

Jordan's Role in The Arab Role Unity: Al-Wifaq Wa Al-Itifaq “Accord and Agreement” 1987 Conference as A Model

Dr.Ibrahim Ahmad Alshyyab, Dr.Riyad mofleh Al khlaifat

Al-Balqa Applied University / Al-Huson University College / Jordan

Abstract

Holding Arab summit conferences is considered one of the most important acts of Arab joint action and a form of Arab unity in order to take the fateful decisions that concern all Arab countries in a collective and deliberate manner to try to solve the problems and challenges facing the Arab nation based on the unity of history, geography, language, religion and the common destiny. The Conference of Accord and Agreement came in an exceptional and extremely dangerous circumstance due to the threats in the Arab region, especially the Iranian threat which was represented in the Iranian war on Iraq paved the way for the conference, the efforts made by His Majesty King Hussein before, during and after the conference, and the Arab countries that participated in the conference, and to the most important issues of concern to the Arab nation, especially the Palestinian issue, the Israeli threats to the region, and the Iranian war on Iraq. The research concluded with many important results that were positively reflected on the issues that threaten the security and stability of the Arab region.

Keyword: Conference on Accord and Agreement, Arab Unity, Arab Countries, Hussein bin Talal, Jordan.

Introduction

The convening of the extraordinary Arab summit conference in Amman in 1987 came in exceptional and very sensitive circumstances due to the dangers that threaten the security and stability of the region, and to address the bitter reality that the nation suffers from in those circumstances. On top of these dangers were the continuation of the Iran-Iraq war for eight years, Iranian intransigence in order to have a peaceful solution for the war, and its negative repercussions on the direct threat to the security of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, in addition to the increasing Israeli danger to occupied Palestinian lands and its environs, and the repercussions of the Lebanese crisis and its aftermath. From civil wars, political divisions, and a collapse in the economy, it became necessary to find a solution for this crisis and restore Lebanon as a united and sovereign state, then the Arab disputes, especially the dispute with the Republic of Egypt and its exit from the Arab League after the signing of the Camp David agreement with Israel in 1979. All this had a negative impact on the nation's division, increasing its internal conflicts, and creating

axes that increased the weakness and fragmentation of the Arab nation. All of these issues were behind the call to hold such a conference in Jordan under the chairmanship of His Majesty King Hussein, may God have mercy on him where he had the most prominent role in the success of this conference, which came out with recommendations that had the greatest impact on the continuation of Arab reunification, and the preservation of its security and territorial integrity.

Prelude to the conference

As a result of the dangers facing the Arab nation, especially the first Gulf War (the Iran-Iraq war), the Arab foreign ministers met in Tunisia in September 1987, where the Arab League Council decided at the conclusion of its emergency session to hold an exceptional Arab conference in Amman in the period 8-11 November 1987 to discuss the current challenges on the Arab region. The Jordanian government welcomed the convening of this conference in the capital, Amman, the capital of reconciliation and agreement. All Arab countries agreed to hold this conference, including Syria,

which submitted its reservation to the agenda, and demanded that it will be the topic of the extraordinary summit to discuss all the issues and challenges facing the nation, including the Iran-Iraq war¹.

Efforts of His Majesty King Hussein before the Summit

After the Arab foreign ministers' conference held in Tunisia on September 20, 1987, they agreed to hold the extraordinary Arab summit in Amman by a conference. His Majesty King Hussein, may God rest his soul in peace, began in that period shuttle visits to most Arab countries. The first thing that His Majesty did was to restore the diplomatic relations with the Libyan Jamahiriya. On 24/9/1987, His Majesty visited the Syrian Arab Republic and met with President Hafez al-Assad in Latakia in a closed session in which he discussed purifying the Arab atmosphere and resolving differences through dialogue in order that all Arab leaders attend the summit. The planned summit conference was held in the Jordanian capital Amman, and Syria agreed to attend the conference after its opposition to the conference's agenda so that the issue of the Gulf War would not dominate the summit meetings, and after the visit of His Majesty King Hussein to Syria, Syria's agreement to attend the conference came to achieve several goals, including²:

1. Disrupt any resolution imposing sanctions on Iran.

¹. Amer Jadallah Abu Jableh: The Extraordinary Arab Summit Conference (The Summit of Accord and Agreement) Amman on (8-11 November 1987 AD) i 1, The Cooperative Press Workers Association, 1988 AD, pp. 13-14, and see the Ministry of Information: The Non-Arab Summit Conference The Ordinary (The Summit of Accord and Agreement) November 8-11, 1987 AD, pp. 53-54 and Al-Madinah News: Jordan and the Summit's March, p. 1, Al-Athinayat, Amer Al-Jazi: The Arab Summit Conferences and the Jordanian Position on Arab Issues, Master's Thesis, Mutah University, Jordan, 2008, p. 88

² Abdul Halim Manna Al-Adwan: The Palestinian Issue in the Arab Summit Conferences (1946-1990 AD), 1st Edition, Greater Amman Municipality, 2009 AD, p. 253.

2. Not to be excluded from the efforts to settle the Palestinian issue after the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement.

3. The issue of the occupation of the Golan Heights should not be excluded from the international peace conference.

On September 26, 1987, His Majesty the King arrived in Muscat, the capital of the Sultanate of Oman, and held his meetings with Sultan Qaboos, in which he discussed the current situation in the region and the Arab situation. On September 29, 1987, he visited Abu Dhabi and met with officials in the United Arab Emirates and discussed the latest developments in the war. His Majesty also visited Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain, then returned to Oman on October 12, 1987. His Majesty received in Amman Al-Shazly Al-Qalibi, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States. The Secretary-General praised the great efforts made by His Majesty to heal the rift and unite the Arab ranks³.

The conference and the participating Arab countries

The Accord and Agreement Summit in Amman was the first Arab summit in which all members attended since 1979, except for Egypt, which suspended its membership due to the Camp David Accords, and at the time of the summit, three leaders from Arab countries, were absent from the audience King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, Hussein II of Morocco, and Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, leader of Libya⁴.

The leaders of the Arab countries arrived in Amman on the morning of Saturday 7/11, and their attendance was completed on the second day, Sunday 8/11, the inauguration day of the conference. His Majesty the King inaugurated the work of the conference with a royal speech in which he emphasized resolving Arab

³ . Ministry of Information: The Extraordinary Arab Summit Conference (The Summit of Accord and Agreement) 8-11 November 1987 AD, 1987 AD, pp. 57-65 and Abu Jableh: The Summit Conference, pp. 14-15.

⁴ . Abu Jableh: The Summit Conference, p. 17.

differences and the dangers that threaten the security and stability of the Arab nation. The conference decided unanimously considering the speech of His Majesty the King as an official document of the conference⁵ and this conference is called the Conference of Accord and Agreement.

In the opening, His Majesty the King delivered a national speech in which he stressed that differences in viewpoints have become a source of estrangement, hostility and accusation among the Arab nation, especially the Arab Gulf region. He said that the mission of this conference is a dual one, the first related to the Arab regime and the bad Arab-Arab relations, which led to a crack in Arab solidarity, especially when our national security was tested in the Iraqi Iranian war and the Israeli occupation of Arab lands since 1967 until today⁶.

His Majesty was able to diagnose the situation that the Arab regimes suffer from, as he said, "Restoring confidence and credibility in the Arab regime and its regional organizations is the basic condition for providing the environment and ingredients for joint Arab action and for consolidating the rules of national security in all its dimensions, where restoring Arab solidarity can only be achieved through steadfastness on purpose and awareness. To achieve it through institutions in accordance with the principles of Arab solidarity, stressing that everyone agrees on the analysis and diagnosis of the causes of

weakness and regression, but they do not agree on the means of treatment⁷.

His Majesty summarized the reasons for the failure of the possibilities of agreeing on a unified position regarding the major problems and challenges facing us with the following matters⁸:

1. Bilateral differences - to the point of taking punitive retaliatory measures against governments and peoples.
2. The narrowness of the space for the national vision, the preoccupation of each country with its concerns and problems about the other country, and the declining interest in national issues.
3. Exaggeration in applying the principle of profit and loss in dealing with national issues.

