

**THE MILITARY COUP ON 28 MARCH 1962 IN SYRIA AND
PROPAGANDA BROADCASTS ON DAMASCUS RADIO ABOUT
THE COUP**

*Savaş SERTEL**
*Sabri MENGİRKAON***

Abstract:

Located in the Middle East, Syria is an Arab state, whose history goes back to ancient times. One of the oldest civilizations, Egypt is located between the Anatolian and Mesopotamian civilizations. Syria remained under the rule of the Ottoman Empire for almost 400 years. However, after the WWI, the country went under the French mandate. Syria won its independence in 1946. The country faced several military coups between 1949 to 1970, sometimes one military coup within another one. Some of the coups lasted only one week. In 1970 Hafez al-Assad, who was a member of the Ba'ath Party, took over and started a stable dictatorial era. During the 28 March 1962 coup, one of those undermining the already weak democracy in Syria, the Damascus radio made propaganda all day long praising the coup. In this study, we examine sections of the broadcasts on the Damascus radio, which had become the propaganda means of the 28 March 1962 coup, followed closely by the Turkish Foreign Affairs. In the broadcasts, the coup was praised on the whole, and the reasons for the coup as stated by the military were tried to be dictated upon the public. Moreover, the overthrown government was blamed for treason and serving imperialism. By doing so, they tried to discredit the old regime and emphasized that they were the rescuers and the ally of the public. With statements and propaganda far from being credible, they threatened those who did not obey the curfew and said anyone taking part in demonstrations would be severely punished. In this way, they tried to suppress and intimidate the general public. Thus the so-called populist coup was actually made against the public for the claimed "public welfare".

Key words: Syria, Coup, Military.

INTRODUCTION

Syria became part of the Ottoman Empire during the Yavuz Sultan Selim era, after Ottomans defeated Memlûks at the Mercidabık War in 1516 (Bulut, 2008, p. 1). Under the rule of the Ottoman Empire until 1831, Syria was governed by Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha (Umar, 2004, p. 9-10), who

* Assist. Prof. Dr., Tunceli University Faculty of Letters Department of History - Tunceli/Turkey
savassertel@mynet.com

** Research Assist., Mardin Artuklu University Faculty of Letters Department of History -
Mardin/Turkey sbrmngnrkn@gmail.com

was governor of Egypt, between 1832-1840. Afterwards, despite the fact that the region was re-governed by the Ottoman Empire, missionaries started to provoke the public against the Ottomans, by using the theme of Arab nationalism (Umar, 2004, p. 24-27). During the WWI years, as a result of the British and French provocations (Ortaylı, 1984, p. 90-93)¹ Emir Of Hijaz Sherriff Hussein revolted against the Ottoman Empire. After the war, the son of Hussein (Faysal) founded a kingdom under the mandatory of France (Umar, 2004, p. 243-250, 368-373). The Kingdom was actually founded by the French. Yet the life of this kingdom lasted very short. The French overthrew Faysal's kingdom using military power (Umar, 2002, p. 301; Aboul-Enein, 2005, p. 25) and annexed it to Syria and brought the whole of Syria under mandate (Umar, 2004, p. 446-451). During the mandatory era, the French policy was based on divide-and-rule (Sander, 2009, p. 83; Fildiş, 2013, p. 62; Whitman, 2011, p. 10; <http://www.21yyte.org/assests/uploads/files/201-237%20salih.PDF>). Thus, they divided the country into different parts.

Syria never felt at peace after being separated from the Ottoman Empire. The country was exploited by the French until 1946, when the country gained independence (Gaytancıoğlu, 2008, p. 8). During this time, Syria was not a nation-state and lacked a reliable, coherent and consistent political leader (Fildiş, 2013, p. 61). The first military coup was staged on 30 March 1949. Hüsnü El-Zaim defeated Şükrü El Kuvvetli, who was a former president of Syria, and founded a dictatorial regime (Ayrancı, 2006, p. 25). But, General Sami El-Hinnavi staged a military coup on 14 August 1949 (Dağ, 2013, p. 26) and sentenced president marshal Zaim to death, who was executed by firing squad. After the execution, a new government was formed (Turan, 17 August 1949). During the same year, a third military coup was staged and Sami El-Hinnavi, who had overthrown Zaim, was overthrown by Colonel Edip Çiçekli on 19 December 1949. Colonel Çiçekli suspended constitutional administration and he founded an only legal party named The Arab Liberation Movement (ALM) 1952. Subsequently, he was chosen as president in July 1953. In February of 1954, Colonel Faisal El-Atasi became president (Ayrancı, 2006, p. 26) as a result of another coup (Baş, 2012, p. 93). Beginning from 1955, the left wing gained in strength in Syria.

