



THE SYRIAN POSITION ON EGYPT'S RETURN TO THE ARAB LEAGUE 1982-1989

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Abstract

This research was devoted to study of Syria's position on the return of Egypt to the League of Arab States, as this position went through two stages, the first one strongly opposed to the return of Egypt for the period from 1982-1988, during which Syria succeeded in thwarting all attempts by Egypt to regain its seat in the Arab League, while Syria was exposed in the second stage in 1989, to a great pressures affected her policy in the Arab League, which prompted her to adapt to international and regional changes and abandon her position opposing Egypt's return to the Arab League.

Keywords ;Syria, League of Arab States, Egypt, Hafez al-Assad, Hosni Mubarak.

INTRODUCTION

The Syrian role in the League of Arab States is one of the most important factors that contributed to Egypt's expulsion from the Arab League institution, this role did not stop at this point, but rather constituted a major obstacle to Egypt's return to the League again, as Syria was afraid that Egypt would regain its seat within the Arab League while it was shackled by the restrictions of Camp David, which encourages many Arab countries to normalize their relations with (Israel) in the absence of the Arab deterrent and leniency with Egypt, that is why it has tightened its position towards Egypt, adopting a policy based on two pillars, the first is the establishment of Arab blocs within the League, opposing the return of Egypt, and the second is benefiting from the Arab consensus paper as a prerequisite for passing any decision within the League, however, the international and regional circumstances greatly affected the Syrian position and made it shift towards flexibility and leniency towards Egypt's return to the Arab League, for these and other reasons, we chose the subject of the study entitled **(The Syrian position on Egypt's return to the Arab League 1982-1989)**.

The year 1982 was selected as the beginning of the study because it was the year in which the proposal for Egypt's return to the **league** was presented for the first time after its expulsion from it in 1979, and Syria had an important position in thwarting this proposal. As for the reason for choosing the year 1989 as the end of the study, because it is the year that represents Egypt's return to the Arab League after the Syrian approval.

The study focused on Syrian positions opposing Egypt's return to the Arab League during the Arab summit conferences and Arab foreign ministers and the conditions set for the period from 1982-1988, the study also sheds light on the international, regional and Arab circumstances and factors



that changed the Syrian position from a position of opposition and hardliner to Egypt's return to the league to a flexible and lenient one.

The study dealt with the Syrian and Egyptian reactions to the Casablanca Summit in 1989 and the normalization of relations between the two countries, and the gains that Syria achieved in the league regarding Egypt's return to it.

The study relied on an important and diverse group of sources, foremost of which are the unpublished documents, which are the documents of the Syrian Historical Directorate preserved in the Syrian National Museum in Damascus, and the documents of the Syrian Ministry of Information preserved in Dar Al Baath in Damascus, as well as the published Arab documents, represented by the documents of the League of Arab States in addition to the Arabic books., and a number of university theses and dissertations.

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Egypt tried to take advantage of the circumstances and developments in the Arab arena to return to the Arab League and normalize Egyptian-Arab relations, foremost among those circumstances was outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980, its support for Iraq, its condemnation of the (Israeli) invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and the withdrawal of its ambassador from Tel Aviv (1). These positions prompted many Arab countries to demand the return of Egypt to the Arab League, led by Sudan, whose president, Jaafar al-Numeiri (2) presented at the Fez summit 6-9 September 1982 a proposal supported by Iraq and Jordan that included Egypt's return to the Arab League, but he faced strong Syrian opposition to return Egypt burdened with the restrictions of Camp David to the Arab ranks and the difficulty of turning a blind eye to Sadat's national betrayal, which prompted the Sudanese president to withdraw his proposal from the Arab summit (3).

The Egyptian government continued its efforts to end the Arab boycott, so it took advantage of the Palestinian-Syrian differences after the events of Tripoli in 1983 (4), so it allied itself with the Palestine Liberation Organization and restored relations between the two parties after the meeting of Yasser Arafat (5) and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak (6) in Cairo on December 22, 1983. This alliance was supported by Jordan with the aim of Egypt mediating between it and Israel to resume negotiations(7) on the Reagan project(8), and those interests prompted Jordan, the PLO and Iraq to demand the return of Egypt to the Islamic Conference during its meeting in Casablanca, Morocco, for the period 16-19. January 1984, so it was approved, and Egypt regained its membership in the Islamic Conference, to be the first step for Egypt's return to the Arab League (9), but that step faced Syrian opposition, as the Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Al-Sharaa (10) presented a memorandum of protest to the Islamic Conference that included rejecting the membership of any country that has relations with (Israel), and considering Egypt's decision to return to the Islamic Conference illegal, but the Syrian memorandum did not receive any significant response (11).

