mother organization, the UN. It was obvious that the UN agencies led by the Western powers were welcoming Franco to the World family again.

The failure of the Basque Diaspora to put pressure on Franco, along with the lack of confidence in the PNV⁸⁶ old and rich leaders in the exile led the Basque nationalists to a conclusion; not to wait for assistance from the Western powers or any foreign powers and thus they knew that it was about time for them to rely on their own efforts to get their demands achieved.⁸⁷

This frustration also explains the emergence of armed groups like ETA⁸⁸ and student secret groups like EKIN. It might also explain the tendency for many of the Basque students and even ETA in its early stages to adopt a pro-communist stance.

The American betrayal to Basque people was a major consequence for the proximity between Franco and the West. Aguirre as the leader of PNV always depended on the American support and thought his party would meet the same welcome and aid that the US used to grant the other European democratic parties after the War. The Basque youth group of Ekin-EGI accused the PNV of being a double agent to the Americans and the dictatorship as well. The PNV had formed an intelligence unit during the war to collect and deliver information from Spain in favor of the Americans. Since the Spanish police gave the youth organization a

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

hard time during their breakup from the auspices of the PNV, the Ekin-EGI accused the intelligence unit of passing the same information on them and other Basque group to Franco either directly or through the Americans.⁸⁹

The American support to Franco was not just a way to weaken the Basque opposition; it was a reason to split their rows. The Western silence on Franco's crimes against the Basque people led him to increase oppression and also led the resisting youth of the province to form nationalist groups of which many chose the armed violence road.

The minorities and ethnic groups in both Iraq and Spain suffered under the dictators. The Americans who trained and gave high hopes to the Basques, and the Soviets who hosted and trained the Kurds; both powers forgot about those nationalist demands once they started the race to acquire allies during the Cold War.

Conclusion

Qassim and Franco knew how to play the Cold War game and make the most out of it. The great powers enabled both to lead a totalitarian regime. They led dictatorships in a time when all people of the world dreamed of independence and decolonization. The people of Iraq and Spain had to pay the price of their freedom and rights, for the interests of the Great Powers who claimed to be democratic, supporting self-determination and caring for the smaller nations.

We may even conclude that the occurrences in both Iraq and Spain were interrelated. There is no doubt that the US and Western powers were concerned with the proximity between the USSR and the Iraqi government in the Near East since 1958, and that was one of the reasons that led the US to strengthen military cooperation with Spain which started already earlier, to reach a balance point on the other littoral of the Mediterranean. The USSR in his turn did not stand still; it

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

offered the Iraqi totalitarian regime the means and support to uphold tightly to communism and to respond appropriately to the threats from the Northern Tier from one side, and the pro Nasser Ba'thists and Arab Nationalists on the other.

The massive financial and economic aid that the great powers granted the two dictators helped in sustaining the basic needs of their people to avoid a revolt. The dictators showed their people and the world that they can improve their economies and offer their people better infrastructure and livelihoods. But the truth is that without these aids, loans and grants from the great powers, their thrones would have collapsed in a matter of months due to poverty, injustice and ruined infrastructure. In the Spanish case, it was even said that dictatorship can achieve an economic miracle, but history says that the miracle did not start to happen until the US and IMF were directing the "Friend" Spanish economy. The Soviets also gave Qassim a lot of financial and technical support to help him sustain his rule against the pan Arab nationalist and against the great pressure the West put on him.

Both Qassim and Franco were not very popular among their neighbors. Most of the Arab leaders and Arab peoples hated Qassim. In a time of an Arab nationalist euphoria, Qassim looked like someone who is bringing the Soviets into his country instead of joining the alliance of the United Arab Republic with Egypt and Syria. He also showed atrocity towards Kuwait, broke the Arab Union that his country had with Jordan. For confirming his rejection to all the relations and alliances from the Monarchy time, he gave a cold shoulder to both Turkey and Iran since they were the West's allies in the near East. By 1960, it was obvious that Qassim burned all his cards and put a major barrier between his country and its neighbors.

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

Franco was no less hated and rejected by his fellow neighbors in Europe. He represented all that Europe hated in the 1930s and 1940s. The perfect image of the fascist general who overthrew an elected government and established a military dictatorship with help from both Hitler and Mussolini. During the war he showed support and compassion if not direct military help to the Axis. By the end of the war, Franco was wanted as much as any other fascist ruler of the world and he was boycotted from Europe and the rest of the world for almost a decade.

