

**THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF  
JORDAN: THE ROLE OF THE LEADERSHIP IN THE CASES OF  
THE 1991 GULF WAR AND THE 2003 IRAQ WAR**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JORDAN: THE ROLE OF THE LEADERSHIP IN THE CASES OF THE 1991 GULF WAR AND THE 2003 IRAQ WAR**

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This study aims to analyze the differences between the Jordanian foreign policy response to the two US-led wars against Iraq: the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 War on Iraq. The two monarchs of Jordan during this time, Hussein and Abdullah II, held very different foreign policy positions in the two wars, and the main subject of this dissertation is to question why. It is striking to compare how King Hussein aligned himself with Iraq against the US-led international coalition in 1991, whereas in 2003, King Abdullah decided to align with the US.

Both monarchs of Jordan have had to consider domestic dynamics when responding to external influences. This, in turn, has led to changes in foreign policy choices which affected the outcomes of the two wars. Within the framework of this study, I have aimed to analyze the importance the change in foreign priorities between the two monarchs in the two wars through using a neoclassical realist approach. The purpose of this work is to contribute further to the existing literature on foreign policy change, with a reasonable explanation for the shifting foreign policy of the two

monarchs of Jordan, benefiting from the multi-dimensional neoclassical realist approach.

Drawing on the neoclassical realist viewpoint, this thesis argues that the different foreign policy choices of the two monarchs cannot be entirely understood through a sole focus on external structural variables. Moreover, it defends the neoclassical realist perspective that the foreign policy decisions of Jordan can be explained through an examination of domestic concerns and the role of the monarch as the chief foreign policy maker in filtering those concerns while responding to external pressures, which were imposed mainly by the US throughout these two wars.

Keywords: Foreign Policy Change, Neoclassical Realism, Gulf War 1991, 2003 Iraq War, the role of the leadership.

# ÖZ

## ÜRDÜN'ÜN DIŞ POLİTİKASINDAKİ DEĞİŞİM SÜRECİ: 1991 KÖRFEZ SAVAŞI VE 2003 IRAK SAVAŞINDA LİDERLİĞİN ROLÜ

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Bu çalışma, 1991 Körfez Savaşı ve 2003 Irak Savaşı sırasında Ürdün'ün dış politikalarındaki değişimi analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ürdün'ün iki kralı Kral Hüseyin ve Kral 2. Abdullah bu iki savaşta oldukça farklı politikalar benimsemişlerdir. Bu tezin amacı bu farklılığı analiz etmektir. Kral Hüseyin 1991'de Bağdat'a karşı ABD önderliğinde kurulan koalisyonda yer almayıp Irak'ın yanında yer alırken, 2003'teki savaşta Kral Abdullah Amerika'nın yanında yer almış.

Her iki kral da dış etkilere cevap verirken iç dinamikleri de düşünmüşlerdir. Bu durum, yaşanan bu iki savaşta yapılan dış politika seçimlerinin ve sonuçların değişmesine neden olmuştur.

Bu çalışmada, iç politikaların önemi ve Irak'a karşı yürütülen iki savaşta Ürdün'ün dış politikasında görülen değişim sürecinde liderliğin rolü analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Çalışma, Neoklasik Realizm yaklaşımından hareketle iki savaşta iki kralın dış politika seçimlerindeki değişimi incelemektedir. Burada amaç, Neoklasik Realizmin çok yönlü yaklaşımından faydalanarak ve Ürdün'ün iki kralının değişen dış

politikaları için mantıklı bir açıklama sağlayarak dış politika deęişimi konusunda mevcut literatüre katkı sağlamaktır.

Bu tez, Neoklasik Realist bakış açısından yararlanarak, iki savaşta iki Ürdün kralının dış politika seçimlerindeki deęişimin sadece yapısal dış deęişkenlere odaklanarak tam olarak anlaşılamayacağını savunmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel aldığı kuramsal yaklaşıma göre, Ürdün'ün dış politikası, iç endişeler araştırılarak açıklanabilir. Ayrıca, dış politikayı açıklayabilmek için iki savaşta Amerika'nın empoze ettiği dış baskılara cevap vererek ve iç endişeleri filtreleyerek dış politikayı belirleyen kralların rolü de araştırılmalıdır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Dış Politikada Deęişim Neoklasik Realizm, 1991 Körfez Savaşı, 2003 Irak Savaşı, liderliğin rolü.

**In loving memory of**  
**My late mother Hajer Al Kayed**  
**and**  
**My late Father Akram Al Kayed**



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All the ideas and views mentioned and expressed in this thesis are purely academic and do not reflect or represent any official opinion, position or institution.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>ACC</b>	<b>Arab Cooperation Council</b>
<b>EU</b>	<b>European Union</b>
<b>FPC</b>	<b>Foreign Policy Change</b>
<b>GDP</b>	<b>Gross Domestic Product</b>
<b>GCC</b>	<b>Gulf Cooperation Council</b>
<b>IMF</b>	<b>International Monetary Fund</b>
<b>NATO</b>	<b>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</b>
<b>OPEC</b>	<b>Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries</b>
<b>PLO</b>	<b>Palestinian Liberation Organization</b>
<b>RSS</b>	<b>Regime Survival Strategy</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>US</b>	<b>United States of America</b>
<b>WB</b>	<b>World Bank</b>
<b>WMD</b>	<b>Weapons of Mass Destruction</b>
<b>WTO</b>	<b>World Trade Organization</b>



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The post-Cold War world has witnessed significant shifts and changes, and these developments have deeply affected individual countries, their sovereignty and foreign policies.<sup>1</sup> In pursuing security, survival and national goals and interests, states and international actors seek either to balance or bandwagon with stronger states through finding new policies and strategies to deal with new international influences and transformations. The transition from a bipolar to a unipolar order led by the United States and its Western allies has shaped the post-Cold War age. This shift has resulted in major changes in the global balance of power, followed by a change in the foreign policy behaviors of today's Great Powers.<sup>2</sup>

In this context, the United States launched a foreign policy based on American hegemony and imposing its rules for a new world order. The United States followed

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1 See Chris Brown, *Understanding International Relations*, (Palgrave: Hampshire, England, 2001). However, many studies have demonstrated that the principle of globalism has prevailed over the principle of sovereignty, hence paving the way for the principle of intervention under many pretexts such as human rights, protection of minorities, democracy and freedom.

2 Michael Sullivan, *International Relations: Theories and Evidence*, (Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1976). In parallel, new major challenges emerged in the aftermath of the Cold War due to the emergence of new actors and new issues on the agenda of global politics, such as the emergence of many non-state actors, the rise of the cultural dimension and cultural affiliations of the individual in international relations, as well as the emergence of minority issues, and those of terrorism and terrorist organizations. The identity issue has shaped the new formula for the global agenda. See: Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Addison-Wesley Publishing Company: Reading, Massachusetts, 1979).

new foreign policies designed to ensure its hegemony and to sustain the unipolar nature of the international structure, in order to secure its interests. Whereas small countries were instead seeking to maintain their security and follow their interests within the framework of those significant changes.<sup>3</sup> Jordan, as a small country, was deeply affected by these profound changes in the international order, which impose on these small countries a massive amount of influence and pressure, leaving no choice but to bandwagon with the supremacy of the United States and its hegemony.

This American hegemony was fundamentally demonstrated in the two US-led wars on Iraq, which shattered the Middle East power system and redefined the balance of power in the region; the 1991 Gulf War marked a watershed period in the history of the Middle East, while the 2003 Iraq War created a profound structural change which reshaped the region. The US invasion of Iraq and the occupation since then has had far more dramatic consequences than the Gulf War did. It eliminated Iraq as a strong state and created a regional power vacuum, completely altering the power balances in the region.

Jordan was deeply affected by those wars. In fact, those wars had huge implications for Jordan and its foreign policies. Yet, Jordan behaved quite differently in responding to the two US-led Iraq wars. The two monarchs responded in very different ways. It was striking to see Jordan siding and aligning with Iraq against the US-led international coalition in 1991, while in the Iraq War in 2003, Jordan aligned with the US and joined the war effort against Iraq. Though Jordan experienced quite similar external pressures, it behaved quite differently. In 1991 King Hussein sided with Iraq and tried to balance against the US, while in 2003 King Abdullah bandwagoned with the US against Iraq. That change in Jordan's foreign policy

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<sup>3</sup> Barry Buzan said that there were now economic, social and cultural existential threats to states' security alongside the traditional military threats. See Barry Buzan, "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security", Cambridge *Studies in International Relations*, (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 6-13.

behavior makes it possible to establish a distinction between the foreign policy behaviors of the two monarchs toward the two US wars against Iraq.

External structural pressures are primary considerations in the realist perspective on foreign policy. Robert Gilpin claims that throughout international history, major shifts and changes in world politics have been brought about by states in the name of strengthening their interests, whether those interests have been related to security, ideological objectives or economic gains. He also stresses that power distribution has been the main factor behind these changes, and that major powers are able to determine the conditions of war and peace in world politics.<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Waltz has said that this rapid change is of paramount importance and needs to be recognized by states to help maintain their stability and survival.<sup>5</sup> Neoclassical realists, such as Gideon Rose, argue that while the international order does impose influences and pressures on states—and more on small states—foreign policy orientations and behaviors can only be explained through taking into account internal influences or “unit-level variables”.<sup>6</sup> Rose highlights the centrality of domestic restraints and individual agency on the foreign policy orientations and choices made by leaders. In other words, international influences must be interpreted as reflected through domestic or unit-specific dynamics. Drawing on the neoclassical realist perspective, it is possible to explain the differences in Jordanian foreign policy during the two wars against Iraq in the context of internal influences and the role of the leadership.

Neoclassical realism is an approach that attempts to link external and internal variables. On the basis of the neoclassic realist argument, foreign policy objectives

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<sup>4</sup> Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, (Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Waltz, “The Emerging Structure of International Politics”, *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (1993), pp. 44-79. Nevertheless, he claims that in spite of all these transformations, the international order still remains anarchic.

<sup>6</sup> Gideon Rose, “Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy”, *World Politics*, (1998), pp. 142-145.

and orientations can be explained by both the power of the state in the international order and the relative material capacity of the state—which have huge impacts on a country's foreign policy but in a complicated manner—while material capabilities influence long-term results at the structural–systemic level, unit-level variables intervene and restrict the short-term foreign policy orientations.

How have the foreign decisions of Jordan in the two wars been affected by domestic political constraints? When looking from this perspective, domestic dynamics appear to have been crucial in determining the role of the leadership in shaping foreign policy choices.<sup>7</sup>

This thesis departs from the perspectives of realism and neorealism (which emphasize the influence of structural variables) regarding the impacts of particular influences in shaping Jordanian foreign policy behavior and alignment choices. Drawing on the insights of neoclassical realism, which addresses two lacunae and stands between the realist and constructivist schools by engaging in a multi-level analysis assessing all influences and considering external structural variables together with the influence of domestic intervening factors that filter those external pressures through the role of the leader (monarch).

Therefore, writing from this perspective, the argument follows the central question of this thesis: why did Jordan behave differently during the two US-led wars against Iraq while under similar structural external pressures and influences given the continuous dominant hegemony of the United States? Why did Jordan act in opposition to the standard realist logic, which would predict that it would bandwagon with this hegemonic power in both wars? In this study, it is argued that the best answer might come from the flexible neoclassical realist perspective on foreign policy. In line

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<sup>7</sup> See Randall L. Schweller, “The progressive Power of Neoclassical Realism” in Colin Elman and Miriam Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the field*, (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

with this perspective, this thesis aims to deliver analysis highly sensitive to the multiple levels of influence that stand behind foreign policy decisions.

This thesis deals with the questions above from a neoclassical realist standpoint by exploring links between the external and internal variables affecting Jordan's foreign policy. It adopts the neoclassical realist assumption that external dynamics affect all states in different manners, depending on their national particularities and dynamics. Therefore, domestic variables became intervening elements that determine how structural pressures or external dynamics are translated into the domestic environment. The role of the monarchs of Jordan in the process of foreign policy change between the US wars will be explained through this comprehensive multi-level approach.

For neoclassical realists and their flexible methodology, external influences and changes in structural dynamics would be considered independent variables, while the dependent variable would be Jordanian foreign policy behavior in response to these changes, filtered through an analysis of overriding domestic dynamics. The role and views of the leadership are essential in shaping foreign policy behavior through linking and perceiving both the external international order and domestic influences and restrictions.

This study aims to analyze changes in Jordanian foreign policy responses through the domestic dynamics and the role of the leadership (the monarchs) extant during the two US-led wars against Iraq. Both monarchs of Jordan, as chief foreign policy makers, often had to address and consider both domestic and external influences when making foreign policy decisions, while both realms offered motivations and constraints on their roles. Thus, this thesis argues against the realist and structural realist positions based on the balance of power and balance of threat theories, which argue that foreign policy makers when making foreign policy changes have to address only external threats. This study argues that, while recognizing and considering the major importance of the influence of the international order and

pressures in constraining and stressing the orientations and choices of Jordan's foreign policies, the perceptions and views of both monarchs toward the world order and domestic influences are key decisive aspects that shaped Jordan's foreign policy decisions during the two US wars.

Neoclassical realists aim at evaluating leaders' experiences and political phenomena within the historical complex of events, constraints, goals, and motivations in the framework of internal and external variables. Neoclassical realists believe that relative power as perceived by leaders can provide a real explanation for changes if we measure the events through the leaders' understanding. With this premise as my methodology, I am aiming to explain particular foreign policy behaviors and policy choices about alignments through understanding the perceptions of the two monarchs of Jordan and what influenced their behavior during the two US-led wars. In order to achieve that, I believe in the need to construct the case studies historically by studying the history of Jordan throughout different periods and all aspects of constraints and incentives.

Based on the perspective discussed above; Jordan responded in a totally different way in addressing the two US-led wars against Iraq. Therefore, this study tackles the issues of the change in the foreign politics of Jordan and the role of the political leader—the monarch—as the chief policymaker within the framework of internal and international dynamics and influences. The neoclassical realist approach offers a good understanding of changes in the foreign policy of Jordan over the two wars; as those international influences put pressure on Jordan; this pressure was translated and filtered through domestic dynamics that influenced the foreign policy behavior of the monarchs. This dissertation conducts a country-focused analysis in which the decision of whether to join the alliance is scrutinized, taking into account the interaction of external dynamics and domestic political peculiarities. The research method I have selected to elaborate on the key questions of the study and its main argument is a theoretically informed historical approach to a case study. Historical



narratives that use causal hypotheses and theoretical variables in identifying the intervening causal processes enable us to assess theoretical predictions while giving us good explanations for given historical outcomes. Therefore, this thesis conducts a country-focused analysis using historical methodologies and approaches due to the complexity and overlapping of the different variables and factors affecting Jordanian foreign policy orientations over the various periods examined in this thesis. I believe this approach will give us a better understanding of events. We also need to investigate whether the constraints on or the motivations of the two monarchs are consistent with the expectations of different theories. It is through this method that I will demonstrate the importance of applying the neoclassical realist perspective in order to understand why these changes took place in Jordan's foreign policy in this research.

This thesis is structured around foreign policy change in the cases of the two US wars against Iraq. The original contribution of this thesis stems from its embracing of neoclassical realism as a guide for theoretical analysis. This thesis will add to the academic literature as follows: it elaborates on the issue of change in foreign policy dynamics and examines the sources of change in Jordan's foreign policy and the role of the leadership in policy formation during the US-led wars in Iraq, an issue which has not yet been explored extensively. The existing research has tackled certain problems and exhibited case studies dealing with the foreign policy of Jordan in different perspectives, but has mainly utilized traditional realist approaches.

The aim of this thesis is to contribute further to that literature in studying the issue of changes in Jordanian foreign policy through drawing on the flexible multi-level perspective of neoclassical realism, questioning multiple dynamics, both external and internal, mainly in exploring the role of the leadership in the process of foreign policy change in Jordan. Nevertheless, neoclassical realism is still quite a new perspective in International Relations theory and is still in need of further theoretical refinement when dealing with the foreign policies of small states. Therefore, this thesis is both intended to be an analytical study of Jordanian foreign policy change,

and an attempt to evaluate the adequacy and competence of the neoclassical realist approach in explaining the foreign policy behavior of Jordan.

## **1.2 Literature review**

### **1.2.1. The role of the leadership and the foreign policy making Process**

The role of the leadership is a matter of great importance in the foreign policy analysis of any state, but small states in particular. According to Richard Snyder, the state is identified throughout the perceptions and behavior of its decision-makers.<sup>8</sup> The importance of studying the personal and individual factors, such as the beliefs, personalities, emotions, perceptions, and decision-making processes of individual political leaders in international relations and their impact on foreign politics, began after World War I, due to the significant role of world leaders in the international transformations of the time.<sup>9</sup>

It was followed by new studies in leadership style and the role of decision-makers in the process of making foreign policy, focusing on the factors that impact the political decision-making process. Studies have attempted to answer the major question of how political leaders shape the foreign policy agenda, how they define and perceive motivations and constraints and shape these into foreign policy behaviors.<sup>10</sup>

In the realist perspective the political leader is rational: they act in pursuit of interests defined by the concept of power. The realist approach ignores the importance

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<sup>8</sup> Richard Snyder, H.W. Bruck and Burton Spain, "The Decision-Making Approach to the Study of International Politics" in James Rosenau, *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. (New York: Free Press, 1969), p.206.

