

Attitude of the United States of coups Shishakli in Syria 1949 – 1954



Prof. Dr. Ibraheem Saeed AlBaidhani

Professor of modern history
University of Mustansiriya
Baghdad – Iraq

ABSTRACT

In the first coup, which was carried out by Adib Shishakli on the nineteenth of December 1949, there was talk that he was the effect of the intervention of an external, and it came in the context of conflict and competition for Syria, and to say it was the result of that coup, fled to the United States a chance to become the owner of power and influence, And she sent a blow to the interests of Britain, which has been working to achieve a union between Syria and Iraq in the era of Sami Henawi, since Britain's control of oil pipelines to the Mediterranean, flying harm the interests of the United States. Therefore, the United States was concerned about the draft policy in Tapline Sami Henawi, and also worried about the tolerance of communists, And support for the Hashemites makes it inappropriate to U.S. interests, so through research, make sure the absence of clear evidence of a direct role for the United States in the coup Shishakli, but acted alone but he was aware that the United States will support, and will be considered favorably and acceptance to the coup, Moreover, those who reckon intervention and U.S. support for the coup Shishakli build their perceptions on the evolution of US-Syrian relations under the government Shishakli by raising the diplomatic representation and to allow for Economic Cooperation and contract agreements between the two countries, and there was talk of economic and military aid. In spite of all this, the Colonel Shishakli involved and a supporter of U.S. policy and seek their support and help, but there are concerns and fears and obstacles that stand in front of, and perhaps the U.S. bias toward Israel was a matter of concern and dissatisfaction with the Syrians, This is evidenced by the conditions set by the United States in aid projects provided by Syria, as imposed on Syria to engage in a joint policy with Israel, as well as guarantees of non-threatening Israel's security was the main concern of the U.S., which draws its policy toward Syria. Moreover, the U.S. policy toward Syria was governed by another issue is the fear of Communist infiltration in Syria. Generally, the United States believes that it is not in Shishakli pro-Western fully, but he was more inclined toward the United States, and that his disappearance may serve the interests of the plans and the normal to the West, Moreover, the second coup, which was carried out by al-Shishakli in the twenty-ninth of November 1951 was the starting point of the projects that the U.S. wants to be passed in the region, led by defense project for the Middle East in 1951, which has a floor statement triple (British-French-American) in twenty-sixth of May 1950.

Keywords:

Adib Shishakli, Syrian government, The Middle East, Arab Policy, The Soviet Union

Article info:

*Received: 21 January 2014
Accepted: 07 April 2014*

Citation:

Ibraheem Saeed AlBaidhani, "Attitude of the United States of coups Shishakli in Syria (1949 – 1954)". - Historical kan Periodical. - Vol. (8) Issue (27); March 2015. Pp. 178 – 188.

Introduction

Is the period between the years (1949-1954) in the history of Syria, historically known as a period of military coups in the history of the important periods in the history of Syria, the Arab region and the Middle East and international relations, Perhaps the most prominent of these is the coup of coups Adib Shishakli, first of them who carried out the coup in the nineteenth of December 1949, and the second was carried out in 1951, and therefore, the period up to February 1954 worthy of study and research, And we choose in our issue of one basic in the framework of U.S. policy and the U.S. position toward Syria, since taking the conflict and the international competition on Syria intensifies and increases in this period, so the study concerned with the study and treatment of the U.S. position of coups Adib Shishakli during the period between the years 1949-1954.

Shishakli first coup 19 December 1949 and the U.S. position

On the nineteenth of December 1949 Colonel Adib Shishakli in the first coup, which is the third coup in Syria this year in a series of coups that have taken place in Syria, and there was talk that a Shishakli coup has been the impact of the foreign intervention, particularly American, has interpreted Moscow the coup as a struggle for dominance on Syria , And the upper hand became again the Americans who were their interests conflict continues with the interests of the British, who are seeking to integrate Syria with Iraq, which is not favored by the U.S. oil companies nor the U.S. State Department, because the complete unity with Syria means Britain's control of oil pipelines to the Mediterranean, and therefore it will affect negatively on U.S. interests in the region, and what was Britain supports the Union of Iraq with Syria according to their interests, so it is natural to consider positively the United States to overthrow the government loyal to the Hashemites.

It is possible that the United States has encouraged the coup Shishakli, as the U.S. State Department was great interest the position of the Government of Henawi issue Tapline and the Syrian Communist Party, Progress in project Tapline was likely to be curtailed due to disagreements over the terms with contractors Syrians and the Syrian government, as a result of the opposition of some political parties for

this project, including the Baath Party and the Party of Akram Hourani (Arab Socialist Party), was also pointed out that U.S. officials were more concerned with the lack of activity Henawi government in the face of the communist threat, Chairman of the Second Committee (military intelligence in the Syrian army) Salah Al-Bizri, said the extension of the U.S. military in Damascus: ((the Communists your anxiety you are not our main concern)), as it turns out the United States that the Syrian Interior Minister Rushdie Kikhiya was not interested communists in Syria, has been counting this is proof that the interest of the United States to support a military coup in Damascus.⁽¹⁾ Thus preparing the lack of interest the Government of Sami Henawi activity Communist one hand, and described in favor of the Hashemites the other hand, makes it inappropriate to U.S. interests, and therefore the interest of the United States that is being changed.

