

## THE VISIT OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES, THE US SECRETARY OF STATE, TO THE MIDDLE EAST IN 1953 AD IN THE REPORTS OF THE IRAQI ROYAL LEGATIONS AND EMBASSIES

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### Abstract

The United States built its policy toward Middle Eastern issues, including Arab affairs particularly the Palestinian question on the strategy of Western defense of the Middle East and the expansion of U.S. military bases, which were used to encircle the former Soviet Union and to target its strategic depth.

Given the Middle East's geographical proximity to the Soviet Union, the region was of great importance to U.S. national security. From the American perspective, this created the need to integrate the countries of the region into a system of alliances and military blocs.

John Foster Dulles's policy in the Middle East relied on two main pillars. First, he was not keen to incorporate all Middle Eastern countries into the measures of military containment, but rather sought to apply a flexible strategy that focused on the so-called "Northern Tier" states Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Iraq. These states possessed sensitive strategic locations that would allow the launching of a comprehensive air war against vital Soviet targets in the event of conflict. Second, Dulles's policy was based on a stance of non-alignment toward Israel.

The motives behind Dulles's visit to the Middle East varied from one country to another. Nevertheless, the visit constituted a landmark event in Arab-American relations, as it was the first time a U.S. Secretary of State visited the region to closely examine its affairs and relations with the United States.

Reports from the Royal Iraqi legations and embassies stressed the importance of Arab officials refraining from making commitments to Dulles regarding relations with Israel, especially in political, economic, and social matters. They also highlighted the insistence of Arab states on implementing United Nations resolutions on Palestine and countering the spread of communism.

Upon his arrival in Cairo on May 11, 1953, Dulles discussed with Egyptian officials the possibility of finding a solution to the Egyptian question. He expressed satisfaction and interest in his visits to Arab countries, listening to the views and proposals of their leaders, exchanging opinions with them on their respective national issues, and promising to convey their perspectives to the U.S. administration to help shape its policy toward the Arab world accordingly.

Dulles's visit to India on May 20, 1953, aimed at clarifying the U.S. position toward India, demonstrating goodwill, and discussing international issues, particularly the Korean conflict, the Kashmir dispute, and Sino-Indian relations. On May 22, 1953, Dulles visited Pakistan to discuss shared concerns with India, especially the Kashmir issue and Middle Eastern affairs, as well as the possibility of U.S. assistance to Pakistan in addressing its economic crisis.

It appears that Dulles's Middle East tour was initiated by U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower to hold talks with officials in Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iraq regarding the establishment of a regional military defense pact in the Middle East and to emphasize the necessity of the region's participation in such an alliance.

**Keywords:** John Foster Dulles's visit, Middle East 1953, Royal Iraqi legations and embassies reports.

### Introduction

The researcher chose a topic related to the political and diplomatic aspects of US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's 1953 visit to the Middle East, as documented in reports from Iraqi royal embassies and consulates. This was done to pave the way for researchers in this field and to contribute a modest effort to Iraqi academic studies. The research aimed to uncover the true reasons for this visit, which varied from one country

to another. The study relied on reports from Iraqi royal embassies and consulates, which enriched the research with important information from a large number of these countries. These reports also clarified the positions and opinions of ministers plenipotentiary and ambassadors during official meetings or through their subtext in these official documents.

The historical period covered by this research witnessed significant and critical events concerning various issues in the Middle East, particularly finding solutions to the Korean and Kashmir conflicts, establishing a regional defense alliance to halt communist expansion, resolving the Egyptian question, and establishing a permanent peace between the Arab states and Israel to guarantee the latter's security and prevent Arab states from launching wars against it. Arab officials were firm in their demands regarding these issues, especially finding a just solution to the Palestinian question.

First: The visit of US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to Iraq and the position of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Washington regarding this visit.

The Royal Iraqi Embassy in Washington sent a report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 8, 1953, focusing on the visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles <sup>(i)</sup>. For Iraq and the Arab states, it was considered one of the most important events in the relationship between the United States and those countries, as it was the first visit by the US Secretary of State to the Arab states to study their affairs and their relationship with the United States closely. Mr. Abdullah Mustafa Bakr al-Naqshbandi pointed out <sup>(ii)</sup> The political personality of Mr. Dallas and his standing in the Republican Party added a special character to that visit. <sup>(iii)</sup> .Naqshbandi tried to find out the main issues Dulles wanted to discuss, but he was unable to do so despite contacting a large number of officials in the US State Department. All that Naqshbandi was told was that Mr. Dulles wanted to ascertain the true situation of Middle Eastern countries in terms of their relations with the United States and to pose questions to some of their officials. <sup>(iv)</sup> .The first thing Naqshbandi noticed on that occasion was the statements made by a large number of American officials who had visited Arab countries. Upon their return, they noted a discord and disagreement among Arab leaders, and emphasized a significant gap between Arab leaders and their people. Naqshbandi pointed out the inability of Western visitors to form an accurate understanding of the situation in Arab countries and their legitimate and consistent demands, and that these officials had declared the Arabs to be unserious in their international relations <sup>(v)</sup> .

Therefore, Naqshbandi believed it was necessary for officials in Arab countries to discuss Mr. Dulles's visit during the Arab League Council meeting in order to reach a unified and firm decision regarding what was discussed with him, so that there would be complete harmony in the opinions of all Arab countries. <sup>(vi)</sup> .

**Al-Naqshbandi also believed that the first issues discussed with Mr. Dulles were two:**

**1. Relations between Arab states and Israel:**

Al-Naqshbandi believed that Mr. Dulles should absolutely not consider the possibility of establishing relations between any Arab state and Israel, given the absence of political, economic, and social ties between them. Al-Naqshbandi emphasized the necessity for Arab states to insist on the implementation of UN resolutions concerning refugees, borders, and the internationalization of Jerusalem. He believed in the American administration's ability to compel Israel to implement these resolutions. He urged Arab states not to remain silent about the refugees' continued plight simply because of the meager aid that had been agreed upon; because if they regained their properties and assets, they would no longer need such aid. <sup>(vii)</sup> .

## 2. The Middle East Alliance:

Naqshbandi saw the necessity of making Mr. Dulles understand that the Arabs are not isolationists, nor are they neglected. If the West wants to cooperate with them, it must treat them as equals. Naqshbandi demanded that the United States not view the Arab states through the lens of Israel, and that it separate the issue of peace with Israel from the issue of cooperation with the Arab states. If the US truly desires such cooperation, it should aim to resolve problems between some Western countries and some Arab states, and then provide them with aid, as was done with Türkiye<sup>(viii)</sup> ..

Al-Naqshbandi stressed the necessity of discussing communist activity in Iraq and other Arab countries with Mr. Dulles, given Mr. Dulles's well-known extreme hatred and resistance to communism as an ideology, as well as his hostility towards Russia as a major communist state. Therefore, al-Naqshbandi believed it was crucial to explain to Dulles that the absence of official communist parties in Arab countries did not mean the absence of communists and communist activity. This activity, he argued, had exploited the misguided policies pursued by the United States and some Western countries towards the Arabs. Furthermore, al-Naqshbandi asserted that simply increasing the power of the United States and its allies against Russia and its allies would not be sufficient to counter communism in the event of war. He emphasized the need to resist communism by fostering a belief among Arab populations in the genuine friendship of the West and the advantages of cooperation with them. Al-Naqshbandi also pointed out the lack of sincerity on the part of the United States and its allies in genuinely cooperating with Arab countries to eliminate the spread of communism within their borders.<sup>(ix)</sup> .

Naqshbandi pointed to Dulles's statements about the strategically important location of the Middle East and the availability of raw materials necessary for war. Therefore, Naqshbandi deemed it necessary to make Dulles understand that the Arabs were not satisfied with this attention to their lands for these two purposes only, but rather that they should have material and moral value, just as Europe and others did.<sup>(x)</sup> .

Al-Naqshbandi affirmed that the Iraqi Foreign Ministry, through its experience, was aware of the complaints Arab states had regarding American policy. He stressed the necessity of prioritizing politics over economics to ensure the United States treats Arab countries with dignity and to make American officials understand that each Arab state has its own dignity and identity, preventing Americans from believing that an agreement with one Arab state automatically compels others to follow suit<sup>(xi)</sup> ..

Naqshbandi believed that discord or conflict among Arab states was not in the interest of Western countries, and therefore it was necessary to assist these countries, particularly the United States. He proposed establishing a union among Arab states to promote democracy and peace, similar to the union the United States had established between Germany and France, despite their historical animosity.<sup>(xii)</sup> .

Naqshbandi demanded that the United States' policy towards the Arabs be consistent and not remain fluctuating, influenced by Zionist and colonial aims, circumstances, and pressures.<sup>(xiii)</sup> .

Naqshbandi stressed the need for officials to use precise language about the true situation when speaking with Mr. Dallas, and advised against exaggerating threats so as not to give the impression that Arab governments are capable of manipulating Arab public opinion as they wish.<sup>(xiv)</sup> .

Naqshbandi learned that Mr. Dallas had decided to travel by plane on May 9, 1953, and visit Cairo or Türkiye, and then visit other capitals in the Middle East.<sup>(xv)</sup> .

The Royal Iraqi Embassy in Washington also sent a report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 11, 1953, regarding the granting of entry visas to Mr. Abdullah Mustafa Bakr al-Naqshbandi, the Chargé d'Affaires at the aforementioned embassy, for Mr. John Foster Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, and his companions<sup>(xvi)</sup>. To Iraq, and on that occasion, Naqshbandi proposed two issues to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

1. Naqshbandi appreciated not limiting attention to Mr. Dallas alone, but also paying attention to prominent figures in that mission, such as Mr. Harold Stassen<sup>(xvii)</sup>. The director of the Mutual Security Agency was chosen because of the importance of his position, his previous role as president of the University of Pennsylvania, and his status as a leading Republican presidential candidate.<sup>(xviii)</sup>
2. Al-Naqshbandi believed it was necessary to draw the attention of Mr. Dulles and his associates to the issue of the Jews of Eastern Europe, or what is called the Iron Curtain, because the men of (Israel) had completed the first stage in building (Israel), and had begun the second stage, which was based on two important pillars, namely the army and immigration. The issue of immigration was important for the Arab countries, because in Russia and other communist countries there were (3,500,000) Jews, and the Zionists exerted their efforts to facilitate their immigration to (Israel), despite their claim that (Israel) could not absorb Arab refugees, because the Zionists knew that (Israel) could not achieve its colonial ambitions with only (1,500,000), so they took advantage of the opportunity of accusing some Jewish doctors in Russia, and some Jewish politicians in Czechoslovakia, and they began propaganda that the Jews were being persecuted inside the Iron Curtain, and this propaganda intensified after the Russian-(Israeli) relations were cut off<sup>(xix)</sup> ..