On September 25, 1984, the Jordanian government restored its diplomatic and political relations with Egypt, with the aim of helping to find a peace settlement with Israel (12) in late 1984, the Arab League called for the necessity of Egypt's return to the Arab League, citing Egypt's national role and its importance in supporting the issues of Iraq, Palestine, and Lebanon. (13) In July 1985,



Jordan, Iraq, and Morocco demanded that the issue of Egypt's return to the League be included in the agenda of the Casablanca Summit to be held in August 1985, and that the Arab League Charter be amended so that its decisions would be based on the principle of the majority instead of consensus, but the Syrian government strongly opposed that invitations promised the aim of holding a summit for settlement with (Israel), changing the system of consensus and approving the principle of the majority to open the door legally to Egypt's return to the League, limiting the future of the Arab decision within the circle of parties in solidarity with Camp David, and isolating the Arab countries that reject Camp David within the Arab League. As a starting point, the Syrian government boycotted the Casablanca summit in 1985 and was supported by Libya, Algeria, South Yemen and Lebanon (14).

The emergency Arab summit conference was held in the city of Casablanca from 7-9 August 1985 amid a boycott of five Arab countries, namely Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Algeria and South Yemen (15). These absences and the Syrian opposition affected the Arab summit, which refused to discuss the issue of the return of Egypt to the league because of the absence of consensus, and Egypt adheres to the Camp David Accords (16).

The Syrian position rejecting Egypt's return to the Arab League was affected by many factors and influences on the international and regional arena, foremost among which was the accusation of Syria in supporting terrorism following the case of Nizar al-Hindawi (17) and his attempt to blow up a plane flying from London Airport to Tel Aviv on April 17, 1986, as Britain was accused Syria is behind that attempt, and it severed its diplomatic relations with Syria on October 24, 1986 (18), and the United States of America and Canada withdrew their ambassadors from Damascus, and the European Community decided, in cooperation with the American government, on November 10, 1986 to impose economic sanctions on Syria, and suspend work Diplomatic missions, stopping the sale of weapons to Syria, and including it in the list of countries supporting terrorism (19), and these circumstances coincided with the change of Soviet policy towards Syria, after Mikhail Gorbachev (20) assumed the presidency of the Soviet Union in 1985, he worked to re-evaluate foreign policy of Soviet Union through improving relations with the United States of America, stopping the Soviet commitments abroad, focusing on internal reconstruction (21), and improving relations with Egypt with the aim of finding a settlement to the Middle East problem and the Palestinian issue (22), and Egypt became after 1986 the first trading partner of the Soviet Union in Arab world(23).

The features of that policy began to affect Syria, especially after the visit of Syrian President Hafed al-Assad (24) to Moscow on April 23, 1987 during his meeting with the Soviet Union, president Mikhail Gorbachev, when al-Assad asked him to increase Soviet arming of Syria to reach a strategic balance with (Israel) (25), however, the Syrian president was surprised by the response of the Soviet president, who told him that Syria's reliance on military force in settling the Arab (Israeli) conflict is no longer feasible and has proven to be a failure, and that the Soviet Union recognizes Israel's right to peace and existence, and that Syria must abandon the theory of strategic balance



with (Israel).), and works to establish permanent peace and good neighborly relations with (Israel), and to improve its relations with Egypt (26).