This kind of relations with neighbors is both a cause and a result for the two dictators to ally with the Great Powers to find support and aid from either the US or the USSR since they could not find it in the neighborhood.

The two parts of the Bi-Polar system played with the emotions, demands and aspirations of the ethnic nationalist movement in both countries. The Soviets manipulated the Kurds, while the Americans were swinging the dreams of the Basques. Both powers knew when to escalate the hopes of the leaders of the two minorities and when to support the dictator government in oppressing them.

There were moments when the Soviets were the greatest supporters of the Kurds, and other moments when they helped in bombing them and sent trucks to demolish their villages. Also, there were moments when the American gave refuge, media and propaganda tools to the Basque leaders then gave all detailed information about their movements and plans to Madrid.

The dictators were ready to accuse the nationalists of double loyalty and being a fifth column for other countries. Qassim accused the Kurds of being pro-British and that they wanted to separate the North of Iraq with its wealth of oil and strategic location to spread the imperial and Western control over Iraq. While Franco used to call the Basque nationalists the red separatists who wanted to cut a part of the Spanish soil to spread communism in Western Europe. Cold War

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

competition was a perfect justification for accusing ethnic demands of being secret plans and conspirator agendas.

Democracy, human rights and self determination were tools that the great powers knew when to use and when to ignore when it came to their national interests. The great powers did not fight on their own soil, but they dragged other nations to war and loss in the Middle East, Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere.

They created tyrants at the same time as they were establishing the United Nations. Qassim, Franco and many more were either made, supported or even sustained by the conditions of the Cold War and the blessings of the Great Powers.

مجلة ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

Refrance:

- ¹ Nuri As-Said (1888-1958) served as a prime minister for 8 terms in Iraq. The first term was in 1930 during the British mandate. As-Said was also described as the dedicated pro-Britain leader of the Iraqi Government. After the military coup of 1958 led by Qassim, he fled from Baghdad but was captured and killed on July 15th, 1958. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Nuri-as-Said>
- ² Shalaby, P411
- ³ Mohammad Mosaddegh (1882-1967) served as an elected prime minister of Iran between 1951 and 1953 until a coup d'état impeached him with aid from both the Persian emperor/Shah and the US. Mosaddegh is mostly known for the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. In 1953, he was imprisoned for three years and then put under house arrest until his death in March 1967. <https://www.neiu.edu/academics/college-of-business-and-technology/mossadegh-initiative/who-was-mohammad-mossadegh>
- ⁴ The Baghdad Pact was a military and economic treaty then organization with an HQ initially in Baghdad. It was founded in 1955 by Great Britain, Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. In 1958, the United States joined the organization however Qassim withdrew from the alliance and the HQ was moved to Ankara. It was no longer called the Baghdad Pact as Iraq left; its name was changed to the CENTO Central Treaty Organization. It was dissolved in 1979. To read further <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/lw/98683.htm>
- ⁵ Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971) was First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers (premier) from 1958 to 1964. He ruled the Soviet Union after Stalin and went against many of Stalinist principles. His time witnessed several crises with the US especially the Cuban Missiles and the Space Program race between the two countries. In 1964, The Kremlin ended his term and appointed Brezhnev in Power. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Nikita-Sergeyevich-Khrushchev>
- ⁶ Smolansky, p13
- ⁷ Smolansky, Ibid
- ⁸ Francisco Franco (1892-1975) was the leader of Spain (1939-1975). He was a military officer in the Spanish military in Morocco with nationalist conservative ideology that refused the announcement of the Second Spanish republic in 1931, the impeachment of king Alfonso XIII and the rise of the left wing and regionalist parties in Spain. When a coup d'état took place against the Republican government in 1936, Franco went back to Spain and took the leadership of the conservative forces and caused a horrific civil war. For three years, Franco and his forces committed crimes against Republican forces and civilians, where he was in alliance with Hitler and Mussolini who did not just support him but also took part in bombing Spanish village especially in Basque province. Franco won the civil war and became "El Jefe" of the chief of Spain until his death in 1975. He is always remembered as a criminal dictator who caused the death, torture, and captivity of millions of his own people. (See. C.R. Editors, Francisco Franco: The Life and Legacy of the Controversial Spanish Dictator, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2018)
- ⁹ The Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939) was established in 1931 after the deposition of King Alfonso XIII. The Second Republic was led by several governments of moderate right and leftist ideologies. It gave room and voice to the autonomous rule of Catalonia and Basque provinces' nationalist movements. In 1936, a few Generals of the Military led a coup d'état that

<p>مجلة ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤</p> <p>Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024</p>			<p>مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا</p> <p>J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University</p>
--	---	---	--

resulted in a civil war with participation of many foreign states and fighters. In April 1939, the Republic was dissolved after the surrender to the Republican government and Francisco Franco became the premier or Jefe of Spain until his death in 1975. (See. del Rey, F. (2016). The Spanish Second Republic and Political Violence. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 51(2), 430–435.)