Naqshbandi stressed the need to draw the attention of American officials to the danger posed to global peace and security in the Middle East by the new Jewish immigration should Israel's efforts succeed. He pointed to the efforts of 5,000,000 Jews seeking to establish a new "living space," explaining that this would mean a return to war in the Middle East. He further noted that communist countries would not allow the immigration of Eastern European Jews unless they were certain of their conversion to communism and could rely on them to form a bridgehead for communism in the Middle East.<sup>(xx)</sup>

Naqshbandi noted Mr. Dallas's reminder that most of Russia's spies in the United States were Jews, headed by the Rosenbergs.<sup>(xxi)</sup> This is perfectly normal, despite the American press's secrecy and silence on this fact; because the Jews are accustomed to playing both sides and always siding with both camps until one of them wins, in order to confirm their benefit, in addition to the immediate financial gain they received as the price for their espionage.<sup>(xxii)</sup>

It appears that the purpose of Mr. John Foster Dulles's visit to the Arab countries was to study their affairs and their relations with the United States of America. Al-Naqshbandi tried to find out the main issues he wanted to discuss, but he could not. All the information he obtained about that visit was Dulles's desire to ascertain the true situation of the Middle Eastern countries in their relations with the United States of America. Al-Naqshbandi stressed the need for the Arabs to unite in order to form an accurate picture of their demands during the visit of Western officials. Al-Naqshbandi suggested that the Arab countries should not agree to the establishment of relations between those countries and (Israel), and that they should insist on the implementation

of the United Nations resolutions regarding Palestine. Al-Naqshbandi demanded that Dulles be made to understand that they should be cooperated with and treated as equals. He also stressed that Mr. Dulles should be made to understand that the policy of the United States of America led to communist activity in those countries.

**Second: Mr. John Foster Dulles's visit to Egypt and the position of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Cairo regarding it.**

The Royal Iraqi Embassy in Cairo sent a report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 12, 1953, focusing on the arrival of Mr. Dulles, the US Secretary of State, in Cairo on the morning of May 11, 1953, accompanied by Mr. Harold Stassen, Director of the Mutual Security Agency, and Mr. Henry A. Byroad <sup>(xxiii)</sup>. Under Secretary of State for Near Eastern and African Affairs, Mr. Douglas MacArthur II <sup>(xxiv)</sup> Assistant Secretary of State. <sup>(xxv)</sup>

Several meetings were held between Mr. Dulles and the Egyptian Foreign Minister, then with the Prime Minister and Egyptian command officers, and Mr. Najib Ibrahim al-Rawi was informed <sup>(xxvi)</sup>.

The Iraqi ambassador in Cairo stated that Mr. Dallas and his companions had no specific agenda for their tour of Arab countries. Rather, their aim was to gain firsthand knowledge of important issues in the Middle East and gather information on the most pressing matters concerning that region. The Egyptian issue occupied the largest portion of their discussions with Egyptians, as it was the most pressing concern for Egyptians at the time and a major focus of public opinion, in addition to its close connection to the issues of other Arab states. <sup>(xxvii)</sup>.

The Egyptians elaborated on the issue of evacuation and the future of the base in Suez, as well as the stage reached in the negotiations regarding this matter. They emphasized their adherence to their position, demanding the unconditional evacuation of British forces, the transfer of ownership of the base to Egypt, and Egypt's commitment to maintaining it, along with its weapons and facilities, provided that Egyptian experts were employed for a limited period. Egypt would have oversight and control of the base. The Egyptians then presented the arguments that supported their position. <sup>(xxviii)</sup>.

In their discussions with Dulles and his colleagues, the Egyptians touched upon other issues such as the defense of the Middle East within the framework of the Collective Security Pact, and the Palestinian issue in general, to the extent that these issues were related to the Egyptian issue, without going into precise details. <sup>(xxix)</sup>.

Mr. Dulles, in turn, paid special attention in his talks to the Egyptian issue, and he examined the stages and details of that issue, and when he sensed the state of tension that prevailed in Egypt, which was caused by the speech of Mr. Winston Churchill <sup>(xxx)</sup>.

He realized the seriousness of the situation and the bad and complex nature of the situation in the positions of both sides. Therefore, Dulles asked the Egyptian officials not to close the door to talks completely in order to reduce the tension and decrease attacks on Britain. Dulles also asked that no hostile movements should appear from the Egyptian side towards Britain and that the situation should be calmed down until his return to Washington to discuss the Egyptian issue with US President Dwight D. Eisenhower <sup>(xxxi)</sup>. In light of the information he obtained, he emphasized his hope that this would facilitate his mission in finding a suitable solution to that issue, which the United States of America was particularly interested in. <sup>(xxxii)</sup>.

The Egyptian government yielded to Dulles's wishes, instructing newspapers to soften their tone in responding to Churchill and Britain, and to reduce the publication of provocative and offensive articles. It also banned planned demonstrations in protest



against Churchill's speech and increased security around the British embassy, as well as the residences and businesses of British citizens.<sup>(xxxiii)</sup>

The American ambassador in Cairo, Mr. Najib Ibrahim al-Rawi, invited the Iraqi ambassador to meet Mr. Dulles at his residence. They met on the evening of May 12, 1953, and Mr. al-Rawi inquired about Mr. Dulles's destination from Cairo. Mr. Dulles replied that his destination was Israel. Mr. al-Rawi then asked him about his visit to Jerusalem, his meeting with Jewish officials there, and the negative impact this had on the Arab states. He requested that the meeting be held in Tel Aviv.<sup>(xxxiv)</sup>

Dulles replied that the American ambassador had spoken to him about the matter and clarified that he had never intended to meet with Israeli government officials in Jerusalem. Rather, his wish, while in Washington, was to visit Jerusalem, see its historical landmarks in the Old City, and discuss the historical, religious, and political importance of Palestine. When the Israeli government learned of Dulles's intention, they organized a dinner with government officials in the new Jerusalem. Dulles realized the impact this arrangement had, so he informed the Iraqi ambassador in Cairo that he could not change it due to time constraints. He promised to rectify the effect of his meeting with the Jewish officials in Jerusalem by visiting the Old City and meeting with Arab leaders there as well.<sup>(xxxv)</sup>

Mr. Najib Ibrahim al-Rawi, the Iraqi ambassador in Cairo, asked Mr. Dallas if he was aware of Mr. Churchill's speech and its negative impact on Egypt and all Arab countries at a time when the United States was seeking to win the favor of the Arabs by adopting a new policy of rapprochement and removing the estrangement that had led to the denial of Arab rights in Palestine and the imposition of Israel upon it.<sup>(xxxvi)</sup>

Dulles replied that he had seen the speech on the afternoon of May 12, 1953, and regretted that it had been delivered on the day of his arrival in Egypt and that his name had been mentioned in it. The narrator then spoke with Mr. Dulles about the necessity of resolving the Egyptian question to fulfill Egyptian aspirations, and about the Palestinian question and the need to implement the United Nations resolutions, which were supported by the proposal to form the Conciliation Commission in 1948, a proposal to which Dulles had contributed. The narrator also discussed what the Arabs expected in terms of justice for their causes under the Eisenhower administration, after Dulles had personally witnessed the injustice they had suffered under the policies of the previous American administration.<sup>(xxxvii)</sup>

US Secretary of State Mr. Dulles expressed his satisfaction and pleasure at visiting the Arab states, as it provided him with the opportunity to listen to the personal views and proposals of Arab leaders on issues of concern to the Arab world. He expressed his deep honor at being the first US Secretary of State to visit the Arab states, and affirmed that he listened attentively to the Arab leaders' remarks, exchanged views with them on matters of mutual interest, and promised to faithfully convey these to the US administration so that it could formulate its policy toward the Arab states accordingly.<sup>(xxxviii)</sup>

Dallas emphasized the United States' commitment to maintaining good relations with Arab states, despite acknowledging the difficulties arising from supplying the Egyptian army with weapons. The US was unable to provide the Egyptian army with arms, despite believing it needed them, until its dispute with Britain was resolved.<sup>(xxxix)</sup>

The narrator responded and requested that the United States' desire to strengthen the Egyptian army by supplying it with weapons so that it could play its role in supporting peace in that vital region be a strong reason for Dulles's mission to help overcome the obstacles that had hindered the talks between Egypt and Britain, and to

bring the issue to an honorable solution that would guarantee Egypt's freedom and independence so that it could fulfill its role in securing world peace.<sup>(xi)</sup> .

Dallas responded to the Iraqi ambassador's remarks in Cairo by saying that he preferred cooperation and good faith to overcome those difficulties and obstacles.<sup>(xlii)</sup> .

The Iraqi Royal Embassy in Cairo explained that Mr. Dulles's visit to Jerusalem was to see the city and its historical landmarks. The Iraqi ambassador in Cairo also confirmed that the Jews had exploited the visit by arranging a meeting between Mr. Dulles and the (Israeli) Prime Minister. Therefore, Dulles was compelled to visit Jerusalem to fulfill prior commitments to meet with Arab leaders in the Arab section of Jerusalem, thus avoiding any backlash from his meeting with Jewish officials in Jerusalem.<sup>(xliii)</sup> .