At the same time, Arab pressure increased on Syria to change its position rejecting Egypt's return to the League, especially after the intensification of the Iraqi-Iranian war in 1987, which posed a threat to the security of the Gulf countries and their oil facilities, and Egypt's continued support of Iraq with military supplies (27), which prompted the Arab Gulf states and Iraq Jordan, the PLO, Morocco, Tunisia, North Yemen and Somalia to demand the return of Egypt to the Arab League during the emergency Arab summit held in the Jordanian city of Amman for the period 8-11 November 1987 (28), but those demands were met with opposition from Syria, Libya and Algeria, and Syrian President Hafed al-Assad refused to enter any amendment to the decisions of the 1978 Baghdad Summit regarding the boycott of Egypt, due to Egypt's adherence to Article VI of the Camp David Accords, which stipulated that the two parties pledge not to enter into any commitment inconsistent with this agreement (29), and set several conditions for Egypt's return to the league , including that Egypt undertakes to cancel Camp David agreement and the peace treaty with (Israel), and to support any unified Arab decision regarding the peace negotiation process, but these conditions were rejected by the delegations supporting the return of Egypt due to their prior knowledge of Egypt's position rejecting it (30). As a result of this division and the lack of consensus on the return of Egypt. At the conclusion of the summit on November 11, 1987, the League announced its Resolution No. (170), which stipulated that diplomatic relations between any member state of the League and Egypt are an act of sovereignty decided by each country according to its constitution and laws and not within the competence of the Arab League. (31), However, the decision faced opposition from Syria, as it contradicts the Charter of the Arab League and the decisions of previous Arab summit conferences, and that this decision will allow some Arab countries to open their embassies in Cairo in which the (Israeli) flag is raised above the (Israeli) embassy (32).

Based on that decision, most of the Arab countries restored their diplomatic relations with Egypt, and opened their embassies in Cairo, the first was Iraq on November 13, 1987, and the last was Algeria on November 24, 1988, and only Syria, Lebanon and Libya remained boycott of Egypt (33). These Arab and international factors and influences mitigated the Syrian militancy towards Egypt, and the Syrian stance became more flexible, as Syrian President Hafed Al-Assad declared on December 22, 1988 during a press conference, saying: "Syria appreciates the importance of Egypt, its Arab role, and the sacrifices of its people in the joint Arab struggle." .. and that the cooperation of Syria and Egypt on the basis of nationalism has always been in the interest of Egypt, Syria and the Arab nation"(24).

It seems that the decision of the Amman summit regarding the freedom of countries to restore their relations with Egypt broke the consensus card that Syria was bargaining over in the League, and in light of the return of most Arab countries to their relations with Egypt, the Syrian government found that its boycott and opposition to Egypt's return to the League had become useless, so it took the Syrian position is gradually shifting from extremism to flexibility.



In the meantime, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia tried to conduct reconciliation between Egypt and Syria, and to prepare the atmosphere for Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to attend the summit scheduled to be held in Casablanca in May 1989 without embarrassing Syria or Egypt. That is why the Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdulaziz (35) visited Damascus on January 6, 1989 and met with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, who pledged not to object to the Egyptian president's attendance at the summit, while Saudi Arabia pledged to allocate sums of money to support Syria estimated at about \$800 million (36) .

On the other hand, Syria was afraid of the Iraqi regime, which, after the end of the Iran-Iraq war, devoted itself to settling its accounts with the Syrian regime because of its support for Iran during the war, Iraq tried to destabilize the Syrian influence in Lebanon by providing military support to Michel Aoun, and working to isolate Syria from the Arab world and encircle it through the establishment of the Arab Cooperation Council (37) on February 16, 1989 between Iraq, Egypt, Jordan and North Yemen, and using Egypt as a sea port to send Iraqi weapons (38) to Michel Aoun (39). At the same time, the members of the Arab Cooperation Council submitted a request to the Arab League to include the item of Egypt's return to the Arab League on the agenda of the Arab Summit to be held in Casablanca on May 24, 1989 (40).

In front of these circumstances, the Syrian government announced on May 13, 1989 that the Syrian president would not object to the participation of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in the emergency Arab summit to be held in Casablanca, and issued a statement stating that "Syria considers the presence of the Egyptian president in this summit as a natural and positive development, and that Syria realizes that its interests are the same as those of Egypt... and that the Egyptian president has an old personal friendship with President Hafez al-Assad" (41).

