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September Campaign: Direct Causes and Facts

(1)

*The Facts on the Eve of the September Campaign
28 August to 16 September 1970*

1. During and after the exceptional session of the Palestinian National Council on 28 August 1970, it was clear everything was moving rapidly towards total confrontation between the Jordanian regime and the Palestinian resistance. From 28 August to 3 September, the regime attempted to deplete the Resistance in Amman and Zarqa through a series of clashes, which, once ceased, would resume again. On 4 September, a conference was held for some of the clan leaders in the south. The conference demanded the expulsion of the *fida'iyeen*. This led to a campaign that eventually terminated the Resistance's presence in the south.

The Resistance asked the Arab League Council to intervene. An emergency session of the Council was held on 5 September. The session concluded the next day, calling on all concerned parties in Jordan to stop any confrontation, regardless of style or justification. The Council decided to form a quartet of representatives from Egypt (the United Arab Republic), Libya, Sudan and Algeria to begin its mission in Amman. During this time, resumed in Amman, then spread to other areas including Zarqa, Ma'an and Karak.

2. Amidst this turbulent atmosphere, and on 6 September, the PFLP hijacked three airplanes (two American and one Swiss). Two of the airplanes (one Swiss and one American) were flown to airport in Jordan dubbed Revolution Airport. The third airplane (American) landed at Cairo Airport, where it was blown up after all the passengers had disembarked. This was in protest against the Egyptian government's policy of accepting the Rogers Plan. A hijacked British airplane joined the American and Swiss airplanes at Revolution Airport.

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During this time, the Jordanian regime continued to carry out its plan of depleting the resistance in Zarqa and Amman, and tightening its grip on the south. On 7 September, the regime shelled al-Wihdat in Amman, as well as Martyr Hassan Salamah Camp in southern Amman.

3. On 8 September, the regime moved its activities to the northern region, adopting a policy of attack as the balance of power in this area tilted in favour of the Resistance. At dawn a tank regiment from the 40th armoured brigade shelled heavily the *fida'iyeen* positions around Irbid (Kufr Assad and al-Khraj areas). Other forces advanced on the Ajloun road and shelled the *fida'iyeen* positions there all day. At noon, the *fida'iyeen* bases near al-Taybeh, al-Samma, Wadi al-Arab, and Der Abu Said were attacked. The attacking forces closed the Irbid-Aydun, Irbid-Kufr Assad and Irbid-al-Husun roads, as well as the roads leading to the occupied territories in the Jordan Valley. They also shelled the *fida'iyeen's* outposts. Through the attack in the north, the regime aimed to disperse the *fida'iyeen* there, or force them to seek refuge in the cities. They wanted to strip the *fida'iyeen* of any ability to strike behind the lines of the Jordanian forces when the total confrontation, which the regime was planning, began.

On 8 September a ceasefire was agreed, for the second time in one week, between the regime and the resistance. The incidents in the north, which continued at the same intensity after the ceasefire agreement was signed and announced, nullified the agreement.

4. The clashes continued throughout 9 September, with Amman witnessing the bitterest fighting. In the morning, the Jordanian Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Mashhur Haditha submitted his resignation to the cabinet. He resigned because he had lost control of his forces. He was convinced to withdraw his resignation. The Palace gave him full authority to control the army. After Lieutenant General Haditha ordered the Jordanian forces to , the PLO's Central Committee issued a statement announcing a ceasefire. On 10 September, urgent and continuous meetings were held between the Jordanian government and the Central Committee. At these meetings, a ceasefire agreement normalising relations was reached.
5. On the airplane-hijacking front, the Central Committee decided on 12 September to freeze the PFLP's membership in the Central Committee.

This decision came as a result of the PFLP's violation of a 6 May 1970 statement, which established that Central Committee decisions are binding for all its members. The blowing up of the three airplanes, and the PFLP's detention of 40 passengers, had surprised the Central Committee. The regime tried to exploit the disagreement between the Central Committee and the PFLP leadership. Abdel Monem al-Rifai, the Jordanian Prime Minister, expressed the Jordanian government's regret for, and condemnation of, the airplane incidents. He added, "What is regrettable is that the PFLP committed this act in violation of the Central Committee's decision".