It appears from the meeting between Mr. Najib Ibrahim Al-Rawi, the Iraqi ambassador in Cairo, and Mr. John Foster Dulles at the American embassy in Cairo that the aforementioned ambassador demanded that the Egyptian issue be resolved in a way that fulfilled Egyptian aspirations, and that the Palestinian issue be resolved and that the United Nations resolutions be adopted, which were supported by the proposal to form the Conciliation Commission in 1948, which Dulles helped to prepare. The latter expressed his satisfaction with visiting the Arab countries and listening to the opinions and proposals of the Arab leaders, and he confirmed his interest in them and promised to convey this faithfully to the American administration to formulate its policy with the Arab countries. Al-Rawi also demanded that the Egyptian army be supplied with weapons to support peace in the Middle East region to contribute to overcoming the difficulties in the talks between Egypt and Britain.

### **Third: The visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, to Amman and the position of the Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan regarding it.**

The Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan sent a report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 17, 1953, in which Mr. Safaa al-Din Abdul Wahab focused ,<sup>(xliii)</sup>

The acting chargé d'affaires at the aforementioned embassy was present for the visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, to Amman on May 14, 1953, after his visit to (Israel), and he stayed in Amman for one day.<sup>(xliv)</sup> .

The American ambassador held a reception at the American embassy in Amman, which was graced by King Hussein bin Talal ,<sup>(xlv)</sup> .Mr. Dallas had the honor of meeting King Hussein, and the latter spoke to him about the situation of the refugees, the attacks by the Jews, and the refusal to make peace with (Israel).<sup>(xlvi)</sup> .

Mr. Dulles met with the Jordanian Prime Minister, who confirmed to him that there was no way to make peace with Israel because it had disregarded UN resolutions. The Jordanian Prime Minister also detailed the severe economic crisis Jordan was suffering due to the Palestinian refugees, the unrest on the armistice borders, and the Jewish incursions.<sup>(xlvii)</sup> .

Dulles also met with the Jordanian Foreign Minister and briefed him on the Arab Foreign Ministers' resolutions against making peace with Israel, and the Arab League's concern for stability in the Middle East, which can only be achieved after recognizing Arab rights and respecting UN resolutions on Palestine and Arab refugees.<sup>(xlviii)</sup> .

Mr. Safaa al-Din Abdul Wahab explained that the refugees wanted to organize demonstrations in Amman during Dulles's visit to protest against the United States' bias towards the Jews, but the Jordanian police took the necessary precautions and prevented

those demonstrations. A delegation of refugees met with Dulles and presented him with their demands and their rejection of peace and settlement, and they submitted a memorandum to him.<sup>(xlix)</sup>

Mr. Safaa El-Din Abdel Wahab noted that the communists were distributing leaflets in Jordan entitled "Return to your country, Dallas,"<sup>(l)</sup> "Mr. Safaa El-Din Abdel Wahab noted that the communists were distributing leaflets in Jordan entitled "Return to your country, Dallas."<sup>(li)</sup>

The Jordanian Foreign Minister told Mr. Safaa Al-Din Abdul Wahab that he had managed to make Dulles understand everything, and confirmed to him that the Arabs were united in their demands and against (Israel).<sup>(lii)</sup>

Mr. Safaa Al-Din Abdul Wahab learned from other sources that Dallas believed he would find a receptive audience for reconciliation in Jordan, but when he met with Jordanian officials, he understood the opposite of what the statements and foreign press had reported.<sup>(liii)</sup>

The Royal Iraqi Embassy in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan also sent a report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 21, 1953, regarding the submission of a memorandum on behalf of the refugees to Mr. Dallas. Mr. Safaa al-Din Abdul Wahab, the Chargé d'Affaires at the aforementioned embassy, explained that the newspaper Al-Awda had published an article in its issue of May 14, 1953, in which it claimed that Dr. Izzat Tannous had agreed<sup>(liv)</sup> With Mr. Camille Chamoun<sup>(lv)</sup> The President of the Lebanese Republic was instructed to submit a memorandum on behalf of the refugees to Mr. Dulles, who did indeed submit it secretly to the American Embassy in Amman. That memorandum contained the following:

1. Internationalization of Jerusalem and Jaffa.
2. Implementation of the partition plan for the return of refugees to the Arab section of Palestine.
3. Appointment of an international body to oversee the assets of refugees in the Jewish section, with the authority to sell, exchange, and compensate them in a currency other than the Israeli currency.
4. Return of Arabs to the internationalized cities and the restoration of their properties.
5. Payment of fair compensation to those who do not wish to return.
6. Return of Arabs to the section of Palestine allocated to them within five years.
7. Placing the Arab section of Palestine under international supervision for a period of five years, renewable.
8. If the Jews do not agree to these solutions, the United States must impose them upon them.<sup>(lvi)</sup>

Dr. Izzat Tannous sent a letter to Al-Awda newspaper denying what it had published, and confirming that the memorandum did not deviate from demanding the implementation of United Nations resolutions.<sup>(lvii)</sup>

Mr. Safaa al-Din Abdul Wahab asked some officials about the veracity of what the aforementioned newspaper had published, and they did not deny the report. One of the Jordanian ministers told him that Dr. Izzat Tannous believed the Palestinian issue should be addressed by the Palestinians themselves due to the failure of the Arab states to do so, and he did not rule out the possibility that he had written the secret memorandum in Al-Awda newspaper.<sup>(lviii)</sup>

Mr. Safaa El-Din Abdel Wahab confirmed that most of the refugee figures criticized the alleged secret memorandum and demanded the implementation of UN resolutions and the demands of the Arab states.<sup>(lix)</sup>



The Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan sent another report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 21, 1953. In it, the Chargé d'Affaires at that Commission, Mr. Safaa al-Din Abdul Wahab, focused on the talks that took place between the Jordanian government and Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, and the meeting between the Jordanian Prime Minister and him on the morning of May 15, 1953, in the presence of the Jordanian Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Economy. As a result of this investigation, Mr. Safaa al-Din Abdul Wahab gathered the main threads regarding the subject of their discussion and the broad outlines upon which it was based.<sup>(lx)</sup>

Mr. Safaa Al-Din Abdul Wahab learned that the hadith was divided into two parts:.

**The first section**, addressed to Mr. Stassen, Mr. Bairud, and their colleagues, reviewed the Palestinian issue in general, the injustice suffered by the Arabs as a result of international intervention in favor of Israel, and how Jordan found itself facing many serious problems, foremost among them the refugee problem.<sup>(lxi)</sup>

The Jordanian Prime Minister personally engaged with Mr. Dulles, focusing on the core issues. He explained that the Palestinian question was not a Jordanian, Syrian, Egyptian, or any other issue, but rather an issue for all Arabs. He emphasized that no Arab state could express a specific opinion regarding its resolution except within the framework of complete understanding among the member states of the Arab League. He further stressed that adherence to the resolutions of the United Nations laid a sound foundation for such a meeting.<sup>(lxii)</sup>

The Jordanian Prime Minister also addressed the refugee issue at length, explaining that it is a problem that can only be resolved through the implementation of international resolutions concerning return and compensation. He called for financial assistance to be provided to Jordan to be spent on revitalizing the refugees and ensuring a decent standard of living for them until those resolutions are implemented.<sup>(lxiii)</sup>

The Jordanian Prime Minister seized the opportunity to raise with Mr. Dulles the issue of the residents of the frontline villages who were not considered refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), even though they had lost their lands and livelihoods. Their problem was one of the difficult challenges facing the Jordanian government, and it could only be resolved at the expense of sacrificing other vital interests.<sup>(lxiv)</sup>

Mr. Safaa Al-Din Abdul Wahab clarified the vital issues for Jordan that were discussed between the Jordanian Prime Minister and Mr. Dulles as follows:

1. Israeli incursions on the border.
2. Frozen funds.
3. Point Four projects.<sup>(lxv)</sup>

The Jordanian Prime Minister was as firm as he was frank in presenting the issue of Jewish incursions on the Jordanian border. Mr. Safa al-Din Abdul Wahab learned that he had told Mr. Dulles that Jordan would resort to requesting the implementation of the collective guarantee among the Arab states if new attacks were to occur by Israel, as these states would ignite a large-scale war. He also mentioned requesting British military assistance under the terms of the treaty between Britain and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The Jordanian Prime Minister pointed to the danger that border incidents posed to regional and global peace.<sup>(lxvi)</sup>

**The second part** of the discussion was directed to Mr. Stassen and focused on the work of Point Four and the Yarmouk Project <sup>(lxvii)</sup>. And to revitalize refugees and

residents of frontline villages, the Jordanian Prime Minister requested that aid projects be a tool for prosperity and raising living standards.<sup>(lxviii)</sup>

Mr. Safaa al-Din Abdul Wahab, the acting Iraqi ambassador in Amman, was aware that the Arab states had received only a small portion compared to Israel's share of \$174 million in 1952. When this matter was discussed, the issue of delays in implementing the Yarmouk project arose, creating a tense atmosphere. Mr. Byrod personally intervened, speaking to the Jordanian Prime Minister, saying, "My dear Prime Minister, I assure you that the project will be implemented, so do not worry about that."<sup>(lxix)</sup> The meeting concluded after the Jordanian government clarified all the points of interest to Mr. Dallas and his companions.<sup>(lxx)</sup>

It appears that the Iraqi Royal Embassy in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan focused on the visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, to Amman on May 14, 1953, and his honor of meeting King Hussein bin Talal, who spoke with him about the situation of the refugees and the Jewish attacks and informed him of the rejection of peace with (Israel). Dulles also met with the Jordanian Prime Minister, who refused to make peace with (Israel), and explained to him Jordan's suffering from the economic crisis it went through due to the presence of Palestinian refugees and the Jewish attacks on the armistice borders. He also met with the Jordanian Foreign Minister and explained to him the decisions of the Arab Foreign Ministers not to make peace with (Israel), and demanded recognition of the rights of the Arabs and respect for the United Nations resolutions regarding Palestine and the Arab refugees. The Jordanian Foreign Minister also stated to Mr. Safaa al-Din Abdul Wahab that he had made Dulles understand everything. A delegation of refugees also submitted a memorandum of their demands to Mr. Dulles.