In light of that atmosphere, the Arab League extended an invitation to the Egyptian government to attend the preparatory meeting of Arab foreign ministers to the Arab summit, which was held in Casablanca, Morocco, on May 21, 1989, Egypt responded to that call, and its foreign minister, Ahmed Esmat Abdel-Majid (42), attended the meeting after an Egyptian absence that lasted more than 10 years, amid a welcome from the Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Al-Sharaa, who agreed that Egypt would restore its full membership in the Arab League(43) On the other hand, the Egyptian Foreign Minister refused an appeal of foreign minister of Iraq Tariq Aziz, when called Syria to withdraw its forces from Lebanon, , stressing that this issue is at the heart of the Lebanese-Syrian relations and that no one has the right to interfere in it. The Iraqi delegation was surprised by the Egyptian position, while it contributed to strengthening Syria's confidence in Egypt (44), and at the conclusion of the meeting, the Arab foreign ministers decided to resume Egypt's full membership in the League of Arab States and all its organizations, institutions and councils, and this decision was considered an official document of the summit (45).

The Arab summit was held at the level of kings and presidents in Casablanca, Morocco, for the period from May 23-26, 1989, in the presence of all Arab countries, including Egypt, with the exception of Lebanon, whose seat remained vacant due to the presence of two governments in it (46). Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak spoke at the opening session of the summit about the need



to create an atmosphere to enter into a comprehensive peace and to avoid wars and their dangers in light of the development of nuclear weapons, the Arab countries must keep up with the changes taking place in the world in light of the US-Soviet rapprochement, and the most important thing that the Egyptian president said was, "It is not Egypt that returns today to the Arabs, but the Arabs return to Egypt" (47). Then the summit turned into several mini-meetings. On May 24, 1989, a meeting was held between Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, under the auspices of Moroccan King Hassan II. ended with reconciliation between the two parties, and Libya's agreement on Egypt's return to the league (48). On May 25, a reconciliation meeting took place between the Syrian president Hafez al-Assad and the Egyptian President, and it was agreed upon to restore relations between the two countries in return for Egypt's lack of support for Iraq's efforts to remove the Syrian forces from Lebanon (49), and at the end of the meeting the Syrian President stated: "Our relationship with the Egyptian President is old, and we are colleagues in arms and friends, at the time, we were in one army and one country" (50), and at the conclusion of the summit, the Arab League decided to ratify the decision of the Arab foreign ministers, which includes Egypt's resumption of its full membership in the League of Arab States and all its organizations, institutions and councils.(51) After the Arab summit, the Syrian-Egyptian relations started heading towards normalization, the Syrian president announced on December 9, 1989 that severing relations between Egypt and Syria is not in the interest of the Arabs, but rather in the interest of (Israel), and it is necessary to restore relations between the two countries (52), and on December 12 the airspace between Cairo and Damascus was reopened, and on December 23, the Syrian Vice President Abdul Halim Khaddam visited Cairo, which is the first visit by a Syrian official to Egypt in 11 years, and he discussed with the Egyptian side about restoring relations between the two countries (53), and on December 27, Egyptian Prime Minister Atef Sidqi (54) visited Damascus and met with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, and the two agreed to issue a joint statement that included the restoration of full diplomatic relations between Egypt and Syria after 11 years of estrangement(55)

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the foregoing that the international and Arab circumstances formed pressure factors on Syria, prompting it to change its foreign policy to conform to those changes, foremost of which are the European economic sanctions against Syria, the US-Soviet rapprochement, the change of the Soviet policy towards Syria, the end of the Iran-Iraq war, and Iraq's attempts to punish Syria through Lebanon, and the establishment of the Arab Cooperation Council to isolate and encircle it. In the face of these circumstances, the Syrian government found that it was in its interest to allow Egypt to return to the Arab League and restore relations with it in order to achieve several goals, first to break the isolation that the Iraqi side is trying to impose on Syria, and to prevent it from destabilizing the Syrian presence in Lebanon. Secondly, strengthening relations with the Gulf countries, which were showing a great desire for Egypt to return to the league and restore relations between Egypt and Syria, and Syria's response to the Gulf desire means more economic aid and money for it at a time when it was suffering from economic sanctions imposed on it, Thirdly, in



light of the Soviet Union's retreat from supporting Syria militarily, perhaps this matter will push the Syrian government to back down from the policy of confrontation with (Israel) and to resort to the policy of negotiations through the Cairo Gate to be a mediator between the two parties.