Faced with the lack of tangible evidence of the U.S. role in the coup Shishakli, and all that can be said, is that the coup was compatible with U.S. interests in Syria, and Adib Shishakli and Akram Hourani They in the coup independent of any foreign influence, because they knew who requesting support at the time, also pointed out that the Syrian coups were more of an explosive protest issued by the leaders of employees and officers with political trends against the system is not valid and are not represented them.⁽²⁾

In spite of the official U.S. intelligence (Copeland) alleged that he was close to Shishakli before the coup, the Shishakli had acted individually and separately from the U.S. assistance, driven by motives and personal ambitions, but he was sure that the United States would be considered favorably and support to his movement and that's what encouraged him to move to the implementation of the coup.

And took Syrian relations - U.S. strengthens active clearly in the era of Shishakli, where he was raising the diplomatic representation of the U.S. in Syria to the level of an embassy in 1950, and visited Syria, American officials expression of improved relations between the two sides the U.S. and Syrian, and in the same frame, he met known Dawalibi⁽³⁾ Minister of Economy Syrian National minister, U.S. Commissioner in Damascus (Kelly) in February 1950, and discussed with him the Syrian

relations - the U.S., and asked (Dawalibi) help (Kelly) in order to make way for cooperation between Syria and the United States in the economic field and contract agreements between the two countries.

Although the improvement in relations may have come as a result of the Syrian government's response to Saudis advice in loyalty to Americans, and because Damascus has entered into talks with the United States about the possibility of getting military and economic aid and technical, but the Syrian government has been fluctuating between bargaining for technical assistance, economic, and between open criticism Washington's policy of support for Israel, He was in Syria and other Arab countries, the other felt disappointed with the U.S. government., And I think that this sense of disappointment from U.S. policy had the Syrian opposition, not the government's position and the position of the Syrian Adib Shishakli himself.

As part of the concerns of the penetration of the Soviet Union in the Middle East and particularly in Syria, the U.S. government has adopted a program of economic and military aid to countries in the Middle East, and this program back to 1949, The U.S. President (Truman) on January 20, 1949, about his new project, known (Point Four Program) or technical assistance program , which includes the provision of technical assistance and economic diameters and economically backward regions in order to establish security and peace in the world , and served the United States to introduce this program into effect and the application to implement its policy in the region through these projects , and the purpose of the program , as referred to by U.S. Secretary of State (Acheson) as a means for the development of commercial markets of America and overseas, and to stop what he called the danger of Soviet threatens the Middle East.

Syrian officials are hoping to get economic aid and military especially asked Khaled bone from the United States to get the fighter planes, and this is what was offset by rejection has asked the U.S. Department of Defense of the U.S. government in July 1950 to stop military aid to Syria on the grounds that cooperation system Shishakli with the U.S. administration was not satisfactory and reassuring, and that the Syria military force could lead to a breach in the

balance of power between the Arabs and Israel.⁽⁴⁾

Was U.S. concern focuses on two issues: first the fear of penetration of the Communist and Soviet in Syria, and the second media campaign and propaganda against the U.S. policy toward Syria, which has created an atmosphere of Syria, rejecting U.S. policy, and gave more attention to focus on the notice of the peoples of the region that there is a great danger posed by Soviet influence alleged Syria, and that the United States stands deduced from this policy.

On January 7, 1951 sent a telegram U.S. Ambassador Cavendish in Damascus December (K. Cannon) to the U.S. State Department about his meeting with the Prime Minister of the Syrian Nazim Qudsi, pointing out that Syria is considering a loan of \$ (100) million dollars to be able to cope with the deficit deteriorating economies experienced, And that the true essence of U.S. policy is to put conditions on the provision of U.S. aids, including that States undertake that have requested aids by Point Four program, including Syria, the suppression of national movements within their own countries, then should these countries to support the decisions of the U.S. and British governments at the United Nations in respect to Korea and China, and this is what the Syrian government was putting in great embarrassment in a matter of accepting American aid in front of Syrian public opinion that rejects her.⁽⁵⁾

On 22 March 1951 he visited (the Mac guy), Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Damascus, and met with senior officials, especially with Adib Shishakli, and talked about economic aid needed by Syria, and the desire to hold bilateral treaties between the two parties, and that was the visit, an indication of the interest Syria on the U.S. government granted economic aid under the point Four program.

Despite U.S. efforts to conclude an agreement with Syria about the Point Four program, but they did not succeed in that, in a telegram of Annex American military in Damascus Clark to the U.S. State Department on 28 May 1951, in which he explained that the United States has made efforts through the delegations sent to Syria Search on the possibility of reaching an agreement on the program of the fourth point, and he described the failure to reach agreement with them proof of the failure of the Syrian government, and it is seeking to obtain a loan, not just assistance,

The rejection of Syria's Point Four program returning to it sees allows experts and foreign workers in this program to intervene in the internal affairs of the country, as he is not allowed except to accept tied aid, and this is what was rejected by Syria, and the Syrians have doubts the intentions of the United States, stood next to (Israel), and point Four program found primarily to serve and support it, and the Americans are targeting purports to give a dose of calm compared to the Arab countries to achieve the target on the strengthening of the other (Israel).⁽⁶⁾

These conditions refute saying that United States was willing to do the countries of the Near East to hold bilateral treaties with the United States to improve their economies and defenses against any external aggression. But aid is conditional on the achievement of security in the region and intended here Israel's security. Generally speaking, the situation of the people and the protests against condemning U.S. policy and forced the government to reject U.S. aid related to the fourth point, and announced their support for the positions that condemn the U.S. aggression on Korea.