Beginning in 1956, after long negotiations on 1 February 1958, it was decided that Syria and Egypt united under a single roof as a state named "The United Arab Republic" and it was officially established on 11 March 1958 (Küçükvatan, 2011, p. 87; Hürriyet, 12 March 1958). Cemal Abdunnasır came to power as first president of the state, of which capital was Cairo (<http://erdemisler.blogspot.com.tr/2013/09/Suriye.html>). While

¹ France was extremely efficient and interested in Lebanon with its commercial agents, railroads, schools and churches. It was dominant economically in the area (Ortaylı, 1984, p.90-93).

this association provided advantage for Egypt, it made Syria a country of manipulation. Having attained complete power, Nasır closed all political parties, including Ba'ath Party. Syrian Army officers were disturbed by this attitude and they began to have problems with Egypt (Sorby, 2009, p. 146). On 28 September 1961, the United Arab Republic collapsed through a coup, carried out by army officers from Damascus (Mansfield, 1967, p. 54; Van Dam, 1973, p. 10). The Junta carried out the coup at about 4.00 a.m. under the leadership of Abdülkarim En-Nahlavi (Sorby, 2009, p. 148-150). After the coup, the new state and the government set up on 29 September 1961 was recognized by Turkey on the same date (BCA, 030.18.1.2.162.50.15). After December 1961's election, a new parliament was created. While Nazim el-Kudsi became president of the state, Maruf Davalibi became the prime minister. Another junta, Colonel Abdulkarim En-Nahlavi as the leader, carried out a new coup against this government on the morning of 28 March 1962. The cabinet of President Kudis and Prime minister Davalibi was ceased by this coup. Yet, this junta administration was not long-lived, either. On 5 April 1962, they were brought down by another coup. On 10 April 1962, Nazim el-Kudisi, who was the first president upon the United Arab period forced to resign as a consequence of the 28 March coup, once again was assigned as a head of state (<http://erdemisler.blogspot.com.tr/2013/09/Suriye.html>; <http://samduserken.blogspot.com.tr/p/yakin-tarih.html>). By this coup, 7 pro-coup mindset military officers were exiled by another group of military officers (Ataman, 2012, p. 9). Baathist carried out a coup on 8 March 1963 (Van Dam, 1978, p. 203). Thus, this term lasted a short time like the ones in the past.

From the year 1946, when Syria gained freedom, to 1970, Syria witnessed many coups and counter-coups, which made it an unsteady and restless era for the country. Arab Socialist Baath party took power with a coup, and afterwards, this party experienced coups in itself in 1966 and 1970 (<http://www.21yyte.org/arastirma/suriye/2012/05/29/6619/suriye-siyasi-tarihi>). Although the 1963-1970 period was an era of instability for the Baath Party, a despotic stability was attained in 1970 and onwards (Hinnebusch, 2008, p. 267). Hafez al-Assad, who was the minister of defense during this period, led a coup in 1970, and declared himself the prime minister, then in a referendum in 1971, he himself as the only candidate, he was elected president (<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/suriye-siyasi-gorunumu.tr.mfa>). It was clear that the U.S.² and the CIA³ had been involved in the series of coups

² See (Yeşilbursa, 2010,p.83).

³ Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) established a oil pipeline between Arabia and Syria so that it could sell Arabia oil via Syria to world's markets. The security of pipeline significant for U.S.A. (Little, 1990).

from 1949 and onwards because they did not appreciate the close political relations between Syria and the Soviet Union and found them dangerous⁴.

1. THE LISTENING OF RADIO BROADCASTS BY THE TURKISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Syrian Army seized power by means of a coup on 28 March 1962. The leaders of the coup used the Damascus Radio, which belonged to the state, as their chief means of propaganda broadcasts. Damascus radio broadcasted propaganda bulletins of the executors of the coup whole day. The Turkish Foreign Affairs Information Center followed Damascus Radio broadcasts about the 28 March 1962 coup. This act was carried out in important cities likes Damascus, London, Beirut, Tel Aviv and the compilations were submitted to the related ministry as a report. Thanks to this data, we now able to gain insight about propaganda broadcasts of the Damascus Radio and ideas of executors of the coup. The act of listening started in the early morning and continued till 18.30 p.m on 28 March 1962. After the 1962 coup, Damascus radio broadcasting from Syria continued doing the propagandas of the executors of the coups (Chicago Tribune, 28 March 1962). Some of these propagandas were that the army took power to protect the rights of the army and the public and fight imperialism and Israel. In addition to these, the broadcasts glorified the army and the junta.

On 28 March 1962, proclaiming martial law, the junta closed all border gates into the country (Cumhuriyet, 29 March 1962). Action plan was broadcasted on the radio by radical Arab nationalists in the army (CIA Bulletin, 1962, p. VI). Spokesmen of the army declared that there wouldn't be any change in the Syrian foreign policy and an election would be held as soon as possible. The new administration would be designed according to socialist principles, which had a widespread support among army officers (Current Intelligence Weekly Summary, 30 March 1962, p. 7). Upon revolution, land, airline and maritime transports were stopped, borders were closed, the army took charge of the executive power, ordered a curfew and the parliament was adjourned (Cumhuriyet, 29 March 1962.). As was declared, anybody disturbing the peace would be severely punished. This Junta was the same as the one that performed the 28 September 1961 coup. The Junta, in declaration, asserted that there was close collaboration between the former government and imperialists, and that they did not understand how the former government took on this responsibility. In the declaration, it was also announced that the Junta would govern Syria until a new government was formed with honest members (Milliyet, 29 March 1962).