<sup>9</sup> See Margaret Hermann, *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*. (New York, 1972).

<sup>10</sup> Margaret G. Hermann and Thomas Preston, *Presidents, Advisers, and Foreign Policy: The Effect of Leadership Style on Executive Arrangements* (Ohio State University, Blackwell Publishers: Cambridge, 1994), p. 75. Hermann claims that the leadership style variable centers around the general operating goal of the leader.

of individual-level behavior in foreign policy making. The dominant structural realism focuses on the material capabilities of a state and the structural imperatives stemming from the anarchic international system in determining states' foreign policies.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, constructivism emphasizes the prominence of identities, ideas, norms, and culture.<sup>12</sup>

However, the concept of agency in international relations and foreign policy has started gaining attention. Many prominent scholars, such as Magritte Herman, Lawrence Falkowski, Ole Holsti, James Barber, and Lloyd Etheredge, follow this approach.<sup>28</sup>

Snyder believed that leaders play a key role shaping and making the foreign policy of their countries. He said that decision-makers with the authority to act on a country's behalf and their perceptions are crucial in shaping their foreign policies. He even went beyond that by claiming that, regardless of the importance of the internal and external influences, foreign policy is always determined by the perceptions of policy makers.<sup>29</sup>

Hermann also highlights the importance of leadership style as a crucial factor in what kinds of foreign policy we should expect from different political leaders.<sup>30</sup> In this regard, Bahgat Korany has stressed that leaders make foreign decisions according to

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11 See James Rosenau, *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1969).

12 Mohammad Sweden, "Psychological trends in the study of international relations" (in Arabic) *The Diplomat Magazine, the Institute of Diplomatic Studies (PR)* (No. 12, 1989), p. 87.

28 See Bahgat Korany, "The study of foreign policy: evaluation and critique", *Arab Journal of International Studies* (Winter 1988), pp. 5-14.

29 Lloyd Jensen, *Explaining Foreign Policy*, (Prentice Hall Publications, 1982), pp. 8-12.

30 Margaret Hermann, "International Decision Making: Leadership Matters", *Foreign Policy*, No. 110, (1998), pp. 124-137.

their perceptions and understanding.<sup>31</sup> Christopher Hill has also highlighted the importance of the decision-maker role in making foreign policy; he thinks that, even in modern societies and democratic states, the strong personality and personal perceptions of a leader, along with his personal interests and his actual powers, could help explain a country's foreign policy.<sup>32</sup>

Herbert Kelman has said that understanding the minds of political leaders could explain external behaviors.<sup>33</sup> However, focusing on the role of the leader and his leadership style poses a real challenge due to the difficulty of finding adequate scientific links to the study of foreign policy.<sup>34</sup>

The neoclassical realist theory of decision-making in foreign policy analyzes the individual decisions, personal characteristics and political beliefs of leaders in filtering and interpreting both the internal and external environments.<sup>35</sup> Neoclassical realism is still not a theoretically settled perspective, either: methodological problems still surround the relationship between foreign policy and psychology.<sup>36</sup>

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31 Bahgat Korany, *How Foreign Policy Decisions are Made in The Third World: A Comparative Analysis*. (Westview Press: Boulder, 1986), pp. 50-54. He claims that despite this favorable trend in third world countries, the personalization of power continues unabated because of the absolute power of the head of state under dictatorial regimes, as well as the interests of the leaders' cliques and their influence on its decisions. Korany said the impacts of this are worth studying in the foreign policy of the third world countries and Arab countries. Korany was referring here to Harold and Margaret Sprout's study (the "Sprout paradigm") which tested the psychological and social factors in foreign policy decision making. See Harold and Margaret Sprout, *Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics*. (Princeton University Press, 1956).

32 Hermann and Preston, *Presidents, Advisers, and Foreign Policy*, p. 81.

33 Herbert C. Kelman, "The Role of the Individual in International Relations", *Journal of International Affairs*, 24 (1970), p. 9.

34 See Hermann, *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*.

35 Joseph Frankel, *The Making of Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Decision-Making* (Oxford University Press: London, 1963).

36 James Dougherty & Robert Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories in International Relations*, p. 315.

### 1.2.2. Foreign policy shifts

When a state decides to change its foreign policy, this influences international relations and possibly even the world order as well. These changes might lead to war or peace. Foreign policy changes are often overlooked: for a long time, academic work has tended to focus on continuity and stability, with only irregular attempts to account for change.<sup>37</sup>

According to Holsti and Gilpin, during the Cold War era, studies focused on stability, due to the stable nature of bipolarity.<sup>38</sup> After the collapse of the Soviet Union, scholars shifted their focus more toward studying change.<sup>39</sup> During the 1980s, change began to attract more attention, and there was growing interest in this issue in the field of foreign policy studies.<sup>40</sup> Rosati's study of foreign policy restructuring is among the most important studies on this subject and represents a genuine contribution to the study of changes in foreign policy. Rosati analyzed foreign policy changes through two main questions: what is change and restructuring in Foreign Policy? What are the sources of change in foreign policy?.<sup>41</sup> He pointed out that

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37 David Skidmore, *Explaining State Responses to International Change: The Structural Sources of Foreign Policy Rigidity and Change* (1994), p.44.

38 K.J. Holsti et al., *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*. (London: George Allen and Unwin,1982), p. 8., Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*. (Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.5.

39 James N. Rosenau, "Restlessness, Change, and Foreign Policy Analysis", in James Rosenau, ed., *In Search of Global Patterns*. (New York: Free Press, 1978), pp. 6–17.

40 There are many contributions to the study of the politics of changes in foreign policy we can mention here: Walter Carlsnaes, *Analyzing the Dynamics of Foreign Policy Change: A Critique and Reconceptualization, Cooperation and Conflict*, (1993). Jerel Rosati, *Foreign Policy Restructuring. How Governments Respond to Global Change*, (Columbia University, 1994). Jonathan Rynhold, *Cultural Shift and Foreign Policy Change: Israel and the Making of the Oslo Accords*, James Walsh, "Policy Failure and Policy Change: British Security Policy After the Cold War", *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 39, (2006). Kjell Goldmann, *Change and Stability in Foreign Policy: Détente as a Problem of Stabilization, World Politics*. (1982). Jakob Gustavsson, "How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?: *Cooperation and Conflict*". (1999). Charles Hermann, "Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy", *International Studies Quarterly*. (1990). Holsti, *Why Nations Realign..*

41 Rosati, *Foreign Policy Restructuring*.

studying foreign policy change demonstrates the shortcomings of the neorealist school, which ignores the importance of domestic dynamics. He proposed four possible shapes for changes in foreign policy; intensification (little or no change), refinement (minor changes), reform (moderate changes) and restructuring (major changes).<sup>42</sup>

Holsti launched the era of studying changes in foreign policy in his book *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*,<sup>43</sup> he identifies the concept of change in foreign policy "as the dramatic, wholesale alteration of a nation's pattern of external relations". He focuses on changes in foreign policy orientations and distinguishes between regular and gradual changes. Particularly important when studying changes in foreign policy is Holsti's classification of ideal types of foreign policy behavior including isolation, self-reliance, dependence, and nonalignment–diversification.<sup>44</sup>

In his model, Charles Hermann delineates aspects that influence governments' decisions to change their foreign policies.<sup>45</sup> In his classification, *adjustment changes* are intended to explain changes in the level of interest in a particular issue, or minor changes, while *program changes* refer to changes in tools, such as achieving goals through negotiations. These two kinds of change require strategic action, methods, and tools to achieve the goals of the foreign policy. A *change in objectives* and a *change in foreign policy orientation*: refer to any deep change in foreign policy. The last two types of change deal with primary changes in foreign policy.

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42 Jerel A Rosati, *Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in US Foreign Policy* (1994), pp. 228-230..

43 See Holsti, *Why Nations Realign*.

44 Ibid, p. 8.

45 Charles Hermann, "Changing Course", p. 6.

Hermann summarizes major structural foreign policy changes in the following areas: changes in political leadership; the restructuring of the internal political order; sharp external changes.<sup>46</sup> He proposes seven important stages necessary for key changes to take place: initial policy expectations; external actor/environmental stimuli; recognition of discrepant information; postulation of a connection between problem and policy; development of alternatives; building authoritative consensus for choice; and implementation of new policy.<sup>47</sup>

According to Kjell Goldmann, there are four critical variables that determine the degree of change in a foreign policy.<sup>48</sup> First, it is restricted by the power of the state according to the perceptions of the political leader or the ruling elite. Second, it is related to the perceptions of the ruling elite toward the nature of the world order. Third, it is related to the available choices according to the perceptions of the leader. Fourth, it is limited by the cost of change: when states consider making changes in their foreign policies, they should be aware and accept the new commitments and obligations that emerge.

Jakob Gustavsson in his model follows Hermann's typology of foreign policy change. Gustavsson's argument is that foreign policy change occurs when decision-makers change their various beliefs and priorities in making new foreign policy reorientations and choices. Gustavsson emphasizes both external and domestic variables in causing foreign policy change. He argues that change occurs when the leader's beliefs about foreign policy are confronted by new stimuli.<sup>49</sup>

In general, there are three sources of change in foreign conduct: internal, agent-oriented and external. Those sources are interrelated: Joe Hagan has said that a

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, pp. 6-7.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, pp. 13-20.

<sup>48</sup> Kjell Goldmann, *Change and Stability in Foreign Policy*, pp. 25-27.

<sup>49</sup> Jakob Gustavsson, "How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?", p. 73-95.

political leader has to address both domestic and international variables when considering a change in foreign policy orientation.<sup>50</sup>

Joachim Eidenfalk focuses on major questions related to changes in foreign policy: why and when do states change their foreign policies? He has studied the determining internal elements of change—the bureaucracy, public opinion, the media, interest groups, and political parties—and stresses that any change in foreign policy must be carried out under the influence of one or more of these domestic pillars of change.<sup>51</sup>

### **1.2.3. The structure of this study**

Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework and addresses the central question of this study. To this end, there will be a discussion of the relevant conceptual literature in order to develop a theoretical analysis. The chapter begins by addressing the central question of the thesis, the issue of domestic politics and the role of the leadership according to the explanations for foreign policy behaviors presented by realist and constructivist approaches within the field. After that, a theoretical framework based on the insights of neoclassical realism will be explained, and I will summarize its basic assumptions and arguments in explaining foreign policy making.

In this chapter, I will also explain why I chose to apply a neoclassical realist approach, as well as why this thesis is structured based on the balance of interest theory developed by Randall Schweller, and how it aids us in explaining the foreign policy of Jordan. I address how external context shapes the framework for states' foreign policies when filtered through domestic variables and the perceptions of the

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<sup>50</sup> Joe Hagan, "Domestic Political Explanations in the Analysis of Foreign Policy", in *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*, (Jersey, 1995), pp. 115-117. Robert Putnam discusses in detail the relation and interaction between international and internal politics in his *Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games*.

<sup>51</sup> Joachim Eidenfalk, "Towards a new model of foreign policy change", (paper presented at the annual conference of the Australasian Political Studies Association, 2006), pp. 3-4.



policy maker: in this case, those of the two monarchs, King Hussein and King Abdullah. Chapter Three is devoted to studying the foundations of the foreign policy of Jordan from a neoclassical realist perspective. The external structural variables, internal environment variables and the role of the monarch in shaping foreign behaviors will be analyzed. Vulnerability has often been cited as the key to understanding the foreign policies of small countries like Jordan. These vulnerabilities are embedded in both internal and external sources. Jordan has been profoundly affected by the changes, which took place in the world order imposed by the influence and hegemony of the United States. Therefore, small states like Jordan attempt to pursue appropriate foreign policies and alignments by balancing or else appeasing and bandwagoning with the major powers in order to maintain and achieve security, survival, and economic gains. The UK and the US have been influential in the country's foreign policy choices. The monarchs of Jordan have followed pro-western policies in order to achieve those goals. Alliance with the US and effectively bandwagoning with it has strengthened Jordan's ability to meet these threats and needs by obtaining economic, financial and military aid. Also, the regional factor has profoundly affected Jordan. The country was founded in a regional system in turmoil, and it has been trapped between stronger and more aggressive neighbors, namely Israel, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Syria. Jordan has needed to expend a huge amount of effort merely to survive and maintain its stability from domestic and regional intimidation and threats, and remains highly vulnerable to internal troubles caused by regional actors.

Due to this fragile situation, Jordan's monarchs have usually followed a conservative foreign policy. Jordan's dependence on rich, powerful regional countries, mainly Iraq and Gulf oil states, was motivated by the monarchs' desire to secure essential financial aid from Gulf donors. In terms of internal variables, Jordan lacks any economic foundations: it suffers from a scarcity of natural resources, particularly water and oil, leading to the creation of a rentier economy built on external financial

aids and remittances from Jordanians abroad. Budget security is a major concern in Jordan: the country is suffering from severe economic problems including widespread inflation and unemployment, in turn creating high levels of frustration among the Jordanian populace. This study demonstrates how the king could not afford to ignore the severe economic difficulties that threaten to create widespread unrest in the country. The impact of the severe demographic imbalance caused by Palestinian refugees has also been significant in constraining both Jordan's domestic and foreign politics. Also, the impact of Arab nationalism and political Islamism has aggravated these problems and had a deep influence on the country's Middle Eastern politics, further limiting the monarchs' foreign policy options.

To understand the scope of the influence of King Hussein and his role in making the foreign policy of Jordan, the next part provides a comprehensive historical perspective on the role of King Hussein in making Jordan's foreign policy, and how the Kingdom survived every challenge and managed to emerge united and undivided from his long reign, as well as how King Hussein succeeded in surviving and securing his regime. King Hussein ruled Jordan from 1953 to 1999; in this time, he succeeded in minimizing both internal and external security threats largely targeting the Hashemite monarchy and the survival of the country, although this preoccupation with survival was evidently reflected in the foreign policy agenda of the country. Therefore, Jordanian foreign policy decisions during his reign were partially directed toward counterbalancing those threats. King Hussein consistently followed a pro-Western foreign policy and had close relations with the United States. His major role in many crucial regional issues—war and peace, inter-Arab relations, Jordan–Iraqi relations and Jordan-US relations—will be discussed in this section.

The next part of the chapter highlights the key role of the monarch in making Jordanian foreign policy as the ultimate chief foreign policy maker. The monarch's perceptions and leadership style are key in shaping the foreign orientations and behaviors of the country. Foreign policy in Jordan is determined by how well the king

controls the internal environment and how he responds to external influences accordingly. The monarch, according to his constitutional powers, enjoys executive freedom to make foreign policy and has the final say in all such matters.

Chapter Four is devoted to studying the role of King Hussein in the 1991 Gulf War; this chapter tackles all issues affecting his foreign alignment choices in siding with Iraq against his US ally. The role of strong domestic pressures dictated the King's actions during the crisis and made him take this choice. Although Jordan suffered tremendous losses during and after the 1991 Gulf War on both the political and economic fronts, the King had to maintain a stance in harmony with that of the public, since the political costs of doing otherwise would have been too high, jeopardizing domestic stability and risking the survival of the country and its Hashemite monarchy. In addition to this, the high degree of economic dependency on Iraq would have meant grave damage caused to the Jordanian economy in the case of another choice of alignment. Also, the impact of the strong historical relations between the two countries and their leaders deeply influenced King Hussein's choice.

I will examine and utilize a balance of interest theory model from a neoclassical realist perspective to explain how the monarch conceptualized his behavior during the war, and how he balanced preserving the interests of the regime and the stability of the country. This chapter will also describe the negative impact of King Hussein's choice on the Jordanian economy.

Chapter Five will handle King Hussein's foreign policy in the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War, namely at the time of the peace process and his role in signing the 1994 Jordanian-Israeli Peace Treaty. Moreover, it will analyze how Jordanian foreign policy behavior after the Gulf War in 1991 showed a clearly divergent and contradictory pattern. The actual behavior of Jordan during this period corresponds to the interests of the United States. The historical decision to make peace has to be considered from the perspective of a wider framework of political and economic regional foreign shifts and dynamics. In parallel, King Hussein began to distance

himself from Saddam Hussein. Jordan's behavior towards Iraq in the five years following the Gulf War presents an important change and challenge to Jordan's previous foreign policy. Between 1991 and 1995, Jordan shifted from being Iraq's closest ally to hosting Iraqi opposition groups. Also, this chapter will discuss the role of King Hussein in dealing with the economic crises and how these affected the foreign policy of the country.