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(1) Hassanein Tawfiq Ibrahim, Egypt's role in the Arab regional system after the 1987 Amman summit, Arab Future Magazine, Beirut, Issue 122, April 1989, p. 78.

(2) Jaafar al-Numeiri: Sudanese military and politician. He was born in Omdurman, Sudan, in 1930. He entered the Military Academy in 1950. In 1966, he cooperated with a group of progressive officers and allied with the Sudanese Communist Party. In May 1969, he managed to overthrow the regime in Sudan and set himself up as president. Republic until 1985, he died in 2009. See: Dr. P. And, the file of the Arab world, Sudan - biographies and translations, SN-1/1910.

(3) Tishreen Newspaper, Damascus, Issue 2315, September 10, 1982.

(4) The events of Tripoli in 1983: It is a military rebellion within the Palestine Liberation Organization in the Lebanese Bekaa region on May 12, 1983, in which the forces of the Fatah movement headed by Saeed Abu Musa, whose movement was called the Intifada, supported by Syria, against the leaders of Yasser Arafat,. Fatah al-Intifada were able at the beginning of June and after military battles expelling Arafat's loyalists from the Bekaa Valley to Tripoli in northern Lebanon, and there was nothing left for Yasser Arafat but to confront the rebellion and keep his last bases in Tripoli, so Yasser Arafat headed on September 16 to Tripoli and took over the leadership of the Palestinian forces in Lebanon and Syria considered it a challenge, so it intervened militarily on November 1, 1983, in cooperation with the Fatah Intifada movement, and attacked the Palestinian camps in which Arafat's forces were present, and imposed a siege on Tripoli, so the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia intervened to mediate with Syria on November 25, 1983, and managed to reach an agreement, a formula that guarantees the withdrawal of Yasser Arafat and his forces from Tripoli on board the Greek ships and the protection of the French battleships. Thus, Arafat and five thousand of his supporters left Tripoli on December 20, 1983 for Tunisia, Iraq and Algeria. For more, see: Theodore Hanf, Theodore Hanf, Lebanon coexistence in times of war from the collapse of the state to the resurgence of the nation, translated by: Maurice Saliba, Center for Arab-European Studies, Paris, 1993, p. 361; Robert G. Newman, Hafed al-Assad and the Future of the Middle East, translated by the Research and Information Center, Baghdad, 1984, p. 28; Abdul Raouf Sinno, The Lebanon War 1975-1990, The Disintegration of the State and the Fracture of Society, Part 1, The Arab House of Science Publishers, Beirut, 2008, p. 419.

(5) Yasser Arafat: A Palestinian politician, his full name is Mohammed Yasser Abdul Rahman, he was born in Cairo in 1929. He participated alongside the Egyptian army during the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956. He contributed greatly to the establishment of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah) in 1964. The position of leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1969, led negotiations with the (Israeli) side, and reached the Oslo agreement in 1993, through which Yasser Arafat was recognized as President of the State of Palestine during the period 1996-2004. He died in 2004 after being besieged by (Israel) for 3 years . For more details,



see: Aisha Farahati and Zoulikha Takha, *The Personality of Yasser Arafat and His Role in the Palestinian Cause 1929-2004*, an unpublished master's thesis, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Mohammed Bou Diaf University, Algeria, 2017.

(9) Hosni Mubarak: An Egyptian politician. He was born in the Menoufia Governorate in 1928. He obtained a bachelor's degree in military sciences in 1949. After that, he joined the army with the rank of lieutenant. In 1950 he was accepted into the College of Aviation and completed his studies there. In 1964 he joined postgraduate studies in Frunze Military Academy in the Soviet Union, became commander of the Air Force in 1972, participated in the 1973 war, assumed the position of Vice President of the Republic in 1975 after President Anwar Sadat chose him for that position, was elected in 1981 as President of the Republic after the assassination of President Anwar Sadat, stepped down after the outbreak of the revolution January 25, 2011 0 For more information, see: Anwar Muhammad Ismi , *Hosni Mubarak*, Dar A.M. for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 1998; Muhammad Hassanein Heikal, *Mubarak and his time, from the platform to the field*, Dar Al-Shorouk, Cairo, 2012, p. 296.