On the eve of 13 September and during a meeting with representatives of the Central Committee, the King lambasted the factions for being internally divided and incapable of taking a unified position or controlling their fighters. All the evidence, however, indicated that the regime was still bent on striking the revolution. The regime's fighters acted unchecked. During this time, the Arab Quintet, which had arrived in Jordan earlier, was attempting to settle the dispute between the resistance and the regime. The head of the Quintet, Taher Shebli, announced on 13 September that the Quintet's opinions and proposals were consistent with 10 July agreement between the Jordanian regime and the Central Committee, as well as the Arab League Council decision taken during its emergency session on 6 September.

Representatives of the Jordanian government and the resistance organisations met on the evening of 14 September to discuss reducing tension and implementing the 10 July agreement. The two sides discussed the latest clashes, especially the clashes that took place on the morning of 14 September in northern Jordan.

6. Violent fighting started again on 15 September in Zarqa. The situation in Irbid wasn't much better. During this time the joint committee was holding its second meeting, attended by representative of the Jordanian government, the Central Committee and the Arab Quintet. At this meeting, it was agreed that the causes of tension would be removed from Amman and the surrounding areas, as was explained in the statement, which was comprised of 13 articles. The statement was broadcasted on Radio Amman on Tuesday evening, 15 September. One of the articles in the statement read, "Withdrawing all the military forces that occupied positions recently; withdrawing all military outposts from the areas surrounding Amman; withdrawing the *fida'iyeen* from positions they recently occupied on the city streets;

armed forces personnel and general security to stop harassing the *fidai'iyen* anywhere; closing the *fidai'iyen*'s military bases in the city; and forming a joint committee from the government and the Central Committee.”

7. On Wednesday morning, 16 September, the resignation of the Prime Minister Abdel Monem al-Rifai's government and the formation of a new military government was announced.² The reasons for the resignation of al-Rifai's government, which was formed in June, were not announced. His government was formed following an agreement between the regime and the resistance that organised the implementation of the 10 June agreement. Immediately after the formation of the military government headed by Mohammed al-Daoud, Field Marshal Habis al-Majali was appointed General Commander of the armed forces. This position had been vacant since General Sharif Nasser Ben Jamil was removed at the request of the resistance, after the crisis of 9 June. General Zaid ben Shakir was appointed Chief of Staff following the resignation of Lieutenant General Mashhour Haditha. After that, martial law was declared in the country. The new General Commander the army, Field Marshal Habis al-Majali, was appointed general military governor. Al-Majali then appointed military governors to all Jordan's governorates and districts.

Faced with these developments, the PLO's Central Committee quickly convened a meeting on Wednesday morning, 16 September. At the meeting, the Central Committee appointed Yasser Arafat General Commander of all the forces of the resistance. The *fidai'iyen* military committee was considered general staff of the revolution's forces (Palestine Liberation Army, the *fidai'iyen* and the militias). The Central Committee also decided to freeze the PFLP's membership.

² The military government was formed as follows: 1-Chief Mahmoud al-Daoud: Prime minister, Foreign minister and Justice Minister; 2-Chief Mazen al-Ajlouni: Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of State Affairs for the Prime Ministry; 3-General Moutlaq Eid: Defense Minister; 4-Chief Saleh al-Sharaa': Interior Minister and Awqaf Minister; 5-Chief Ibrahim Ayoub: Transportation Minister; 6-Chief Fahd Jaradat: Minister of Finance; 7-Chief Awad al-Khalidi: Minister of Economy and Agriculture; 8-General Yaqoub Abu Ghoush: Health, Social Affairs, and Construction Minister; 9-Lieutenant Colonel Abdullah Sayel: Minister of Public Works; 10-Major Mefleh al-Odehallah Interior and Municipality and Village affairs Minister; 11-Major Ibrahim al-Sayel: Minister of Education. 12-Major: Adnan Abu Odeh: Information Minister.

Despite the tense atmosphere throughout the night of 16 September, there were no clashes between the two sides. During the night, the resistance leadership in Zarqa received definite reports that the regime would attack the city in the early morning. The leadership in Zarqa called the general leadership of the resistance, requesting permission to attack. The general leadership response was, “control yourselves and stay alert”.

(2)

September Campaign

The Ten days (17 to the 26 September)

1. In the early morning on 17 September, all-out fighting started. During the first day of fighting it became clear that the regime’s military plan depended on directing a swift blow to the resistance especially in Amman and Zarqa. This came after it had secured full control in the south as a result of the superiority of its forces and the big size of the clans loyal to the regime in the area. In the north it seemed that the regime decided to distract the resistance forces there to prevent them from reinforcing the main areas of fighting until the regime has gained control of Amman and Zarqa. After that the regime would be able to concentrate its forces to defeat the resistance in the north.