Chapter Six is devoted to studying the Foreign Policy of King Abdullah in the 2003 Iraq War. King Abdullah, with his pro-American policies, his friendship and strong ties with Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf regimes, made his choice of alignment in accordance to those relations in order to maximize the profit and gains in bandwagoning with the US. Jordan was highly dependent on external assistance at the time, mainly from the United States. King Abdullah repositioned Jordan as a regional player in the post-September 11 era, and after 2001, the country vowed a steady support for the US in fighting terrorism through its pro-American foreign policy choices.

In applying the neoclassical realist perspective and the balance of interests model on King Abdullah's choice of alignment, this thesis will argue that King Abdullah bandwagoned with the US in its war on Iraq to maximize the gains from the US and its Gulf allies and obtain more military and financial aid. To that end, the monarch adopted an American-oriented foreign policy. As neoclassical realists argue, the King bandwagoned with the US in its war on Iraq and the war on terror because he concluded that this was in the fundamental interests of Jordan—gaining the country more military and financial profits, and securing Jordan and its economy.

King Abdullah's choice of alignment is adequately explained through Jordan being a weak status quo state that chose to bandwagon for profit. However, many variables worked together to influence Abdullah's response in the 2003 Iraq war: the external incentives from the US, which was offering more military and economic aid and cooperation against terrorism; the external pressures from global terrorism; the

fear of Iranian expansionism; domestic concerns from radical Islamism; and the absence of the pressing domestic demands to support Iraq which had existed during the 1991 Gulf War. All this shaped his choice of alignment and led him to bandwagon with the US. His behavior represents a choice of alignment in pursuit of profit.

These chapters, put together, tell how the foreign policy of Jordan is conducted by its monarchs, who also play the role of chief foreign policy makers. They explain the role of the king, his leadership style and perceptions of external influences in the light of the dynamics of the domestic environment. They show how foreign policy change in case of Jordan can be explained, and how and why this change occurred benefiting from the application of neoclassical realist theory. Therefore, in the last chapter, the findings from preceding chapters are evaluated in light of the thesis question and the two case studies. This chapter explains the change in the two monarchs' foreign policies through their external and internal imperatives in response to US-led wars and during the course of both wars.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1. Introduction

The study of foreign policy analysis has become very important in the post-Cold War era.<sup>52</sup> Foreign policy analysis requires a clear understanding of all factors affecting leaders as they shape the foreign policies of their countries. New approaches to studying foreign policy analysis began with criticism of the classical schools of foreign policy, on the one hand requesting more scientific approaches that considered new issues such as identity, culture, religion, values, etc., in international relations, and on the other, demonstrating the importance of the domestic politics in shaping foreign policy behaviors.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, groundbreaking international relations literature began the study of and discourse about the importance of domestic politics in explaining states' foreign policies, seeking to understand its influence in more detail.<sup>54</sup> Foreign policy analysis represents a general framework for understanding the behaviors and orientations of various countries at regional and international levels. States seek to achieve their national interests within their available capabilities.<sup>55</sup> After

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<sup>52</sup> See John Baylis and Steve Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International relations*. Third edition. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2005).

<sup>53</sup> See Brian White, *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2001).

<sup>54</sup> Muhammad Saleem, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, (in Arabic; Arab Nahdah Library: Cairo, 1998).

<sup>55</sup> A good study on this issue is Ryan K. Beasley and Juliet Kaarboeds, *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior*. (2002).

the end of World War II, the bipolar system became the dominant system in the international order. Rapid international changes in the post-cold war era, however, have been crucial in shaping states' foreign policies, led by the United States and its newfound hegemony in world politics..

The power and influence of the state are a very crucial factor in shaping its foreign policies and choices of alignment. Morgenthau, for instance, believes that power is the ultimate purpose of the state in its foreign policy behavior in international relations. Power, he says, is the ability of the political unit to impose its will on other units. Small states in world politics are unable to emerge from their limited roles in making foreign policy, due to their elements of vulnerability in terms of population, natural resources, economic power, military capabilities, etc.<sup>56</sup> Hence, small states followed policies of alignment with strong regional and international powers.<sup>57</sup> Foreign policy analysis is thus identifying the trends and orientations followed by the political leaders in their foreign policy decision-making.<sup>58</sup> Rothstein says that small states usually unable to obtain their security by themselves and need to rely on strong countries, to maintain and secure its stability and survival.<sup>59</sup> While Robert Keohane has said that small state is a weak or no influence in the international order. It is unable to face any major security threats without relying on foreign assistance and does not pose any threat to neighboring countries.<sup>60</sup>

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56 Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), pp. 4-15.

57 Ronald Barston, "The External Relations of Small States", in Christine Ingebritsen et al. (eds.) *Small States in International Relations*, (Sweden, 1971), p.40-45.

58 Stephan Walker, *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, ( Duke University Press, 1987), pp. 2-8.

59 Robert Rothstein, *The Weak in the World of the Strong: The Developing Countries in the International System*, (Columbia University Press: New York, 1977), p.42.

60 Jean Hey, *Small States in World Politics: Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), pp. 2-5.

Traditional realists have stressed that the world order, as an external political factor, is the primary variable in determining the foreign politics of international units. The world order is characterized by constant change, and represents all regional and international variables influencing and impacting, directly or indirectly, foreign policy decisions and the alignments of the units. Lloyd Jensen states that if there were no external determinants, there would be no foreign policy, adding that the state often formulates its foreign policy in reaction to circumstances in its external environment. According to this view, without taking international changes and interactions between states, such as threats, war, crisis, and violence, etc., we cannot recognize the key patterns of foreign policy trends.<sup>61</sup> However, even if structural influences are fundamental in shaping states' foreign policies, domestic politics is important as well. Domestic influences consist of many elements ranging from economic, social, identity, cultural and ideological factors, to the roles and styles of the leadership<sup>62</sup>.

David Singer has tackled the issue of the level of analysis problem in international relations, highlighting the need for a more scientific approach, distinguishing the study of the systemic level and the unit level.<sup>63</sup> Linking domestic and foreign policies; James Rosenau in his linkage approach focuses on factors affecting foreign policy within the framework of comparative studies of foreign policy. Linkage theory argues that no clear and consistent boundaries can be drawn between domestic policy and foreign policy. There is mutual impact between internal and foreign policies.<sup>64</sup> Rosenau identifies the concept of linkage between the

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61 Lloyd Jensen, *Explaining Foreign Policy*, (Prentice Hall Publications, 1982), p. 5.

62 See: James Fearon, *Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy and Theories of International Relations*, (University of Chicago: Chicago, 1998). Also see Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*.

63 David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem of International Relations", *World Politics*, (1961), 14, pp. 77-92.

64 See: James Rosenau, *Linkage Politics: Essays on the Convergence of National and International Systems*, (Free Press: New York, 1969). According to Joseph Frankel in his book *Contemporary International Theory and the Behavior of States*. (1972), the linkage approach was inspired by systems analysis.



international order and national systems, presenting the variables affecting foreign policy as follows: the international order, societal factors, governmental factors, factors related to the roles and other individual factors relating to the decision maker<sup>65</sup>. He hence gives internal variables great importance in explaining the foreign policy making process. Also, some constructivists have contributed insights into this process, with Richard Snyder attempting to provide an alternative model for understanding the decision-making process in foreign policy while highlighting the role of domestic factors.<sup>66</sup>

It is of overriding importance for political leaders to achieve the goals of domestic politics while responding to external structural influences. This premise has been underlined by Putnam's Two Level Game theory.<sup>67</sup> Putnam demonstrated that domestic politics and international politics were intertwined. Both international politics and domestic politics impose a direct influence on each other. Hence, the game-theoretical model of reality suggests that this entangled relationship between international relations and domestic politics are often maintained by political leaders in their goals of meeting domestic demands and interests.

Putnam proposed that when making foreign decisions, national-level policymakers face two distinct constituencies: international-level groups and domestic-level groups. He presented a theory that offers a general framework linking the dynamic relationship between domestic and structural influences. His two-level games theoretical model presumes that the decision makers of the state are burdened

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<sup>65</sup> For further details on this, see James Rosenau, *The Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy*. (Free Press: New York, 1967).

<sup>66</sup> See Richard Snyder, *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*. (Free Press: New York, 1962), p. 67-74. Snyder highlighted the interactions of different path-controlling factors in foreign policy.

<sup>67</sup> See Putnam, "The Logic of Two-Level Games", p. 427-460. His main argument was directed against the traditional international relations literature, which focuses on state-centric or structural influences on foreign policy orientations.

with influences coming from both domestic and international players. He suggested an integral link between domestic politics and its effects on the international order, as there is a balancing act between domestic and international factors. Putnam also notes that the interests of the two realms can be either aligned or contradictory. Putnam stresses that a political leader's goals, motivations and constraints at both the domestic and international levels explained efforts at construction of coalitions at the domestic level and decreasing adversarial structural influences at the international level in order to reduce pressures from the domestic sphere. In sum, Putnam presented a model linking foreign and domestic politics, with a stress on both how international politics and domestic politics imposed a direct influence on each other. He also sketched the important role of leaders in achieving domestic policy goals and advocating their country's interests in the international realm within the purview of international influences.

In general, Putnam's theory is considered very influential when it comes to the study of international negotiations, international political economy and multi-party coalitions.

Scholars such as Joseph Frankel highlight the importance of state power within its domestic sphere when conducting foreign policy, including public opinion, geographical location, the role of the leadership, political parties, pressure and interest groups, the economy, etc.<sup>68</sup> Realist theories of alignment, in general, highlight the importance of sharing threats and capabilities in the global system. The distribution of capabilities is the main source of alignment in systemic explanations. These argue that the major alignment response is to balance against a powerful coalition in order to achieve the fundamental goal of security and survival in international politics. Typically, under realist alliance theory, a weak state like Jordan might be expected to bandwagon with, rather than balance against, a strong state. However, foreign policy

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68 Joseph Frankel, *The Making of Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Decision Making*, (Oxford University Press: New York, 1963), pp. 3-4.

outcomes are conducted according to many overlapping variables: external, internal, and the role of the leadership.<sup>69</sup>

James Fearon claims that each state has its own distinct foreign policy pattern stemming from its domestic interactions.<sup>70</sup> In this context, Gideon Rose has said that domestic politics is a major source of foreign policy making in terms of filtering the influences of structural variables. Domestic influences such as political and economic ideology, national identity, political parties, socio-economic structures, and national culture also shape states' behaviors outside their borders.<sup>71</sup>

## **2.2. Realism and balance of power theory: the politics of foreign alignment**

Realism was the leading theory in conventional international relations in the Cold War era, classical (or traditional) realism underlined the importance and the impact of external structures in shaping states' foreign policies, mainly in the context of Hans Morgenthau's realism and Kenneth Waltz's structural realism.

Realism, through its many different perspectives—traditional, structural, and neoclassical—has attempted to provide acceptable explanations for states' foreign policy behaviors. Nevertheless, the relative importance of structural influences have been dominant in shaping the realist views of foreign policy. However, they all approach the importance of these structural variables from different perspectives.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Richard Snyder has described in detail this interactive process for drawing up foreign policy in his model, suggesting a precise classification highlighting the different factors controlling foreign policy. Snyder, *Foreign Policy Decision-Making*, p.67-74. Also Snyder, Bruck and Spain, "The Decision-Making Approach to the Study of International Politics", p.207-212.

<sup>70</sup> James Fearon has explained in detail manner the importance of the concept of a suboptimal foreign policy for understanding foreign policy through domestic politics. James D. Fearon, *Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy and Theories of International Relations*, p. 289-292.

<sup>71</sup> Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", pp.168-171.

<sup>72</sup> Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories", *Foreign Policy*, No. 110, Special Edition: Frontiers of Knowledge. (Spring, 1998), p. 31-39.

Classical realism emphasizes the importance of the anarchic nature of the world order, in which states are in a constant struggle for power seeking to promote their national security and protect their interests, as power is the final arbiter of all things political.<sup>73</sup> Classical realists have highlighted the importance of the external environment and the external commitments and obligations imposed on political leaders.<sup>74</sup>

Morgenthau said, “A nation pursues foreign policy as a legal organization called a state, whose agents act as representatives of the nation in international affairs. They speak of it, negotiate treaties in its name, define its objectives, choose the means for achieving them, and try to maintain, increase, and demonstrate its power.”<sup>75</sup>

Realists stress the importance of the distribution of power and balance of power in explaining the patterns of relations and states’ foreign policies; it is concerned mainly with the sources and uses of national power in international politics. Therefore, leaders need to allocate all necessary resources to achieving power inside the world order to gain an advantage in solving the problems that leaders encounter in conducting foreign policy. Within the same context, in addressing the role of the state within the prevailing balance of power perspective, James Rosenau stresses that states need to adapt to structural influences in shaping their foreign policy engagements and obligations.<sup>76</sup>

These issues lead the analyst to focus on the distribution of power among states. Classical realists perceive the balance of power as a form of relations which are

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<sup>73</sup> Chris Brown, *Understanding International Relations*. Second edition. (Palgrave: Hampshire, England, 2001). James Dougherty & Robert Pfalzgaraff, *Contending Theories in International Relations*. Stanley Hoffmann, *Contemporary Theory of International Relations*. (Prentice-Hall, inc., New Jersey, 1960). Michael Sullivan, *International Relations Theories and Evidence*. (Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1976). Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*.

<sup>74</sup> Ronald Barston, *Modern Diplomacy*. (London: Longman, 1997), p. 25.

<sup>75</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, p.102.

<sup>76</sup> James, N, Rosenau, *World Politics: An Introduction*. (Free Press: New York, 1976), p. 18.

brought into existence and secured by the adherence of major powers to the rules of this order. Therefore, the internal dynamics and influences in classical realism were either ignored or rarely considered, while the structural pressures were dominant in shaping classical realists' perceptions of foreign policy.<sup>77</sup>

Thus, classical realists assume that states' foreign behavior could be predicted according to the external structural influences imposed on states and their political leaders. Also, the role of the leader and leadership style in the course of the state's foreign behavior were overlooked as well.<sup>78</sup> Small states, they predicted, would merely follow the policies of alignment with strong regional and international powers.<sup>79</sup> Realists stressed the importance of the distribution of power and the balance of power in explaining the patterns of international relations and states' policies of alignment, according to this distribution of power. They are concerned mainly with the sources and uses of national power in international politics, in their pursuit of security.

In line with this perspective, Sten Rynning has stressed the difficulty of studying the process of changes in foreign policy without linking the analysis to the international structural level.<sup>80</sup> Classical realists have ignored the role of domestic institutions and prevailing cultural and societal factors within the state in their approach.<sup>81</sup> This was reflected by Kissinger when he said, "Foreign policy begins when domestic politics ends."

However, classical realists believe that political leaders must draw on the varying levels of the state's relative abilities to mobilize resources—such as natural

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<sup>77</sup> For further details on Rosenau's definition of controlling elements in the analysis of foreign policy, see: James N. Rosenau, *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*, (London: Pinter, 1980).

<sup>78</sup> See Walt, "One World, Many Theories".

<sup>79</sup> Barston, "The External Relations of Small States", p.40-45.

<sup>80</sup> See Sten Rynning, *Changing Military Doctrine: Presidents and Military Power in Fifth Republic France: 1958- 2000*. (New York: Proeger, 2001).

<sup>81</sup> Baylis and Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics*, p. 42-47.

resources, military and industrial capacities and other national power resources—from domestic society in making their countries’ foreign policies. In this regard, Hans Morgenthau lists the elements of national power: the geography of the country; its natural resources; its industrial and military capacity; its identity and national character; its unity and national cohesion and its national morale.<sup>82</sup>

There are some remarkable elements of the traditional realist view of the balance of power: their “top-down” approach to the state, their overlooking the importance of domestic institutions within society and their focus on the distribution of power at the international level. It stressed that leaders, while defining the national interest in their foreign policies and behaviors, should address structural pressures and measure power solely in terms of international politics, and conduct foreign policy accordingly<sup>83</sup>. Nevertheless, traditional realism was criticized for its shortcomings, as it ignored domestic influences that translated into structural pressures and began to influence the foreign policy behavior of political leaders.

Neorealism was developed by Kenneth Waltz and was also named structural realism.<sup>84</sup>. Neorealism did not distance itself from traditional realism regarding the dominant importance of the external environment in shaping the foreign politics of states. Structural realists started considering, to a certain extent, the influence of domestic constraints and motivations in shaping and explaining states’ foreign

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<sup>82</sup> Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, pp.41-43. Nicholas Spykman refers to the following elements: 1) geographical location and area size; 2) the nature of the border; 3) the population; 4) the primary natural resources; 5) economic and technological capacities; 6) military force; 7) ideological homogeneity; 8) the degree of social integration; 9) political stability; 10) the national spirit and nationalism. Nicholas Spykman, “Geography and Foreign Policy, II”, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 32, (1938), pp. 213-236

<sup>83</sup> Edward Gulick, *Europe’s Classical Balance of Power*, (New York: Norton, 1967), pp. 14-15.