In the military declaration, which was declared on the Damascus Radio on 28 March 1962, it was stated that the Syrian government resigned on 28

⁴ See (Little, 1990).

March, and thus the military seized power, there was cooperation between the former Syrian government and imperialists, and also, the former government was indifferent to national interests. According to the recorded Damascus Radio broadcasts through listening in Tel Aviv, the reason for the revolution was that civil authorities hadn't agreed to the way and purposes of the revolution (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2).

According to the listening carried out by the Turkish foreign affairs staff in London, on 28 March in local time in Turkey 07.00 a.m, an announcement was broadcast on the Damascus radio about the way and approach that was performed by the army. With the second announcement, it was declared that all borders into the country were closed. According to that, all authority of the ministers were passed on to office secretary general of ministers⁵. According to another listening on the Damascus Radio, on 28 March, the army took on all the authority until a new government was formed. Furthermore, it was decided that the commanders of military in the counties were assigned as military governors (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2).

According to the listening performed by the Turkish foreign affairs staff in Beirut, Damascus Radio announced that the executers of the revolution were the continuation of the performers of the 28 September's revolution, which was carried out against the UAR (the United Arab Republic) furthermore, they said, the revolution was not against that coup and the purpose was to preserve the benefits gained with the support of the general public through that coup (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2). It was also announced that those who betrayed the revolution of September 1961 would be brought to trial in court (Milliyet, 29 March 1962).

With references to the listening of Damascus Radio by the Turkish authorities in Damascus on 28 March 1962, it was announced that the Syrian army seized power 6 months after the 28 September, it was announced that President Nazim El Kutsi, head of the government Maruf Davalibi and other ministers and the cabinet resigned, and the power was took over by the army (Milliyet, 29 March 1962). According to that broadcast, the army closed all Syrian borders, harbors and airports. It was also announced that state of emergency was in progress and all meetings and protest marches were forbidden, and in case of any violation, the army would use force. All strategic places of Damascus were captured by the army. The army declared with an announcement that all civil and martial duties and posts had been taken on by the army, and demanded all the officials to obey (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2).

⁵ The Parlamento, consisting of 172 person, was established after coup, which was executed by army previously and the coup divided Syria from United Arab Republic (U.A.R). Upon election rightists gained majority and Nazim El Kudsi was elected as president for 5 year on 14 December. Kudsi assigned former prime minister Mutedil Sait Gazi again as a prime minister (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.02).

According to the listening made by the Turkish foreign affairs staff, the army continued propagandas on radio at 12.15 p.m on 28 March 1962. In the army announcement, broadcasted on Damascus Radio, the reasons for the coup were declared as well. With reference to the announcement, they said, “we warned the former government about the continuing sabotage of the imperialists and their support of Israel, and told the government to take measures against this activity, but when we realized the government was actually supporting this activity, we had to stage a coup.” Moreover, the army determined some targets in politics within the army, the Arab policy and foreign policy. Accordingly, the internal aims of the army were to realize the Arab Socialist Regime in order to protect the freedom of the public and defend the rights of workers and farmers (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2). In the statement it was clarified that they would make some legislation to protect workers' and farmers' rights; they would fight against abuses; they would take actions to create a unity in the Arab area; they would also work hard to make the Palestinian issue the main concern for all the Arab world; they would support all the Arabs if they joined in the liberation movement (Milliyet, 29 March 1962). As for external aims of the army, they would chase neutrality, supporting and abide by U.N (United Nations) and international treaty and engagements, as they determined (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2; Milliyet, 29 March 1962). So, the army designed what they had thought and what they would chase regarding the Syrian internal and external policies.

According to some information, given by the Turkish foreign affairs staff, the reason for the crisis was a bill of law presented by some members of the parliament. The bill was about the abolishment of the state of emergency, which had been in application since 28 September 1961, and which forbade the reopening of the previous political parties. It also demanded all politic liberties, including freedom of the press. Prime minister Maruf Davalibi declared that it was not possible to remove the state of emergency and allow freedom of the press under the circumstances. Davalibi stated that he could present his resignation to the constituent assembly so that a new government that could take on this responsibility be formed. As for the army, they declared that they would never allow the opening of the closed parties, the communist party in particular (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2).