The Point Four program was a means of penetration of U.S. influence, the United States followed the style of economic aid as a means to expand its political influence in the region and achieve economic recovery, and for the governments of the Syrian and Egyptian was where officials question the Point Four program, They felt that it is likely to be for some Americans, the political motives that they want to achieve, it is, along with encouragement to employ capital of America and seek to develop the countries covered by the provision of technical assistance, but it is also aimed at cooperation with Israel, the Arab states in joint ventures.

In the era of the Government of Hassan al-Hakim enhanced oil companies U.S. sites more than any other time, as occurred (Pacteel) U.S. company on 28 August 1951, the agreement on the extension of the oil pipeline through Syrian territory in conjunction with the Kuwait Oil Company, and obtained the approval of the Iraq Petroleum Company to participate in the another pipeline to the port (Baniyas) on the Mediterranean. The efforts of the Syrian government in order to improve and strengthen relations with the United States , and in order to gain military and economic aid

them , did not achieve what they want, because the United States remained the sticking lack of desire to provide Syria with arms and military equipment that were trying to get them , due to fear of the U.S. government's use of such weapons against (Israel) , and remained its position that despite the urgency of the Annex of the U.S. military in Damascus (Clark) that military assistance is to prevent terrorism, the current drift and fester to the extent of pro - communist and hostelling Israel.⁽⁷⁾

After a year and a half on the first coup Shishakli United States believes that the dictatorship of Colonel Shishakli well established, as it failed all conspiracies internal and external, as well as that there is a declaration imminent draft a new constitution, and a referendum it, and see that it is expected to hold new democratic elections, It describes Shishakli he is not loyal to the West in the full sense, and it's been cooperating to some extent with the United States, at least more than his predecessors, and there is no successor in sight that would be more inclined toward the United States, but in the fact that his disappearance may serve systems against Western. Moreover, as well as stop it firmly against communism, So he sees the United States should do what it can to give the incentive regime.⁽⁸⁾ I think that the description of the U.S. Chichakli expresses objective reading of the decision-maker for the role of U.S. President Shishakli and its relationship to the United States.

The U.S. position of the second coup Shishakli November 29, 1951.

And by a bloodless coup dominated Shishakli in the November 29, 1951, the Syrian government, the dissolution of Parliament, the resolution of the Council of Ministers, which did not pass it only one day, and the formation of a government headed by (Fawsi Selo) with the support of the National Party and the movement of the Arab Liberation, and issued a number of ordinances, procedures and measures.

And also there was talk that the second coup of Shishakli was in November 29, 1951, it was with the support of Western countries, especially the United States, and to say that he did not come from a vacuum, but has on the floor of the permit trio of 26 May 1950 defense project for the Middle East in 1951 In the opinion of many observers of the events of that era, The United States and France backed the coup, after he saw that Shishakli is the only

person who can put an end to the activity (Maarouf Dawalibi), who is seeking his group to push Syria toward the Soviet Union. And that the Western military planners have made several attempts to cram the Middle East within their plan to contain the Soviet Union in 1951, This is what made them receiving more emphasis on the need for a local Systems which are stable and loyalty to the West, and what was the chaos in Syria inappropriate for their designs, this was appropriate for them to strengthen the role and position of Shishakli in the power.⁽⁹⁾

And certainly that the Soviet press will describe the second coup Shishakli as a Western plot designed to drag Syria to participate in the defense project in the Middle East, and as the payment Hosni Zaeem price of Western recognition of his regime signed an agreement Tap line, the Shishakli accept defense project for the Middle East, the price for the recognition of his regime.

The second coup is to pave the way for the accession of Syria to the defense project for the Middle East, and aims to dislodge Syrian opponents of U.S. policy, and thus paving the atmosphere to accept the economic and military aid from the United States, and the United States welcomed the coup, and saw it as an opportunity to eradicate what imagined tide leftist communist growing, As well as the U.S. newspapers were the other welcoming the establishment of a coup Shishakli, she noted the newspaper (Christian Science Monitor) to the coup by saying that victory for the pro-Western policy.

As Dawalibi focus special attention from the United States, since he called in April 1950 to hold a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, has described the newspaper (New York Times) that: ((the biggest Arab leader hostile to the Americans)).

And visited by representatives of the United States, Britain and France in addition to Turkey on 16 December 1951, Fawzi Selo Syrian Prime Minister to tell him the recognition of their country, and that the four countries had hoped this preliminary introduction because make Shishakli cares about its plans for the establishment of the leadership of the Middle East, which was rejected by Egypt strongly two months ago.⁽¹⁰⁾ The representative of the United States met in Damascus, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Zafer al-Rifai and handed him a note from his flag

included confirmation of what happened in Syria, as well as U.S. recognition of the new situation in Syria.

When guarantee Shishakli recognition the U.S. government of his regime, even sought to strengthen and make the relationship solid with them, in the hope of gaining access to weapons and military equipment, an American, was a Syrian official a Ghassan Jadeed, has been questioned in front of the military attache U.S. in Damascus, saying to him: ((and why would you want that do you even deserve weapons)).