¹⁰ Harrison, p103

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Truman Doctrine was derived from a speech of the US President Truman into a joint session of the Congress on March 12th, 1947. Truman urged the Congress to interfere in the Greek conflict between the Greek government and the Greek Communist Party. Truman set a principle that the US would intervene in any country of the world in favour of democracy and against non-democratic forces. This doctrine was one of the earliest signs of the Cold War where the US started to put obstacles against communist and socialist movements in different parts of the World. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/truman-doctrine>

¹³ Kuniholm, P xv

¹⁴ Shalaby, p33

¹⁵ Yetişgin and Faraj, P130

¹⁶ Ambassador of the US in Baghdad, Memorandum of Conversation, Prepared in the Embassy in Iraq. Baghdad, May 18, 1953. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, The Near and Middle East, Volume IX, Part 1. Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v09p1/d32> , Accessed 1/11/ 2024

¹⁷ Yetişgin and Faraj, PP: 130- 131

¹⁸ Ginsbergues and Slusser, p 20

¹⁹ Gamal Abdel-Nasser Archives, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 23/12/1958, speech on the 2nd anniversary of Port Said battle of the Suez Crisis, <http://nasser.bibalex.org/Speeches/browser.aspx?SID=695&lang=ar> , accessed 1/1/2022

²⁰ (FO 1958, pp352:355-9:12)

²¹ Jessup, P193

²² Liedtke, pp 65-72

²³ Byrnes, P268

²⁴ Foreign office 1958, p350/7

²⁵ Murdan, p49

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ The Arab Union lived for six months only. It was announced in February 1958 between King Faisal II of Iraq and King Hussein of Jordan. It was established as a reaction to the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria. The Arab Union was a try to calm down the peoples of Jordan and Iraq who demanded to join the UAR. The Hashemite kings thought that uniting their thrones, even if it was nominally, would protect their reigns from Arab Nationalists who were enchanted by Gamal Abdel-Nasser. Qassim withdrew from the Union once he took over in Iraq in July 1958. (See. ROMERO, J. (2015). Arab Nationalism and the Arab Union of 1958. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 42(2), 179–199.)

²⁸ Murdan, P52

²⁹ Foreign Office, 1958 report, p 351/8

مجلة ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

- ³⁰ Mosul Riots started on March 6th 1959. A group of Iraqi communists formed a rally in the streets of Mosul chanting to support Qassim and against Pan-Arab Nationalism. As most military officers and civilians in the city were Arab Nationalists, they tried to stop the rally and violence erupted between the two groups. A nationalist officer in Mosul, Colonel Abdelwhab AlShawaf tried to make use of the situation and commit a coup d'état against Qassim. His attempt failed and he was killed by one of his soldiers. After days of violence and street insurgencies, Qassim managed to put an end to these events and restore tranquillity to the city. (see. Sorby, Iraq: The Mosul Uprising of 1959, ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, 15, 2006, 2, 133-151.)
- ³¹ Podeh, p. 86
- ³² El Mahdawy Tribunal or People's Tribunal was formed by the presidential decree of July 20th 1958 to set trials for the members of the monarchy and disposed regime in Iraq. It was called after its chief judge Colonel Fadel Abbas El Mahdawy. It was sustained for decades. Qassim assigned it for the trials of the previous regime, Mosul Riots and for the trial of Abel-Salam Aref on accusation of attempt to assassinate Qassim. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/envisioning-the-arab-future/peoples-court/C6B9D007DD845FA9C4B2BF9F52FA6AF0>
- ³³ Gamal Abdel-Nasser Archives, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 26/11/1959, speech on the initiation of the building of the High dam, part 2, <http://nasser.bibalex.org/Speeches/browser.aspx?SID=801> , accessed 1/1/2022
- ³⁴ Kadhim et al, PP:15-17
- ³⁵ Treaty's reference in Ginsbergues calendar is: 59/v/5/Iraq
- ³⁶ Ginsbergues, p53
- ³⁷ Foreign Office 1958, p352/9
- ³⁸ This war put an end to the Spanish Empire. Spain lost Cuba, Puerto Rico and Philippines after being defeated by the United States and other nationalist guerrilla and local militias. Spain came out of this war with only few possessions in North and West Africa. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/spanish-american-war>
- ³⁹ Payne, p 510
- ⁴⁰ Conversi, p26
- ⁴¹ The Council of Europe is one of the very early attempts of European integration. It was founded in 1949 by 10 European countries with an HQ in Strasburg/France. The CoE is considered the European organization that has a deep focus on legal, cultural and educational cooperation and it was totally based in creation and function on the European convention of Human Rights. Among its important agencies, the European court for Human rights and the Pharmacopoeia. The full membership has been granted now to 46 member states. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal>
- ⁴² Lopez, P2.
- ⁴³ Ibid, P3.
- ⁴⁴ Annemarie Renger (1919-2008) was a politician for Social Democratic party of Germany. She is widely known for being the first woman to preside on the German Bundestag in 1972. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/annemarie-renger-former-bundestag-president-796813.html>
- ⁴⁵ Rapport de la Commission des nations non représentées du Conseil de l'Europe sur la situation en Espagne, 6/11/1961
- ⁴⁶ Lopez, P4