(7) Ibrahim Abbas and others, *The Great Victory and the Lebanese-Syrian-Palestinian Cohesion*, Part 2, Dar Al-Mashreq Al-Arabi, Beirut, 1984, Part 2, p. 351; George Schultz, *Memoirs: Turbulence and Victory*, Part 1, translated by Mohammed Mahmoud Dabour, Al-Ahlia for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 1994, p. 189.

(8) The Reagan Project: named after US President Ronald Reagan, who announced it on September 1, 1982, the project included the establishment of self-rule for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza in connection with Jordan, and the non-division of the city of Jerusalem and that its future be determined through negotiations, and a direct freeze For (Israeli) settlements in the occupied Arab lands, and conducting peace negotiations between (Israel) and the Arabs on the basis of land for peace. For more see: G. D. A, *Settlement of the Conflict in the East*, Conflict in the Middle East, Decisions, Projects, Initiatives, Tunisia, 1988, pp. 257-258.

(9) Abdul Salam Jalloud, *Memoirs of Abdul Salam Ahmad Jallud (The Epic)*, Arab Center for Research, Beirut, 2022, pp. 139-140; William Quandt, *The American Diplomatic Peace Process and the Arab-(Israeli) Conflict Since 1967*, translated by Hisham Dajani, Al-Obeikat Library, Riyadh, 2002, p. 470.

(10) Farouk Al-Sharaa: A Syrian politician, born in the Syrian governorate of Daraa in 1938, he obtained a BA in English from the college of Arts at the University of Damascus in 1962, after that he studied law at the University of London and graduated from it in 1972, he was appointed as the Syrian ambassador in Rome for the period from 1977 -1980, and held the position of Minister of State for Foreign Affairs for the period from 1980-1984, and then Minister of Foreign Affairs for the period from 1984-2006. For more, see: Suleiman Salim Al-Bawab, *Encyclopedia of Syrian scholars ...*, Part 3, p. 23.

(11) Jamal Salama Ali, *Israel and the Egyptian-Syrian Relations*, Dar Misr Al-Mahrousa, Cairo, 2002, p. 289.



- (12) Amin Mashabaqa, *Jordanian Foreign Policy and the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries*, Hamed Publishing House, Amman, 2002, p. 107.
- (13) The Syrian News Agency, SANA, *Egyptian-Jordanian Relations*, September 27, 1984, 26th, p. 11.
- (14) Directorate of Historical Documents, File No. 25/2244, *Casablanca Summit*, July 30, 1985, and 4, pp. 6-7.
- (15) Center for Arab Unity Studies, *Diaries and Documents of Arab Unity 1985*, Beirut, 1986, pp. 217-219.
- (16) Mustafa Saeed, *Mustafa Saeed, Emergency Casablanca Summit*, Youm7 Magazine, Paris, Issue No. 67, August 19, 1985, p. 9.
- (17) The case of Nizar Al-Hindawi: Nizar Nawaf Al-Hindawi, of Jordanian origin, tried to blow up one of the (Israeli) planes in London by placing a kilogram and a half of explosives in the suitcase of his girlfriend, Ann Murphy (Irish national), who was heading to (Israel) via Heathrow Airport in London. The operation failed due to the discovery of explosives by the British police on April 17, 1986, and the meeting took place with Al-Hindawi and his girlfriend. After interrogating Al-Hindawi, the British government accused the Syrian intelligence of orchestrating this operation through its support for Al-Hindawi, and provided more than one evidence for that, the most important of which is that Al-Hindawi traveled to Britain with a Syrian passport under a forged name, and he also contacted and met the Syrian ambassador more than once. For more, see: Hassan Safieh, *Al-Hindawi Case*, *Al-Ufuq Magazine*, Nicosia - Cyprus, Issue 124, November 6, 1986, pp. 18-19.
- (18) A group of authors, *Hafed al-Assad Encyclopedia*, *Syrian-Lebanese Relations*, Part 10, Damascus, 2011, p. 154; Masoud Al-Khawand, *The Historical Encyclopedia - Syria*, Part 10, Beirut, 1997, p. 130.
- (19) Hani Khalil, *Hafed Al-Assad, The Historical Condemnation of International Terrorism*, Dar Talas, Damascus, 1990, pg. 611.
- (20) Mikhail Gorbachev: He was born in the Stavropol Territory in southern Russia on March 2, 1931. He belonged to the Communist Party in 1952. He completed his undergraduate studies at the Faculty of Law of Moscow University and graduated from it in 1955. He became a member of the political bureau of the party in 1979. In 1985 he was appointed secretary. General of the party and leader of the Soviet Union, and he is the last president of the Soviet Union. During his reign, he sought to reform the party and the state's economy by introducing the concepts of openness, restructuring, and economic development. He had an important role in ending the cold war between the two poles of the world, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, during his reign, the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 , For more, see: Ammar Khaled Al-Rubaie, *Mikhail Gorbachev and his role in Soviet politics until 1991*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, College of Arts, Basrah University, 2010.
- (21) David W. Lesch, *The New Lion of Damascus, Bashar Al-Assad and Modern Syria*, translated by Hussam El-Din Khaddour, *Al-Farqad Publishing House*, Damascus, 2015, p. 109.
- (22) Hassan Abu Talib, *Egyptian Foreign Policy in the Arab Environment 1970-1987*, *Arab Future Magazine*, Beirut, Issue 122, April 1989, p. 65.
- (23) Henry Lawrence, *The Great Game, The Arab East and International Ambitions*, translated by: Abdul Hakim Al-Arbad, *Al-Jamahiriya House*, Benghazi, 2007, pg. 533.
- (24) Hafed al-Assad: His full name is Hafed bin Ali bin Salman. He was born in the village of Qardaha in Lattakia Governorate on October 6, 1930. He entered the Air Force College and