#### **Fourth: The visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, and his companions to Syria, and the position of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Damascus regarding it.**

The Iraqi Royal Commission in Damascus sent a report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 17, 1953, stating that Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, and his companions had arrived in Damascus and spent 24 hours there. Dr. Dhafer al-Rifai stayed<sup>(lxxi)</sup> The Syrian Foreign Minister attended an Iftar banquet followed by a reception hosted by the US Ambassador at his residence for introductions. Mr. Abdul Hamid al-Khanaq was also present<sup>(lxxii)</sup>.

The acting chargé d'affaires at the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Damascus attended that party and learned from one of those who accompanied Mr. Henry Byroade during his stay in Damascus that the American mission, headed by Mr. Dulles, was surprised by the statement made by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, attributing it to Britain's obstruction of the mission's affairs, because the statement coincided with the mission's visit to the Arab countries.<sup>(lxxiii)</sup>

Al-Khanaq referred to the meeting that took place between Mr. Dallas and leader Adib al-Shishakli,<sup>(lxxiv)</sup> It was attended by the Syrian Foreign Minister, Dr. Zafer al-Rifai, and Dr. Farid Zein al-Din<sup>(lxxv)</sup> The Syrian ambassador to Washington who came to Damascus for that purpose.<sup>(lxxvi)</sup>

Syrian newspapers published articles about Dulles's visit, and Al-Khanaq noted the harshness and dryness of their tone, pointing out their lack of courtesy. Some newspapers described American policy as continuing unchanged and dismissed the notion that Dulles's visit to the Middle East was motivated by a desire to form an opinion that would inform his government's policy toward the region. These

newspapers suggested that the true purpose of his visit was to advance American projects and persuade the Arabs to accept them.<sup>(lxxvii)</sup> .

Al-Khanaq confirmed that Mr. Stassen, Director of the Mutual Security Agency, held a meeting at the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, attended by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Economy, Agriculture, and Public Works, as well as the Directors General of the aforementioned ministries. The meeting reviewed the financial, economic, trade, and other conditions, and discussed the capabilities and construction projects that the Syrian government intended to implement.<sup>(lxxviii)</sup> .

In Damascus, shortly before his departure, Mr. Dulles issued a statement expressing his pleasure at visiting Syria, a country renowned among Americans for its remarkable achievements, the dynamism of its people, and its cooperation with the United States in infrastructure projects over several generations. Dulles noted the bonds of friendship and understanding between the two peoples and the contributions of Americans of Syrian descent. He thanked Syria for its warm welcome and expressed regret that he could not stay longer. He hoped that his discussions, and those of his companions, with President Shishakli and other Syrian leaders would contribute to a closer understanding between Syria and the United States. He emphasized that he carried no specific project or program intended to be imposed on the Arabs, nor did he make any decisions or commitments. He expressed his hope that this visit would enhance cooperation between the two independent nations.<sup>(lxxix)</sup> .

Following Mr. Dulles's visit, Mr. Adib Al-Shishakli made a statement indicating that their discussions covered many issues of interest to both countries, particularly those related to the rights of Arab peoples to independence and sovereignty, and to a just solution to the Palestinian issue.<sup>(lxxx)</sup> .

Mr. Abdul Hamid al-Khanaq noted that, unlike in Egypt, Israel, and Lebanon, no hostile demonstrations took place during Dulles and his companions' stay in Syria. Instead, some secret leaflets were distributed by the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, headed by Mr. Akram al-Hawrani.<sup>(lxxxi)</sup> A bomb was also thrown after the breakfast feast had ended and shortly before leader Adib al-Shishakli arrived at the reception held by the American ambassador for introductions near al-Shishakli's house. No lives were lost, and the perpetrator was not known.<sup>(lxxxii)</sup> .

It appears from the report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Damascus that the talks held between the Dulles mission and his associates and Syrian officials helped to create rapprochement and a confident understanding between Syria and the United States of America. The latter wished to increase cooperation between the two countries through that visit, and most of the talks that took place between them dealt with issues related to the rights of Arab peoples to independence and sovereignty and the need to resolve the Palestinian issue in a just manner..

#### **Fifth: Mr. John Foster Dulles's visit to India and the position of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Delhi regarding it.**

The Iraqi Royal Legation in Delhi sent a report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 23, 1953, concerning the visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles, Turkish Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Harold Stassen to India on May 20, 1953, which lasted three days. The Minister Plenipotentiary at the aforementioned Legation, Mr. Muhammad Salim al-Radi, had seen<sup>(lxxxiii)</sup> .The Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs must be provided with a brief report on that visit.<sup>(lxxxiv)</sup> .

Al-Radi referred to Mr. Dallas's meeting with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>(lxxxv)</sup> During the three days of that visit (May 20-22, 1953) that he spent in Delhi, he also met Mr. C.

D. Deshmukh <sup>(lxxxvi)</sup> .The Indian Finance Minister met with members of the committee organizing the five-year project.<sup>(lxxxvii)</sup> .

Mr. Dulles explained to Mr. Nehru that the primary purpose of his visit was to clarify the United States' position and goodwill towards India, emphasizing its strong friendship and understanding of India's foreign policy. They discussed general international issues, the maintenance of world peace, relations between Western and Asian countries, and India's policy towards the two international blocs. Dulles gained insight into the Indian government's perspective, and Nehru gained insight into the United States' perspective. During their meeting, they discussed the issues of Korea and Kashmir in detail.<sup>(lxxxviii)</sup> .

Al-Radi saw Mr. Dallas and Mr. Nehru at all the parties held in the capital, Delhi, in an atmosphere of complete merriment, and signs of joy were evident on their faces. When Al-Radi met Mr. Dallas, he asked him about his impression of Iraq, and Dallas and Mr. Stassen replied that they were very pleased with their visit to Iraq.<sup>(lxxxix)</sup> .

The Iraqi Royal Commission in Delhi also sent another report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on June 10, 1953, in which its Minister Plenipotentiary, Mr. Muhammad Salim al-Radi, focused on Mr. Dulles's visit to Delhi, which had stirred Indian public opinion and the Indian press.<sup>(xc)</sup> .

Al-Radi pointed out that Nehru had explicitly informed Mr. Al-Dallas of India's foreign policy and its complete support for the Western bloc, clarifying that India was not communist and did not support communism, but differed with the United States in implementing that policy because India believed it was in the interest of the United Nations to accept communist China <sup>(xci)</sup> .For its membership, and for not recognizing the government of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek <sup>(xcii)</sup> In Formosa, while the United States held the opposite view, declaring that communist China could not be admitted to the United Nations, India saw the need to end the fighting in Korea, rely on the trust of North Korea, and resolve the disputes within Indochina. It even saw the necessity of expediting the granting of full independence to the people of Indochina.<sup>(xciii)</sup> .

Al-Radi learned of Mr. Dulles's request to Mr. Nehru to take advantage of his presence in London and approach Mr. Winston Churchill about the need for leniency towards Egypt regarding the resolution of the Suez Canal crisis.<sup>(xciv)</sup> .

Detailed discussions took place between Nehru and Dulles regarding the Kashmir issue. Al-Radi understood that Mr. Dulles had asked Nehru to show tolerance and leniency in resolving the dispute between India and Pakistan, and had also promised to approach Pakistani officials for the same purpose. It became clear to Al-Radi, from the course of events and the meetings in London between Nehru and Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, that Mr. Dulles had managed to influence both sides.<sup>(xcv)</sup> .

Mr. Dulles's visit to Mr. Deshmukh, the Indian Finance Minister, was to learn how India was spending its share of US financial aid under the Point Four Program, and about the sources upon which the Five-Year Plan relied for its implementation. After discussions with the Indian Finance Minister, Mr. Dulles accompanied him to a meeting of the plan's organizing committee. Mr. Dulles personally witnessed the discussions that took place there. Both Mr. Dulles and Mr. Stassen expressed their satisfaction with the financial measures adopted by the Five-Year Plan organizing committee, particularly its reliance primarily on India's financial resources and the plan's need for external financial assistance to fully realize it. Mr. Dulles concluded his visit to India on the evening of May 22, 1953.<sup>(xcvi)</sup> .

It appears from the report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Delhi that the purpose of Mr. Dulles's visit to India was to clarify the position of the United States of America

towards it, and its good intentions towards it to confirm its friendship, to discuss general international issues, to learn about the policy that India followed towards the two international camps, and to learn about the point of view of the two countries, especially the problems of Kashmir and Korea. The Minister Plenipotentiary, Mr. Muhammad Salim Al-Radi, confirmed Dulles's knowledge of India's foreign policy, and its complete support for the Western camp and its lack of support for communism.

**Sixth: The visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, to Türkiye and the position of the Iraqi Royal Embassy in Ankara regarding it.**

The Royal Iraqi Embassy in Ankara sent a report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 28, 1953, focusing on the visit of US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to Turkey. Following Dulles's departure, Ibrahim Akif Alusi, Minister Plenipotentiary and Chargé d'Affaires at the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Ankara, met with Turkish Foreign Minister Mehmet Fuat Köprülü<sup>(xcvii)</sup>. In order to obtain some information related to that visit.<sup>(xcviii)</sup>

Alusi understood from Koprulu that Türkiye had presented its viewpoint on the global situation, particularly with regard to the Middle East and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization<sup>(xcix)</sup>.

Al-Alusi also understood from Köprülü that Dulles listened more than he spoke, and was very pleased with the situation in Iraq. Dulles told Köprülü that he was uneasy about the situation in Egypt because it was unsettling, and he didn't know who Egypt would turn its weapons on if it were equipped with them.<sup>(c)</sup>

It appears from Al-Alusi's interview with Mr. Fuat Koprulu, the Turkish Foreign Minister, that Mr. Dulas listened to Turkey's point of view on the global situation and everything related to the Middle East countries and NATO countries. Dulas was comfortable with the situation in Iraq, but he was not comfortable with the situation in Egypt, especially after the Czechoslovak arms deal was concluded. Therefore, Dulas was apprehensive about Egypt being armed and waging war against (Israel.)