The regime’s forces took the initiative and attacked under the cover of heavy fire. They used the stretched first style of attacking. This style depends on avoiding frontal fighting and penetrating the enemy’s defenses with force using armoured vehicles. These vehicles can penetrate deep behind enemy defenses causing confusion as well as attempting to flank the enemy.

In contrast, the resistance’s forces adopted positional defense. On the political level the resistance took an administrative step on the evening of 17 September with the central committee announcing that the northern area between al-Baqa’a and the Syrian borders (al-Baqa’a – Jerash, Ajloun – al-Ramtha – Irbid) are liberated areas. This step remained nominal and wasn’t followed with any complementary or supportive steps. It was never implemented.

2. On the second day, 18 September, fighting continued in all areas and the resistance repelled the attacks of the regimes’ forces. The situation remained the same on the third day, 19 September, but a number of Jordanian army officers defected to the resistance. They included

General Sa'ad Sayel and Major Ibrahim Da'aas. This didn't conceal the resistance's inability to attract the army, or significant parts of it, to join the fight on its side. The fighting took a serious turn when the PLA's (Hatting Forces) tanks joined the battle after crossing the borders from Syria to al-Ramtha. On the fourth day, 20 September, fierce fighting continued in all areas including Irbid where the battles between the Jordanian army and the PLA resulted in the withdrawal of the Jordanian army. The Jordanian army withdrew along the Kufr Assad road. On the fifth day, 21 September, the battles continued as well as efforts to agree a ceasefire and to hold an Arab summit conference.

3. On the sixth day, 22 September, while the battles continued, eight heads of Arab states (including Egypt, Syria, Sudan, Libya, South Yemen and Kuwait) held a series of meeting to discuss the situation in Jordan and to attempt to stop the fighting. On the 7th day, 23 September, all calls to ceasefire were futile. The Jordanian regime was determined on proceeding with its plan. The battles raged everywhere. During the night the Central Committee met in Jabal al-Ashrafiya to discuss the military situation. On the eighth day, 24 September, the resistance forces were still controlling wide areas of Amman and various other areas in the country. On the political level Mohammad al-Daoud, head of the military government, resigned in Cairo stating, "The military government formed under my leadership was blamed for what it didn't do. The government didn't have a say in how the situation was directed".
4. On the ninth day, 25 September, the Jordanian forces continued its attack on the resistance forces despite all the efforts to reach a ceasefire. The Jordanian government formally informed the General Secretariat of the Arab League that the League's council didn't need to hold an emergency meeting to discuss the Jordanian complaint accusing Syria of sending forces into Jordan.

On the tenth day, 26 September, it was clear without any doubt that the government was determined to continue its attack. Despite the repeated ceasefire announcements the regime's forces continued their military operations. The Arab heads of states meeting in Cairo after the return of the Arab delegation from Amman and listening to its report were convinced that the Jordanian regime was determined on proceeding with its plan to liquidate the resistance and that it wasn't committed to the ceasefire agreement signed in the presence of the Arab delegation. The presidents decided to announce the report that

the delegation prepared to the public as a way of pressuring the Jordanian government to stop the fighting.

President Gaafar Nimeiry held a press conference on 26 September where he read the text of the report. In Amman the King announced the formation of a new government headed by Ahmad Touqan to succeed al-Daoud's government.

(3)

Cairo Agreement (27 September 1970)

On 27 September Arab kings and presidents held a closed meeting with King Hussein and President Arafat attending. The meeting was concluded with an agreement to the end the crisis in Jordan. Nevertheless the clashes continued in Amman and Irbid.

On 28 September al-Bahi al-Adgham, head of the Arab follow-up committee, flew to Amman to start his mission. The clashes didn't stop until the Arab committee tightened its observation of the ceasefire. At the time the resistance was still in control of wide areas in Amman. Those areas were: Jabal al-Ashrafiya, Jabal al-Jofa, Jabal al-Taj, Jabal al-Nasr, a big part of Jabal al-Hashmi al-Shamali, Jabal al-Hamalan, al-Masarwa neighbourhood in Jabal Amman, a part of Loueibda, and the city center. It was also in control in most areas in the central and northern sectors including Jerash, Ajloun, Irbid and al-Ramtha.