graduated from it as a pilot in 1954 with the rank of lieutenant. Ministry of Defense in 1966, and then became prime minister from 1970-1971 after carrying out a coup in 1970, after which he assumed the presidency of the republic from 1971-2000. He died on June 10, 2000. For more details, see: D.A.W, File of the Arab World, Syria Biographies and translations, Hafed Al-Assad, S-1/1901; A group of authors, The Life and Biography of Hafed Al-Assad, Part 1, Damascus, 2010.

(25) Firas Wasmi Al-Jumaili, United States Policy towards Syria 1981-1989, unpublished master's thesis, College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Tikrit, 2019, p. 158.

(26) Jamal Salama Ali, previous source, pp. 294-295.

(27) Hassan Abu Talib, Egyptian Foreign Policy, p. 66.

(28) Documentation and Information Center, Arab summit conferences, their decisions and statements 1946-1988, General Secretariat of the Arab League, Tunis, 1989, p. 186; Hassanein Tawfiq Ibrahim, previous source, p. 85.

(29) Waheed Abdul Majeed, The Emergency Arab Summit and the Arab Regional System, The Arab Future Magazine, Beirut, Issue 107, January 1988, p. 99.

(30) Mostafa Bakry, The New Project for Egypt's Return to the Arab League, Kol Al-Arab Magazine, Paris, No. 271, November 22, 1987, p. 26.

(31) Yousif Al-Khoury, Arab Unitary Projects 1913-1989, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 1988, pp. 720-721.

(32) G. D.A., Arab summit conferences, their decisions and statements 1946-1990, General Secretariat, Arab League Press, Tunis, 1996, p. 201.

(33) Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Egyptian Diplomacy in 1988, International Policy Journal, Cairo, Issue 95, January 1989, pp. 13-15.

(34) Quoted from: Lucien Peterlan, Wars and Peace in the Middle East, Hafed Al-Assad and the Three Challenges, Lebanon - Palestine - Gulf, translated by Mohammed Arab, Dar Talas, Damascus, 1997, p. 145.

(35) Abdullah bin Abdulaziz: He was born in the city of Riyadh in 1924. He occupied many government positions. He was appointed head of the Saudi National Guard in 1964, then a second deputy prime minister in 1975. From 1982-2005, with his appointment as First Deputy Prime Minister, and assuming the throne of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 2005 until the date of his death in 2015, his most important achievement is the expansion of the Grand Mosque in Mecca and the Prophet. For more, see: Raed Mohammed Abd Rabba, The Achievements of King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, Al-Janadriyah Publishing, Amman, 2015, pp. 7-12.