According to the listening performed by the Turkish foreign affairs staff on 28 September 15.00 p.m in Damascus, the spokesman of the major command of the Syrian armed forces read a long notification to the public. In the notification, they said: the former government made a lot of mistakes, and by cooperating with imperialism, they laid a plot to cause separation among the public. They didn't follow the route expected from the government in power. They revoked law, which provided rights and

warranties for workers, village people and others. The former government restricted liberties⁶, and they did nothing to maintain order and stability. Supporters of destructive activities were placed in ministries and other higher positions. They followed a partisan attitude in the parliament. They wanted to cause a fit between the Arab nations, and trouble-makers attempted to leak into the army, too. The government served imperialism, and they forgot that the army was on the alert about those destructive activities. The army warned the government to deal with these issues, and act in accordance with the interests of the country, but the executers ignored the army's warnings. Those with the destructive intentions dominated the country, so in that desperate situation, the army had to interfere to protect Arabs and unionist Syria, prevent confusion, send away the peoples responsible of this chaos from administration. Besides, they stated that the country would be governed by the army till a government was formed with reliable and loyal people. And it was pointed out that the army staged the coup with the support of the public to set up the holy Arab union and to put the country in order. It was also declared that the army would encourage the foundation of an Arab society to protect personal rights. Moreover, as was pointed out in the announcement, the coup executers would take the political measures to form the Arab Union in accordance with the expectations and ideas of not only Iraq but also Egypt. Furthermore, the issue of Palestine would be made the most important concern for the Arab region; the Palestinian territory which was annexed forcibly would be taken back and they would make every effort for the struggles of the Arab community; they would be impartial in foreign policy, and they would comply with the principles and context of the UN(United Nations).The notification stressed that the army was determined to stay away from politics and would go back to their natural duty of protecting the country (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2).

According to listening, performed by Turkish foreign affairs staff in Damascus on 28 September, it stated that military anthems took Syrian traditional folk music place in the radio, sometimes public was convoked to national unity by speakers in broadcasts, it was asserted that Syria would continue as leader of Arab community additionally the army would protect Syria in case of any danger, moreover it stated that the army would protect country against imperialism. A spokesman of the army announced an announcement to the public, too. In the declaration it was stated that the 28 September revolution carried out for public interests, after the army went back to caserne somebody, who were immoralist, malice and exploiter, leaked the administration, additionally that people damaged the revolution, hence the revolution went haywire, furthermore, as its stated in the statement the coup executer demanded cooperation from public because they asserted

⁶ It is so interesting that the army, who restricted liberty by staging coup, blamed government de jure for restricting liberty.

that the army was loyal guardian of the revolution principles (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2). It was pointed that the reason of the revolution was the 28 September revolution went beyond its aims (Cumhuriyet, 29 March 1962).

According to the listening, performed by the Turkish foreign affairs staff at 16.30, Supreme command of Syrian army declared a statement in Damascus radio. According to that, it was decided that a curfew be initiated between 22.00-06.00, except for search and rescue staff, to maintain the order and safety of the community, on 28 march 1962 (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2).

According to reports from Syria, performed by Turkish authorities, the army adopted Arabic Socialism as the state regime. The parliament, which was blamed as being Kurdist, was annihilated. According to the listening from Damascus radio, performed by Turkish foreign affairs staff at 18.30, the coup that performed by the Syrian army had a historical significance because after the first coup in 28 September 1961, the government acted in a way that put the public interests in danger; therefore, the army had to interfere and thus they completed the procedure successfully (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2).

The Syrian army attempted to legalize the coup by giving reasons. For instance, in 28 March 1962's statement, broadcasted by Damascus Radio, they pointed out that the former government members did not take the public and the country into account and they rallied their supporters, they misused the parliament, they employed representatives for their interests, they increased representatives' salary from 600 liras to 2.000 liras, and they bought cars without customs duty. Moreover, they said that some harmful people, who were members of the government and some high positions, tried to leak into the army, so the army had to overthrow the government (Milliyet, 29 March 1962). However, these statements were far from being credible, they were subjective and exaggerated. In actuality, the reason was that the army was very eager to take on the power, and the conditions were suitable for a coup. The reasons stated by the army as endangering public interest and infidelity were not credible. In general, in Syria coups were carried out in the leadership of either a general or a colonel, who were power-hungry, adventurer and willing to coup. The duration of staying in power generally was up to the initiative of a new coup. So, a coup was usually ceased by another coup. These periods varied between a few years and a few days. The period of Hafez al- Assad was a steady dictatorial period for Syria, which never experienced democracy.

While Syria was a member of the Arab Republic, the country was governed like a state of Egypt by Jamal Abdul Nasser, who was the president of not only Egypt but also the UAR (United Arab Republic).

Nasser made certain regulations in economy and social pattern in Syria. He nationalized banks and big-scale companies, and made land reforms in Syria as well. After Nasser was sent into exile by the September 1961 coup of Egypt, the new government started to abolish the regulations. Those practices irritated army, the poorer parts of the population and the socialist block. The Syrian government's standing close to Iraq disturbed the army as well as the other Arab States. All these happenings paved the way for the 28 March 1962 coup.