<p>مجلة ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤</p> <p>Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024</p>			<p>مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا</p> <p>J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University</p>
--	---	---	--

- ⁴⁷ Audio archives of the CoE,
https://web.archive.org/web/20111124112802/http://www.coe.int/t/dc/av/audio_archive_smithers_en.asp , accessed 20/11/2024
- ⁴⁸ Lopez, P4
- ⁴⁹ New York Times, 10/4/1956
- ⁵⁰ Golan, p158
- ⁵¹ FO 1959, p435
- ⁵² Treaty's reference in Ginsbergues and Slusser calendar is: 58/x/11/Iraq
- ⁵³ Ginsbergues and Slusser, PP: 27-28
- ⁵⁴ Treaty's reference in Ginsbergues and Slusser calendar is: 59/iii/16/Iraq/b
- ⁵⁵ Ginsbergues and Slusser, p49
- ⁵⁶ Treaty's reference in Ginsbergues and Slusser calendar is 60/viii/18/Iraq
- ⁵⁷ Ginsbergues and Slusser, p109
- ⁵⁸ Umm Qasr was a fishing town in southern Iraq close to Kuwaiti shore. It was transformed into a port and a naval base at the time of AbdulKarim Qassim.
- ⁵⁹ Protocol reference in Grinsburgues and Slusser calendar is 62/iiv/3/Iraq
- ⁶⁰ FO 1959, pp 430-431
- ⁶¹ De la Escosura et al, <https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/stabilisation-and-growth-under-dictatorships-lessons-francos-spain> 22/3/2010
- ⁶² Ibid
- ⁶³ Paul Trauger Culbertson (1897-1968) was an American soldier and diplomat. He served as Chargé d'Affaires of the United States to Spain in June 1947. He was behind all the US decisions to cooperate with Franco and to reintroduce Spain to the international community after WW2. Culberson was criticized by European diplomats and Human Rights activists who thought that he overlooked the dictatorial practices of Franco in favor of achieving US interests in Spain. (See. Liedtke, Boris N. (1998). Embracing a Dictatorship: US Relations with Spain, 1945–53. Palgrave Macmillan UK.)
- ⁶⁴ Lietz, p233
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Calvo-Gonzalez, P 431.
- ⁶⁷ Leitz, p239.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid, p271.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid, PP 272-275.
- ⁷⁰ NATO is an international and intergovernmental organization for military and security cooperation. It was founded based on the North Atlantic Treaty which was signed on April 4th, 1949. With an HQ in Brussels, NATO member countries are now 32 states from three different continents. It started in 1949 with 12 countries only and the enlargement and expansion process had several waves. For further info on NATO see: www.nato.int
- ⁷¹ Liedtek, p65
- ⁷² Adolfo Suarez (1932-2014) was the leader and founder of the democratic transition process in Spain after Franco's death in November 1975. He was appointed by King Juan Carlos as Prime minister in July 1976. Against all expectations and doubts, Suarez led the country to a relatively smooth democratic transition and was fairly elected with his party as the first democratic prime minister in 1977 in the after- Franco Spain. He served twice as an elected prime minister and his

second term ended in February 1981. Madrid international Airport was named after him.
https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/presidente/presidents/Paginas/Suarez_BIO.aspx