The U.S. government has been quick to make strong relations with the new system, including a perception that the presence of a strong governor would be a stabilizing factor in Syria, At the end of November 1951 the United States offered by Point Four program create (the highway) between Aleppo and Damascus, Beirut , Baghdad and Amman , provided that it is for the United States the right to use these facilities in time of war , but the Shishakli refused this offer, as a result of opposition to the widespread popularity in Syria. Thus, the Shishakli not engaged fully in the U.S. scheme, but it takes into account the situation of the people and the attitude of the opposition and the conditions affecting national sovereignty, but he has a vision that they do not see a problem with the recognition of Israel or dealing with the West if they were, according to the interests of Syria and its security as seen Shishakli same.

Despite the rejection of the Syrian government to the offer, but U.S. Secretary of State (Acheson) sent in December 1951 guidance to the U.S. diplomatic mission in Damascus in which he mentioned that the interest of the West to help Shishakli in state efforts to submit them to establish a stable government and progressive in Syria. As Shishakli cares Syrian army special attention to increase its capacity and provide modern weapons, has had contacts with the United States to get the tanks and guns military, is expected to become Syria's second country in the Middle East after Saudi Arabia in obtaining military assistance under the law of the common defense, and in the 17 December 1951 sent the U.S. Commission in Damascus a memorandum to the U.S. State Department, in which she expressed the hope that can Shishakli of Syria has provided strong leadership, which was believe it in the past, and in the long run the development environment

that can be of political democracy that they operate.⁽¹¹⁾

In the second round of the rule Shishakli, I mean, after the second coup, and in order to create the internal conditions to consolidate his rule and leadership of Syria, has had its own form of dictatorship unconvincing. Within this period, implemented a number of measures dictatorship pure, such as disabling the political parties, including the solution Arab Socialist Party, Which is headed by Akram Hourani in mid-January 1952, a sign promised not to return to democratic life for the foreseeable future, and did not allow any political party to work, except for the party, which had been founded by Adib Shishakli, an (Arab Liberation Party), also served as to put restrictions on the press, all of this has led to anger and alienated many politicians Syrians, and the outbreak of popular protests across the country, and the charge system Shishakli dictatorship and bias of the Western countries, And the American Information Office had an explosion in Damascus on March 28, 1952, and the next day protested the U.S. ambassador in Damascus (December) strongly to the Syrian government on this work, and this is what led Shishakli to call the U.S. ambassador (Canon) on March 31, 1952, and promised that the Syrian government will work its utmost to apprehend and punish those who work.

The fear of increasing widespread popular opposition, Shishakli saw to change its policy in order to appease this opposition, he took several steps to reduce the activity of foreign capital in Syria, has issued a decree in March 1952 eliminates the necessity to represent all foreign companies operating in Syria, a Syrian citizen or a Syrian company, it also imposed restrictions on the entry of foreigners into Syria,⁽¹²⁾ and concluded in June 1952 to a new agreement with the U.S. company (Tapline), which impose on the company to double the income of the Syrian government of the proportion of the profits, and provide the Syrian crude oil.⁽¹³⁾

In addition to the prosecution of Communists inside Syria and monitor their movements, it has been suggested the U.S. ambassador in Damascus (Canon), in an interview with al-Shishakli, control the movements of Akram Al-Hourani, well, because they see in it, and his party is communist propaganda inside Syria, and before Shishakli proposed in hopes of Neil desirability of the

United States order to receive economic and military aid, including to strengthen his regime.

The United States recognizes that there is great resentment in Syria in the Shishakli's regime, and this is confirmed by the attitudes of his internal opposition that being against him and arrests waged against his opponents, however, the United States opposed any attempt until that was done successfully, and at a time when the Shishakli ruled, the United States were not in favor of any revolutionary movement, because it appeared to have that still governs its grip on the country, and that differs from his previous coups. Shishakli has shown the important element that rule the country, compared with the previous coups.⁽¹⁴⁾

In the context of U.S. efforts to ensure what it called stability and peace in the Middle East and work to counter the communist threat to her, U.S. diplomacy has moved in this period to link the countries of the region in bilateral treaties with the United States, the move came on May 11, 1953 when the U.S. Secretary of State The new John Foster Dulles * visit to the region, and held meetings with officials and Arab leaders, He pointed out that failure to achieve the aspirations of Arab nationalism preclude any cooperation between the Arabs and the West, also pointed to the issue of (Israel) and the effects of the bitter legacy in the hearts of the Arabs, and that the West's help her make a lasting Arabs in doubt of their intentions towards them.⁽¹⁵⁾

To understand the position of the United States of Shishakli, we have to know the position of Shishakli and the U.S. position on key issues Perhaps the Palestinian issue and one of the most important of which charted the direction of U.S. policy toward Syria, and the statement of its position on Shishakli policy, and a lot of thought-General of the Chichakli based on the Palestinian issue. Especially as it is realized that Israel will be an important factor in the region for a long time, which refers to the possibility of achieving "peace," but seeks to provide the conditions to make the United States put pressure on Israel in order to arrange the best situation to the border with Syria, and accept the return of Palestinian refugees to their homeland, and the granting of compensation to refugees and the internationalization of Jerusalem, as well as limiting Jewish immigration to Israel.⁽¹⁶⁾