(36) Ahmed Shaheen, Efforts to Hold the Arab Summit, Palestinian Affairs Magazine, Beirut, Issue 191, February 1989, pp. 109-110

(37)The Arab Cooperation Council: It was established on February 16, 1989, according to an agreement signed in Baghdad between the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, the Jordanian King Hussein bin Talal, and the Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh. The agreement stipulated the achievement of coordination, cooperation and integration between countries Members in all security, defense and economic fields, striving to establish a common market among the member states, and for the Jordanian capital, Amman, to be the seat of the council, and for membership to remain open to those from other Arab countries who wish to join it, the Egyptian Helmy Al-Nimr was chosen as Secretary-General of the Arab Cooperation Council, but the Council did not last long and collapsed because of the Egyptian opposition to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. For more, see: Jawad Kazem inside Al-Bahadli, Arab Cooperation Council 1989-1991: a historical study, an unpublished master's thesis, College of Arts, Basrah University, 2019 , Mohammed Ali Hilla, Egypt and the League of Arab States, Experience and Destiny, National Books and Documents House, Cairo, 2010, pp. 174-177.

(38) Jamal Salama Ali, previous source, p. 293; A group of authors, Hafed Al-Assad Encyclopedia, History of Syria and Neighboring Countries 1988-1989, Part 21, Damascus, 2011, pp. 69-70.

(39) Michel Naoum Aoun: Lebanese military and politician, born in Haret Hreik in the southern suburb of Beirut in 1935, graduated from the Military School with the rank of lieutenant in 1958,



entered the military service, and held many positions, most notably the commander of the Ain El-Rummaneh-Baabda sector, and the chief of staff of the Beirut Forces Which supervised the (Israeli) withdrawal from the capital, Beirut, in 1982. He was appointed commander of the Lebanese army on June 23, 1984, after he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. He continued in his position until the end of 1989. For more, see: Ishraq Hassan Al-Rabeawi, Michel Aoun and his military and political role in Lebanon 1935-1991, unpublished master's thesis, College of Arts, University of Baghdad, 2022.

(40) Mohammed Ali Aboudi, *The League of Arab States and the Arab (Israeli) Conflict 1945-1991*, Dar Al-Hadi, Beirut, 2007, pg. 682.

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(42) Ahmed Esmat Abdul Majid: An Egyptian politician and diplomat, born in Alexandria in 1923, obtained a law degree from the University of Alexandria in 1944, and obtained a doctorate in international law from Saint-Marc College in France in 1951. He held many governmental and diplomatic positions, the most important of which delegate Minister at the Egyptian Embassy in Paris between 1963-1967, and in 1971 he became Minister of State during the reign of President Anwar Sadat, then Minister of Foreign Affairs 1984-1991 during the reign of President Hosni Mubarak, and assumed the position of Secretary General of the League of Arab States for the period from 1991-2001 . For more, see: Esmat Abdul Majid, *A Time of Breakdown and Victory, Memoirs of a Diplomat for Half a Century of Major Transformations*, 3rd Edition, Dar Al-Shorouk, Cairo, 1999; Suhail Hussein Al-Fatlawi, *The League of Arab States in Facing the Challenges of Globalization*, Part 2, Al-Hamid Publishing, Amman, 2011, p. 155.

(43) A .SH, the extraordinary Arab Summit in Casablanca, *Palestinian Affairs Magazine*, Beirut, Issue 195, June 1989, pp. 117-118.

(44) Esmat Abdul Majid, previous source, p. 218.

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(54) Atef Sidqi: An Egyptian politician, born in Tanta in 1930, obtained a law degree from Cairo University in 1951, then worked as a professor at the same university in 1959 after obtaining a Ph.D. in economic sciences from the University of Paris. He worked as a cultural advisor to his country in Paris 1973-1977, assumed the position of prime minister for the period from 1986-1996. For more, see: Hadeer Mohammad Qandil and Ibrahim Ali Abdel-Al, *Political Assassinations in Egypt 1981-1997*, *Scientific Journal of the Faculty of Arts, Tanta University - Egypt*, Issue 46, 2022, p. 15 - 16.

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