The most important issues discussed by the conference and what are the decisions and recommendations it reached

The extraordinary Arab Summit Conference ended on Wednesday 11/11/1987 after it discussed many issues and came up with many decisions and recommendations. the most important of which were the following issues:

1- The Iran-Iraq War

At the top of the agenda of the conference was the issue of the Iran-Iraq war, which was considered one of the most important threats to Arab national security and its dangerous repercussions on the nation and its issues. As a result of Iran's insistence on continuing the war against Iraq and not complying with the international Arab peace initiatives and the resolutions issued by them, the kings, presidents and princes of the Arab countries who met at the

⁵ . Bakr Khazir Al-Majali: The Hashemite Jordanian Leadership in the Arab Summit Foundation from Inshas 1946 AD to Sirte 2011 AD to the Baghdad Summit 2012, The National Library, 2013, 164-166 and will be referred to by Majali: The Jordanian Leadership and Abu Jableh: Summit Conference, pp. 18-31, Al-Madina News: The March of the Arab Summit (The Summit of Accord and Agreement 1987 AD), February, 2017, pg. 4, Al-Azayn: Summit Conferences, p. 88, and see Al-Kafarna, Ahmed Aref: Jordan in the Arab Regional System, Master's Thesis, University of Jordan, 1992, p. 56

⁶ . Majali: The Jordanian Leadership, p. 166, Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 31-36, and The Palestinian Encyclopedia: The Fourteenth Summit Conference (Amman 1987), p. 1,

⁷ . Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 72, and Majali: The Jordanian Leadership, p. 173 and Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pg. 36.

⁸ . Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 73, Majali: The Jordanian Leadership, pp. 173-174, and Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 37.

extraordinary Arab summit decided the following⁹:

- Condemning and rejecting Iran's continued occupation of Arab lands in Iraq, which is considered a flagrant attack on the sovereignty of an Arab country that is a member of the League of Arab States.
- Full solidarity with Iraq and standing with it in defense of its lands and sovereignty.
- The commitment of the Arab countries to all the consequent obligations towards Iraq under the charter of the League of Arab States and the Treaty of Mutual Defense and Economic Cooperation among the League's countries.
- Supporting and implementing Security Council resolution (598/1987) issued unanimously by all its members, praising Iraq's approval of the resolution and its readiness to cooperate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations to achieve a just and comprehensive peace between the two countries and the region and to ensure the freedom of international navigation in the Gulf in accordance with the rules of international law, and the condemnation of laying mines in International waterways and not to expose to ships heading to those countries.

2- Attacks on the Arab Gulf states

The repeated attacks by Iran against the Gulf states have attracted the greatest attention from the presidents, kings and princes who gathered at the Arab Summit Conference, and who strongly denounced the continuous attacks and

interference in the internal affairs of the Arab Gulf states, and decided the following¹⁰:

- Condemning the repeated Iranian attacks on the State of Kuwait and considering these attacks directed against the Arab nation as a whole.
- Stand firmly with the Gulf countries and implement all the obligations of all Arab countries according to what was stated in the Charter of the League of Arab States and the Treaty of Mutual Defense.
- Absolute support for all measures taken by the Kuwaiti government to protect its security and stability and preserve its interests.
- Reconsidering relations with countries that support and supply Iran with weapons if the attacks on the Gulf states continue.
- Calling for the freedom of international navigation in the Arabian Gulf in accordance with the rules of international law.

3- The events during Hajj in Saudi Arabia which were carried out by the Iranians in 1987

The Arab Summit Conference discussed the riots perpetrated by Iranians during Hajj in 1987. The conference strongly condemned the acts of sabotage and riots committed by the Iranians in the holy city of Mecca, which offended the sanctity of the holy places and the safety and security of pilgrims and the rituals of Hajj. They affirmed their solidarity with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and support for the measures it has taken and to prevent any abuse of the sanctity of the Sacred House and the feelings of Muslims and support the Kingdom in taking all necessary measures to prevent its recurrence to preserve the unity and cohesion of Muslims, and to prevent any demonstrations and marches and

⁹ ʔAbu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 53-56, Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, 109-112 and Aggression: The Palestinian Issue, p. 257, and The Palestinian Encyclopedia: The Fourteenth Summit Conference (Amman 1987), p. 1, link....., Medina News: Jordan and the Summit March, p. 2, link, Encyclopedia of a fighter from the desert

¹⁰ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 56-57, Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 112-113 and The Palestinian Encyclopedia: The Summit Conference, p. 1, link, Encyclopedia of a fighter from the desert.

raise slogans during the Hajj season in order to preserve the unity of Muslims¹¹.