**Seventh: The visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, to Pakistan and the position of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Karachi regarding it.**

The Royal Iraqi Embassy in Karachi sent a report to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on June 5, 1953, focusing on the visit of US Secretary of State Mr. Dulles, accompanied by Mr. Stassen and Mr. Henry Byroade, to the Pakistani capital, Karachi, on May 22, 1953, where they were received by Mr. Muhammad Zafarullah Khan<sup>(ci)</sup>. Dallas stated that he came to discuss common problems with Pakistani officials, and did not bring ready-made solutions to any issue specific to Pakistan. He emphasized that his goal was to examine and understand the various issues.<sup>(cii)</sup>

Mr. Dulles met with Pakistani Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra on June 7, 1953, for one hour, discussing the Kashmir issue and other Middle Eastern matters and their solutions. He met with Bogra again, and Mr. Stassen and the rest of the American delegation were also present. They also met with the Governor-General and Mr. Zafarullah Khan, and convened a conference with all the Directors-General of the various ministries to discuss important internal issues in Pakistan. They also met with the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistani Armed Forces, General Muhammad Ayub Khan.<sup>(ciii)</sup>

They met with the Pakistani Finance Minister to discuss the five-year plan and the extent of foreign aid Pakistan needed, and they met with the Minister of Food to discuss the food crisis and the possibility of the United States helping Pakistan overcome that crisis by providing wheat.<sup>(civ)</sup>



Mr. Dallas made a statement to journalists on May 24, 1953, in which he addressed most of the important issues, and it included the following :

- a. India-Pakistan Relations: Dulles explained that the goal of US policy was to exert every effort to find just and peaceful solutions to all disputes between India and Pakistan. He noted that the United States believed these disputes had hindered the economic progress of both countries and threatened world peace. Dulles hoped that direct negotiations between Muhammad Ali Bogra and Jawaharlal Nehru would lead to a resolution of these disputes.<sup>(cv)</sup> .
- b. The grain crisis in Pakistan: Dallas explained that he could not give a definitive answer regarding the extent of US assistance to Pakistan concerning this crisis, as ultimate authority in this matter rested with Congress. He noted that the US considered the crisis serious and had sent a special food mission to study the issue. He promised to address the matter closely with Mr. Stassen upon their return to Washington.<sup>(cvi)</sup> .
- c. Regional Defense Project: Dulles believed in the necessity of establishing regional defense organizations because leaving defense matters to a single state cost its budget dearly. He did not believe in the possibility or ability of a single state to withstand defense without the assistance of neighboring states, and he pointed to the necessity of a comprehensive joint defense system that would create a large force capable of acting as a strong deterrent against external aggression.<sup>(cvii)</sup> .

Dulles believed that a joint defense organization would be stronger if it relied on strategic factors and unity in culture and ideology. He saw the importance of Pakistan's participation in the defense of freedom and believed that it had played a positive and fruitful role in that regard.<sup>(cviii)</sup> .

Dallas addressed the reasons that led the United States to oppose the communist movement, summarizing them as follows:

1. The dictatorship of the communist regime.
2. The maintenance by that dictatorship of a very large military apparatus.
3. The denial by that atheistic dictatorship of the lofty moral ideals to which it never adhered. Dallas explained that combating communism internally was achieved by establishing a just government that respected individual rights, expanded education, healthcare, and infrastructure development throughout the country, and raised the overall standard of living for its citizens. Externally, communism was combated through defense organizations<sup>(cix)</sup>..

In New Delhi before his departure, Dulles stated that he welcomed the idea of Middle Eastern states uniting in a regional defense system. He noted the Arab states' financial inability to undertake any significant defensive preparations against aggression and stressed the necessity of their joining a joint defense project. Mr. Dulles left the Pakistani capital, Karachi, for Istanbul on the evening of May 24, 1953.<sup>(cx)</sup> .

Mr. Abdul Mahdi met with Youssef Al-Ashqar <sup>(cxi)</sup> One of the staff members of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Karachi, Mr. Zafarullah Khan, the Pakistani Foreign Minister and Acting Prime Minister, and Mr. A. K. Brohi <sup>(cxii)</sup>

The Pakistani Minister of Justice commented on Mr. Dallas's visit to Pakistan and the extent of his support for the Arab Collective Security Charter <sup>(cxiii)</sup> .During his talks in Karachi<sup>(cxiv)</sup>

The two ministers explained that Dulles had examined the issue from all angles but had not expressed a specific viewpoint on the form of the defense organization he deemed necessary for the Middle East. Al-Ashqar clarified to them that this was not

within his purview and emphasized the necessity for Dulles to collaborate with President Eisenhower in reaching that decision, after Dulles had submitted his full report on his trip to the Middle East and his views on this critical matter to President Eisenhower.<sup>(cxv)</sup>

It appears that the purpose of Mr. Dulles's visit to Pakistan was to resolve the Kashmir issue and other issues related to the Middle East and to find ways to resolve them, and to discuss the possibility of the United States helping Pakistan in its economic crisis. It seemed that the goal of US policy was to exert all efforts to find just and peaceful solutions to all disputes between India and Pakistan. Dulles promised Pakistani officials to look into the issue of US assistance in the grain crisis that Pakistan went through. He also stressed the need for Middle Eastern and Arab countries to join a joint regional defense system against the spread of communism, and he explained the importance of Pakistan's participation in that system, which was the beginning of the groundwork for the Baghdad Pact. Mr. Abdul Mahdi Yousef Al-Ashqar, during his meeting with the Pakistani Foreign Minister and the Pakistani Minister of Justice, stressed the need for US President Eisenhower to work with his Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, to approve the form of the defense organization in the Middle East, which Al-Ashqar considered to be a serious issue.

**Eighth: The visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, to the Middle East in 1953, and the position of the Iraqi Royal Embassy in Tehran regarding it.**

Mr. Abdul-Moneim Al-Kilani drew <sup>(cxvi)</sup> The Minister Plenipotentiary and Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Tehran, received information from the American Embassy in Ankara indicating that Mr. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, was visiting Middle Eastern countries, including Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iraq, to hold talks with officials in those countries regarding a Middle East defense pact.<sup>(cxvii)</sup>

It became clear to Kilani that the visit was at the behest of US President Eisenhower to discuss with the rulers the main issues concerning public relations between Iran and the free world.<sup>(cxviii)</sup>

Al-Kilani referred to the talks held by Mr. Nuri al-Said<sup>(cxix)</sup> During his stay in Türkiye, the Iraqi Prime Minister discussed with the Turkish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister the necessity of Iran's participation in the Middle East Defense Organization.<sup>(cxx)</sup>

Al-Kilani cited what foreign newspapers published about the Turkish Prime Minister trying to convince the Iraqi government during his talks with Mr. Nuri al-Said to have Iraq join the Middle East Defense Organization, but Mr. Nuri al-Said told him in response that Iraq was ready to cooperate with the Turkish and Pakistani governments on the condition that a defense pact be concluded between Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, the United States of America and Britain.<sup>(cxxi)</sup>

Al-Kilani learned that Mr. Nuri al-Said's aforementioned proposal was under consideration by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During his press conference in Istanbul, Nuri al-Said referred to Iran, stating that "the safety and independence of Iraq depend on the safety and independence of Iran and Turkey."<sup>(cxxii)</sup>

According to information obtained by al-Kilani from the American embassy in Ankara, Mr. Dulles's visit to the Middle East, particularly Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iraq, was for the purpose of holding talks with officials in those countries regarding the establishment of a Middle East Defense Pact. Al-Kilani confirmed that this visit was at the behest of US President Eisenhower, with the aim of persuading Iran and Iraq to join

this organization. When the matter was presented to Nuri al-Said, he stipulated that a defense pact be concluded between Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, the United States, and Britain. The Turkish Foreign Ministry then studied this proposal..

## Conclusion

The researcher reached a number of conclusions, which can be summarized as follows:

1. US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles visited a large number of countries to present the American perspective on the problems of the Middle East to kings and presidents during those visits.
2. The research focused on reports from Iraqi embassies and consulates, including interviews conducted by the Iraqi ambassador in Washington with officials in the US administration on this matter
3. The hidden purpose of Dulles's visit to the Middle East was to establish a lasting peace between Iraq and Israel.
4. The report from the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Washington clarified that the purpose of Dulles's visit to the Middle East was to ascertain the true position of the countries in that vital region regarding their relations with the United States.
5. During his meeting with Mr. Dulles on May 12, 1953, the Iraqi ambassador in Cairo emphasized the necessity of resolving the Egyptian question to fulfill Egyptian aspirations. He stressed the importance of resolving the Egyptian question through adherence to UN resolutions, specifically the proposal to establish the Conciliation Commission in 1948. The ambassador also urged the US administration to strengthen the Egyptian army and provide it with weapons to support peace in the Middle East and overcome obstacles between Egypt and Britain.
6. Dulles's visit to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on May 14, 1953, and his meetings with officials, particularly King Hussein bin Talal, revealed the Arab rejection of peace with Israel. They demanded that Israel comply with UN resolutions, allow the return of refugees, provide them with aid, and cease Israeli attacks on the borders.
7. A rapprochement emerged between the United States and Syria through discussions between Dulles and Syrian officials regarding issues related to the rights of Arab peoples to independence and sovereignty, and a just resolution to the Palestinian question.
8. Dulles's visit to India, as reported by the Iraqi Royal Embassy in New Delhi, indicated that its purpose was to strengthen ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, to understand India's policies toward the two international blocs, and to resolve the Kashmir and Korean issues. Dulles was briefed on India's foreign policy and its alignment with the Western bloc.
9. The United States was displeased with the Czechoslovak arms deal, and Dulles feared that Egypt might launch a war against Israel.
10. The Iraqi Royal Embassy's report in Karachi indicated that Dulles's visit to Pakistan on August 22, 1953, aimed to find peaceful solutions between India and Pakistan, resolve the Kashmir issue, assist Pakistan in its economic crisis, and pave the way for a regional defense alliance of Middle Eastern states against the spread of communism, with the Arab states joining this alliance.
11. That visit was at the behest of US President Eisenhower for Dulles to conduct talks and persuade Iran and Iraq to join the defense organization, but Iraq

stipulated that all concerned countries should join that alliance, especially the United States of America. Therefore, the purpose of Dulles's visit to the Middle East was to establish a regional defense alliance in that important strategic region.