Turkey's ambassador of Damascus⁷ made observations about the post-coup era. The ambassador reported their findings via telegram in code to Ankara from Damascus on 2 April 1962. According to the information received from a resource who wasn't supporter of Jamal Abdul Nasser, the Syrian army massed troops along the borders of Turkey, Israel and Iraq. The army took precautions to prevent Abdel Nasser from coming back to Syria. The report said that the army was divided into three parts. The army was dominated by the younger group in the army. The report also included the information that 30 junior officers were wounded in conflict in Latakia in Syria. Moreover, in the announcement made in Aleppo Radio on 1 April 1962 by the commander of North Region, he stated that he wasn't in favour of uniting with Nasser (BCA, 030.01.0.0.71.449.6).

According to communication via telegram on 2 April 1962, Hamit Kuzbari, the powerful man of the revolution of 28 September who was later excluded from the committee and who had been arrested two days before, was released. Kuzbari was attempting to regain power with his supporters who'd dominated Damascus on the 28 September conflict. Settling in Jordan, Bedouins living in Jordan, who were supporting Kuzbari, crossed the border to join him (BCA, 030.01.0.0.71.449.6).

Homs, which experienced conflict on 31 March, spent a peaceful night on 1 April.

Beirut Radio broadcasted that Syrian supreme military command got into contact with Abdulvahat Humat, Nihat Kasım and Beşer Azme to form a transitional government.

2. THE ATTITUDES OF SOME FOREIGN CENTERS ABOUT HAPPENINGS

After the coup, an anxious wait started in certain countries neighboring Syria about the coup and the post-coup conditions and in mutual relations.

Turkish foreign affairs staff monitored impacts of the coup in Syria from Beirut as well. According to this report; it wasn't clear whether the

⁷ Turkey decided to establish an ambassador in the Syrian Arab Republic on 11 October 1961(BCA, 18.01.02.162.52.16).

Council of the Arab League would have the meeting scheduled in Riyadh. In the early morning hours, the general secretary of the Arab League started dialogues with Beirut, Amman and Riyadh to assess the attitude of the new Syrian Regime. It turned out that, unless Syria formed a regular government, it would be recommended that the meeting in Riyadh should not be held, because, a meeting without the attendance of Syria and Egypt would not be appropriate (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2). Jordan stated that they would stay neutral about the coup in Syria (Milliyet, 29 March 1962).

Turkish foreign affairs staff monitored assessments about the 28 March 1962 Syrian revolution from Cairo as well. According to this, authorities of Egypt thought that executors of the coup, though they weren't supporters of Jamal Abdel Nasser, who was the president of UAR⁸, helped enhance his prestige. It was asserted that the reason why they thought like that was that the executors of the coup adopted Arab socialism, which was the underlying philosophy of Nasser. Egyptian authorities claimed that the Syrian army adopted this philosophy to leave the door open for staying close with Egypt. Egyptian authorities believed that the Voice of Arab radio was effective on the execution of the coup in Syria as well. It was stated that the opposition of the Syrian Army to imperialism, capitalism, egoist policies were the same as some broadcasts of the radio. However, it was also stated that there wouldn't be a close relationship between Syria and Egypt in the short term. Egyptian authorities were convinced that executors of the coup strengthened Nasser's hand as the leader of Arabs, so he became more influential among Arab leaders (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2).

The spokesman of the Syrian Embassy of Cyprus said that there were differences of opinion between the army and the government for a long time (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2).

The Israeli Government stated that the situation in Damascus wouldn't make any impacts on the Syrian-Israeli relations (Milliyet, 29 March 1962).

At first, Turkish military authorities took measures along the Syrian border, which was closed by Syria. Besides, upon the prohibition of air, land and marine transport by Syria, two Turkish boats were trapped in the Latakia harbor and could not return to Alexandretta (Milliyet, 29 March 1962). The Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry didn't reveal any comments about this change of power in Syria (BCA, 030.01.0.0.63.389.2). Yet, thereafter Hasan İstinyeli, who was the spokesman of the Ministry of Turkish Foreign Affairs, announced that "this event was an internal matter of Syria". Upon a question he said that there wasn't any reason for not recognizing the new Syrian government, which meant Turkey would recognize the new Syrian

⁸ Milliyet, 29 March 1962. Established by uniting Egypt and Syria in 1958, the administrations with name of United Arab Republic.

Government (Cumhuriyet, 29 March 1962). Turkish Council of Ministers, gathering in the leadership of Prime Minister Ismet Inonu, negotiated the events in Syria. Ahmet Topaloğlu, the minister of the Internal Affairs, and Turhan Feyzioğlu, the State minister and the acting minister of Foreign Affairs informed the parliament about the subject (Cumhuriyet, 29 March 1962).

3. CONCLUSION

After the Ottoman-dominated era, Syria went through three phases, in terms of politics. The first was the French Imperialism era, which lasted till 1946. In the second era, civil governments that came to power via elections were suppressed by the army, and were sometimes overthrown by the army, which later formed short-term coup governments. During that period Syria was in alliance with Egypt for a while. But this alliance also collapsed through a coup. And the final period was the dictatorial era under the dominance of the Baath Party.