<sup>84</sup> Jihad Odeh, *The International system: Theories and Problems*, (Dar Al-Huda for Publishing and Distribution, Egypt, 2005). p. 42-46.

policies.<sup>85</sup> Structural realists separated the levels of analysis, seeking to explain the pattern of foreign outcomes of state interactions. These foreign policy theories considered the behavior of individual states their dependent variable in explaining foreign policy behavior.

Structuralists underlined the importance of the distribution of capabilities and power between international order units in affecting foreign policy behavior.<sup>86</sup> Waltz in his balance of power theory is concerned with the degree of continuity in world politics. In his assessment of these elements, Kenneth Waltz states that the distribution of power in the international system is the most important external factor -that has an impact on the foreign policies of any state. He says that in their pursuit of obtaining power states are affected by other states imposing pressure on their leaders over their foreign policy choices. He focuses on structural influences while treating the state as a “black box”.<sup>87</sup>

In his structural realism approach, Waltz says that the structure of the international order shapes the foreign policies of states.<sup>88</sup> Waltz believes that during the cold war, the dominance of the US and the Soviet Union prevailed and shaped the foreign policies of states in the international system through the balance of power and balance of threats.<sup>89</sup> He viewed the state as the essential, unitary and rational key actor in international politics. Neorealism perceives the goals and desires of states as

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85 Walter Carlsnaes, “On the Study of Foreign Policy”, in Walter Carlsnaes, and Thomas Risse, *Handbook of International Relations*, (London, 2002).

86 See Chris Brown, *Understanding International Relations*. Second edition. (Palgrave: Hampshire, England, 2001). In addition to the international order, this includes the geostrategic location of the state within the framework of major international powers and regional strategies.

87 Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 117-119.

88 Ken Booth, “Security in Anarchy: Utopian Realism in Theory and Practice”, *International Affairs*, Vol. 67, (1991), pp. 527-529.

89 Kenneth Waltz, “The Emerging Structure of International Politics”, *International Security*, Vol. 18, (1993).

external motivated.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, the anarchic nature of the international order affects and determines the foreign policy behaviors of states. In an anarchic realm, countries competing in the quest to enhance their relative competitiveness and capabilities have to take other states' capabilities seriously. Waltz, said that this anarchy (lack of a fixed order) leads to a fight for survival, and this, in turn, leads to a scramble for more power.<sup>91</sup> Waltz considers it to be outside the theory of international relations when domestic pressures intervene as a source of foreign behavior<sup>92</sup>.

His theory suggests the systemic distribution of power as the only independent variable. Thus, neorealist theory claims to delimit the expected range of unit-level responses to structural constraints. Waltz's balance of threat theory argues that states, in their quest to maintain their survival and ensure their security—their ultimate objectives in the anarchic international system—tend to balance, not to bandwagon or appease, against other aggressive great powers.<sup>93</sup> Accordingly, states tend to bandwagon with threatened parties to balance against stronger parties who have offensive capabilities and aggressive intentions. The balance of power theory suggests that small states, in respect of their capabilities, should bandwagon with the strongest parties for their survival.

The structural realist theory cannot explain what distinctive state behavior would be in response to different structural pressures. Waltz's theory does not explain why states innovate in the absence of structural constraints and threats. Waltz highlights that his theory is not addressed to explaining the foreign behavior of states;

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90 See Rosenau, *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, p. 263-265.

91 Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp.126-129.

92 Ibid.

93 Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, (1987). idem, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of Worldpower Power". *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Spring 1985), pp. 3-43, idem: "Testing Theories of Alliance Formation: The Case of Southwest Asia". *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Spring 1988), pp. 257-317.



he is more interested in the explaining structural and systemic consequences of states' foreign policies rather than the policies themselves.

Defensive realism and offensive realism both recognize the influence of internal dynamics and the perceptions of decision makers in shaping foreign policy orientations, but in different ways. Defensive realism assumes that the anarchic international order has less impact on foreign policy, and states and leaders have no motivations to follow violent policies except in the cases of threats: therefore, defensive realism has developed by linking the foreign choices of the state to the perceptions of political leaders in defining the security and other vital interests of the state.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, offensive realism stresses that the anarchy of the world order is an overarching factor and poses a great incentive to states to maximize their power.

The realist theories of alignment, in general, highlight the importance of sharing threats and capabilities in the global system. The distribution of capabilities is the main source of alignment in systemic explanations. It is argued that the major alignment response is to bandwagon with, not to balance against, a powerful coalition, in order to achieve the fundamental goals of security and survival. Realists argue that states act only to preserve their survival and maintain their security. They stress the importance of the distribution of power and balance of power in explaining the patterns of international relations and states' foreign policies; they are concerned mainly with the sources and uses of national power in international politics. Therefore, leaders need to allocate all the necessary resources of power to maximizing their power inside the world order in an attempt to solve the problems that they encounter in conducting foreign policy.<sup>95</sup>

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94 Walt, "One World, Many Theories", pp. 31-39. See also Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate," in *Elman and M.F. Elman, eds., Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*, (Cambridge, 2003).

95 Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, pp. 195-199.

Within the same context, in addressing the role of the state within the prevailing balance of power perspective, they stress that states need to adapt to structural influences in shaping their foreign policy engagements and obligations.<sup>96</sup> Accordingly, the regular pattern seen among small states pursuing their own survival and seeking to sustain their security is to bandwagon with great powers, not balance against them, and trying to overcome these imbalances in conditions of power among nation-states and the gap in the distribution of capabilities among states. Typically, within realist alliance theory, a weak state like Jordan might be expected to bandwagon with, rather than balance against, a strong state.<sup>97</sup>

Kenneth Waltz believes that the distribution of power in the international order is the main external factor that has an impact on the foreign policies of a state, saying that states are affected by other states attempts to change the balance of power to pursue power themselves.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, the anarchic nature of the international order affects and determines the foreign policy behavior of states. In an anarchic realm, countries competing in the quest to enhance their relative competitiveness and capabilities have to take other states' capabilities seriously.<sup>99</sup>

However, this does not offer an explanation of why King Hussein sided with Iraq against the US (the hegemonic power) in the 1991 Gulf War. According to balance of power theory, King Hussein should have joined the US coalition against Iraq in 1991. Structural realism does not clarify how states should act, or what kind of balancing strategy is better than others. Therefore, this theory is not capable of creating testable predictions to allow us to comprehend reasonable foreign policy behaviors for small states in particular. Small states, with their weak capabilities,

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96 Rosenau, *World Politics*, p. 18.

97 Curtis Ryan, "Jordan First: Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations and Foreign Policy under King Abdullah II", *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 43-62.

98 Kenneth Waltz, *The Stability of a Bipolar World*. (Daedalus, 1964), pp. 881-909.

99 Kenneth Waltz, *Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power*, pp. 125-128.

remain vulnerable when they attempt to follow policies of neutrality or bandwagon with major powers.

### **2.3. Balance of threat and omnibalancing: the politics of foreign alignment**

Stephen Walt modified this approach by adding another element—the level of threat—and extending this perspective into his balance of threat theory.<sup>100</sup> Walt argues that states balance the prevailing threat, not the strongest power, and that threats, either internal or external, are the important variable in shaping states' foreign conduct.

His perception is that balancing or bandwagoning in alignment against the eminent aggressive threat to maintaining the survival and security of the regime and the state. This threat is referred to the existence of distribution of capabilities or aggregate power resources of the state, aggressive capabilities, geographical proximity and offensive intentions<sup>101</sup>.

For Walt, balancing is carried out with similar-size states and bandwagoning is done with stronger states. Although this foreign policy choice to align with a stronger power is linked to external military and economic aid to small states like Jordan, Walt claims bandwagoning is due to strength and power reasons, stressing the costs of alignment with aggressive powers. However, he claims that states are able to pursue all available strategies through flexible alignment choices between balancing or bandwagoning when the threat is related to the distribution of capabilities according to geographical proximity.

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100 Stephen Walt, "Testing Theories of Alliance Formation: The Case of Southwest Asia", *International Organization*, (1998), pp. 310-13.

101 Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 21-29.

As Walt is arguing, in their quest to maintain their survival and ensure their security, states tend to choose either to balance with or bandwagon against aggressive, threatening states.<sup>102</sup> Thus, states tend to bandwagon with stronger parties and balancing against threatening parties who have offensive capabilities and aggressive intentions<sup>103</sup>.

Balance of threat theory suggests that small states, due to lacking the possession of sufficient capabilities to counter-balance stronger parties, should bandwagon with strongest parties if they want to preserve their sovereignty and survival without being dominated by their opponents, and this is what leaders do in their quest to ensure security and survival.

Nevertheless, in their perspectives on alignments in general, realists like Waltz and Walt consider that balancing is preferred by states in their foreign policy choices when faced with stronger threatening states. However, both Waltz and Walt focus primarily on the behavior and alignments of great powers in their research.

When applying Walt's theory of the balance of threat to Jordanian foreign policy behavior during the two US wars against Iraq, we notice that it is not able to offer sufficient explanations for Jordan's alignment choices. Jordan sided and aligned with Iraq and balanced against the US-led international coalition against Baghdad in 1991, whereas in 2003, Jordan decided to align or bandwagon with the US against Iraq.

The Jordanian behavior of balancing with Iraq against the US in 1991 is inexplicable by the balance of threat theory, particularly when we apply Walt's main pillars of threat mentioned earlier, as Jordan did not ally or align with the US, the most

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<sup>102</sup> Walt, "Testing Theories of Alliance Formation", pp. 257-317.

<sup>103</sup> John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt: "An Unnecessary War". *Foreign Policy*, No. 134 (January-February, 2003), p. 50-59, Mearsheimer and Walt: "Can Saddam Be Contained? History Says Yes". *Cambridge; MA: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, BCSIA Occasional Papers*, (November 2002).

threatening and aggressive power. Yet, the Jordanian behavior of bandwagoning with the US in 2003 is not comprehensively explained by Walt's theory either, as Jordan—the weaker state—was willing to pay the huge cost of bandwagoning with the US. Jordan did however obtain huge military and economic gains, along with promises of a stable, warm and prosperous peace with Israel, an ending to Israeli offensive policies, a check on the threat of Iranian policies of aggression which had created instability in the region, and cooperation against the threat of global terrorism. Jordanian foreign policy behavior might be perceived as confronting multiple levels of threats produced by this war when the King bandwagoned with the US in order to maintain survival and ensure security.

In both cases, Walt's theory does not offer an explanation of how domestic influences affected the perceptions and behavior of the two monarchs during the two wars. The political history of Jordan has demonstrated that the two monarchs of Jordan would have repeatedly had to consider both domestic influences and external variables. Similar external influences confronted Jordan on the two different occasions, yet it behaved differently. Therefore, focusing completely on external structural variables is not sufficient to explain this change. The politics of alignments require a comprehensive approach considering both the internal and external influences.

Third world countries and Middle Eastern studies have witnessed many contributions attempting to explain these foreign policy and alignment choices. Among them is Steven David's omnibalancing theory, which confirms the importance of internal and international variables in making alignments. David says that states are more concerned with threats than power alone, noting that external threats to state survival in an anarchic world order would never come to an end. His omnibalancing theory focuses on threats to state leadership rather than threats to states as units. David asserts that the balance of power theory cannot explain alignment decisions made by third world leaders because of its reliance on a distinction between international

anarchy and domestic/national order. In reality, in many states considered to be third world, the state is unable or unwilling to guarantee stability, order and security for its own citizens, including the leadership.<sup>104</sup> Omnibalancing, therefore, suggests that leaders align in particular ways, primarily to cope with national level threats to their rule, and even their survival within their own states. David argues that a very powerful determinant of third world alignment behavior is the rational calculation of third world leaders as to which outside power is most likely to do what is necessary to keep them in power.<sup>105</sup> In his argument, he claims that leaders will appease or align with secondary threats in order to allow them to focus their efforts on dealing with their primary adversaries. However, those proposals were not comprehensively set out and not on their own sufficient due to their shortcomings in explaining foreign policy outcomes. Neoclassical realism attempts to build on this work by admitting the relationship between domestic politics and the foreign policies of the state. This approach considers that studying the foreign policy of any state should consider both the internal and systemic (international or structural) variables.<sup>106</sup>

As neoclassical realists argue, political leaders' perceptions and understandings of the nature of the balance of power and distribution of capabilities between great powers in international system, on one hand, and realization of the restrictions and obstacles that face their countries—especially in the case of small states—on the other,

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104 Steven David, "Explaining Third World Alignment", *World Politics* 43, (1991), pp. 240-251.

105 Ibid.

106 John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. (New York, 2001). The author claims that states are seeking power against their competitors and this is due to the anarchic world order. See also John J. Mearsheimer, "Realism, the Real World, and the Academy," in *Michael Brecher and Frank P. Harvey, eds., Realism and Institutionalism in International Studies*, (The University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 23-33.

defines a country's foreign policy choices and tendencies, which in return, secures the survival of the regime and the state's national goals.<sup>107</sup>

This neoclassical approach constitutes a profound transformation from the realist school in terms of the role of the leader and domestic politics and their relation to structural pressures in shaping foreign policy behavior. Therefore, the neoclassical realist model can offer a sufficiently comprehensive explanation for the change in the foreign policies of Jordan between the two US wars in 1991 and 2003.

#### **2.4. The theory of neoclassical realism**

At the onset, this thesis proposed an approach to the analysis of the making and changing of Jordanian foreign policy during the two US-led wars against Iraq, using the theory of neoclassical realism. Therefore, the primary theoretical framework I will apply in this thesis in analyzing of how the foreign policies of Jordan changed and shifted during the courses of the two US wars in 1991 and 2003 is neoclassical realism. I will try to demonstrate how the major assumptions and analytical approaches of this school of international relations and its flexible perspectives on how to weigh the influences of structural and non-structural factors in the process of foreign policy making, their perspective in explaining foreign policy behavior by emphasizing factors belonging to either the domestic or the international realms.

After reviewing the literature on the classical and structural realist perspectives in foreign policy making, we note that both schools argue that structural influences are crucial in explaining and shaping foreign policy outputs. As we have noted in this review, the constructivist approach that prioritizes internal dynamics and attributes are of paramount importance in shaping foreign policy making process. Therefore, there

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107 Ryan: "Jordan First", pp. 43-62.

remains a need for a comprehensive approach such as neoclassical realism, taking into consideration both internal and external influences.

The flexible neoclassical perspective offers a broader explanation of how the state's foreign conduct can be explained by understanding how international imperatives filter through domestic constraints and affect leaders in their assessment of those structural threats and incentives in shaping the foreign policy of their countries. This neoclassical analytical approach, I believe, can offer a more comprehensive explanation for changes in Jordan's foreign policies during the two US wars. In line with what we have mentioned earlier, the foreign policy of Jordan must be understood in a wider perspective explaining the role of the monarch's own perception of both environmental influences and dynamics, whether external and domestic.

Gideon Rose, when he coined the term neoclassical realism, was referring to the contributions of scholars such as Aaron Friedberg, Michael Brown, William Wohlforth, Thomas Christensen, Fareed Zakaria and Randal Schweller.<sup>108</sup> Rose identifies its meaning and approach, saying, "neoclassical realism explicitly incorporates both external and internal variables, updating and systematizing certain insights drawn from classical realist thought. Its adherents argue that the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy be driven first and foremost by its place in the international system and specifically by its relative material power capabilities. This is why they are realist. They argue further, however, that the impact of such power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex because systemic pressures must be translated into intervening variables at the unit level. This is why they are neoclassical."<sup>109</sup> Therefore, many scholars say that there is no single neoclassical realist theory of foreign policy, but rather a range of theories gathered from the insights of neoclassical realism.

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108 See Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", pp. 144-172.

109 Ibid, p. 146.



Nevertheless, neoclassical realists have attempted to analyze the external influences and a wide range of intervening domestic or unit level dynamics including the ideologies of the political leaders, their perceptions, and state strength, for a comprehensive understanding of foreign policy attitudes and outcomes. Rose wanted to draw the connection between neoclassical realism and other realist theories<sup>110</sup>. Neoclassical realism draws on classical realism's sophisticated perspective on society and the state on one hand, while stressing the importance of relative power distributions and structural influences as sources of the state's foreign policy behavior. Though neoclassical realists also consider the relevance of intervening unit-level variables in shaping states' foreign conduct.

Within the same context, Zakaria stresses that “a good account of a nation's foreign policy should include systemic, domestic and other influences, specifying what aspects of policy can be explained by what factors.” Therefore, the major utility of neoclassical realism is that it is an approach to foreign policy in which domestic processes act as an essential mediator for state survival within the complex anarchic environment. Therefore, domestic variables have a prominent role in affecting the nation's foreign policy orientations and choices.<sup>111</sup>

When the international environment is less stable, states and their domestic institutions have only a weak ability to choose their foreign policies.<sup>112</sup> However, in their understanding of change, neoclassical realists assume that changes in the balance of power will change a state's foreign policy behavior. Therefore, domestic influences

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110 However, Rose recognizes the ambiguity of that connection between states' foreign conduct and the material distribution of power. Rose writes, “they point out that there is no immediate or perfect transmission belt linking material capabilities to foreign policy behavior”. Rose. *Ibid*, pp. 146 -147.