### Research footnotes and sources

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- (i) John Foster Dulles: An American politician, born on February 25, 1888, in Washington, D.C. He studied in New York public schools, then attended Princeton University and George Washington University in the United States in 1911, and the Sorbonne University in France. Dulles contributed to the drafting of the United Nations Charter during World War II, and served as a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly in 1946, 1947, and 1950. He was appointed advisor to U.S. President Truman to conduct peace treaty negotiations with Japan, and served as Secretary of State under U.S. President Eisenhower from 1953 to 1959. He died on May 24, 1959. For more information, see: Karrar Hussein Ali Al-Akeeli, John Foster Dulles and His Role in the Foreign Policy of the United States of America (1953-1959), A Historical Study, Master's Thesis (unpublished), College of Education, Al-Mustansiriya University, 2023.
- (ii) Abdullah Mustafa Bakr al-Naqshbandi: An Iraqi politician and diplomat, born in 1907 in Mosul. He graduated from the American University of Beirut in 1930 with a Bachelor of Science degree in Political Science. He held several political and diplomatic positions, including Minister of Foreign Affairs in the cabinet of Muhammad Fadhil al-Jamali from September 17, 1953 to March 8, 1954. He died in September 2003. For more information, see: Jassim Muhammad Hassan Ali al-Douri, A Documentary Study on the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Its Establishment, Ministers, and the Originality of Its Buildings, Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Office of the Minister/Administrative Department/Administrative Development Section, Report and Studies, Serial No. (49), September 17, 2001, p. 77.
- (iii) D. K. W., Royal Court Files - Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Washington (Secret and Urgent) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/1/1/97, dated April 8, 1953 AD, and 39, p. 68, Subject: Visit of the US Secretary of State to Iraq.
- (iv) D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 68.
- (v) D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 68.
- (vi) D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 68.
- (vii) D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 68.
- (viii) D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 68.

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- (ix)D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 69.
- (x)D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 69.
- (xi)D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 69.
- (xii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 69.
- (xiii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 69.
- (xiv)D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 69.
- (xv)D. K. W., same file, same source, 39, p. 69.
- (xvi)The U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, was accompanied on his visit to Iraq by a delegation consisting of the following individuals: Mr. Harold Stassen, Mr. Roderick L. O'Connor, Mr. Robert E. Matteson, Mr. Fred L. Hadael, Mr. Douglas MacArthur II, Mr. Henry A. Byroade, Mr. James R. Paldwin, Mr. Stephen J. Meade, Mr. Jack J. Good, and Mr. Athol H. Ellis Jr. For further information, see: D.K. And, Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Washington (Secret and Urgent) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/1/1/129, dated May 11, 1953 AD, 28, p. 47, Subject/ Visit of the US Secretary of State.
- (xvii)Harold Stassen: An American politician, born in 1907, he became president of the University of Pennsylvania from 1948 to 1953. He was a Republican candidate for president of the United States in 1948. He died on March 4, 2001. For more information, see:Alec Kirby and Pavid G. Dalin, Harold E. Stassen: The Life and Perennial Candidacy of the Progressive Republican, McFarland, 2012, pp. 15-30.
- (xviii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Washington (Secret and Urgent) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/1/1/129, dated May 11, 1953 AD, and 28, p. 47.
- (xix)D. K. W., same file, same source, 28, p. 47.
- (xx)D. K. W., same file, same source, 28, p. 47.
- (xxi)The Rosenbergs: Julius Rosenberg and his wife Ethel Rosenberg, of Jewish origin from New York City, were accused, along with others (Morton Sowell and David Greenglass), of leaking secrets of American atomic bomb research to Soviet agencies. They were sentenced to death on April 19, 1950, and executed on June 19, 1953, after all attempts to defend them were rejected. The other two were sentenced to 30 and 15 years in prison, respectively. For more information, see: Betty Burnett, The Trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg A primary Source Account, Rosen Publishing Group, New York, 2004 .
- (xxii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi



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Embassy in Washington (Secret and Urgent) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/1/1/129, dated May 11, 1953 AD, 28, p. 48.

(xxiii) Henry Byrod: An American politician and diplomat, born on July 24, 1913, in Indiana. He graduated from West Unite Military Academy in 1937 and received a master's degree in civil engineering from Cornell University in 1940. He joined the U.S. State Department in 1949 and was appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, South Asia, and Africa in 1952, a position he held until 1955. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1977 and died on December 31, 1993. For more information, see the Internet, available at: <https://www.marefa.org/%D9%87%D9%86>.

Date of site visit: August 13, 2025.

(xxiv) Douglas MacArthur II: An American military officer, born in 1880, he graduated from the West Brent Military Academy in 1903. He served as Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army from 1930 to 1937. He participated in World War II, becoming the Allied military commander in Japan and also serving as the civil administrator from 1945 to 1950. He was relieved of his post in 1951 and died in 1964. For more information, see: Encyclopedia New Britannica, Vol. 18, p. 9; Frank Kelley and Cornelius Ryan MacArthur Man of Action, Kansas, 1950, pp. 60-106.

(xxv) D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Cairo (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. M/343/2/11, dated May 12, 1953 AD, 24, p. 40, Subject/Dulles' Visit to Egypt.

(xxvi) Najib Ibrahim al-Rawi: An Iraqi politician and diplomat, born in 1901 in Baghdad. He graduated from law school and practiced law. He held ministerial positions several times, was elected as a representative of various Iraqi provinces, and held several positions in the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He represented his country's embassy in several Arab and foreign countries, including as Minister Plenipotentiary in Egypt on August 19, 1950. He was then transferred to Jeddah in August 1951, appointed as Iraq's ambassador to Cairo on November 27, 1952, and then transferred to the embassy in Khartoum in January 1956. He also represented Iraq in Paris in 1956. When Iraq severed its political relations with France, he was transferred as ambassador to Ankara on December 5, 1956, and continued until October 1958. He died on August 4, 1993, in Geneva. For more information, see: Mir Basri, Political Figures in Modern Iraq, Dar al-Hikma, London, 2004, Vol. 2, p. 29.

(xxvii) D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi

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Embassy in Cairo (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. M/343/2/11, dated May 12, 1953 AD, 24, p. 40, Subject/Dulles' Visit to Egypt.

- (xxviii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 40.
- (xxix)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 41.
- (xxx)Winston Churchill: A British politician and military leader, born in 1874 in Oxfordshire. He studied at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst and joined the British Armed Forces in 1894. He was elected to the British House of Commons in 1900 and held several positions, including First Lord of the Admiralty (1911–1915) and (1917–1918). He was then nominated by the Conservative Party and served as Prime Minister (1940–1945) and (1951–1955). He died on January 24, 1965. For further information, see: Muhammad Yusuf Ibrahim al-Quraishi, Winston Churchill and His Role in British Politics until 1945, Dar Tammuz, Damascus, 2006, pp. 1–185.
- (xxxi)Dwight Eisenhower: An American politician and general, born on October 14, 1890. He was appointed military governor of the American occupation zone in Germany in 1945, and became Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States Army from 1945 to 1948. He was appointed President of Columbia University from 1948 to 1953, and served as the 34th President of the United States from 1953 to 1961. He died on March 28, 1969. For more information, see:Elmo Richardson, Chester J. Pach, The Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower, University Press of Kansas, U.S.A., 1991.
- (xxxii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Cairo (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. M/343/2/11, dated May 12, 1953 AD, 24, p. 41, Subject/Dulles' Visit to Egypt.
- (xxxiii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 41.
- (xxxiv)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, pp. 41-42.
- (xxxv)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 42.
- (xxxvi)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 42.
- (xxxvii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 42.
- (xxxviii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 42.
- (xxxix)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 42.
- (xl)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 42.
- (xli)D. K. W., same file, same source, 24, p. 42.
- (xlii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs Arab Department (Secret) Letter to the Presidency of the Royal Court and the Presidency of the Council of Ministers No.

A/2237/61/13/11512, dated May 18, 1953 AD, and 37, p. 66, Subject/Telegram from the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Cairo sent to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding Mr. Dulles's visit to Jerusalem.

- (xliii)Safaa Al-Din Abdul Wahab: An Iraqi diplomat, born in 1912, who joined the Iraqi government service on October 10, 1932. He was appointed First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Brussels on August 10, 1949, then Second Secretary at the Iraqi Royal Commission in Amman on March 21, 1951, and Acting Chargé d'Affaires at the Royal Commission in Amman in 1953. He was also appointed Second Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires at the Iraqi Royal Commission in Amman on March 21, 1954. For more information, see: D. K. W., National Archives, Documentary Library, Table of Senior State Officials for 1950, No. (7), Government Press, Baghdad, 1951, p. 9; Table of Senior State Officials for 1952, No. (8), Government Press, Baghdad, 1952, p. 9; Table of Senior State Officials for 1954, No. (9), Government Press, Baghdad, 1955, p. 9.
- (xliv)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/4/242, dated May 17, 1953 AD, and 32, p. 53, Subject/Dulles' Visit to the Middle East.
- (xlv)Hussein bin Talal: A Jordanian politician, born on November 14, 1935, in Amman. He began his studies at the Islamic Scientific College and completed his education at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in the United Kingdom. He was chosen as Crown Prince to King Talal in 1951 and assumed power on August 11, 1952, until his death on February 7, 1999. For more information, see: Muhammad Imad Radif Talib, King Hussein bin Talal and his political role in Jordan (1953-1967), Master's thesis (unpublished), College of Education for Human Sciences, Tikrit University, 2006.
- (xlvi)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/4/242, dated May 17, 1953 AD, and 32, p. 53, Subject/Dulles' Visit to the Middle East.
- (xlvii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 32, p. 53.
- (xlviii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 32, p. 53.
- (xlix)The memorandum from Jordanian refugees submitted to Dallas included the following:First: Implementation of the United Nations resolutions, which included the following:
- (a) Partition of Palestine.