In Syria, a country of military coups, whoever controls the army also controls the whole country. The population of Syria is made up 70 percent of Sunni-Muslims at, but the country has been governed by Allavi-Muslims up to now. They have been dominating both the army and the administration of the country. This is because, during the French colonial era, militia forces were totally made up of Allavi-Muslims. After the independence, these militia forces formed the Syrian army. Thus the army was established according to that ideology and philosophy. The Syrian Army frequently staged coups from 1949 to 1970. In Syria, stability was provided by Hafez al-Assad, who was a member of the army. Syria has been governed with despotism since 1970. Unfortunately, Syria hasn't met democracy even today.

During the period before the 28 March 1962 coup, while Syria was politically drifting between Egypt and Iraq, the country was also experiencing political trouble between the left and the right wings. The Junta that staged the 28 September 1961 coup claimed that Syria had come to look like a county of Egypt, and had adopted extreme socialism. The Syria army warned the government that they should adopt moderate Socialism. After the September 1961 coup came out a parliament and a government with a right-wing domination. The executer of the 28 March 1962 coup, which was regarded as a continuation of the 28 September coup, on the other hand, blamed the government for getting further away from a Socialist policy, and for working for the capitalists. Moreover, developing close relations with Iraq was a reason for the coup because the army didn't want a breakdown in the relationship between Syria and Egypt. Close relations between Syria and Iraq and gossips about allying with Iraq could destroy relations with Egypt.

Damascus Radio, which was the most important media organ of the state, became the most significant propaganda broadcasting centre for the coup executers. The radio often played military cadences. Regularly, members of the coup read bulletins to get justification for the coup during the radio programmes. In those bulletins, while the former government was blamed, the justification for the coup was especially underlined. In those bulletins were also stated that the borders were closed; all air, land and marine transport was stopped; all kinds of demonstration and meeting were prohibited; in the case of disobeying these prohibitions, harsh measures would be taken, and curfews were declared during certain hours.

The Turkish Foreign Affairs staff listened to the Damascus Radio broadcasts in several centers and all the data collected were reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this study, we've used the report that was presented to the ministry. Through this study, we intend to shed some light to clarify the reasons, roots, decisions and effects of the coups staged in Syria, the country with the longest land border with Turkey. In addition, through this study of first-hand documents, we aim to help better understand the latest coup era experienced in Syria.

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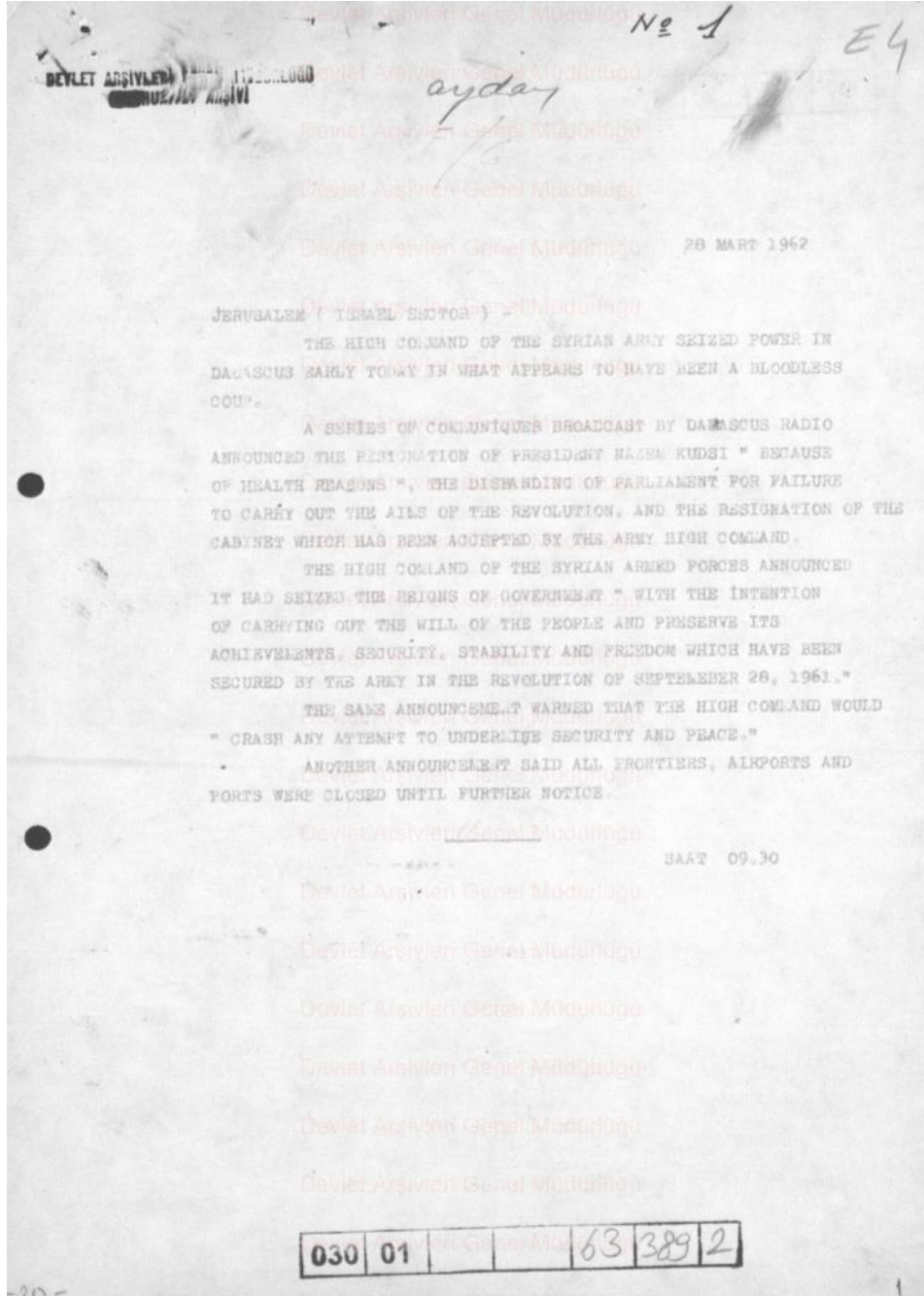
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ADD. 1