After the clashes had ceased the efforts focused on the negotiations between the regime and resistance to arrange the evacuation of the army forces and the resistance forces from the cities. The evacuation was conducted. A comprehensive agreement on managing coexistence between the resistance and the regime was reached on 22 October 1970. The agreement became known as the Amman Protocol.

In the next stages the regime followed a plan based on: disarming the resistance's militia's in the cities and the camps through political pressure and military threat; isolating the resistance forces in certain areas away from the masses; and preparing these areas to finish the resistance away from the masses.

Towards Eliminating the Public Presence of the Resistance in Jordan
(27 September 1970 – 13 July 1971)

1. After signing the Cairo Agreement on 27 September 1970 a state of extreme tension continued in Jordan including acts of violence and armed clashes. The Arab committee drowned in the details of this state. It found itself forced to revise the principles of the Cairo and Amman agreements with the regime and the resistance. An agreement was reached on 14 December 1970. This agreement didn't provide a framework for a solution because of the following reason. The Cairo agreement guaranteed the *fidai* presence in Jordan and the freedom of movement for the fighters all over Jordan. On the other hand it also stated the Jordanian government had the right to oversee internal security. What took place in reality didn't reflect these articles as much as it reflected the balance of power. The Jordanian regime acted to prevent any *fidai* presence in the areas and cities that fell under its control during the September battles.

This state of continuous tension and the intermittent clashes gave the Arab committee the impression of the necessity of working towards laying the foundations to implement the Cairo and Amman agreements without drowning in the details of every incident. This way of thinking led to the signing on a new agreement on 13 January 1971. The most important points in the agreement were:

- a) Collecting the arms of the militias and allocating certain locations for storing the arms; those locations would enjoy total impunity.
- b) Collecting the arms of the Army's popular resistance militia's in the same way.
- c) Removing the military character of all the security precincts.
- d) Withdrawing the security brigade from Amman (this was a brigade used as a military force under police disguise)
- e) Removing the checkpoints from inside the capital.

These measures didn't end the clashes but it gave a real picture of the relations between the regime and the resistance. It also gives a picture of the reality of the Arab Committee's situation and its method in

³ See *Shu'un Filastiniya*, published monthly by the Palestinian Research Centre (Beirut). The following volumes were consulted for the 4 paragraphs in this chapter: Vol. 1 March 1971, pp. 155-157; Vol. 2 May 1971, pp. 142-143; Vol. 3 July 1971, pp. 143-147; Vol. 4 Spetember 1971, pp. 167-171.

trying to achieve reconciliation between the regime and the resistance after September Battles.

One important issue we need to pause on is withdrawing the militia's arms and storing them in places that enjoy impunity. This issue caused a lot of discord within the resistance movement. Keeping the weapons in the hands of the militiamen was understood by the masses as a symbol of resistance's survival and its ability to protect itself. As a result of the sensitivity of the decision the General Secretariat of the PLO's Central Committee met with the militia's leadership to explain the step. The General Secretariat's mission wasn't an easy one. It kept repeating that the militia wasn't disarmed and that the arms were only being stored at certain locations and redistributing the weapons would be very easy when needed.

2. The series of events in the few months following September confirmed the regime's intention of eliminating the *fida'i* presence in Jordan. In September the regime tried to achieve this through one wide and fierce battle. After September it tried achieve it through small and far between battles⁴. This was their daily policy. Prime Minister Wasfi al-Tal clearly expressed this policy in an interview with the BBC on 26 January 1971 declaring that he won't allow the *fida'iyeen* to conduct operations against Israel except from within the occupied territories.

The Jordanian political position, which revealed the true aims of the September Campaign, reflected on the situation of the Arab follow-up committee. At the end of January 1971 talk that the follow up committee was prevented from doing it mission increased and as result its intention of stopping its mission. This impression prevailed after al-Tayeb al-Sahbani, the Tunisian ambassador in Jordan, declared on 31 January 1971 that the follow up committee "finished discussing all the points on the agenda." This declaration gave observers the impression that the committee was about to conclude its mission. On 15 February it was announced that Brigadier General Ahmad Helmi, head of the observation team, would leave Amman to Tunis to submit a report to al-Bahi al-Adgham.

⁴ The most prominent battles are: Battle of Jerash on 6 December 1970; Salt Battle on 25 December 1970; al-Rusaifa Battle on 18 January 1971; Hamalan Battle on 11 February 1971; and Irbid Battle on the 26 March 1971.