111 Randall Schweller, “Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing”. *International Security*, 29, (2004) p. 163.

112 Norrin Ripsman, ‘Neoclassical Realism and Domestic Interest Groups’, in *Lobell eds., Neoclassical Realism*, pp. 176–82.

have certain limits that fall under the context of the systemic balance of power, defining and putting restraints on states' foreign policy behavior.<sup>113</sup> This systemic balance of power imposes threats and motivations on political leaders in the long run. Therefore, leaders should seek to perceive those changes early and act accordingly.

Emphasizing the importance of this intervening unit-level variable, Randal Schweller considers that all the works of neoclassical realists posit that we cannot understand systematic influences without their being filtered through the perceptions, domestic constraints, incentives or motivations of this 'decision maker' or political leader. He stresses the need to incorporate both structural and domestic imperatives to explain and predict the state's foreign policy behavior.<sup>114</sup>

He explains the comprehensive nature of neoclassical realism and why it emerges to fill the gap, as well as the insufficiency of structural realism in explaining foreign policy because it refrains from considering domestic attributes as important variables in the state's external behavior. He does admit that the international distribution of power places constraints on states' ability to control their external behavior entirely, but says it does not firmly determine what states will do, let alone predict it, saying:

In recent years a new school of political realism has arisen, variously called neoclassical realism... There are several reasons for its emergence, but the primary one is that structural realism is strictly a theory of international politics, which accordingly makes no claim to explain foreign policy or specific historical events. Recognizing this limitation, a new breed of realist scholars have embraced the richer formulations of traditional, pre-Waltzian realists, who focused more on foreign policy than systemic phenomena. While not abandoning Waltz's insights about international structure and its

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113 Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", pp. 151-152.

114 Schweller, "Unanswered Threats", pp. 162-165

consequences, neoclassical realists have added first- and second-image variables (e.g., domestic politics, the relationship between internal extraction capacity and the external environment, state power and intentions, and statesmen's perceptions of the relative distribution of capabilities and the offense-defense balance) to explain better historical puzzles and foreign policy decision-making.”<sup>115</sup>

In this way, Schweller set out the basic pillars and major assumptions of neoclassical realism. He acknowledges the contributions of realism and neorealism on the importance of a state's relative power as a dominant factor in shaping its foreign behavior, but he underlines the importance of filtering these international pressures through intervening domestic variables. Domestic-level variables mediate pressures from the system, and produce different foreign policy outcomes: these variables represent a developing detailed account of a country's foreign policy in general, in order to gain a more specific and obvious complete understanding of the foreign policy making process and the production of foreign policy outcomes.

In this theory, Schweller also underlines the importance of the role of the structural influences, state power, and domestic politics, and the perceptions of leaders in understanding foreign policy behavior. It is a multi-level theory, flexible and comprehensive for understanding foreign policy development. He demonstrates that states vary in their ability to mobilize domestic resources, and that therefore, to understand structural influences, material power must also be translated through intervening unit-level variables such as decision-makers' perceptions and the state

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<sup>115</sup> Randall Schweller, reviewing “From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role” by Fareed Zakaria in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 93, (Jun. 1999), pp. 497-499. Rose asserted this middle position in Neoclassical Realism by saying that neoclassical realists occupy a middle ground between pure structural theorists and constructivists. The former implicitly accept a clear and direct link between systemic constraints and unit-level behavior; the latter deny that any objective systemic constraints exist at all, arguing instead that international reality is socially constructed and that anarchy is what states make of it. Rose, “Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy”, p. 153.

structure.<sup>116</sup> Neoclassical realists are driven by questions about how these wide variations shape foreign policy behavior.

It is obvious that both neorealism and neoclassical realism agree on increasing the importance of the distribution of power, but diverge on the role of the domestic dependent variable. While neorealism seeks to clarify states' foreign policies, it is challenged by times when different outcomes occur when a state is challenged by the same structural external imperatives.<sup>117</sup>

Norrin Ripsman says that influential domestic groups have a great impact in shaping their country's foreign policy positions, adding that they should enjoy a high degree of societal cohesion. He clarifies that in democracies the influence of domestic societal actors and interest groups are quite high due to their strong societal cohesion; however, in such countries, the capacity of politico-military institutions for extraction and mobilization is usually high as well. In his words, "in democratic states, we should expect the greatest influence from well-organized coherent, vote-rich, single-issue interest groups that can provide an electoral payoff, a legislature that can act as a veto for the government's policy agenda, groups that can frame executive thinking on foreign affairs, and, occasionally, the public as a whole."<sup>118</sup> Neoclassical realists confirm the importance of the anarchic nature of the world order. Nonetheless, they argue that this anarchy is not rigorous and does not impose a single way of arranging their domestic processes, which occur through bargains between political leaders and societal actors. Therefore, countries are different in their responses to this anarchic stimuli, In contrast to the firm understanding of structural realists of the limited

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116 Randall Schweller, "The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism", in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (eds.) *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003), pp. 311–315.

117 Ibid, p. 320-324.

118 Norrin Ripsman, "Neoclassical Realism and Domestic Interest Groups", pp. 183–86; Ibid, p. 87.

number of ways for states to pursue security in this rigid anarchic international order. Therefore, neoclassical realists claims states choose their goals according to their national interests. Systematic influences, they argue, have causal superiority over their distribution of material power, through which they impact and shape foreign policy conduct.<sup>119</sup> That is why neoclassical realism is comprehensive and flexible in analyzing this relative impact within the intervening domestic factors and the perceptions of national leaders, which are not inevitably predetermined by the dominance of the relative power of the world order.

Rose says that the political leaders make foreign policy choices, and their perceptions of the relative distribution of power are very important in shaping the foreign policy behavior of their countries.<sup>120</sup> However, how did the political leaders evaluate their foreign behavior in response to foreign intimidation and incentives and in line with domestic motivations and opportunities? How did their perceptions shape their foreign policy behavior? Rose attempts to answer these questions by saying that political leaders have different attitudes toward the available relative material resources necessary for power, referring to the limited ability of some leaders to extract, control and allocating domestic resources to the country's foreign policy. Rose says that "In the neoclassical realist world leaders can be constrained by both international and domestic politics." Therefore, neoclassical realism pays more attention to the role of political leaders than classical realism, which limits and restrict the impact of role in favor of structural influences in the conduct of foreign policy. Indeed, those leaders' perceptions are vital in assessing the relative power of other states. Zakaria has highlighted the importance of leaders and statesmen's perceptions

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119 Schweller, "The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism," pp. 321–325. Wohlforth illustrates the importance of perception with the example of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. He argues that these great powers interpreted their actual capabilities differently, which led the two powers to respond in different ways, conflicting with the neorealist prediction that 'units' with a similar position in the system would react the same way to systemic pressures.

120 Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", p. 147.

of power distributions, contending that statesmen are the principal actors and that their perceptions are crucial. Accordingly, the foreign policy behaviors of those leaders might be successful and predictable if they were based on a correct calculation of relative power in the short or medium terms.<sup>121</sup>

Despite relative power restricting or determining foreign policy goals, in the short term leaders' responses might not reflect structural imperatives: leaders' beliefs and perceptions here are of great importance, in particular those regarding regime survival in times of war.

However, leaders' perceptions are not alone enough to shape the foreign policies of their countries, due to their limited ability—as mentioned before—to allocate resources in pursuit of foreign policy goals. Therefore, neoclassical realists emphasize the importance of the intervening domestic variables between structural influences and leaders' responses. In line with the same understanding, Zakaria has examined how the power of the state affects the ability of political leaders to allocate and mobilize the resources to pursue foreign policy goals, which in return affects the state's ability to make policy changes in the international environment. Leaders sometimes set the priorities and define the national interests of their countries according to their own evaluation of their relative power.<sup>122</sup> Therefore, according to neoclassical realists, leaders operate in two environments—a two-level game—they conduct foreign policy by allocating and mobilizing the necessary resources through the state structure and gaining domestic support, while at the same time, assessing and responding to structural influences imposed on them.

Neoclassical realists believe that although political leaders' perceptions and judgments are important, the state's domestic characteristics are more important int

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121 Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*, (Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 35-39.

122 Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power*, p. 31.

determining foreign policies.<sup>123</sup> When the state enjoys a high degree of autonomy and its government has a strong hold on the state's major institutions, national security and foreign policy, along with the existence of a national consensus, the leader will have a larger role in influencing the foreign policy agenda, mainly driving decisions about war and peace. Those major institutions also influence political leaders in adjusting their foreign policy goals. Zakaria has confirmed this by underlining the importance of the strength of the state according to the degree of cohesion within its key institutions and their degree of autonomy from society. Therefore, major powers have a strong ability to allocate national resources to achieving their foreign policy objectives.<sup>124</sup> Schweller also adds to these constraints the vulnerability of the regime. Therefore, domestic intervening variables must be considered very carefully when analyzing foreign policy choices in neoclassical realism.

Nevertheless, the state power to allocate and mobilize national resources depends as well on the strength of political leaders in gaining national support for their foreign policy choices. Christensen writes about the importance of leadership in gaining support for allocating resources to pursuing foreign policy objectives; he says that this political power is determined by state-society relations and affects leaders' foreign orientations. He also raises important issues in terms of the change in the political leader's foreign policy choices in comparison with past responses to similar challenges. He underlines the importance of state-society relations and the ability of

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123 Lobell, ed., *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy*, pp. 1-4.

124 Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power*, pp. 32-37.

the leader to shape perceptions of foreign policy choices.<sup>125</sup> This point is crucial in explaining Jordan's foreign policy changes during the two US wars against Iraq.

In sum, neoclassical realists argue that the state's reaction to shifts in the external environment are influenced by three important variables: independent structural influences filtered and translated by the intervening unit-level variables of political leaders' perceptions and the state structure. Neoclassical realists admit that national power and the state's position in world politics are crucial in shaping state foreign policy orientations, yet, they insist that domestic dynamics shape this policy as well. Therefore, unit-level variables complete the causal chain of influences on foreign policy making. I will apply the lessons of this theory to the case studies in this thesis.

Neoclassical realism in its comprehensive and multi-dimensional flexible approach, offers an appropriate explanation for the foreign policy decisions of Jordan over the two wars. Indeed, the insights of neoclassical realists offer a comprehensive multi-dimensional understanding of changes in Jordanian foreign policy behaviors in the case studies of the two wars in this thesis, and those case studies are well suited for helping us to understand Jordanian politics in general.. I argue that these changes can be explained by filtering similar influences through the perceptions of the two kings and through domestic unit-level variables.

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<sup>125</sup> Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, (1947– 1958*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 10-12.



Table 2.1 Foreign policy making in classical realism, neorealism, and neoclassical realism.

Main argument by international relations perspective	Classical realism	Neorealism	Neoclassical realism
	Power distributions leading to foreign policy making	Relative power distributions leading to international politics and outcomes	Relative power distributions and domestic variables leading to foreign policy making

### 2.5. Balance of interest theory

Neoclassical realism is based on a comprehensive understanding of alliances that includes all variables demonstrating how structural imperatives are filtered through unit-level dynamics such as regime ideology, state–society relations, historical conditions of state formation processes, and the role of the leadership, among other constraints. They depart from Walt’s balance of threat argument on the importance of structural influences, while including the influences of more quotidian factors including the role of the leadership in their analytical approach to allow a more comprehensive understanding of the state’s foreign policies and alignments.

Applying Schweller’s balance of interest theory, which I have chosen to use in my case studies, lends itself well to this study, as the design of the case studies is theory oriented. By constructing an analytical narrative of a sequence of events caused and experienced by two monarchs as leaders or statesmen, I believe this analytical research method is suitable because it allows us to interpret the facts through an

analytical lens, which is the purpose of this study, and hence to reveal the answer to our question and reveal the related causal mechanism, as well as offering explanations for the phenomenon of change across our case studies.

Schweller's balance of interest theory departs from Walt's balance of major threat argument in his description of balancing and bandwagoning, where Walt concluded that without exception, these cases support the contention that states prefer to balance against threatening states rather than bandwagon with them.<sup>126</sup> When the level of threat increases, Walt contends, efforts to balance intensify. Schweller denies that Walt's balancing is a common alignment behavior adopted by states, due to the high cost of this balancing act. He says that states would rather not be involved in balancing, although in certain cases they do become involved. However, Schweller believes that bandwagoning rarely involves costs and is undertaken for gain and profit—bandwagoning being alignment with a dominant power in the hopes of profit. In Schweller's words “Balancing is an extremely costly activity that most states would rather not engage in, but sometimes must [in order to] survive and protect their values. Bandwagoning rarely involves costs and is typically done in the expectation of gain. This is why bandwagoning is more common, I believe, than Walt and Waltz suggest.”<sup>127</sup>

Schweller's balance of interest theory falls into the the neoclassical realist tradition. Schweller begins laying out his theory by questioning the basic assumptions of Walt and Waltz. In Schweller's view, both Waltz and Walt accept that states act to maintain their abilities, meaning that all states have a status quo orientation; thus, he

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126 Randall Schweller: “Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In”. *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (1994), pp. 91-93.

127 Randall Schweller: “Bandwagoning for Profit: Brining the Revisionist State Back In”. p. 93.

says, the aim of balancing is “self-preservation of values already possessed while the goal of bandwagoning is usually self-extension: to obtain values coveted.”<sup>128</sup>

Although he departs from Walt’s definition of balancing out threats, he adopts Walt’s conception of bandwagoning in the sense of joining the stronger coalition. Therefore, he attempts to highlight the basic shortcomings of Walt’s major assumption that threatened states align either through balancing or bandwagoning in the presence of a threat to their security.

According to Schweller, in the absence of threats, states do not seek to maximize their security, but to maximize their power position. Thus, Schweller in his theory considers new approaches to alignment for profit rather than for security, including states eager for power as well as the threatened states that Walt suggests.<sup>129</sup> Schweller claims, “we must focus on two factors that have been overlooked: the opportunistic aspect of bandwagoning, and the alliance choices of states that pose threats as well as those of states that respond to threats. In short, the theoretical literature on alliances must bring the revisionist state back in.” Revisionist powers are the prime movers of alliance behavior; status-quo states are the “reactors”.

Schweller, in attempting to explain how states choose sides, demonstrates the causes of alignment as being the relative material power of states, their position in the system, and their political goals and interests. He relies on the behavior of the great powers to conclude that bandwagoning and joining the stronger side, has been quite prevalent.<sup>130</sup>

He asserts that in international relations, most states are compelled by the anarchic system to maximize their influence and to improve their position in the

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128 Ibid, p. 79.

129 Ibid, pp. 82-83.

130 Randall Schweller, *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest*, pp. 72- 105.

system, although states have different motivations. Therefore, the primary motive of the states within this anarchic system is to remove the threat of domination or destruction by other aggressive and revisionist states. Nevertheless, Schweller says that not all states in the international system are revisionist; in reality, some states are seeking to maintain the status quo.<sup>131</sup> Structural conditions allow outcomes and do not cause them, but, by defining interests according to the domestic influences, the leader of a nation can make things happen. Therefore, systemic assumptions alone are not sufficient if we are properly and comprehensively to attempt to evaluate and explain foreign policy outcomes. Consequently, Schweller's theory is formulated for the study of both the systemic and unit-level variables.

Schweller argues that structural realism has a status quo bias and that realists ignore the role of positive incentives in the exercise of power. While Waltz claims that the primary cause of war is uncertainty and miscalculation, in Schweller's view it is clear that some states are revisionist, and this status quo bias in structural realist analysis leads to a narrow interpretation of bandwagoning and balancing as opposing behaviors. According to Schweller, "the aim of balancing is self-preservation of values already possessed while the goal of bandwagoning is usually self-extension: to obtain values coveted."<sup>132</sup>

Studying his theory, we note that the contemporary debate is based around the question of whether bandwagoning or balancing is the most prominent feature of the international system<sup>133</sup>. Schweller's theory aims to discover how states choose sides in

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131 Randall Schweller "Neorealism's Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" *Security Studies*, Vol. 5, (1996), pp. 95-110.

132 See Randall Schweller, "New Realist Research on Alliances: Refining, not Refuting, Waltz's Balancing Proposition," pp. 74-79 in *John A. Vasquez & Colin Elman, Realism and the Balancing of Power: A New Debate*, (Prentice Hall 2003).