ADD. 2

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

№ 2

Dışişleri Bakanlığı Enformasyon
Dairesi saygı ile sunar

28 Mart 1962

SURİYE'DE HÜKÜMET DARBEİ.

Şam (DPA) 28- Şam Radyosunun bildirdiğine göre, Suriye Hükümeti bu sabah istifa etmiştir. Bir askeri cunta memleketin idaresini eline almıştır. Aynı zamanda Silâhli Kuvvetler, vazifesini göremediği gerekçesiyle parlâmentoyu dağıtmışlardır. Silâhli Kuvvetler bütün hava alanlarını ve mühim yolları kontrolleri altına almışlardır. Şam Radyosunda Silâhli Kuvvetlerin okunan beyannamesinde "Ordunun idareyi ele aldığı bildirilmekte ve düşük hükümetin emperyalistlere sıkı bir işbirliği yaptığı mesuliyetini bir türlü anlamadığı" ileri sürülmektedir.

Suriyenin Kıbrıs elçiliği sözcüsü bu konuda sorulara soruyu cevaplandırırken çoktan beri ordu ile hükümet arasında fikir ayrılıkları bulunduğunu, başka bir şey bilmediğini söylemiştir.

LONDRA: (AP) 28- Ordunun idareyi eline almasına dair ilk Şam Radyosu yayınında GMT ayarıyla saat 05.00 (Türkiye saat ayarıyla 07.00 de) bir tebliğ okunmuştur.

İkinci bir tebliğle de bütün Suriye hudutlarının kapatıldığı bildirilmiştir.

172 kişilik parlâmento, ordunun ihtilâl yaparak memleketi PAQ'den ayırmasından iki ay sonra kuvvülcüğü.

Sağcılar seçimlerde ekseriyeti elde etmiş ve 14 Aralıkta mutedil sağcılardan Nazım El Kudsi beş yıl için Başkan seçilmişti. Parlâmento ilk altı ay içinde yeni bir Anayasa hazırlamakla mükellef bulunmaktaydı.

030 01 63 388 2

2

ADD. 3

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

Dışişleri Bakanlığı Enformasyon
Dairesi saygı ile sunar 28 Mart 1962.

Ö Z E L B Ü L T E N N O:7

ŞAM, 28 (AFP) Suriye Radyosu, Halkı sükunete davet eden ve vatandaşlardan normal faaliyetlerine devam etmesini isteyen çağırılarını yayınlamağa devam etmektedir.

Radyo yayınlarında askerî marşlar, halk müziği havalalarının yerini almıştır. Arasına müzik yayını kesilmekte ve spiker halkı birliğe davet etmekte veya vatansever vecizeler yayınlamaktadır. Bu arada bilhassa şu ifadeler yer almaktadır: Suriye arap topluluğunun başında kalacaktır. Ordu Suriye'yi korumaktadır ve emperyalizme karşı kalkandır.

Bir ordu sözcüsü Şam radyosunda halka hitaben şu bildiriği yayınlamıştır: "28 Eylül ihtilali bir vatandaş gurubu için değil fakat bütün halkın menfaati için yapılmıştır. Ordunun kışlalarına dönmelerinden sonra idare mevkilerine ahlaksız, nifakçı ve istismarçı unsurlar sızmıştır. Bu unsurlar milale zarar vermişler ve ihtilalin gayelerinden uzaklaşmışlardır. Suriye halkı, halkın arzularının ve ihtilal prensiplerinin sadık bekçisi olan ordu ile şimdi işbirliği yapmalıdır. Şimdiye kadar her hangi bir sokağa çıkma yaşağı konulmamıştır.

BEYRUT, 28 (AFP) Suriye hükümet darbesinin ilk neticesi, 31 Martta Riyad'da yapılacak olan Arap Birliği Konseyi toplantısının yeniden sallantıda kalması olmuştur.