4- The Arab Israeli Conflict

The Palestinian issue is considered the central issue of the Arab nation and the core of the Arab Israeli conflict. The defense for the restoration of the usurped Arab rights in Palestine is a common national duty. Given the continuation of the arbitrary Israeli practices on the land and people of Palestine and the expansionist policy practiced by Israel that threatens the security and stability of all Arab countries, the conferees decided¹²:

- Mobilizing all energies and capabilities to strengthen the capabilities of the Arab countries in order to confront Israel, stop its aggression against the Arab nation, restore its usurped rights in Palestine, establish a strategic balance to confront this danger and force Israel to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council and the United Nations to establish a just and comprehensive peace in the region.

- Providing support for the Arab-Palestinian struggle in Palestine, the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon in the face of the occupation, and the commitment to the decisions of the Arab summit, which call for not unilaterally with any solution to the Arab Israeli conflict and denouncing the closure of the Palestinian Information Office in Washington.

5- The International Peace Conference for the Palestinian Issue

¹¹ . Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 113-114 Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 57-58, Palestinian Encyclopedia, Summit Conference, p. 2 link., Al-Madina News: Jordan and the Summit March, p. 2, link..... , Encyclopedia of Desert Fighter.

¹² . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 58-59, Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 114-115, The Palestinian Encyclopedia: The Summit Conference, p. 2-3, link..., Al-Madina News: Jordan and the Summit March, pg. 3, link... .., Encyclopedia of a desert fighter

The conferees discussed the topic of convening the International Peace Conference in the Middle East. The conference decided based on the foundations and objectives that were decided in the previous Arab summit conferences regarding the Arab Israeli conflict, and Israel's refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions, the commitment of the Arab nation and its orientation towards peace to find a just and comprehensive peaceful settlement that guarantees the restoration of rights to their owners. Based on international legality, it has been decided as follows¹³:

- Agreeing to hold an international conference for peace in the Middle East, under international sponsorship and in the presence of all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. They emphasized that the only way to resolve the conflict and reach a comprehensive and just settlement is the return of rights to their owners.

6- The Lebanese Crisis

The conferees discussed the Lebanese crisis and its repercussions on the state and the Lebanese people, and the deprivation, misery and human tragedy it left behind. Kings, presidents and princes of Arab countries decided¹⁴

First: urging all segments of the Lebanese people to resume dialogue in order to reach political reform in order to restore Lebanese unity, land and people, and to achieve the national political interests that preserve the country's freedom and the dignity of its people.

¹³ . Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 115-116 and Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference: pp. 59-60, The Palestinian Encyclopedia: The Summit Conference p.3, link..., and Al-Madina News: Jordan and the Summit March, pg.3, link..., Encyclopedia of desert fighter.

¹⁴ . Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 116-117, Abu Jabla: The Arab Summit Conference, pg. 60, The Palestinian Encyclopedia: The Summit Conference, p. 3 link..., and Al-Madina News: Jordan and the Summit March, p.3 link..., Encyclopedia of a fighter from the desert.

Second: supporting Lebanon in implementing Security Council resolutions calling for Israel's withdrawal from the south, and the imposition of Lebanese sovereignty over all its territories.

Third: standing with Lebanon in establishing a fund to support the Lebanese currency in cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and with the support of Arab countries.

7- The position of the conference on Arab-Egyptian relations

The conference considered the third item on the agenda of the conference which related to the relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt and came up with a recommendation that any member state of the Arab League restores its relations with the sister Republic of Egypt is a sovereign decision for each state separately, and it is not within the competence of the Arab League¹⁵.

8- International terrorism

The conference discussed the issue of the international terrorism based on the ethical and humanitarian principles and in compliance with the international legislation and laws, human values and the concern caused by the emergence of the phenomenon of international terrorism. The conference decided the following¹⁶:

- Condemning terrorism in all its forms and sources, especially Israeli terrorism.
- Rejection of the idea of equality between terrorism and national liberation movements and the right of peoples to resist occupation.
- International coordination in order to eliminate this phenomenon by holding an international

¹⁵ . Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 117-118, and Abu Jabla: The Arab Summit Conference, pg. 60, Al-Adwan: The Palestinian Issue, p. 257, Al-Madina News: Jordan and the Summit March, pg.3, Encyclopedia of a Fighter from the Desert.