133 *Ibid*, p. 88.

a conflict and is helpful in answering why states choose to join a coalition. It is also suitable for constructing historical case studies. His theoretical contribution is his emphasis on variation in state behavior. Schweller argues that alliance choices are motivated by opportunities for gain as well as danger, by appetite as well as fear.<sup>134</sup> Schweller refers to a variety of motivations, saying that, “Satisfied powers will join the status quo coalition, even when it is the stronger side; dissatisfied powers, motivated by profit more than by security, will bandwagon with the ascending revisionist state.”<sup>135</sup>

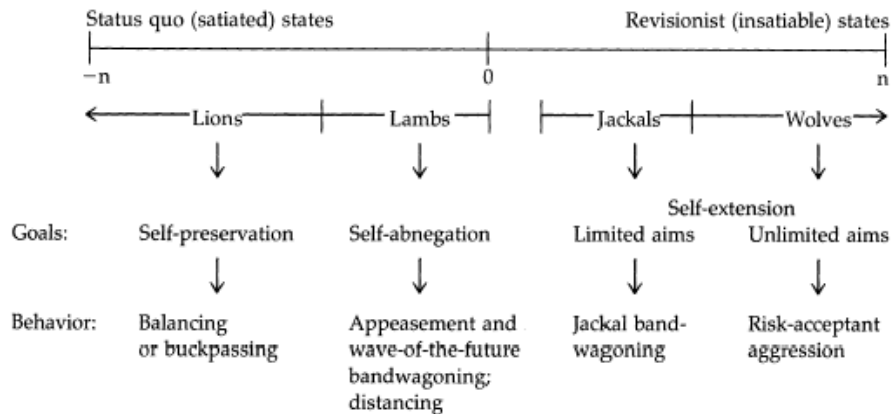
To sum up, Schweller in his theory of balance explains what stands behind states’ alignment behavior and why some states will tend to bandwagon while others will tend to balance: the answer comes from his two-level perspective taking in both the systemic and unit levels. He says the unit level, “refers to the costs a state is willing to pay to defend its values about the costs it is willing to pay to extend its values. At the systemic level, it refers to the relative strengths of the status quo and revisionist states.”

Accordingly, Schweller divides states up into two categories according to their interests: status quo seekers and revisionist states. He calculates that state interest as the result of state motivation; in his words, “State interest refers to the costs a state is willing to pay to defend its values (status quo)...[versus] the costs it is willing to pay to extend its values (revisionist).” To put it another way, state Interest = Value of Revision - Value of Status Quo.

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134 Ibid, p. 79.

135 Ibid, p. 88.



*NOTE: The top line represents the state's calculation of its relative interests in the values of revision and of the status quo. Where the status quo outweighs revision (where n is negative), states are satiated; where revision outweighs the status quo (n is positive), states are revisionist.*

Figure 2.1. A classification of states according to balance of interest theory. Source: Randall Schweller: "Bandwagoning for Profit: Brining the Revisionist State Back In". *International Security*, p. 100.

In explaining this approach, Schweller sets up a classification for states according to their relative power.

Lions: "Lions are states that will pay high costs to protect what they possess but only a small price to increase what they value. As extremely satisfied states, they are likely to be status-quo powers of the first rank."<sup>136</sup> Schweller considers that lions are strong status quo states. Lambs: "Lambs are countries that will pay only low costs to defend or extend their values."<sup>137</sup> Schweller considers lambs to be weak status quo states. Jackals: "Jackals are states that will pay high costs to defend their possessions but even greater costs to extend their values."<sup>138</sup> Schweller considers jackals weak revisionist states. Wolves: "Wolves are predatory states. They value what they covet

136 Schweller: "Bandwagoning for Profit: Brining the Revisionist State Back In", p. 101.

137 Ibid, pp. 101-102.

138 Ibid, p. 103.

far more than what they possess.”<sup>139</sup> Schweller considers wolves strong revisionist states. According to Schweller’s classification, Jordan is a small, weak status quo state. Based on this, lamb behaviors should be expected in Jordan's foreign policy conduct.

As I am aiming to find answers to the question at the center of this thesis through applying Schweller’s balance of interest theory and the insights of neoclassical realists, I will concentrate on domestic variables, as Jordan has behaved quite differently in two situations with similar external sets of conditions: namely, the two US-led wars against Iraq. The primary theoretical framework to which I will apply neoclassical realism in this thesis is an analysis of how the foreign policies of Jordan changed and shifted during the courses of the two US wars in 1991 and 2003; on how neoclassical realists weigh the influences of the structural and non-structural in the process of foreign policy making, and their perspective in explaining foreign policy behavior by emphasizing factors belonging to either the domestic or the international realms.

Table 2.2: The politics of alignment: Waltz's balance of power distribution, Walt's balance of threat, and Schweller's balance of interest

Main Argument	Balance of power distribution Waltz	Balance of Threat Walt	Balance of Interest Schweller
State balancing against threat	yes	yes	no
High cost of bandwagoning	yes	yes	no
State bandwagoning with the stronger power	no	no	yes

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139 Ibid, p, 103.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE FOUNDATIONS OF JORDAN'S FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION: A NEOCLASSICAL REALIST OUTLOOK**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This study aims to analyze changes in Jordanian foreign policy as presided over by two different kings during the two US-led wars against Iraq in 1991 and 2003. When applying the neoclassical realist perspective on this study, we can argue that, both monarchs of Jordan, in their role as chief foreign policy makers, responded to external influences in very different ways due to differences in their leadership styles and perceptions. Also, domestic imperatives played a key role in constraining their perceptions or encouraging foreign policy actions, although the structural pressures were similar throughout both wars. Both monarchs responded to both domestic and external influences, yet, their perceptions led to different foreign policies.

According to Schweller's classification in his balance of interest theory, Jordan is a small, weak status quo state. Based on this, lamb behaviors should be expected from Jordan in its foreign policy conduct. Lambs are weak countries that will pay only low costs to defend or extend their values. Lambs are weak states in that they possess relatively few capabilities or suffer from poor state-society relations for a variety of reasons: their elites lack legitimacy; they are internally divided; their state's ideology



conflicts with the culture of their people; or they are culturally torn states. Lambs are not expected to carry out military acts or join military coalitions.

Thus, their foreign policy is not driven by irredentist aims, yet, lambs may engage in self-abnegation, in which saving their own skins by making themselves useful to powerful states becomes a foreign policy goal. Lambs often bandwagon, as Walt implies, to divert and appease threats. In addition to bandwagoning, lambs may choose not to align with either side but instead to distance themselves from more directly threatened states.<sup>140</sup>

During conflicts, lambs may bandwagon for profit, or to extend their influence—similar to jackal bandwagoning—or else to share in the spoils of victory or, as Schweller says, “States may bandwagon with the stronger side because they believe it represents the “wave of the future” and “the aim of balancing is the self-preservation of values already possessed, while the goal of bandwagoning is usually self-extension: to obtain values coveted”.<sup>141</sup> This wide flexible view of the balance of interest provides a comprehensive analysis of states’ actions, especially those of small states like Jordan.

In a nutshell, in Jordan, the domestic situation affects foreign policy, and it is determined by how well the king can control the domestic environment in Jordan and how his perceptions shape external influences. Accordingly, the foreign policy of Jordan must be understood in a wider context; Jordan’s internal and external vulnerability has often been cited as the key to understanding its foreign policies. Thus, the role of the monarch and his perceptions are key variables in shaping the foreign orientation and behavior of the country.

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140 Ibid, pp. 102-103.

141 Ibid, pp. 93, 96.

### **3.2. The emergence of the state: the constraints and motivations at the foundations of foreign policy**

The country of Jordan emerged from the imperial colonization that redrew the map of the Middle East region after the First World War.<sup>142</sup> In 1921, Great Britain drew Jordan's borders, established the Hashemite monarchy under Emir Abdullah, and built the foundations of Transjordan.<sup>143</sup>

Jordan has relied heavily on foreign backers to satisfy its security needs. It maintained close strategic ties with Britain, with Emir Abdullah long depending on British command and supplies for his Arab Legion. These external influences have retained their impact on Jordan's foreign policy orientation since 1921. Jordan has largely been perceived as a moderate Arab country in the eyes of the west, and as a weak, fragile artificially pro-western country in the eyes of its neighbors.

Under the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, the British reached an accommodation with the French to divide the Middle East region between them.<sup>144</sup> Thus, the borders that finally constituted the Jordanian state were heavily influenced by foreign powers. More importantly, the Sykes-Picot agreement clearly drew out the borders of the former Ottoman territories, and created the lands of Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. These states were placed under the control of either the British or the French, depending on each imperial power's respective interests in the

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142 The British thus established new borders and new dynasties for both Transjordan and Iraq. The latter dynasty was overthrown and eliminated in a brutal bloody coup in Baghdad in 1958, but the Hashemite monarchy continued both to reign and rule in Jordan well into the twenty-first century.

143 A major step toward real independence came with a new treaty in 1928 that gave greater authority to the emir and his officials. However, London retained the right to oversee finance and foreign policy, and British officers still controlled the Jordanian army, known then as the Arab Legion. The Organic Law of 1928 made the first move toward a representative government by providing for a legislative council to replace the old executive council. Warwick Knowles, *Jordan Since 1989: A Study in Political Economy*, I. B. Tauris, (2005), p 37.

144 See Kamal Salibi, *The Modern History of Jordan*, (London, New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd. 1993).

territories.<sup>145</sup> Therefore, the Sykes-Picot agreement, along with the Balfour Declaration, created not only Jordan but the entire neighborhood it would be based in.

Since its foundation in the 1920s, Jordan has been highly vulnerable to internal troubles caused by political and economic as well as external military events. Like other small countries,<sup>146</sup> Jordan has had huge barriers to deciding its own foreign policy, due to pressures from its stronger neighbors as well as extra-regional powers.

Jordan's creation reflected in large part a compromise settlement by the allied powers in the aftermath of World War I through the drawing up of new borders for the region. Britain held a mandate over Transjordan, Palestine, and Iraq, while France became the mandatory power for Syria and Lebanon. Direct British administration was established in Palestine, where British colonial policy according to the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was to implement the foundation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Jordan's colonial history tied it to the British. The state, which was under the British mandate system until 1946, was admitted into the United Nations as a sovereign state in 1955.

Jordan is a small, poor state in the Middle East. Its geographic location places it between militarily and economically superior and more aggressive neighbors—Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Israel—meaning the Kingdom has often been exposed to the pressures of regional powers and manipulation, which has all deeply constrained Jordan's foreign policy and its alignment choices. Jordan has suffered since its founding in 1921 from being politically, militarily and economically weaker

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145 Ryan, *Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, pp. 292-294, Muasher, *The Arab Center: Promise of Moderation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) p. 13., Rogan, *The Emergence of the Middle East*, p. 17.

146 See Jeanne Hey, *Small States in World Politics*, (Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2006).

than its neighbors. Additionally, there are no geographical or physical boundaries between Jordan and its neighbors except the Jordan River to the west.<sup>147</sup>

The political history of Jordan demonstrates that Jordan's foreign policy and alignment choices have often been constrained by and restricted to both domestic and regional dynamics and factors. The lack of a viable domestic economic base, due to the scarcity of natural resources, and subsequent dependence on foreign aid, along with weaknesses in the domestic sphere has had a huge negative political and economic impact, complicating of the foreign policy behavior of the country. Jordan's largest domestic weakness has been the non-unified identity of the nation and its internal demographic problems due to its large Palestinian population, who do not consider themselves completely Jordanian and are not devoted to the maintenance and stability of the country. To explain more, Jordan is vulnerable due to having a segmented population, divided between those who identify themselves principally as Jordanians and those who identify themselves as Palestinians.<sup>148</sup> This division manifests itself in all social, economic, cultural and political arenas, and creates a fundamental unrest between both sides. This absence of a unified communal base in Jordan has a huge impact on the country's foreign policy.

The foreign policy of Jordan—just like any other state—reflects the expression of the state's behavior in the international sphere, and has certain goals, including securing the survival of the regime and country; protecting its sovereignty, national security and national interests; securing its economic interests and increase economic prosperity; gaining political influence; achieving goals in line with the ideological beliefs of the state; and to defend the state's identity, ideology and culture. Officially,

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147 See Brent Sasley, "Changes and Continuities in Jordanian Foreign Policy", *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (March 2002), p. 40.

148 Moshe Shemesh in Joseph Ginat and Onn Winckler (eds.), *Bilateral and Trilateral Political Cooperation in The Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli Triangle: Smoothing the Path to Peace*, (Academic Press: Sussex, UK, 1998), pp. 33-35.

the foreign policy of Jordan is based on the general principles of Arab and Islamic solidarity at the regional level, and nonalignment, commitment to the United Nations, and fostering Islamic solidarity and cooperation at the international level.<sup>149</sup>

Therefore, Jordan has always been viewed as not being strong enough to direct regional politics on its own and has usually followed a conservative foreign policy dependent on powerful international allies, mainly the United States, in order to preserve its independence.<sup>150</sup> In fact, its vulnerability has often been cited as the key to understanding its foreign policies. These vulnerabilities stem from both internal and external sources, and are linked to the internal and external interests of the political economy of Jordan.<sup>151</sup>

Jordan's economic problems have been the source of major concern. Jordan has been forced to rely on outside assistance for sustenance. Its lack of natural resources, particularly oil and water, also compounds Jordan's vulnerability.

In other words, regarding national wealth, Jordan has comparatively very little in the way of natural resources. Lacking the oil riches of the Arabian Gulf states and facing a serious water shortage, Jordan has built the foundation of its economy on economic aid funds and Jordanian remittances. Due to the large gap between the country's scant natural resources and the need for economic and social programs to support its burgeoning population, Jordan has been heavily reliant on these external

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149 Abdel Majid Alazam, *The Foreign Policy Making in Jordan*, (in Arabic), (Military press, Amman, 1998), pp. 39-42.

150 Curtis Ryan, *Alliances and Jordanian Foreign Policy*, (Chicago, Illinois, February 2001), pp. 21-24.

151 See Yasser Qutaishat, *Jordan-Arab Relations*, (Yafa Home Press (in Arabic), Amman, 2008), pp. 34-39.

sources of assistance in order to maintain a reasonable defense capability as well as viable socio-economic programs, and to maintain its standards of living.<sup>152</sup>

In other words, the lack of natural resources and the rentier aspects of Jordan's economy have also contributed to the domestic and foreign policy the regime has pursued.<sup>153</sup>

Economic dependence has played a constraining role in Jordanian foreign policy. No king could ignore the potential for severe economic difficulties should Jordan alienate the outside world.<sup>154</sup> One of the major problems that kings have faced is the very real possibility of the eruption of domestic unrest in Jordan. First of all, severe economic problems including widespread inflation and unemployment have created high levels of frustration among the Jordanian populace. Economic stress has been shown to spark off demonstrations and riots like the one that occurred in Jordan in 1989.<sup>155</sup>

A central objective of Jordan's foreign policy is to protect the cornerstones of its economy: the significant remittances from Jordanians working abroad, the economic security provided through financial aid, and oil for domestic fuel consumption at preferential rates.<sup>156</sup> Two major factors have played an important role

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152 Khatib, Fawzi. "Foreign Aid and Economic Development in Jordan: An Empirical Investigation" in Rodney Wilson (ed.), *Politics and the Economy in Jordan*, (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 60-76.

153 For a detailed study on this topic, see Laurie Brand, *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations: The Political Economy of Alliance Making*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

154 In non-crisis times, however, Jordan was not able to stray too far from the Saudi line in foreign policy because of Jordan's great need for economic and financial assistance.

155 Stanley Reed, *Jordan and the Gulf Crisis*, (1990), pp. 21- 23. Robert Satloff, "Jordan Looks Inward," *Current History*, (1990), p. 11.

156 Brand, *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations*, pp. 139-58. See also by the same author, "In Search of Budget Security: A Reexamination of Jordanian Foreign Policy" in L. Carl Brown (ed.) *Diplomacy in the Middle East: The International Relations of Regional and Outside Powers*, (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001 and 2004).

in guiding Jordan's regional alliances: first, to meet the local demand for cheap fuel; and second, to obtain sufficient financial resources to balance the budget.<sup>157</sup>

Nevertheless, factors such as the country's strategic position and geopolitical importance to regional and global powers has played a strong impact on its foreign policy, and have led the Kingdom to play a certain role in the international arena. Therefore, it has enjoyed an international and regional stature larger than its size and resources would normally suggest. Because of its geographical location, the country has confronted many external threats, both directly military as well as economic and political internal challenges which have threatened the survival and stability of the monarchy. In particular, the periods 1956-57 and 1970-71 demonstrated how external factors and actors can threaten the regime's security in Jordan. The civil war of 1970 was one example of the political instability that the regime still worries about to this day.<sup>158</sup> Therefore, maintaining domestic political stability has become, at various points in history, one of the major determining factors influencing foreign policy decision making in Jordan.

Amman's main goal—the survival of the monarchical regime—has always been the key target for the King in his foreign policy, though more recently strengthening the economy has become increasingly important as well. These goals demonstrate how Jordan's external security concerns emerge from a need to rely on other countries: the country's central location in the context of the Arab–Israeli

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157 Sasley, "Changes and Continuities in Jordanian Foreign Policy". Laurie Brand notes that economic "Leaders make their decisions in the context of evaluating two facets of economic security—national security (externally directed) and regime (leadership) security (internally directed)—and for leaders of developing states, the latter form of security, that of the regime, is normally most significant, as most Third World states do not face significant external threats". Karla Cunningham, *The Causes and Effects of Foreign Policy Decision Making: An Analysis of Jordanian Peace with Israel World Affairs*, (Spring 1998).