Sabahın erken saatlerinden itibaren, Arap Birliği Sekreterliği, Beyrut, Amman ve Riyad ile temasa geçerek yeni Suriye rejiminin bu konudaki tutumunu anlamak istemiştir. Şayet Suriye hafta sonuna kadar muntazam bir hükümete kavuşmazsa, Riyad toplantısının muhtemelen yapılmaması şavsiye edilecektir. İyi haber alan arap çevrelerindeki kanaate göre, Arap Birliğini Suriye ve Irak'ın iştiraki olmaksızın, sadece ufak bir Mısır temsilci heyeti ile toplanmanın faydasız olacağı ileri sürülmektedir. Bu çevrelerde gurası da ilave edilmektedir ki Arap Birliği Konseyinden, son İsrail tecavüzlerini incelemek üzere Birliğin acele toplantıya çağırılması yolunda Suriye hükümetinin vaki talebi de durumu daha müşkül bir hale getirmektedir.

33 No'lu TEBLİĞ

ŞAM Rad. (Arapça) 28 - Suriye Silahlı Kuvvetler Başkumandanlığı, memlekette asayişin korunması maksadıyla 28 Mart 1962 tarihinden itibaren, can kurtarma işlerinde çalışanlar hariç, saat 22.00 ile 6.00 arasında sokağa çıkma yaşağı konulmasına karar vermiştir.

Saat 16.30

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18

ADD. 4

28 Mart 1962.

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
GÜVENLİK İZLENİMLERİ B Ü L E T E N NO:8
(SURIYE)

ŞAM (AP) 28- Hükümetin idaresini bu sabah yıldırım saldırısında bir darbeyle ele geçiren Suriye ordusu komandanlığının Suriye'yi siyah kanat idaresinden tarafsız arap sosyalizmine döndürmek hususunda kararlı olduğu görülmektedir.

Başkan Kudsi ve Başbakan Davalibi'nin kabinesi düşürülmüş, kürçük meclis de fesholunmuştur.

KAHİRE (AP) 28- Malûmat sahibi siyasi müşahitlerin fikrince, Suriye'deki son darbe, şüpheye mahal bırakmayacak şekilde BAC Başkanı Nasır'ın itibarını arttırmıştır.

Bu kaynaklar Suriye'nin yeni liderlerinin, Başkan Nasır'ın ana nazariyesi olan arap sosyalizmini övmek yolunu tutmakla Mısır'a tekrar bir yakınlaşmada bulunmak için açık kapı bırakmakta olduklarına işaret etmektedirler. Suriye'deki darbeye Arab'ın Sesi Radyosunun kuvvetinin bir tepkisi gösüyle bakılmaktadır.

Müşahitler, yeni Suriye Liderlerinin emperyalizmi, kapitalizmi ve Egoist politikacıları takbih edişlerinin her Arabın Sesi Radyosunun programlarından bazı kısımlar olduğunu belirtmektedirler. Mamafih buradaki diplomatlar Suriye ile Mısır arasında hemen ve sıkı bir bağ kurulacağı konusunda kehanette bulunmamaktadırlar. Diğer taraftan Suriye'deki darbenin Başkan Nasır'ın Arab milletinin sözcüsü şeklindeki durumuna takviyeyle arap liderleri arasındaki tecrit edilmiş halini nisbeten hafifletmiştir.

NOT: Daimi olarak dinlenmekte olan Şam Radyosu saat 15.00 den beri hiç bir haber vermemiştir. 16.30 da yapılan anonsta saat 17.00ye kadar marş yayını yapılacağı bildirilmişken saat 17.00 de yeni bir anonz yapılmadan bu ana kadar marşlara devam olunmuştur

Saat 17.30.

030 01 63 389 2

ADD. 5

Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü
ANKARA
CUMHURİYETİ ARŞİVİ
Ankara, 28 Mart 1962

Ö Z E L B Ü L T E N No. 9
(S U R İ Y E)

ANKARA . (APP) 23. Suriye'deki hadiselerin gelişmesi karşısında ANKARA'nın resmi çevrelerinde Türk askerî mekamlarının Suriye topraklarında gerekli her türlü tedbiri aldıkları bildirilmektedir. Diğer taraftan, Dışişleri Bakanlığı, hadiseler hakkında şimdiye kadar herhangi bir yorumda bulunmamıştır.

304 RADYOSU (Arapça) 28. Bugün kahraman ordumuzun yapmış olduğu hareket tarihi bir değer taşımaktadır. Zira ordumuzun 28 Eylül tarihinde yapmış olduğu ilk hareketinden hemen sonra, memleketin mukadderatını teslim ettiği şahıslar, milletin yüksek menfaatlerini tehlikeye düşürecek tavırlar takınmışlardır. Buna karşı ordumuz müdahaleye mecbur kalmış ve bu muazzam hareketi başarı ile sonuçlandırmıştır.

Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü
Saat: 18,15

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