¹⁶ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 61-62, Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 118-119, and Al-Madina News: Jordan and the Summit March, pg. 3, link....., Encyclopedia of a fighter from the desert.

conference under the supervision of the United Nations to define the meaning of terrorism and to distinguish it from the peoples' struggle for liberation.

In addition to discussing a number of issues such as the financial situation of the General Secretariat and the construction of a headquarter for the League of Arab States based on their belief in the importance of joint Arab action and the need to support the institutions of the League of Arab States and implementing the programs and projects stipulated in its annual budget by paying all dues to each country in the annual budget of the General Secretariat and the payment of the obligations of the countries scheduled for the construction of the university's headquarters¹⁷. After the conference ended, His Majesty King Hussein stressed in a press conference held at the Royal Center in Amman on most of the issues discussed in the conference, the most important of which was the Iran-Iraq war. He said that the continuation of the war is a threat to the Arab regime and the Arab world, and we the Arabs seek peace with our neighbors. Peace based on justice that includes the rights of all Arab countries and protects our Arab land and the rights of our people in the present and the future and building relationships based on mutual respect between nations and peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of each country to reach fruitful cooperation¹⁸.

In the press conference, His Majesty stressed on the issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which he considered a serious challenge and the main cause of instability in the region, and he also stressed on the desire to make a just and comprehensive peace based on a call for an international peace conference under the sponsorship of the United Nations and with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and all parties of the conflict including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian

¹⁷ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 62-63.

¹⁸ . Ministry of Information: Arab Summit Conference, p. 125, and Abu Jabla, Arab Summit Conference, p. 65-66.

people, taking in consideration that this conference is the only way to reach a comprehensive peace based on Security Council resolutions (242) and (338) and stems from the Charter of the United Nations which states that the lands of others may not be occupied by force¹⁹. The Arab-Arab relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt were also discussed, where His Majesty stressed that Egypt is in his heart and the body of the Arab nation, and that its return is a matter of sovereignty for Jordan, and the reasons that led to the severing of relations with Egypt at that time must end and a positive understanding has been established on this issue between the two parties²⁰. His Majesty also pointed out the Jordanian position on the Lebanese issue and said that we share with Lebanon the suffering it faces, and we hope that Lebanon and its people will overcome difficulties and challenges and that the Lebanese people gather in their free and sovereign state. His Majesty answered a question about the Syrian-Iraqi reconciliation and the practical steps to achieve it. He said that it is a real reconciliation in the true sense of the word. The leaders of the brothers overcame all pains to serve the Arab nation and its peoples. I am happy to have this opportunity to talk with the two parties²¹. As for the Palestinian issue and the relationship with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, His Majesty said that Jordan's position has not changed, and we are continuing the dialogue with the organization to achieve a just and lasting peace from the point where we stopped, and I hope to continue working towards achieving the goals that were presented in the summit decisions in the talks about the conference of The International Peace Conference and that the institution that represents the Palestinian people is the Palestine Liberation Organization, and it must be invited

¹⁹ . Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 125-126, Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 66-67

²⁰ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 67, Ministry of Information: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 126.

²¹ . Ministry of Information: Arab Summit Conference, p. 129, and Abu Jableh: Arab Summit Conference, p. 70-73.

to the conference to represent the Palestinian people on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 (4)²².

The most important results of the conference

The most important outcomes of the conference were the following:

A- Concord and agreement between the Arab countries, as the Arab countries reached in this conference a state of harmony, tranquility and the restoration of confidence, which paved the way for more understanding relations and a sense of responsibility towards many issues, including restoring relations and building bridges of trust between Iraq and Syria after a long estrangement that lasted more than seven years. President Saddam sat with President Al-Assad in the presence of His Majesty King Hussein, which had the greatest impact on the success of the conference's work and reaching positive results that were reflected in Arab solidarity which restores normal relations between the two brotherly peoples, and the first of them was the stopping media campaigns and the visit of a Syrian economic delegation to Iraq²³, as well as the Palestinian issue, which is the first central issue of the Arab nation and the focus of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The conference decided to mobilize all the necessary Arab energies and capabilities to enhance the capabilities and energies of countries and forces of confrontation with Israel and work to build Arab solidarity to confront the Zionist threat and force Israel to agree to the purposeful resolutions of the Security Council and the United Nations to establish just and comprehensive peace in the region, and to provide all forms of support for the struggle of the Palestinian people in Palestine, the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon, and to call all parties to abide by the decisions of the Arab summits, not to be unilateral with any solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and to reject any settlement of the conflict without achieving a complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian lands and enabling the Palestinian people to have their

²² . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 74.