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- (b) Return of refugees to their homes.
- (c) Payment of compensation to refugees unwilling to return.
- Second: Rejection of all housing projects, regardless of their nature or location.
- Third: (a) Return of all immovable property seized by Jews to its rightful owners.
- (b) Payment of fair and just compensation by Jews for the movable property of refugees seized or expropriated by Jews.
- (c) Unconditional release of frozen assets belonging to Palestinian Arabs.
- (d) Payment of fair rent to refugees for orange groves, lands, and buildings disposed of and used by Jews during the five years preceding 1953.
- (e) Non-recognition of the Custodian's accounts for the property of absentees.
- (f) Non-recognition of any legislation or other measures enacted or taken by Israel concerning the property of Palestinian Arabs. (g) Compensation, rents, and all other money for refugees must be paid in either dollars or pounds sterling. The memorandum concluded that these are the true demands of the refugees that must be obtained if the United States of America and democratic countries want to care about peace and stability in the Middle East. For more information, see: D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Refugee Memorandum in Jordan submitted to John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, 32, p. 55.
- (l)Quoted from: D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/4/242, dated May 17, 1953 AD, and 32, p. 53, Subject/Dulles' Visit to the Middle East.
- (li)D. K. W., same file, same source, 32, p. 53.
- (lii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 32, p. 53.
- (liii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 32, p. 53.
- (liv)Izzat Tannous: A Palestinian thinker and diplomat, born on July 27, 1896, in Nablus. He completed his preparatory studies in 1911 and enrolled at the American University of Beirut in 1914, graduating as a physician in 1918. He joined the Faculty of Medicine at the University of London in 1928, specializing in pediatrics. He took over the management of the Arab League's representative office in London in 1945 and founded the Arab Palestinian Bureau in New York in 1955, heading it until 1962. He died in 1994. For more information, see: Anwar Nusseibeh, *The Journey Towards the Abyss: Personal Notes*

- and Reflections on the Fall of Palestine, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar, 2024, p. 234; Muhammad Aql, Dictionary of Palestinian Physicians and Pharmacists (1947-1948), British company registered under number (7513024), Britain, 2022, pp. 83-85.
- (lv) Camille Chamoun: A Lebanese politician and statesman, born on April 3, 1900. He graduated from the French Law School in Beirut in 1923. He held several ministerial positions, including Minister of the Interior (1943–1944), Minister of Finance (1946–1947), and Minister of the Interior again (1947–1948). He became the second President of the Lebanese Republic after independence, serving from September 23, 1952, to September 22, 1958. He died on August 7, 1987. For more information, see: Nizar Abaza and Muhammad Riyad al-Malih, Itmam al-A'lam: A supplement to Khair al-Din al-Zarkali's Al-A'lam, Dar Sader, Beirut, 1999, p. 212.
- (lvi) D. K. W., same file, same source, 21, p. 25.
- (lvii) D. K. W., same file, same source, 21, p. 25.
- (lviii) D. K. W., same file, same source, 21, p. 25.
- (lix) D. K. W., same file, same source, 21, p. 25.
- (lx) D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/4/253, dated May 21, 1953 AD, and 22, p. 37, Subject/ Meeting of the Jordanian Prime Minister with Mr. Dulles.
- (lxi) D. K. W., same file, same source, 22, p. 37.
- (lxii) D. K. W., same file, same source, 22, p. 37.
- (lxiii) D. K. W., same file, same source, 22, p. 37.
- (lxiv) D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/4/253, dated May 21, 1953 AD, and 22, p. 37, Subject/ Meeting of the Jordanian Prime Minister with Mr. Dulles.
- (lxv) Point Four Projects: The Point Four Program of 1953 proposed assisting the Arab states (Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen) with the sum of (23,500,000) dollars, and Iran and Israel with the sum of (28) million dollars. For more information, see: D. K. W., Royal Court Files - Diwan, File No. 4883/311, The Dulles Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Washington (Secret and Urgent) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/1/1/97, dated April 8, 1953, and 39, p. 70, Subject: Economic and Technical Assistance to the Near East Act of 1952.



- (lxvi)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/4/253, dated May 21, 1953 AD, and 22, p. 38, Subject/ Meeting of the Jordanian Prime Minister with Mr. Dulles.
- (lxvii)The Yarmouk Project: This is the project proposed by the American expert, Bonger, to construct a dam on the Yarmouk River at the Al-Muqarin site, to alleviate the water crisis in Jordan. An agreement was concluded between Syria and Jordan on June 4, 1953, with the aim of constructing a dam to store water, regulate the river's flow, generate electricity, and utilize the water for irrigating Jordanian lands. As a result of this agreement, Jordan contracted with the consultants Baker and Herza to study the investment in the Yarmouk Project. The study lasted two years and its costs amounted to \$3,500,000, which was contributed to by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). For more information, see: Hamid Al-Taheri, *The Future of Water in the Arab World*, Nahdet Misr Publishing House, n.p., 2017, pp. 45-46.
- (lxviii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/4/253, dated May 21, 1953 AD, and 22, p. 38, Subject/ Meeting of the Jordanian Prime Minister with Mr. Dulles.
- (lxix)Quoted from: D. K. W., the same file, the same source, 22, p. 38.
- (lxx)D. K. W., same file, same source, 22, p. 38.
- (lxxi)Zafer al-Rifai: A Syrian politician, born in 1907 in Aleppo. He earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Nancy in France and a doctorate in law in 1934 from the same university. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Fawzi Selu's second government from June 7, 1950, to July 11, 1953. He was appointed advisor to King Saud bin Abdulaziz Al Saud in 1958. He died on April 6, 1974, in Riyadh. For further information, see: Haitham al-Malih, *Memories on the Path of Life*, Al-Khwarizmi Publishing, 2021, p. 67; Muhammad Jamal Barout, *The Modern Historical Formation of the Syrian Island*, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, n.p., 2003, pp. 2-3.
- (lxxii)Abdul Hamid al-Khanaq: An Iraqi diplomat, born in 1912, he graduated from the Military College and joined the Iraqi government service on September 13, 1931, in the military, eventually reaching the rank of colonel in the Iraqi army. He then transferred to the diplomatic corps and was appointed to various diplomatic posts, including Second Secretary at the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Jordan in 1953. He retired on July 14, 1958, but was later reinstated and appointed Iraq's ambassador

- to Kuwait on January 9, 1964, and then Iraq's ambassador to Jordan on March 26, 1967. He retired again on September 24, 1968. For more information, see: D. K. W., National Archives, Documentary Library, Table of Senior Government Officials for the year 1943, Serial No. (4), p. 6. Table of senior state officials for the year 1954 AD, sequence (9), p. 7; Raqia Raouf Al-Jalabi, Ambassadors of Iraq during seven decades = (1924-1994 AD), PhD thesis (unpublished), College of Administration and Economics, University of Baghdad, 1996 AD.
- (lxxiii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Damascus (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 6/1/222, dated May 17, 1953 AD, 39, p. 50, Subject/Weekly Report.
- (lxxiv)Adib al-Shishakli: A Syrian military officer and politician, born in 1909 in Hama. He studied at the Syrian Military Academy. He led the third military coup in the history of Syria on December 19, 1949, and became President of the Syrian Republic from July 11, 1953 to February 25, 1954, then Prime Minister from July 19, 1953 to March 1, 1954. He died on September 27, 1964. For more information, see: Hani al-Khair, Adib al-Shishakli, the man behind the third coup in Syria, 1st ed., New East Library, n.p., 1994.
- (lxxv)Farid Zeineddine: A Syrian politician and diplomat, born on December 22, 1909. He studied at the American School of Beirut, then at the American University of Beirut, and received a doctorate in law from the Sorbonne. He joined the National Bloc in 1936 and was appointed Director of the Political Department at the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1936 to 1939. He was appointed Permanent Representative of Syria to the United Nations from 1951 to 1952, and his country's ambassador to Washington from 1950 to 1957. He died on January 17, 1973. For more information, see: Najib Ba'ini, Personalities I Knew: Poets, Writers, Dignitaries, and Politicians from Lebanon, Arab Book House, 1997, p. 134.
- (lxxvi)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Damascus (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 6/1/222, dated May 17, 1953 AD, 39, p. 50, Subject/Weekly Report.
- (lxxvii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 29, p. 50.
- (lxxviii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 29, p. 50.
- (lxxix)D. K. W., same file, same source, 29, pp. 50-51.
- (lxxx)D. K. W., same file, same source, 29, pp. 50-51.

- (lxxxix)Akram al-Hawrani: A Syrian politician, born in 1911 in the city of Hama. He studied at Dar al-Ilm wa al-Tarbiya School and enrolled at Damascus University. He became Minister of Defense for the period (December 28, 1949 - June 4, 1950), then he was appointed Speaker of the Syrian People's Assembly for the period (October 14, 1957 - July 20, 1960), then Vice President of Syria for the period (March 7, 1958 - September 19, 1960). He died on February 24, 1996. For more information, see: Hamdan Hamdan, Akram al-Hawrani: A Man for History, Dar Bissan for Publishing, Distribution and Media, n.p., 1996; Akram al-Hawrani, Memoirs of Akram al-Hawrani, Madbouli Library, n.p., 2000.
- (lxxxii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Damascus (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 6/1/222, dated May 17, 1953 AD, 30, p. 51, Subject/Weekly Report.
- (lxxxiii)Muhammad Salim al-Radi: An Iraqi diplomat, born in 1899, he studied at the Alliance School, obtained a bachelor's degree from the American University of Beirut, and enrolled in the College of Agriculture at the University of California. He joined the Iraqi government service on August 1, 1926, and served in the foreign service. He was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary of Iraq in Tehran in June 1949, then Minister Plenipotentiary at the Royal Iraqi Legation in Delhi on July 16, 1949. He was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary and Chargé d'Affaires of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in New Delhi on August 20, 1952, then his country's ambassador to Beirut in September 1954. He was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on an official mission on July 10, 1955, and became Iraq's ambassador to New Delhi in February 1956. He retired from service after the July 14, 1958 revolution. He died on May 11, 1971, in Beirut. For more information, see: Mir Basri, the previous source, Vol. 2, p. 537.
- (lxxxiv)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Delhi (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/24/119, dated May 23, 1953 AD, and 79, p. 34, Subject/ Mr. Dulles's Visit to India.
- (lxxxv)Jawaharlal Nehru: An Indian political leader, born in Islamabad in 1889, he obtained a law degree in 1912 from Cambridge University. He was elected Secretary of the Indian National Congress in 1928, and served as Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Indian Provisional Government in 1946, then as Prime Minister for the period (1947–