158 Ibid, Sasley. p. 42.

conflict has allowed the Hashemite regime to gain significant economic, political, and military external support.<sup>159</sup>

Throughout history, Jordan has been subject to international, regional and domestic wars and revolutions, and to protect itself it has maintained strong strategic relations with strong western allies. The foreign policy of Jordan has become a major national resource, allowing the Hashemite regime to protect its sovereignty during times of regional and domestic turbulence.<sup>160</sup> It is on the Palestinian question, a subject organically connected to the Arab-Israeli conflict, that Jordan's domestic and foreign policy spheres have overlapped most sharply, however. After all, in Jordan, unlike in any other Arab state, the Palestinian question is both a domestic and a foreign policy concern.

Jordan's political establishment plays host to a wide range of political orientations, each advocating a particular approach to Jordan's attitude to the Palestinian question and people and the Arab-Israeli conflict in general.<sup>161</sup> The first group consists of Transjordanian nationalists who, after the 1970-1971 civil war, advocated Jordan's disengagement from the West Bank Palestinian question and a concentration on the economic development of the East Bank.<sup>162</sup> The other group consists mainly of Palestinians who reject this and argue that for a host of historical economic, and political reasons, Jordan cannot dissociate itself from the Arab-Israeli

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159 In addition, Jordan gained importance from being responsible for Islamic sites in Jerusalem between 1948 and 1967, See Sasley: "Changes and Continuities in Jordanian Foreign Policy", pp. 36-48.

160 Ali E. Hillal Dessouki and Karen Abul Kheir, "Foreign Policy as a Strategic National Asset: The Case of Jordan" in Bahgat Korany and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, eds. *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Globalization*, (American University in Cairo Press, 2010), p. 253.

161 See Joseph Nevo, "The Jordanian, Palestinian and Jordanian-Palestinian Identities.", Paper presented at the Fourth Nordic Conference on Middle Eastern Studies, *The Middle East in a Globalizing World*, (Oslo, Norway, August 13-16, 1998), pp. 1-10.

162 In general, East Bank Jordanians dominate much of the government, public-sector industry, and military, while Palestinians are heavily represented in private-sector businesses and in the various professions.



conflict. This latter group also argue that, given the shared and intertwined history of Jordanians and Palestinians, full coordination of diplomatic moves between the Jordanian regime, the PLO, and West Bank Palestinians is essential for a just resolution of the Palestinian question. However, some of this group still distrust the PLO and its leadership, and in seeking an end to Israeli occupation of the West Bank, they preferred Jordan to coordinate with Syria and other Arab states.<sup>163</sup>

Both sides differ over the identity of the Jordanians. However, the King's ultimate policy choices on the Palestinian question have not been the result of lobbying by the groups above, but rather a combination of domestic constraints as well as regional and international dynamics. The 1948 war added hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arab refugees as well as the Palestinians of the West Bank to the Jordanian people in the East Bank. Moreover, after a military and political struggle to defend as much of mandated Palestine as possible from the Zionist forces, Jordan and the West Bank were united in 1950.

As mentioned earlier, the scarcity of resources has significantly influenced Jordanian foreign policy.<sup>164</sup> Most pressing is the country's lack of sufficient water resources, a major concern as Jordan is one of the most water-scarce countries in the world.<sup>165</sup> This water shortage is a major concern, and within this context, the main source of water in the country, the Jordan River, has been the focus of regional conflict for decades, especially due to the unfair use of the river's waters by both Israel and Syria. Also, Jordan's sole port, Aqaba, with its twenty-four kilometer

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<sup>163</sup> Saleh A. Al-Zu'bi, *Jordan's Foreign Policy: Regional and International Implications*, pp. 224-27.

<sup>164</sup> Jordan's major interest in the Arab Israeli conflict, as well as regional stability and other issues of the region, stems partially from its scarcity of natural resources and its abnormal and uncontrolled population growth, which is due to major Palestinian immigration to Jordan. These factors make it necessary for Jordan to maintain its regional centrality to ensure the continued supply of financial assistance required to maintain regime survival, domestic stability, as well as budget security.

<sup>165</sup> Ali E. Hillal Dessouki and Karen Abul Kheir, "Foreign Policy as a Strategic National Asset: The Case of Jordan", p. 255.

coastline is of extreme importance in economic terms as a route for transit trade, particularly into landlocked Iraq.

Another factor impacting the foreign policy of Jordan is the population and the divided identity of the country; a very important demographic issue in Jordan is the distinction between the original Jordanians, the "East Bankers", and Jordanians of Palestinian origin or West Bank descent.<sup>166</sup> Huge numbers moved from the West Bank into Jordan as the result of the 1948 and 1967 conflicts, as well as the formal annexation by Jordan of the West Bank. The continuous conflict between Israel and the Palestinians also led to the emigration of many Palestinians into Jordan. For example, after the 1948 war, it was estimated that 600,000 to 700,000 Palestinians came to Jordan.<sup>167</sup>

The successive influx of Palestinians into Jordan has allowed what was once a minority group to become nearly the majority, constituting approximately half of the total Jordanian population.<sup>168</sup> Indeed, Jordan's sociological composition, with a large Palestinian population upholding a distinct national identity, was, until the signing of the September 13, 1993 Oslo Accords, an inevitable constraint and complication upon the Hashemite regime's approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict and foreign policy in general.

In Jordan, the domestic situation affects foreign policy, and it is determined by how well the king controls the internal environment in Jordan, and how he responds to external influences accordingly.

In 1970, the Jordanian military fought Palestinian insurgent guerrillas, and King Hussein developed other forms of control. These non-coercive methods of

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166 Joseph Nevo, "The Jordanian, Palestinian and Jordanian-Palestinian Identities", pp. 1-10.

167 Joyce, *Anglo American Support for Jordan*, p. 141.

168 David Schenker, *Dancing with Saddam: The Strategic Tango of Jordanian-Iraqi Relations* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), p. 1-3. Jamil E. Jreisat and Haana Y. Freji, "Jordan, the United States, and the Gulf Crisis," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 13 (1991), p. 101.

control are crucial in helping to shield foreign policy from the influences of domestic unrest and to secure control over the country's internal environment. Hussein has worked to gain the loyalty of key segments of his population. The base of support for King Hussein, King Abdullah I before him, and King Abdullah II after him has been the Transjordanian population of the East Bank. The Transjordanians were those people who were already living on the East Bank in 1921 before the first wave of Palestinian refugees entered the area.<sup>169</sup>

The danger of domestic instability in Jordan is particularly high because a large percentage of the population, the Palestinians, feel little loyalty toward the monarchy. Many of the Palestinians in Jordan are refugees from past Arab-Israeli wars and consider Jordan only to be a temporary home which will be left once a Palestinian state is created. They consider the regaining of the occupied territories a central foreign policy goal.<sup>170</sup> A large percentage of them hold ill feelings toward Jordan and the monarch mainly because of past Hashemite dealings with Israel and the September 1970 experience, as well as the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty. Also, the leadership of the monarch has been the cause of considerable criticism and suspicion by the Palestinians and radical Arab regimes, and was a major factor behind the political instability Jordan suffered from the 1950s to the mid-1970s. As the King cannot rely on the Palestinians in Jordan, therefore, he has had to ensure that he has the full loyalty of the Transjordanian community. The King has also been successful in securing the allegiance of the armed forces that are the ultimate guarantors of his survival.<sup>171</sup>

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169 Saleh A. Al-Zu'bi, *Jordan's Foreign Policy: Regional and International Implications, Politics and the Economy in Jordan*, (1991), pp. 221-237.

170 Joseph Nevo, "The Jordanian, Palestinian and Jordanian-Palestinian Identities." , pp. 1-10.

171 Laurie Brand, *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations: The Political Economy of Alliance Making*, pp. 139-58. see also by the same author, "In Search of Budget Security: A reexamination of Jordanian Foreign Policy" in *Diplomacy in the Middle East: The International Relations of Regional and Outside Powers*, ed. L. Carl Brown, (London and New York: I.B. Tauris. 2001 and 2004).

There are two key sub-groupings of the Transjordanian population whose loyalty the Hashemites have secured. One of these groups, the Bedouins, were first given special attention in the 1930s by Captain John Glubb, commander of the Arab Legion. He began recruiting Bedouins into the Legion, a policy that gained their allegiance to the monarchy. Up to the present day, the monarchy can count on the loyalty of the armed forces. Since then, the Hashemites have sought to maintain the loyalty of the Bedouins by providing them with rural services including schools, clinics, potable water, welfare assistance, and economic infrastructure projects designed mainly to foster agricultural growth.<sup>172</sup>

Gubser identifies another important Transjordanian sub-grouping: the tribes of the rural areas. The Hashemites have cultivated tribal loyalty by visiting the tribes and responding to their concerns, a policy that has had a positive impact on decision-making in Jordan.

Through such efforts, both monarchs have established a very personal leadership relationship with the tribes, which have reciprocated in turn with tribal loyalty to the two leaders. Thus, the ordinary tribesman, whether in the desert, on the farm or in the military, have given their automatic loyalty to the monarchy. Abdullah and Hussein have thereby enjoyed a certain amount of executive freedom to make policy and undertake actions without worrying about the immediate reaction of the population.<sup>173</sup> Traditional tribal loyalty (and other aspects of tribal culture) is, however, being eroded by modernization and urbanization in Jordan, the result of which will be to lessen the King's flexibility in making internal and external policy.

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172 Peter Gubser, "Balancing Pluralism and Authoritarianism." In *Ideology and Power in the Middle East*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger, Durham: (Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 90-91.

173 Ibid, p. 92.

Also, the King, in his efforts to appease the dissatisfied population, has made regular use of cabinet reshuffling. He reshuffles the cabinet, which has often translated into replacing the prime minister, to signal to certain disgruntled segments of the population that he understands their problems and is placing new officials in charge who will take better account of their interests.<sup>174</sup>

Concerning security, security concerns have an enormous impact on Jordanian foreign policy. Jordan, as mentioned before, is surrounded by other nations it considers, whether for good reason or not, to be hostile. Hence, security concerns have been highly influential in shaping foreign policy. The central variables in Jordan's security formula are its geography and the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>175</sup> Jordan's geographic proximity places it in between five states (Israel, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia) all of which have been key actors in the Arab-Israeli conflict. This geographic location has driven the monarch to adopt a position of neutrality in regional conflicts since the 1950s, although Jordan has twice joined other Arab states in their wars against Israel (in 1967 and 1973) mainly for economic, political, and domestic security reasons.

King Hussein's perception of Israel's motivations could not be more skeptical. Israel took the entire West Bank from Jordan in 1967 (after Jordan entered the war on the side of Egypt and Syria).<sup>176</sup> There has also been concern that Israel might attempt to solve its Palestinian problem by somehow bringing about the downfall of the Hashemite monarchy and driving the West Bank Palestinians into Jordan. However, knowing that the United States would rather have a moderate Hashemite monarchy than any other alternative—which would most likely be anti-American—gives the

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174 Saleh A. Al-Zu'bi, *Jordan's Foreign Policy: Regional and International Implications, Politics and the Economy in Jordan*, pp. 235-37.

175 See: Aaron Miller, *Jordan and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Hashemite Predicament*, (Orbis, 1986), pp. 795-820.

176 Ali E. Hillal Dessouki and Karen Abul Kheir, *Foreign Policy as a Strategic National Asset: The Case of Jordan*. p. 256.

monarch some measure of reassurance as far as Jordan's security is concerned. Washington's role is also important in restraining hardline Israeli governments which may not consider Hashemite rule so valuable.

Jordan has suffered severe periods of internal instability. This problem has had a clear effect on foreign policy, as in the 1967 War, where King Hussein put the nation's physical security at great risk to avoid anti-Hashemite unrest. The fear of this unrest dampened the impact security concerns had on the foreign policy of Jordan. In this regard, Jordan's regional alliances have tended toward efforts at maintaining a regional balance of power, such as its alliance with Iraq in 1958 in the wake of the creation of the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria. At other times, Jordan's alliances with Arab states have been designed to alleviate domestic tensions and to bring in revenues to secure the financial situation of the country.<sup>177</sup>

The territorial security of Jordan has been a constant issue throughout the political life of the country, due to its long border with Israel, the longest among all the Arab states. Also, Jordan's relationship with its Arab neighbors, especially Syria, has been intensely hostile at many times. Jordan lacks the oil wealth of the Gulf States and the manpower base of more populous Arab states like Egypt and Iraq. These realities make the possibility of security self-sufficiency nearly impossible.<sup>178</sup>

In the 1930s and 1940s, Arab nationalism, which began to pick up steam in response to the continued French and British control of the region, had a massive impact on the region and on Jordanian foreign policy behavior. Emir Abdullah of Transjordan had close ties to Britain, and was still being provided with economic and military assistance at the time Egypt and Syria gained their independence. Abdullah's

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177 Saleh A. Al-Zu'bi, *Jordan's Foreign Policy: Regional and International Implications, Politics and the Economy in Jordan*, (1991), pp. 221-37.

178 None of the states centrally involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict is security self-sufficient in terms of being able to satisfy perceived defense requirements without external assistance, but Jordan's inability to fulfill these requirements is particularly great.

ties soon became a weakness for him in the increasingly emotional atmosphere generated by the growth of Arab nationalism. Also, Abdullah's pan-Arab credentials were further damaged as a result of events surrounding the foundation of Israel in the late 1940s. Before the 1948 War, he had two conversations with the later Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir,<sup>179</sup> and then he opened lines of communication with the new Jewish state in an attempt to recover some of the lands Transjordan had lost in the war, and declared the formal annexation of the West Bank in 1950.<sup>180</sup>

On May 25, 1946, the country's name was changed to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. King Abdullah annexed the West Bank on April 24, 1950. Arabs and Palestinians both believed that he betrayed them through this annexation. In parallel, Abdullah gave full citizenship rights to the Palestinians. Many Palestinians perceived this as a betrayal of their desire to obtain Palestinian national rights. On July 20, 1951, Abdullah was assassinated by a Palestinian nationalist in Jerusalem, and Abdullah's son Talal briefly succeeded to the throne. Due to his illness, Talal's son Hussein became the King of Jordan in 1952.<sup>181</sup>

The influence of the political Islamic movement in Jordan has become more evident in recent years. The Muslim Brotherhood has been a legal political party since the mid-1940s and has good relations with the regime. The movement of the Brotherhood established its roots in Transjordan under the guidance of Shaykh 'Abd al-Latif Abu Qura in 1934. Later, the movement was officially registered in Jordan in November 1945 as the Association of the Muslim Brotherhood, and Abu Qura became

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179 See Peter John Snow, *Hussein: A Biography*, (N.Y., Robert B. Luce, Inc., 1972), pp. 28-29.

180 The debate ever since has turned on whether Abdullah's move has preserved Arab territory from complete Israeli control or whether he had prevented the possibility of a smaller Palestinian state by annexing the territory. Abdullah paid for that decision with his life when he was gunned down in East Jerusalem by a Palestinian nationalist.

181 Hussein was still a minor. A regency council of three was formed to govern for several months until the young Hussein reached majority and assumed the throne in May 1953.

its first General Supervisor.<sup>182</sup> The Muslim Brotherhood, often simply "the Brotherhood", or in Arabic *Ikhwan*, is a multi-national Sunni Islamist movement and very influential among socio-political Islamist groups. It was founded by the Sufi Egyptian Imam Hassan al-Banna in 1928 against the background of political, social and intellectual crisis in British-dominated Egypt.<sup>183</sup>

King Hussein had the power to remove the Muslim Brotherhood's freedom of action at any time, a fact that had a moderating effect on the organization's political activities. Islamic opposition to King Hussein's rule based on an attack on his Islamic credentials was and remains highly unlikely. The resurgence of Islamic political movements following the revolution in Iran, however, had a strong impact on much of the Arab world. It demonstrated for the first time that an Islamic-led opposition movement could successfully overthrow a secular regime, even one that possessed formidable tools of repression. After the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the Jordanian regime also feared that Islamist politics would influence its subjects. The government in the 1990s grew increasingly concerned with the Brotherhood's policies and tried to limit its effectiveness through repression in different ways and through holding elections.<sup>184</sup> Again, the concern was not only with radical Islamism itself, but that such a movement could use Islam to mobilize an already somewhat alienated Palestinian population against the monarchy. The deterioration of Jordan's economic situation along with the unstable regional situation was probably one of the basic factors that contributed to a surge in the influence of Islamic activists in the mid-1980s.

In many Arab countries, like Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood was outlawed and state suppression of the group, while effective, only served to fuel more

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182 Osama Issa Salim, *Jordan Foreign Policy and Arab Crises*, Ministry of Culture publication (in Arabic), (Amman Jordan 2000), pp. 47-48.