This was an unofficial declaration that he was abandoning a mission he couldn't fulfill as a result of Jordanian authorities' obstacles.⁵

3. As part of conducting small, swift and far between campaigns tactic, in order to avoid mass and official backlash, the regime attacked the *fidai'i* presence in Irbid on 26 March 1971. This campaign was very repressive. In contrast the resistance adopted a policy of attacking vital military and economic facilities. The execution of this new policy started on 29 March while the invasion of Irbid was still ongoing.

On 5 April 1971, the resistance's Central Committee issued a statement declaring its decision to withdraw the *fidai'iyen* from Amman. The withdrawal from Amman continued daily and finished on 13 April. The withdrawal was accompanied by situations that had significant meanings:

- i. The Arab Committee and its military committee were practically frozen since Wasfi al-Tal refused to allow the committee's military delegation from traveling to Irbid on 28 March to investigate the events there.
- ii. On 6 April Wasfi al-Tal declared to the French newspaper Le Monde that he can liquidate the resistance in hours and demanded that the Palestinians "adopt to the new situation in relation to Israel and face the political solutions bravely rather than holding to principles."
- iii. On 8 April he declared that after the withdrawal was completed the regime would conduct a search operation for weapons and fighters under the supervision of the Liaison Office. The Liaison Office was comprised of representative of the regime, the resistance and the Arab Committee.

⁵ On 18 February Brigadier General Ahmad Helmi declared that there is chance for confrontation between the resistance and the regime because the signed agreements to resolve the crisis were not fully implemented. He pointed out the following problems:

- i. The precincts that the regime was establishing in the neighborhoods; those precincts exist before September.
- ii. The regime's refusal to accept the credentials for the Central Committee as was stated in Amman Protocol.
- iii. The Jordanian Regime's refusal to release the rest of the prisoners detained since September battles.
- iv. The regime's refusal to hand over the resistance's heavy weapons it captured during the September battles.
- v. The regime's refusal to hand over important areas, such as Um al-Rumana, as was agreed.

This sudden switch from the decision of attacking vital facilities to withdrawing from Amman and accepting the search operation, in the light of the continuous clashes especially in northern Jordan, reflected a contradiction in the positions of the resistance's leadership. The first position thought that a battle to defend the resistance against the regime's policy of gradual military nibbling and refusal to offer any compromises from the current situation are necessary to guarantee the resistance's freedom. The second position thought that if the *fida'iyeen* moved to the Jordan Valley the confrontation between the resistance and regime could be stopped and at the same time the front against the enemy could be maintained.

The regime concluded the search operations on 3 May. On 30 May the clashes erupted in Ajloun and Jerash where the *fida'iyeen* had public presence. The regime had opened the last chapter of liquidation the public presence of the resistance in Jordan.

4. In early June 1971 the resistance positions in Jerash were shelled by the regime's forces which had reinforced its checkpoints on the road leading to the Jordan valley. On the 4th of June the regime attacked the *fida'iyeen* bases in the Salt area. On the same day the resistance retaliated by sabotaging the oil pipelines near Mafraq.

A period of relative calm prevailed until 19 June. The resistance started feeling that the Jordanian regime was intending to revoke the Cairo Agreement and the Amman Protocol. As a result the resistance handed the Arab ambassadors in Amman a detailed memorandum outlining the history of the relationship between the regime and the resistance. In the memorandum the resistance accused the regime of violating the Cairo Agreement and tightening the siege against the *fida'iyeen* bases. On 28 June, Yasser Arafat declared that the resistance's sole demand was Jordanian commitment to the Cairo Agreement. On 29 June the resistance announced that regime reinforced its forces in the north and warned that those forces were preparing for wide operations.

These operations started on 5 July with the shelling of the *fida'i* positions and Gaza Camp in preparation of the all-out attack that started on 13 July. This was the same date the ninth session of Palestinian National Council was concluded. The attack lasted for four days during which the Jordanian forces gained control of Gaza camp and the strategic Jabal al-Aqra' which overlooked the most important *fida'iyeen* military positions. A sweeping operation was launched

afterwards. During these battles Abu Ali Iyad, member of Fateh's Central Committee, was Martyred and Salah Rafat, member of the DFLP's political bureau, was captured. On 19 July Wasfi al-Tal declared, "There are no *fa'i* bases in Jordan. This means politically and practically that the Cairo Amman Agreements are void and that the resistance's public activity has ended".