The Shishakli For his part and described by the reports of U.S. diplomats do not see that the Soviet threat is a threat and the main threat facing the Arabs, but believes that the imminent danger comes from Israel, so the attempts by Arabs performing procedures defensive and adopt the Charter of the Collective Security Arab) that he is a legitimate right of the Arabs in the face of danger Israeli, and he also believes that the United States still has not provided any temptations incentive enough for Syria to force it to cooperate with the West in the area of the Palestinian cause in the field of defense projects for the region.⁽¹⁷⁾

A report issued by the U.S. Embassy in Damascus, which is a compendium of ideas and discussions between Adib Shishakli, and Dallas, the U.S. Secretary of State, for a number of issues and perceptions of common interest and through which we understand some of the trends in U.S. policy toward Syria, has launched a dialogue is an important point describing how it was America's reputation among the Arabs and how they are now, because the Arab world in general and Syria in particular loves the United States because of the ideas and principles of democracy, and in particular Wilson's fourteen principles.

As a result of the isolation of the United States for its role after the First World War, the Arabs who helped the Allies are divided according to the mandate system and blind sovereignty and independence, and use the assignment as a way to exploit the resources of the Arabs and keep them divided, as well as the United States contributed after the Second World War in the expulsion of Palestinians from their lands and helped Israel in establishing its state.⁽¹⁸⁾

And Shishakli focused which he was describing and talking about U.S. policy on the important issues, and it seems that he was the first in presenting the idea of recognizing Israel, and says it has become a fact undeniable, and he was not looking for a weapon to throw Israel into the sea, but insisted on the right of the Arabs claim the United States have to deal with them in a matter of providing them with weapons to an end as both deal with Israel, In this dialogue session raised the issue of the communist threat in Syria, and the view was U.S. Secretary of State that the Arab world is divided between those who are described as engaged under Soviet influence and those who are outside of this description, and when asked

Shishakli economic aid as necessary to provide the capabilities to defend against communism, Dallas the Foreign Minister stressed on the link between economic aid and security, The condition of internal policies provide financial and economic ground to provide such aid, comes under the heading-aid assistance for common security, and here he emphasizes the security of Israel in the framework of building a system of collective defense.⁽¹⁹⁾

The U.S. Secretary of State stressed the need to recognize the mistakes of the previous policy against Arabs and against Syria, and he pledged to work to restore the confidence of the American-Arab politics, and help Israel and the interest in them at the expense of the Arabs lead to increased loss of confidence between the Arabs and the United States, He said he will work to make the existence of Israel is compatible with the relations of peace and harmony in the region of the Near East, and asked Shishakli to work with him to persuade the Arabs that the United States did not support Israel at the expense of the Arabs, and that his country would oppose any expansion of a new Israel. Dallas has talked for a broad concept of the defense system MEDO regional countries in order to develop the eastern Mediterranean, and in the context of talking about a defense organization of the Near East, He saw the need to stabilize the border between the Arabs and Israel do with some improvements, which he described negligible, such as the withdrawal of refugees and the provision of safeguards against any expansion of the New Israel, and the development of military capabilities with the Arab economic progress to raise the standard of living of Arab citizens.⁽²⁰⁾

In a letter from Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and the South Asian and the Near East (Allen) to the Minister of Foreign Affairs says that he spoke with al-Shishakli in the May 15, 1953 for the loss of confidence of the Arabs in the United States because of its support for Israel, and a request for a U.S. economic and military aid. He said that the threat of Israel and the threat of communism associated with each other since heavy Syrian military expenditures to defend against Israel at the expense of development expenditures that would fight communism. He promised that Syria would not attack Israel, and that he would prefer to reach a settlement between the Arabs and Israel, along the lines of the UN resolution, from time to time that the United States had

discussed military and economic aid to Syria, but did not reach any agreements.⁽²¹⁾

The policy of Israel in changing the course of the river one of the challenges faced by the Shishakli government, in an interview with the U.S. ambassador in Damascus (Moose) the Syrian President Shishakli on a number of important points as it deems appropriate, that the Syrian government would like the adoption of the Security Council for a project to change the course of the river, and that Syria's goal is to protect their rights in the waters of the Jordan, He said he does not understand how the U.S. government could agree on the text of what hurt Syrian interests, stressing that the Syrian government does not accept less than the explicit recognition of their rights, and in the latter pointed out clearly by saying if justice cannot be obtained, Syria will depend on the (Russian veto).

He stressed that the continuation of Shishakli indifference by the forces of the tripartite declaration will not leave him no choice but to accept Russian help grudgingly, has warned Shishakli to the risks of cooperation with the Soviets, And the risk of a resumption of Israeli actions in changing the course of the River Jordan if there was no UN Security Council resolution. Syrian President Shishakli recognized the dangers in Syria, and stressed that his country would use all its resources and its potential to defend their rights in the case of Israel's resumption of work, and added, "(this time Syria will not be kicked).⁽²²⁾

Therefore, the security of Israel was the U.S. important goal, and even that the issue of the Soviet threat in Syria retained its importance and lead her to U.S. the decision maker, and prompted the United States to see the need to move to influence the attitude of the Soviet and activities in Syria, because this activity undermines U.S. interests in the region and reflected on Security and the interests of Israel, and the United States to pay special attention to the security of Israel, and is aware that any policy that leads to appease Israel, It raises fears of the Arabs, and therefore give an opportunity for the Soviet Union to increase its ties and relations with Syria.⁽²³⁾