- 1964), and Minister of Foreign Affairs after the declaration of the Republic of India in 1950. He died in 1964. For more information, see: Intisar Ali Abdul Najm Al-Mashhadani, Jawaharlal Nehru and his position on Arab issues, Master's thesis (unpublished), Ibn Rushd College of Education, University of Baghdad, 2002, pp. 60–80.
- (lxxxvi)C. D. Deshmukh: An Indian civil servant, born on January 14, 1896, graduated from Jesus College, Cambridge in 1917. He was appointed Governor of the Reserve Bank of India from August 11, 1943, to June 30, 1949, and served as Minister of Finance in the Federal Cabinet from 1950 to 1956. He died on October 2, 1982. For more information, see:Pooan Bala, Uday Sahay, Kayasth: An Encyclopedia of Untold Stories, SAUV Communications Private Limited, Delhi, 2024, pp. 348.
- (lxxxvii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Delhi (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/24/119, dated May 23, 1953 AD, and 79, p. 34, Subject/ Mr. Dulles's Visit to India.
- (lxxxviii)D. K. W., same file, same source, 79, p. 34.
- (lxxxix)D. K. W., same file, same source, 79, p. 34.
- (xc)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Delhi (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/24/132, dated June 10, 1953 AD, and 6, p. 14, Subject/ Mr. Dulles's Visit to India.
- (xci)Communist China: It is the People's Republic of China, which was officially declared established in October 1949 by Mao Zedong, Chairman of the People's Central Government, after the expulsion of the Nationalist government. For more information, see: Osama Al-Jawahiri, History of Chinese States and Empires, Dar Akteb for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 2020, p. 215.
- (xcii)Chiang Kai-shek: A Chinese politician and military leader, born in 1887. He assumed leadership of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) after the death of President Sun Yat-sen in 1925. He served as Chairman of the National Military Council of the Republic of China (1928–1948) and as President of the Republic of China (1928–1975). He died on April 5, 1975. For more information, see:  
Jay Taylor, The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-Shek and the Struggle for Modern China, Belknap Press, 2011, pp. 22-120..
- (xciii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Delhi (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

- No. 2/24/132, dated June 10, 1953 AD, and 6, p. 14, Subject/ Mr. Dulles's Visit to India.
- (xciv)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 6, p. 14.
- (xcv)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, The Dulles Mission in the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Delhi (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/24/132, dated June 10, 1953 AD, and 6, p. 15.
- (xcvi)D. K. W., the same file, Report of the Iraqi Royal Commission in Delhi (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2/24/119, dated May 23, 1953, p. 79, p. 34, Subject: Mr. Dulles's Visit to India.
- (xcvii)Mehmet Fuat Köprülü: A Turkish politician and diplomat, born on November 5, 1890. He graduated from Istanbul High School in 1910 and later from the Faculty of Law at Istanbul University. He served as Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs from May 22, 1950, to April 15, 1955, and again from December 9, 1955, to June 20, 1956. He became Deputy Prime Minister in 1956 and died on June 28, 1966. For more information, see the Internet, available at the following link : <https://ar.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%85%D8%AD>.
- (xcviii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Ankara (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/2/157, dated May 28, 1953 AD, and 17, p. 32, Subject/Dulles' Visit to Turkey.
- (xcix)The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): This alliance was formed on April 4, 1949, in Washington, D.C., and its headquarters are in Brussels, the capital of Belgium. The alliance includes (11) countries: (Britain, the United States of America, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal). Greece and Turkey joined in 1952, and West Germany on May 5, 1955. The main reason for forming the alliance was the growing concern about a Soviet attack on Western Europe after the Soviet Union's control over Eastern European countries, which prompted these countries to cooperate with the United States of America. For more information, see: Saad Rustam Hammadi Al-Rajhi, The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, PhD thesis (unpublished), College of Education, Ibn Rushd, University of Baghdad, 2018.
- (c)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Ankara (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/2/157, dated May 28, 1953 AD, and 17, p. 32, Subject/Dulles' Visit to Turkey.



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- (ci)Muhammad Zafarullah Khan: A Pakistani politician and diplomat, born on February 6, 1893. He received his early education in Lahore and later completed his studies in Britain. He practiced law in Lahore and served as Pakistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs from December 27, 1947, to October 24, 1954. He was also a member of the International Court of Justice in The Hague from 1954 to 1961. He died on September 1, 1985. For more information, see:Ashiq Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, *The Forgotten Year Memories of Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan*, Vanguard, 1991 .
- (cii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Karachi (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/2/4/898, dated June 5, 1953 AD, and 10, p. 21, Subject/Dulles' Visit to Pakistan.
- (ciii)Muhammad Ayub Khan: A Pakistani military and political figure, born on May 14, 1907. He entered the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in 1926 and graduated. He held various political and military positions, including Minister of Defence of Pakistan from October 24, 1954, to August 11, 1955. He became Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1958 and President of Pakistan from October 27, 1958, to March 25, 1969. He died on April 19, 1974. For more information, see the Internet, available at the following link:<https://ar.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%85%85%D8>.  
Website visit date: August 14, 2025.
- (civ)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Karachi (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/2/4/898, dated June 5, 1953 AD, and 10, p. 21, Subject/Dulles' Visit to Pakistan.
- (cv)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 10, p. 21.
- (cvi)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 10, pp. 21-22.
- (cvii)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 10, p. 22.
- (cviii)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 10, p. 22.
- (cix)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 10, p. 22.
- (cx)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 10, p. 21.
- (cxi)Abdul Mahdi Yusuf Al-Ashqar: An Iraqi diplomat, born in 1925 in Karbala. He joined the Iraqi government service on December 23, 1947, and held various positions in the foreign diplomatic corps, including at the Iraqi Consulate in Jeddah in 1948. He was then appointed to the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Karachi in 1953. He became Assistant Director of the Eastern Division at the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 10, 1954, and was appointed Third

- Secretary at the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Washington in 1957. For further information, see: D. K. W., National Archives, Documentary Library, Table of Senior Government Officials for 1954, No. (9), Government Press, Baghdad, 1955, p. 6; Table of Senior Government Officials for 1955, No. (10), Government Press, Baghdad, 1956.
- (cxii)A. K. Brohi: A Pakistani politician, born in 1915 in India, who served as Minister of Justice in Pakistan from 1953 to 1954. He died in 1987. For more information, see the Internet, available at the following link:<https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/A-K-Brohi>.
- (cxiii)The Arab Collective Security Charter: This charter was signed on June 17, 1950, by five Arab states (Syria, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Egypt, and Yemen). Iraq, however, did not sign it until February 2, 1951. The charter included nine articles concerning the adoption of a common and unified position in foreign policy, the unification of efforts to resolve disputes peacefully, the consideration of any armed attack on one of the contracting states as an attack on all, the requirement of collective assistance, and adherence to international covenants and agreements. For more information, see: Munther Jawad Mirza, *The Monarchical Era in Iraq: Events and Conspiracies (1921–1958)*, Dar Al-Zahra, Najaf, 2005, pp. 300–301; Abdul Hamid Muhammad Al-Mawafi, *Egypt in the League of Arab States: A Study of the Role of the Largest State in Regional Organizations 1945–1970*, Egyptian General Book Authority, Cairo, 1973, pp. 156–157.
- (cxiv)Rumors emerged in Pakistan that Mr. Dulles had explained to Pakistani officials that he favored the Arab Collective Security Charter with some modifications to the Joint Defense Organization proposed by Western countries. Some Pakistani officials based their opinion on the Pakistani press regarding Dulles's statement on that subject. For more information, see: D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles's Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Karachi (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/2/4/898, dated June 5, 1953 AD, and 10, p. 22, Subject/Dulles's Visit to Pakistan.
- (cxv)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 10, p. 22.
- (cxvi)Abdul-Munim al-Kilani: An Iraqi diplomat, born in 1911 in Baghdad, he obtained a Bachelor's degree in Political Science. He joined the Iraqi government service on July 3, 1935, and held numerous positions in the diplomatic corps, including his appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary at the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Tehran on April 13, 1954. He continued to serve in other embassies until the July 14, 1958 revolution. For more information, see: D. K. W., National Archives, Documentary Unit, Table of Senior State Officials for the

- year 1954, Serial (9), Government Printing Press, Baghdad, 1955, p. 7; Raqia Raouf al-Jalabi, Iraqi Ambassadors During Seven Decades 1924-1994, PhD dissertation (unpublished), College of Administration and Economics, University of Baghdad, 1996, p. 121.
- (cxvii)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Tehran (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/1/886, dated October 26, 1954 AD, and 2, p. 2, Subject/ Mr. Dulles's Visit to the Middle East and the Project to Defend the Region.
- (cxviii)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 2, p. 2.
- (cxix)Nuri al-Said: An Iraqi politician, born in 1888 in Baghdad, graduated from the Military Academy in Istanbul in 1906 with the rank of lieutenant, and assumed the premiership in Iraq (14) times, starting from the first cabinet on March 23, 1930 until the last cabinet on May 13, 1958. He also held the portfolios of Foreign Affairs and Defense several times. He was killed on July 15, 1958, as a result of the July 14, 1958 revolution. For more information, see: Suad Raouf Sher Muhammad, Nuri al-Said and his role in Iraqi politics until 1945, Arab Awakening Library, Baghdad, 1988.
- (cxx)D. K. W., Royal Court Files - The Diwan, File No. 4883/311, Dulles' Mission to the Middle East (1953-1953 AD), Report of the Royal Iraqi Embassy in Tehran (Secret) to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. S/1/886, dated October 26, 1954 AD, and 2, p. 2, Subject/ Mr. Dulles's Visit to the Middle East and the Project to Defend the Region.
- (cxxi)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 2, p. 2.
- (cxxii)D. K. W., same file, same source, and 2, p. 2.