*Arab Mediation Efforts*⁶

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Jeddah, First Conference (15-25 September 1971)

1. The Egyptian-Saudi mediation started before the battle of Jerash Forests (June-July 1971) following a meeting between King Faisal and President Sadat on 21 June. During the battle it seemed that the meditation efforts died in their cradle. The peaceful results of the Arab Summit in Tripoli-of-the-West on 29 July 1971 where the attendees agreed to implement Cairo and Amman Agreements created the conditions for re-launching the mediation efforts. The results of the Summit can be summed up in the paper that was drafted with King Faisal and President Sadat's approval:

"Jordan to announce its commitment to the implementation of Cairo and Amman Agreements. The two agreements guarantee Jordan its sovereignty and freedom and dignity for the *fida'i* activity especially stopping media campaigns and finding effective guarantees for implementing the two agreements mentioned above as well as allowing the political and military committees' return. In order to create good atmosphere and build trust between the two sides the Jordanian government will release the prisoners and launch national reconciliation and the resistance will dissolve the secret organisations and anything that can affect security and stability."

2. The basis of the Jordanian position is the rejection of any presence for the resistance in Jordan. At the same time Jordan can't turn its back on the Arab mediation that's why it declared it was accepting the paper mentioned above. Jordan's understanding of the paper in practice revoked the practical content of Cairo and Amman Agreements. Wasfi

⁶ See *Shu'un Filastinia*, published by the Palestinian Research Centre (Beirut). Vol. 25, November 1971: (pp. 194-198); Vol. 26, January (pp. 193-196).

al-Tal expressed this clearly after meeting with the Arab mediation delegation. He said, "We have discussed preparing a draft for a new agreement based on the Cairo Agreement".

The Palestinian Position was divided into two differing positions. The first position (Fateh, al-Sa'iqa and the PLA) supported the mediation efforts since negotiations with Jordan, with Saudi Arabia and Egypt's participation, will be based on accepting Cairo and Amman agreements. The second position (DFLP and PFLP) rejected taking part in the negotiations. The DFLP didn't reject the principle of Arab mediation but found the conditions for its progress are missing and that it was prone to failure. The Arab mediation only raised unrealistic expectations. It benefitted the regime in Amman by reducing the internal and Arab pressure that started after the September 1970 and the July 1971 incidents.

3. Jeddah negotiations started on 15 September and continued for 10 days. The Arab mediation delegation met with the Jordanian delegation five times and four times with the Palestinian delegation. After that King Faisal met with each delegation separately before it was possible to hold two joint meetings.

All these meetings ended in failure as a result of the Jordanian position that considered the situation on the ground is open for discussion but that Cairo and Amman Agreements are void.

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Jeddah Second Conference (8-26 November 1971)

1. The previous round of the Jeddah negotiations (15-25 September 1971) failed when Jordan insisted on rejecting the Amman Agreement, which was based on the Cairo Agreement, and called for revising its articles. This meant drafting a new agreement. The Palestinian delegation insisted on commitment to the Amman agreement and the Saudi-Egyptian Paper, which was based on Cairo Agreement, and refused to discuss a new agreement. It proposed discussing implementation only.
2. On 8 November the first joint mediation meeting was held. The second meeting was held in the evening of the same day. The Jordanian delegation submitted a memo of all the articles that it wanted to amend in the Amman Agreement. The Palestinian delegation rejected the memo categorically and considered it torpedoing the Amman

Agreement rather than amending it. A third meeting was held and the Palestinian delegation announced accepting the principles proposed by the mediation delegation. The Jordanian agreement included hold two additional meeting on 12 November.

The negotiations were postponed to 13 November because of the Arab foreign ministers conference. They were postponed again because of Eid to 22 November. The mediation delegation took a decisive position setting the 26 November as the deadline for the positive or negative conclusion of the negotiations. The Arab Defense Council was going to be held on 27 November and no one would have time for anything else.

On 23 November revising the Amman Agreement one article at a time started. The discussion stalled for a long time at the third article. The third article stated "presence, mobilisation, popular and combat organisation, political and military freedom are essential for the Palestinian Revolution and enjoys the freedom to practice them." The Jordanian delegation demanded the cancelation of this article. The Palestinian delegation insisted keeping the article as it is. As a result the negotiations almost failed. Rashad Faroun, the King's advisor, intervened on 24 November. He proposed amends to the third article of the Amman Agreement. Until the evening of 25 November the Jordanian delegation hadn't responded to his proposal. This was considered a rejection of his proposal. On 26 November Sabri al-Khuli (Egypt) left Jeddah and the Jeddah negotiations ended in failure.