One of the issues that had occupied the attention of U.S. diplomacy in dealing with al-Shishakli, is the impact of Iraq's position and his quest for union with Syria under the crown Hashemi, as well as asylum Syrian officers and

the Syrian opposition to Iraq and conspiracy to Shishakli regime, and the Hashemite dynasty in Iraq and Jordan has long dreamed of achieving the political unity of the Jordanian-Iraqi Syrian name of the "Fertile Crescent," under the crown of al-Hashemi, This endeavor led by Abdul Ilah guardian of the throne of Iraq, has the support of King Abdullah of Jordan, as the Iraq plans to accommodate Syria and Jordan, and documents indicate the U.S. that these rumors have become a kind of credibility on the effect of a steady drumbeat of information and reports that officers of the Syrian army disaffected Shishakli planning from Iraqi territory, Lebanese and Iraqi funding of the coup on Shishakli.

Shishakli fear of Iraq's attempts to unify Syria, Jordan and Iraq under Faisal II's Hashemite crown, and that the presence of a number of Syrian officers, former Iraqi soil lends credence to the apprehensions, The United States believes that the Tripartite Declaration May 1950 could deter this threat under certain conditions.⁽²⁴⁾

Shishakli urges the United States to be able to motivate Iraq to rein in the Syrian officers through Britain, but the United States focused and requests confirmation of reports and information and verification, and to make sure that Iraq actually supports the activities of aggressive military action against Syria, It has said the U.S. ambassador in Damascus (Moose) that the United States would consider any concern to the activities by the Near East countries, which constituted a violation of the sovereignty of other countries.⁽²⁵⁾ It must be said that one of the factors that have made writers and historians are likely to support the United States to carry out the coup in 1949 is to stand against the union of Syria and Iraq.

The other most important issue in determining the course of U.S. policy toward Syria and the position of the Government of Shishakli is a matter of economic aid, took a larger area of concern since the first Shishakli coup until the last years of his reign, Shishakli Contact the U.S. ambassador in Damascus (Moose) and told him that he had agreed in principle to the proposals for re-program of economic aid to Syria, and he hoped to form a Ministry agrees to enter into early detailed discussions in Damascus to reach an agreement for a U.S. aid in the Ghab, Jezira roads and Latakia harbor project, and Shishakli believed that World Bank loans for the establishment do

not achieve the benefit, unless supplemented by U.S., economic aid, and said that Syria was planning to get a secure technical advice and assistance of the World Bank mission to create (IBRD) and the work will start in 1954, It Barada hydroelectric, Orontes and Khabour River development, and He expressed the hope that the United States provides evidence on the friendly attitude of Syria by supporting the Syrian position in the Security Council regarding the project to divert the Israeli in the demilitarized zone.⁽²⁶⁾

The Shishakli said he cares greatly in military aid and expressed the hope to talk in the early time on this subject, and Shishakli looking for military equipment, more modern, provided that is not in accordance with the payment in cash, but rather along the lines of U.S. aid to Turkey, and expressed willingness to provide guarantees of non-carry out any hostile acts against Israel, and said his country sees Shishakli unfairly excluded from the opportunity to get U.S. aid (Syria is unjustly being left out).⁽²⁷⁾

The United States wants to give economic and military assistance to Syria

(Syria military economic assistance), closer cooperation with the signing of an agreement with UNRWA on the refugees, they see that the granting of economic aid can be used in many ways, it could not be a substitute for any money that you may find Syria are available from International Bank for Reconstruction (IBRD) , Projects required the use of grants which fall into three areas of roads and the construction of the port of Latakia and reclaim the swamp Ghab, and these three areas do not support the United States should be grants and assistance in their scope, but for the necessary actions should Syria to be subject to it, is to start a program to grant economic and the U.S. technical assistance , The United States aims to hold Syria and the U.S. standard agreement specifies the conditions under which assistance is provided next, and that Syria continues its negotiations with the International Bank for Reconstruction and acceptance of the Bank's guidelines in the development of controls to ensure the proper implementation of projects in Syria, and to approve a ban on shipment of certain materials to countries within the Soviet orbit.⁽²⁸⁾

The goal of the United States of bilateral agreements military and economic ties with countries in the region is the solutions U.S.

influence replace British and French influence in the Middle East, told Dallas that the system imposed by England and France in the Middle East was still standing ... even provide the United States a helping hand in solving the problems of colonial, it paves the way for this part of the world to turn into a region of the United States to become the priority.

At a time when the United States seeks to drag Syria into the circle Western alliances and linked to U.S. policy, Syria was experiencing internal turmoil gradually, as the opposition began to grow slowly against Shishakli, announced disobedience in the Druze Mountain, resisted by military force, and that's what set the fire of opposition inside Syria, has met political parties in the Syrian city of Homs on July 4, 1953 for the signing of the Charter of the national, was in fact a covenant to overthrow the ruling al-Shishakli.⁽²⁹⁾

Although the space of accusation to the United States is great that being behind the coup of Shishakli in 1949, but we are in front of the weakness of evidence confirm that the best description of this is to say that the coup was compatible with U.S. interests in Syria, and the security of Israel and confronting communism in Syria, the most important engines of U.S. policy toward Syria during the reign of Adib Shishakli, especially in the matter of economic and military aid, as well as to Syria as a corridor for oil pipelines to give it strategic importance and more attention in U.S. policy toward Syria.