²³ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 85-86.

inalienable national rights in accordance with the resolutions of the Arab summit conferences²⁴.

It was agreed to build positive relations between Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization through special talks arranged by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. The Palestine Liberation Organization said that there is a difference of opinion, and it must be overcome through dialogue, and that dialogue already exists between Jordan and the organization. The two sides expressed the resumption of coordination and political dialogue from the point at which it was stopped in February 1986²⁵.

The conference also worked to build a form of reconciliation between Syria and the PLO, as the Syrian President shook hands with President Arafat on the first day of the conference for the first time since June 1983. Perhaps this handshake was purely a coincidence in the conference halls. Regarding the Syrian-Palestinian meetings, the Syrian foreign minister said that what happened was the beginning of a dialogue where a kind of contact took place between the two parties, and the organization presented ideas and demanded Syria for clarifications, and there is a follow-up to these contacts, with no hope of reaching positive results²⁶. Thus, the accord conference paved the way for an atmosphere of relief and an opportunity to improve Syrian-Palestinian relations to reach a form of Arab solidarity and accord.

One of the results of the accord conference was that it paved the way for Egyptian reconciliation with the Arab countries. Jordan was the first Arab country to restore its relations with Egypt. This is in addition to the positive Egyptian role in creating an atmosphere of reconciliation and Egypt's call to achieve Arab solidarity and Egypt's supportive stance against Iraq against Iran. The Arab countries reconciled with sister Egypt after this conference, and many Arab

countries welcomed Egypt's return to the Arab ranks due to its qualitative weight and its role in serving common Arab causes²⁷. This was followed by shuttle visits by President Hosni Mubarak to Jordan and the Arab Gulf states. These visits came in response to the decisions of the Accord Summit in Amman calling for Arab solidarity and the implementation of the joint defense treaty.

How positively were the decisions of the Arab Summit in Amman reflected on the Egyptian-Palestinian relations through the Palestine Liberation Organization, where a delegation from the Liberation Organization visited Egypt headed by Mahmoud Abbas, member of the Executive Committee, and met with President Hosni Mubarak, where the delegation conveyed the thanks and appreciation of President Arafat to the Egyptian President for Egypt's support for the Palestinian people and his generous initiative in opening the organization's offices and raising the Palestinian flag over them in Cairo, and thus the decision to restore Egyptian-Arab relations issued by the conference provided the opportunity for Egypt to restore its political weight and activity in the service of Arab causes, especially the Palestinian cause²⁸.

The Arab summit in Amman also adopted a resolution on the Lebanese crisis, in which it called, especially Syria, to make an effort to help the concerned parties in Lebanon to reach a just solution and comprehensive national reconciliation²⁹.

B- The results of the conference and their repercussions on the Iran-Iraq war

It is known that one of the main reasons for agreeing to hold the conference in Amman is to discuss the issue of the Iran-Iraq war and threats from Iran to the Gulf states, and therefore one of the most important outcomes of this conference is the affirmation by all presidents, princes and

²⁴ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 86-87, and Aggression: The Palestinian Issue, p. 259.

²⁵ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 88-89.

²⁶ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 89.

²⁷ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 90-91.

²⁸ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 93-95.

²⁹ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 96-97, and Aggression: The Palestinian Issue, p. 257.

kings of denouncing the Iranian aggression against Iraq and the Gulf states. They also declared their readiness to implement all its obligations under the League Charter and the Mutual Defense Treaty and consider every attack on any Arab country as an attack on all Arab countries, and they decide to condemn and reject Iran's continued occupation of Arab lands in Iraq and express their full solidarity with Iraq and stand with it in defending its lands and sovereignty. Endorsing Security Council Resolution No. 598 and supporting efforts to implement it fully, praising Iraq's welcome to accept the said resolution and its willingness to cooperate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in order to reach a comprehensive and just solution to the conflict that guarantees international freedom of navigation in the Arabian Gulf in accordance with the rules of international law, and condemning laying mines in regional and international waterways and avoiding exposure to ships passing in the Gulf waters in accordance with Security Council Resolution 552 of 1984³⁰. The conference saw that the solution to this issue goes through three stages, the first is to support the effort made by the United Nations to stop fighting, and the second is to urge the Security Council to implement collective sanctions against Iran if it does not respond to the cessation of hostilities, and the third is the Arab position in support of Iraq and in the event of the failure of the previous two stages³¹.