⁷³ Luelmo, https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2010/4/28/831ba342-0a7c-4ead-b35f-80fd52b01de9/publishable_en.pdf , Accessed 03/12/2023

⁷⁴ Liedtke, p65

⁷⁵ Hoamy, pp 4:14

⁷⁶ Mostafa Barzani (1903-1979) was one of the most prominent figures of the Kurdish nationalist movement. He was appointed by the Soviets as the leader of the Kurdish army in the Mahabad Republic that the Soviets tried to establish in Eastern Kurdistan in 1945-46 during their control over Iran. After the Soviets withdrew from Kurdistan and Iran, the Iranians attacked the Mahabad city and publicly executed the Kurdistan leaders. But Barzani fled with his Pesh Merga fighters to Iraq then after another trilateral attack by Iran, Turkey and Iraq he had to flee once again with his men to Azerbaijan in the Soviet Union where they were disarmed, locked in a camp for a while but then they were allowed to resettle in Baku. Barzani returned to Iraq in 1958 and then started revolting against Baghdad. He was sent to exile in the United States and died there in 1979. <https://kurdistanchronicle.com/babat/3077>

⁷⁷ Golan, p160

⁷⁸ Avshalom, P357

⁷⁹ Ibid, PP.360-362

⁸⁰ Ibid, P 365.

⁸¹ Ibid, P370.

⁸² Covversi, P 110.

⁸³ Ibid, PP.83-85.

⁸⁴ Jose Antonio Aguirre (1904-1960) was the first president to the autonomous Basque government in 1936 under the Spanish Second Republic. He went to exile and spent all of his life roaming Europe from France to Belgium and other countries. He was called the president of the Basque government in the exile and was the head of the PNV until his death. Haggland, Mary. "Don José Antonio Aguirre: Spanish Merchant and Ranchero." *The Journal of San Diego History* 29.1 (Winter 1983): 54-68.

⁸⁵ Conversi, pp:80-84.

⁸⁶ Partido Nacionalista Vasco or the Basque Nationalist Party is the oldest Basque party founded in 1895 on Christian democratic rightist principles and devotion to the Basque nationalism. Until now, it is considered the most popular Basque party. <https://www.basquenationalparty.eus/>

⁸⁷ Clark, PP. 83-84.

⁸⁸ ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) or Basque Country and Freedom was terrorist group that was formed as a Basque nationalist armed group in 1959. The group used armed violence against the Spanish government and police to achieve Basque independence. Between 1968 and 2010, ETA killed 829 people (including 340 civilians) and injured more than 22,000. On 2 May 2018, ETA made public a letter dated 16 April 2018 according to which it had "completely dissolved all its structures and ended its political initiative. (See. Muro Ruiz, Diego (2004). *Ethnicity and Violence: The Case of Radical Basque Nationalism*, Doctor of Philosophy thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science University of London 2004. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/46519284.pdf>)

⁸⁹ Conversi, 86.

<p>مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤</p> <p>Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024</p>			<p>مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا</p> <p>J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University</p>
--	---	---	--

References:

- Ambassador of the US in Baghdad, Memorandum of Conversation, Prepared in the Embassy in Iraq. Baghdad, May 18, 1953. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, The Near and Middle East, Volume IX, Part 1. Office of the Historian,
- <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v09p1/d32>, Accessed 1/11/ 2024.
- Audio Archives of the Council of Europe,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20111124112802/http://www.coe.int/t/dc/av/audio_archive_smithers_en.asp accessed 20/11/2024.
- Avshalom H. Rubin. (2007). Abd al-Karim Qassim and the Kurds of Iraq: Centralization, Resistance and Revolt, 1958-63. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43(3), 353–382.
- Bibliotheca Alexandrina (The Library of Alexandria), Gamal Abdel-Nasser Archives, documents and Audio-visual material/Recordings of Speeches.
- Byrnes, Mark S. "Overruled and Worn Down: Truman Sends an Ambassador to Spain." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29.2 (1999).
- Calvo-Gonzalez, O. (2006). Neither a Carrot nor a Stick: American Foreign Aid and Economic Policymaking in Spain during the 1950s. *Diplomatic History*, 30(3).
- Clark, Rober P. (1979) *The Basque, the Franco years and beyond*, University of Nevada Press, Reno.
- Conversi, Daniele. (1997) *The Basque, The Catalans and Spain, Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilization*, Hurst Company, London.
- De la Escosura Leandro Prados. Joan R. Rosés and Isabel Sanz Villarroja, Stabilization and growth under dictatorships: Lessons from Franco's Spain, VOX EU center of Economic Policy Research, 22/3/2010 <https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/stabilisation-and-growth-under-dictatorships-lessons-francos-spain> , accessed 22/3/2024.
- Foreign office annual reports from Arabia, 1930-1960: Iraq-Jordan-Kuwait-Arabian Gulf-Saudi Arabia-Yemen / with an introduction by Robert L. Jarman, 4th volume, Archive editions, London, 1993.
- Franco's Voice Abroad: Alberto Martin Artajo, New York Times, 10/4/1956 <https://www.nytimes.com/1956/04/10/archives/francos-voice-abroad-alberto-martin-artajo-early-catholic-leader.html>, accessed 7/10/2024.
- Ginsburgs, George and Slusser, Robert M. (1981) *A calendar of Soviet treaties 1958-1973*, Sigtoff and Nordoff international publishers, the Netherlands.
- Golan, Galia. *Soviet policies in the Middle East: from World War Two to Gorbachev*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.
- Harrison, Joseph. Towards the Liberalization of the Spanish Economy 1951-9, in C. Holmes and A. Booth (eds.), *Economy and society: European Industrialization and its social consequences*.
- Hoamy, Gergues. (in Arabic) *Iraqi Nationalisms: Past and present, their impact on the July 14th Revolution and role in serving the eternal republic*, Irshad Publishing house under License of the Ministry of Defense, Baghdad, 1959.
- Jessup, John E. *An encyclopedic dictionary of conflict and conflict resolution, 1945-1996*, Greenwood Publishing Group, West port, 1998.

مجلد ٣٨ / عدد ٧٦ / يوليو ٢٠٢٤ Vol.38/ No.76 July. 2024			مجلة التاريخ والمستقبل / كلية الآداب / جامعة المنيا J.H.F / Faculty of arts / Minia University
---	---	---	---

- Kadhim, Qahtan. Hameed, Mahmoud. And Nimer, Ali Hussein (in Arabic) The British Stance towards Iraqi demands of Kuwait: Study from the British Documents. Journal of Diyala University, July 2022.
- Kuniholm, Bruce R. The origins of the Cold War in the Near East “Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey and Greece”, Princeton University press, New Jersey, 1980.
- Leitz, Christian and Dunthorn, David Joseph. Spain in an international context, 1936-1959, Berghahn Books, New York, 1999.
- Liedtke, Boris N. Embracing a dictatorship: US relation with Spain 1945-1953, Macmillan press LTD, London, 1998.
- López, Carlos. Franco’s Spain and the Council of Europe, Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History, article Translated by the Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l’Europe CVCE, https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2010/4/28/67511746-0b1f-47e6-8762-03a336d23bd0/publishable_en.pdf , 7/1/2024.
- Luelmo, Francisco José Rodrigo. The accession of Spain to NATO, Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History, https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2010/4/28/831ba342-0a7c-4ead-b35f-80fd52b01de9/publishable_en.pdf , Accessed 03/12/2023.
- Murdan, Gamal Moustafa. (in Arabic) The Rise and Fall of Abdul- Karim Qassim, Al Maktaba al Sharkya, Baghdad, 1989.
- Podeh, Elie (1999). *The Decline of Arab Unity: The Rise and Fall of the United Arab Republic*. Sussex Academic Press.
- Rapport de la Commission des nations non représentées du Conseil de l’Europe sur la situation en Espagne, 6/11/1961, Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History,
- https://www.cvce.eu/obj/rapport_de_la_commission_des_nations_non_representees_du_conseil_de_l_europe_sur_la_situation_en_espagne_6_novembre_1961-fr-e397f53f-0cb3-4664-bdd4-85a1949e8f3c.html, Accessed 11/11/2024.
- Shalaby, Abdul-Hamid Ahmed. (in Arabic) Political Relations between Egypt and Iraq 1951-1963, The General Egyptian Book Authority, Cairo, 2000.
- Smolansky, Oles M. and Smolansky, Bettie Moretz. The USSR and Iraq: The Soviet quest for influence, Duke University press, USA, 1991.
- Yetişgin, Memet and Faraj, Qasim Mohammed. The Political and Administrative Situation in Iraq (1932-1958). KSÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, (2017).