Add to this that the United States is working to push Syria and the Arabs in general to do a joint with Israel in order to make it a fait accompli and the introduction of the recognition and affirmation to maintain its security, and it aims behind economic aid to invest their capital and which will also achieve another goal is stability and calm to face resentment of U.S. policy in favor of Israel. And also say that U.S. relations have become more powerful with Syria during the reign of al-Shishakli and the level rays of diplomatic representation with her to the embassy in 1950. It seems that the United States went to far in fear of providing economic and military assistance under the impulse of fear for the security of Israel, causing it to lose confidence in its allies, and was Shishakli although he carries the goals and the needs of national and works to achieve the interests of his country, but he wanted to be based in its relations to the

United States, and he has a desire to read and recognize Israel, if what happened to encourage and support and the rights and interests of Syria, and therefore the United States lost an ally could be strategic, Therefore, the subsequent developments that have taken place within the framework of U.S. policy toward Syria back to overstate the U.S. interest in the interests of Israel at the expense of the Arabs , and also interest concerned communist influence in Syria, a risk is significant and has no data on the ground , ignoring the Israeli threat , and through this reading in the U.S. documents do not find it difficult to say that Shishakli involved clearly in the context of American politics , and it was through his position on Israel and the possibility of coexistence with them, as well as an agreement with the American view on the concern of Soviet influence in Syria, making it the focus of attention by the U.S. administration as one of the pillars of its policy in Syria and the region in general.

Conclusion

Since the coup Sami Henawi in August 1949 may Gere in favor of Britain or to say it had carried out its help in the framework of conflict and competing interests in Syria, so I figured the idea that the coup Shishakli in the December 19, 1949 that he came to give the upper hand in Syria for the United States, Britain as the quest to unify Syria, Iraq and its control over the oil pipeline threatens U.S. oil interests, especially of Tapline lines, as well as the position of the Sami Henawi careless with the Communists.

Through the study could be marking two facts, the first he had not seen us through search the image and identity of the role of the U.S. direct and act in a coup Adib Shishakli, and the second comes from reading interests and goals and the path of policy Shishakli, We note clearly that it came in conformity with U.S. interests, and despite the fact that Americans do not see it as their man preferred, but they believe in the absence of a threat to their interests, it adds to this that U.S. policy toward Syria during the rule of Shishakli wisdom important issues such as the Soviet influence in Syria and the reflection case Palestinian, and especially arming Syria and military and economic aid and refugees.

NOTES

- (1) Fahad Abbas Suleiman al-Sabawi, *Syrian relations - United States 1949 - 1958*, Master Thesis submitted to the University of Mosul in 2004,61.
- (2) Patrick Seale, *The Struggle for Syria, A Study of the 1945-1958 Arab Policy*, (Beirut, 1980),122.
- (3) **Maarouf Dawalibi**: political and Syrian lawyer born in Aleppo in 1907, and studied in Damascus, Aleppo and Paris, one of the members of the People's Party of Syria, became minister of the national economy in the era of Shishakli in 1949 to 1950, then chairman of the House of Representatives in 1951, and as prime minister in 1951 lasted for only two days, was appointed as defense minister after the fall of the year 1954 Shishakli, try to put an end to the military and their interference in political affairs, opposed the union with Egypt and was appointed prime minister again after the separation from 1961 to 1962, then worked as a consultant to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia , (Abdel Wahab Kayyali, *Encyclopedia Policy*, c. 2, 508.
- (4) Fahad Abbas Sulaiman Sabawi , op.cit , 66 .
- (5) Ibid , 68 .
- (6) Ibid, 69 .
- (7) Ibid, 79 .
- (8) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, *The Near and Middle East* (in two parts), Document 607,Washington, May 5, 1953.
- (9) Fahad Abbas Sulaiman Sabawi, op.cit , 72 .
- (10) Patrick Seale , op.cit,166.
- (11) Fahad Abbas Sulaiman Sabawi,op.cit ,75 .
- (12) George Linciovisky, *middle east in world affairs*, translate by jaafar khayat, vol2, Baghdad 1965, 86.
- (13) Fahad Abbas Sulaiman Sabawi, op.cit , 76 .
- (14) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, *The Near and Middle East* (in two parts), Document 607,Washington, May 5, 1953.
- * John Foster Dulles: U.S. political, was born in February 1888, he studied at Princeton University and the University of the Sorbonne in France, and he specialized in international law, and is the author of the foundations of U.S. foreign policy after the Cold War and the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, was appointed foreign minister by U.S. President Eisenhower in January 1953, and remained in office until the year 1959, is seen, Alaa Kadhim gull: revolution of July 14 in the reports of British diplomats, (Baghdad, national Publishing house, 1990), 54.
- (15) Hussein Fawzi Al-Najjar: With events in the Middle East, Cairo Modern Library, 1st Floor, (Cairo, 1957), 140-141.
- (16) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, *The Near and Middle East* (in two parts), Document 607,Washington, May 5, 1953.
- (17) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, *The Near and Middle East* (in two parts), Document 607,Washington, May 5, 1953.