Iraq expressed its gratitude by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in a telegram sent to His Majesty King Hussein after the conference, saying, "The great results of the Amman Summit (the Conference of Accord and Agreement) would not have taken this path without your distinguished efforts, you and your brothers"³².

C- Results of the conference on the issue of Iranian attacks on the Gulf states and the events in Mecca

³⁰ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 96-97.

³¹ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 98,

³² . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, p. 98.

One of the most important outcomes of the conference on the subject of Iranian attacks on the Gulf states and the events in Mecca was the rejection and denunciation of the repeated Iranian attacks on the State of Kuwait and its territorial integrity, the implementation of all obligations of the Arab states towards the Gulf states in accordance with Article (6) of the Charter of the League of Arab States and Article (2) from the Mutual Defense Treaty in the event that Iran continues these attacks and stands firmly with the Gulf states against these attacks, reconsidering the economic relations between the Arab countries and the countries that support and supply Iran with weapons, if it continues its attacks on the Gulf states and condemns Iran's interference in the internal affairs of the Arab Gulf states and its resort to violence and terrorism to stir up problems in these countries and support Kuwait with the measures it takes to protect its security and the safety of its lands, preserve its commercial interests and ensure freedom of international navigation in the Arabian Gulf in accordance with the rules of international law³³.

The conference issued many decisions regarding the riots and strife that the Iranian pilgrims carried out during the Hajj in 1987, the most important of which is the affirmation of the solidarity of all Arab countries with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and their full support for the measures taken to provide the appropriate atmosphere for the pilgrims of the House of God and the rejection of riots in the holy places that affects the security and safety of pilgrims and the sovereignty of the Saudi Arabia Kingdom, and the Kingdom's support for the measures it takes to prevent the recurrence of such incidents and not to exploit the Hajj for demonstrations, marches and raising slogans in order to preserve the unity and cohesion of Muslims³⁴.

The role of His Majesty King Hussein in explaining the results of the conference to world public opinion

³³ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 98-99.

³⁴ . Abu Jableh: The Arab Summit Conference, pp. 99-100.

At the official level, His Majesty King Hussein began informing all international organizations of the decisions of the extraordinary Arab summit, the Summit of Accord and Agreement, such as the permanent members of the Security Council, the Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity, Japan, the Vatican and Spain. His Majesty also visited the Soviet Union after the end of the conference to inform the Soviet leadership about the unified Arab viewpoint on all the issues dealt with by the conference, especially the Iran-Iraq war and the Arab Israeli conflict³⁵.

The Soviet position on Arab issues, which was explained to His Majesty by the Soviet leadership was summed up in the immediate support for a cease-fire for the Iran-Iraq war, the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No. 598, and the Soviet Union's dissatisfaction with those supplying weapons to Iran, especially the United States of America, to quickly end the tension prevailing in the Arab Gulf region by forming a United Nations naval force to calm the situation in the Gulf region, and support the Soviet Union to hold an international peace conference in the Middle East to address the Arab Israeli conflict in accordance with international resolutions issued by the United Nations and the Security Council³⁶.

Conclusion

One of the results of the present study of the Arab Summit Conference held in Amman in 1987, the Accord and Agreement Conference, was the reaching of a unified Arab position regarding all risks and challenges that threaten the security and stability of the region, on top of them were the Iraq-Iran war and the Arab-Israeli conflict and working to solve them by peaceful means based on the international legitimacy and the UN Security Council resolutions, which strengthened the position of the Arabs in the hot Arab issues. Another result was that all countries in the world welcomed the efforts and results that came out of the extraordinary Arab

conference in Amman. Finally, the conference provided the opportunity and paved the way for an Arab joint action, to stand united in the face of challenges and dangers. It was one of the most successful Arab conferences in addressing outstanding issues in the Arab world and the diligent follow-up to the implementation of the decisions of this conference.

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