- (18) FRUS,1952-1954.vol.9, Memorandum of conversation, prepared in the Embassy in Syria, Damascus. May 15.1953.56-64.
- (19) Foreign relations,1952-1954.vol.9, Memorandum of conversation,56-64. prepared in the Embassy in Syria, Damascus. May 15.1953 .
- (20) Ibid.
- (21) FRUS, 1955-1957,Volume XIII, Document 329, Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Allen) to the Secretary of State11, Washington, June 27, 1956.
- (22) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, The Near and Middle East (in two parts), Document 766,The Ambassador in Syria (Moose) to the Department of State11. Damascus, January 13, 1954.
- (23) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, The Near and Middle East (in two parts), Document 878,The Chargé in Syria (Strong) to the Department of State11. Damascus, August 30, 1954.
- (24) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, The Near and Middle East (in two parts), Document 607,Washington, May 5, 1953.
- (25) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part1,The Near and Middle East (in two parts), Document 607,Washington, May 5, 1953.
- (26) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, The Near and Middle East (in two parts), Document 730,The Ambassador in Syria (Moose) to the Department of State, Damascus, November 17, 1953.
- (27) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, The Near and Middle East (in two parts), Document 607,Washington, May 5, 1953.
- (28) FRUS, 1952-1954,Volume IX, Part 1, The Near and Middle East (in two parts), Document 678,Memorandum of Conversation, by Douglas Worcester of the Office of Near Eastern Affairs, Washington, September 29, 1953.
- (29) Patrick Seale , op.cit,181.

موقف الولايات المتحدة من انقلاب الشيشكلي في سوريا
(1954 - 1949)

أ.د. إبراهيم سعيد البيضاني

أستاذ التاريخ الحديث - الجامعة المستنصرية

بغداد - العراق

ملخص:

في الانقلاب الأول الذي نفذه أديب الشيشكلي في التاسع عشر من كانون الأول سنة 1949 جرى الحديث أنه جاء بتأثير ويندخل خارجي، وأنه جاء في إطار الصراع والتنافس على سوريا، وأن القول بذلك جاء نتيجة أن الانقلاب وفر للولايات المتحدة فرصة أن تصبح صاحبة القوة والتأثير، وأنها وجهت ضربة لمصالح بريطانيا التي كانت تعمل لتحقيق الاتحاد بين سوريا والعراق في عهد سامي الحناوي، إذ أن سيطرة بريطانيا على خطوط نقل النفط المتجهة إلى البحر المتوسط يضر بمصالح الولايات المتحدة. لذلك فإن الولايات المتحدة كانت قلقة على مشروع التابلاين في سياسة سامي الحناوي، وأيضاً قلقة من تساهلها مع الشيوعيين، وأن تأييدها للهاشميين يجعلها غير ملائمة للمصالح الأمريكية. لذلك من خلال البحث تأكد عدم وجود دليل واضح على دور مباشر للولايات المتحدة في انقلاب الشيشكلي، وإنما تصرف بمفرده لكنه كان يدرك أن الولايات المتحدة ستؤيده، وستنظر بعين الرضا والقبول إلى انقلابه، فضلاً عن ذلك أن الذين يرجحون تدخل وتأييد الولايات المتحدة لانقلاب الشيشكلي يبنون تصوراتهم على تطور العلاقات الأمريكية السورية في ظل حكومة الشيشكلي من خلال رفع التمثيل الدبلوماسي وفسح المجال للتعاون الاقتصادي وعقد الاتفاقيات بين البلدين، وجرى الحديث عن المساعدات الاقتصادية والعسكرية. وعلى الرغم من كل ذلك؛ فإن العقيد الشيشكلي منخرط ومؤيد للسياسة الأمريكية ويسعى للحصول على تأييدها ومساعدتها، إلا أن هناك هواجس وخوف وعراقيل تقف أمام ذلك، ولعل الانحياز الأمريكي لإسرائيل كان مسألة تثير قلق واستياء السوريين، وهذا يتضح من الشروط التي تضعها الولايات المتحدة في مشاريع المساعدات التي تقدمها لسوريا، إذ تفرض على سوريا الانخراط في سياسة مشتركة مع إسرائيل، فضلاً عن الضمانات بعدم تهديد أمن إسرائيل كان الهاجس الأمريكي الرئيس الذي يرسم سياستها تجاه سوريا، فضلاً عن ذلك فإن سياسة الولايات المتحدة تجاه سوريا كانت محكومة بمسألة أخرى هي الخوف من التغلغل الشيوعي في سوريا. وعموماً؛ فإن الولايات المتحدة ترى في الشيشكلي بأنه ليس موالياً للغرب بشكل كامل، إلا أنه أكثر ميلاً نحو الولايات المتحدة، وإن اختلافه قد يخدم المخططات والمصالح العادية للغرب، فضلاً عن ذلك فإن الانقلاب الثاني الذي نفذه الشيشكلي في التاسع والعشرين من تشرين الثاني سنة 1951 جاء منطلقاً من المشاريع التي كانت الولايات المتحدة تريد تمريرها في المنطقة وعلى رأسها مشروع الدفاع عن الشرق الأوسط سنة 1951 الذي قام على أرضية التصريح الثلاثي (البريطاني الفرنسي الأمريكي) في السادس والعشرين من أيار سنة 1950.