183 Ranad al-Khatib Iyad, *Jordanian Political movements*. (in Arabic), (Amman, March 1991), p. 187.

184 Ryan, *Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, p. 296.



underground opposition.<sup>185</sup> A militant Egyptian Islamic fundamentalist group assassinated President Anwar al-Sadat, in large part because he signed a peace treaty with Israel. However, in Jordan, King Abdullah allowed the Brotherhood to establish branches throughout the Kingdom, enabling the movement to extend its influence during the initial period of state-building.<sup>186</sup> The Brotherhood became an active participant in the construction of the new Jordanian entity and has maintained an important role in shaping the affairs of the country. Abdullah viewed the movement as a strategic ally in combating leftist and other forces in the Kingdom. The Muslim Brotherhood, for its part, supported the King's annexation of the West Bank and respected the religious credentials of the Hashemites.<sup>187</sup> Such a relationship continued because of the Jordanian king's need to secure popular and ideological support in his fight against leftist and nationalist trends opposing the Jordanian monarchy. At times of crisis, the Brotherhood took the King's side against his enemies or, to be more precise, against their enemies, if one looked deeper. While most political parties and movements were banned for a long time in Jordan, the Brotherhood was exempted and allowed to operate. The Muslim Brotherhood has consistently supported the Hashemite monarchy during periods of crisis.

During the height of the regime's confrontation with Arab nationalists and the coup attempt in the 1950s, the Brotherhood openly declared its loyalty to King Hussein, supporting martial law to combat destabilizing movements such as various

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185 Paul C. Noble, "The Arab system: Opportunities, Constraints, and Pressures", pp. 41-78, in Bahgat Korany and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki (eds.) *The Foreign Policies of Arab states* (Westview Press: Boulder, 1984).

186 Nasir Aruri, *Jordan; A Study in Political Development, 1921-1965* (Amman, Jordan, 1972), p. 24.

187 See Abdullah Akaileh, "The Experience of the Jordanian Islamic Movement," in Azzam Tamimi, (ed.), *Power-Sharing Islam?* (London: Liberty for Muslim World Publications, 1993).

Nasserist groups, communists, leftists, and the pro-Syrian and pro-Iraqi Ba'ath parties, and later on, the Palestinian extremist guerrilla organizations. Despite this cooperation, the relationship has experienced downturns as well. In 1956, the Muslim Brotherhood organized protests against policies that permitted a substantial British presence in the country.

This relationship was strengthened later, when the King emerged victorious from confrontation with domestic rebels with the help of the Brotherhood in a 1957 coup attempt arranged by some Nasserites and nationalists in collaboration with the Nasserite Prime Minister Sulayman al-Nabulsi.<sup>188</sup>

In Jordan, the existence of an unstable domestic environment can be a restraining force on foreign policy. It is the monarch who has the final say in all foreign policy matters.<sup>189</sup> Jordanians are not a part of a democratic process in the Western sense. They feel that they have no real influence in the running of domestic or foreign policy. Hence, pent-up political frustrations are sometimes manifested in demonstrations or riots. Such activities are sometimes triggered by an emotional regional event, especially one having to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict. The dilemma of the Palestinians reminds many in the area of the western intervention that helped bring about the creation of Israel and the political division of the Arab world.<sup>190</sup>

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188 Lawrence Tal, "Dealing with Radical Islam: The Case of Jordan", *Survival*, vol. 37, no. 3, (Autumn 1995), p. 91.

189 Abdel Majid Alazam, *Foreign Policy Making in Jordan*, (in Arabic), (Military press, Amman, 1998), pp. 5-9.

190 Ziyad Abu Ghanima, *al-Harakat al-Islamiyya wa-Qadiyyat Filastin*, (1989). p. 4.

### **3.3 King Hussein's foreign policy during the Cold War**

#### **3.3.1. Introduction**

King Hussein became the monarch of Jordan in August 1952,<sup>191</sup> inheriting the legacy of the Hashemites as being dependent on Great Britain. However, he soon realized that global power structures were shifting, creating new regional security threats. Hussein was the chief of foreign policy throughout his reign. From the time he became King of Jordan in 1952 at the age of sixteen until 1967, Hussein was to be profoundly affected by the forces of Arab nationalism, which he tended to turn away from along with Islamism. Geopolitical reality, however, forced Jordan to maintain stable relations with at least one of its radical neighbors at any one time: Syria or Iraq.<sup>192</sup>

In the domestic arena, King Hussein was involved in and dominated both domestic and foreign policy formation at every level in Jordan. Since Jordan has always been heavily dependent on other countries, the survival of the regime and the country is closely tied to foreign affairs. Jordan has had to try to formulate its policies with the aim of counterbalancing regional problems.

Jordan has long suffered from a severe imbalance between its resources and population. It was forced to shoulder the burdens of being a front-line state and the resultant military expenditures on the country's defense requirements this entailed. Jordan's small economic base was also strained by large waves of Palestinian refugees seeking assistance during the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948 and 1967.<sup>193</sup> After the establishment of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the country had strong relations with the United States; furthermore, Jordan became a strong ally to the

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191 Hussein was still a minor. A regency council of three was formed to govern for several months until the young Hussein reached majority and assumed the throne in May 1953.

192 Sasley, "Changes and Continuities in Jordanian Foreign Policy", p. 40.

193 Al-Zu'bi, *Jordan's Foreign Policy*, pp. 227-28.

Western states as a conservative safeguard against communism and fundamental forms of Arab nationalism, as well as being a moderate actor in the region. Playing this role since 1953 allowed King Hussein to establish direct contact with leaders all throughout the world.<sup>194</sup> His long rule gave him expertise in foreign affairs, and he was therefore in a good position—despite the many difficulties—to pursue Jordan’s foreign policy aims and strategy.

In the 1950s, Hussein thwarted attempts by nationalist army officers to overturn the monarchy. He came to power at a time when deep Arab nationalist feelings and opposition to western imperialism were an increasingly potent ideological force, and yet he found himself in a position of dependency on the west. Nevertheless, he further strengthened and deepened his alliance with western powers. It was an age of revolution, in which the Jordanian regime stood in opposition to the nationalist powers who represented the mood of the time. Therefore, his survival required a realistic sense of what was politically possible; moving cautiously and seeking to build a kind of consensus whilst depending on support by external allies.<sup>195</sup> In other words, Jordan had long depended on the British command and supply of the Jordanian army and continued to receive military assistance from Great Britain. The next foreign guarantor of Jordanian security was the United States, which saw King Hussein as one of the few friendly Arab states in an unfriendly world of 1960s Arab leftist radicalism.

Jordan might have preferred to remain neutral in the Arab-Israeli conflict, Syrian-Iraqi hostility, the Iran-Iraq war, as well as the Gulf war in 1991. This has, however, rarely worked: hostility between its various neighbors has always forced King Hussein to choose, at least temporarily, one side or another. Throughout his

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194 Qutaishat, *Jordan-Arab Relations*, p. 16.

195 Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), pp. 159-179

long reign King Hussein survived much turmoil,<sup>196</sup> and strived to maintain a dialogue and good relations with both western and Arab leaders.

In the mid-1950s, pressures mounted within Jordan from the Palestinian as well as the Transjordanian population to end economic and military ties to Great Britain, assume a more aggressive posture toward Israel, and adopt a non-aligned foreign policy.<sup>197</sup> The intensity of Arab nationalism increased following the ascent to power in Egypt of Gamal Abdul Nasser and the Free Officers who dethroned King Farouk in 1952. Pan-Arab emotions reached a fever pitch after Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal and survived an attack in October 1956 by Great Britain, France, and Israel in the Suez War. It was during this period in the mid-1950s that political unrest, sometimes violent, erupted in Jordan.

Most Arab nationalists in the 1950s and 1960s envisioned the disintegration of the artificial borders imposed by the colonial powers and the creation of a single unified Arab state that would, among other things, liberate Palestine. In such a unified state there was no room for rulers like King Hussein. This intense vision of Arab nationalism was alarming to Hussein, who wished to maintain Hashemite rule in an independent Jordan. While the forces of Arab nationalism were never strong enough to achieve Arab unity, they were powerful enough to significantly influence the policies of most states in the region.<sup>198</sup>

Many Jordanians, especially those of Palestinian descent, saw the King as opposed to Arab unity because of his ties to the west. Under these circumstances, Hussein felt compelled to take several conciliatory steps in the foreign policy sphere. He had already caused a great commotion when in December 1955 he was discovered

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196 Qutaishat, *Jordan-Arab Relations*, pp. 19-20.

197 Valerie Yorke, *Domestic Politics and Regional Security: Jordan, Syria and Israel*, (Brookfield: Gower, 1988), p. 12.

198 Al-Zu'bi, *Jordan's Foreign Policy*, pp. 221-37.

to have been secretly planning Jordan's entry into the Baghdad Pact.<sup>199</sup> This reinforced the perception among Jordan's large Palestinian population that Hussein was subservient to the west. In any event, the rioting that resulted from this affair had some influence on Hussein's decision to cancel his plans to enter the Pact. The King took other measures to restore some of his credibility, including the termination of the Anglo-Jordan Treaty, the dismissal of General Glubb, who commanded Jordan's Arab Legion, and moves toward establishing diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union<sup>200</sup>. In 1973, Jordan managed to largely avoid the Arab-Israeli War, with the regime arguing that another wartime loss would spell the end of Jordan entirely. Token forces were sent to support the Syrian front, yet Jordan itself remained outside the fighting.<sup>201</sup>

The regime faced considerable domestic pressure: from the time of its creation as a territorial state onwards, Jordan's legitimacy and very existence were regularly questioned, particularly by Israel. The notion that Jordan is Palestine has been a persistent theme in Israel's handling of the Palestinian issue, particularly by the Likud, since the late 1970s.<sup>202</sup> This significant and persistent security concern was heightened while Jordan was backing Iraq, and came to supersede even the demands of the country's economic dependence on the Gulf States, and particularly Saudi Arabia.<sup>203</sup>

In the 1970s, the interests of the Brotherhood in Jordan matched the interests of the regime in confronting its opponents. The Hashemite regime was in turmoil in September 1970, and the final expulsion of the Palestinian organizations from Jordan in July 1971 changed the conditions again. At the height of the conflict, the

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199 The Baghdad Pact was an anti-communist alliance Great Britain established in the region to check possible Soviet expansion. Many Arabs were opposed to the pact because they saw Israel, not the Soviet Union, as the main threat to their security.

200 Al-Zu'bi, *Jordan's Foreign Policy*, pp. 225-26.

201 Curtis Ryan, "Jordan and the Rise and Fall of the Arab Cooperation Council", *The Middle East Journal*, vol.52, no.3, (Summer 1998), pp. 380-90.

202 Ibid, pp.233-235.

203 Qutaishat, *Jordan-Arab Relations*, p. 21.

Brotherhood leant towards supporting the King. Bassam al-Umush says, "In the September war, the Brotherhood did not side with any party against the other."<sup>204</sup> They remained officially neutral though secretly they wished that the regime would come out victorious.<sup>205</sup> Traditionally the Muslim Brotherhood has played a key role as a social and political force, with widespread influence in the mosques and schools<sup>206</sup>. While the Brotherhoods of other Middle Eastern countries presented serious opposition to their governments, or, as in Egypt, been involved in violently clashes, since the foundation of the republic the Jordanian Brotherhood has enjoyed good relations with the Hashemite monarchy, although some repeated episodes of tension have surfaced over the years.

In the late 1970s, the Brotherhood in Jordan became more and more radicalized, with some studies attributing this to foreign political causes including the Egyptian-Israeli peace process and the revolution in Iran. The Brotherhood in Jordan denounced President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and subsequent negotiations with Israel. Another clash occurred during Egypt's rapprochement with Israel.<sup>207</sup>

The deterioration of the ideology of Arab nationalism later allowed King Hussein to play a more central role in inter-Arab politics.<sup>208</sup> In fact, King Hussein's idea of Arab nationalism was more consistent with the new more restricted sense of Arab nationalism that emerged after the 1967 war. Hussein never interpreted Arab nationalism to mean the breaking down of existing borders and the creation of a single Arab state; it appears that he instead judges Arab nationalism to be a mutually

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204 Mohamad Abdel Makid, *The Islamic Movements in Jordan*, (in Arabic), (Almebsb press publications, Amman Jordan, 2012), p. 66.

205 Akaileh, "The Experience of the Jordanian Islamic Movement, p. 18.

206 Ibid, p. 139.

207 Salim, *Jordanian Foreign Policy and Arab Crises*, p. 62.

208 See Satloff, "Jordan Looks Inward".

beneficial cultural, social, economic, and occasionally political relationship among the Arab states and peoples.<sup>209</sup>

### **3.3.2. King Hussein and Jordanian–Iraqi Relations**

The cooperation between Jordan and Iraq began in the late 1970s when Saddam sought to lure the Hashemite monarch away from Syria's Assad. The king—who had turned towards Syria in reaction to Egyptian and Saudi support of the Rabat Summit resolution in 1974—was never truly attached to his Syrian connection. Accepting Saddam's overtures was not a difficult choice to make. After all, an oil-rich and powerful Iraq presented both material and strategic incentives: Jordan received financial aid, monopolized the trade route to Iraq, and secured the strategic military depth it required to neutralize any potential threats it faced from Israel and Syria, and later revolutionary Iran.<sup>210</sup> The king hoped that Iraq would not only extend much-needed economic support to salvage the Kingdom's faltering economy, but that it would also convince other Arab states to do the same.

In the early 1980s, Iraq, now under the direct rule of Saddam Hussein, began a major push to win over Jordan as it began to ramp up its war plans against Iran. When the war forced the closure of Iraq's Gulf ports of Basra and Umm Qasr, followed in 1982 by the closure of the Trans–Syria oil pipeline, Iraq leaned ever more heavily on Jordan's single port, compensating Jordan well with monthly fees and a discounted oil price. As mentioned earlier, the Iraqi use of Aqaba, a privileged status in Iraqi trade, and the cheap oil that Iraq offered served to cement the two countries'

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<sup>209</sup> Peter Gubser, *Balancing Pluralism and Authoritarianism in Ideology and Power in the Middle East*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger, Durham: (Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 99-102.

<sup>210</sup> Laurie Brand, *Liberalization and Changing Political Coalitions*, pp. 30-34.



relationship, an effect that was further compounded by the \$853 million debt that Iraq amassed with Jordan.<sup>211</sup>

King Hussein seems to have also supported Iraq for reasons unrelated to the economy. In fact, he is noted to have stood out among Arab leaders in the fervor of his support for Saddam during the Iran–Iraq War. When an Israeli attack obliterated Iraq’s nuclear reactor in Osirak, the king was vigorous in his condemnation of the assault.<sup>212</sup> In January 1982, he announced the formation of a contingent of Jordanian volunteers to fight alongside the Iraqi army against Iran, and throughout the war, he visited Iraq more often than any other head of state, meeting with Saddam at least once every two or three months.<sup>213</sup>

Some studies went beyond this, claiming that the king acted almost as Saddam’s public relations manager with western countries, and serving especially as a mediator between the US and Iraq. In 1984, Washington even restored formal diplomatic relations with Baghdad at the King’s insistence, having written a series of personal letters to President Ronald Reagan calling for active cooperation with Iraq, which, he argued, was pursuing its legitimate self- defense.<sup>214</sup> The success with which the King mediated between Iraq and the United States would, later on, prove to be an impairment, as he would later misapply the diplomatic lessons of the Iran–Iraq War to try to formulate an intermediary role for himself during the Gulf crisis.

King Hussein solidly backed Saddam throughout the Iran–Iraq War. This stance earned him immense credibility and prestige in Baghdad, especially with Saddam, who treated the Hashemite monarch as a big brother. Saddam also

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211 Qutaishat, *Jordan-Arab Relations*, p. 61.

212 Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p. 151.

213 Baram, Amatzia, “Baath Iraq and Hashimite Jordan, From Hostility to Alignment”, *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 45. No. 1, (Winter 1991), p. 59.

214 Nigel Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan: A Political Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 219.

provided King Hussein with what one veteran Jordanian politician dubbed “political protection” from both external and internal threats to the Hashemite monarchy. Externally, Iraq was a counterweight to both Israel and Syria.

There are several possible reasons for the King’s support for Saddam. For one, the King was wary of any importation of dangerous revolutionary ideas from the Islamic Republic of Iran which might provoke anti-royalist unrest in Jordan.<sup>215</sup> King Hussein also saw Saddam as a potentially effective shield against his regional enemies Israel and Syria, as well as against his domestic enemies.<sup>216</sup> On an ideological level, however, Hussein seems to have viewed Saddam as a champion of the Arab nation and its defender against the new threat from Iran.<sup>217</sup> The Arab nationalist cause could never have seemed more hopeless, especially in the wake of Sadat’s perceived defection from the Arab camp.

The King might have felt that the Arab world desperately needed a charismatic new champion, under whose banner they could all reunite.<sup>218</sup> King Hussein genuinely believed that Iraq was acting in self-defense and attempting to regain its territory, waters, and rights, even after it had become clear that Saddam had taken the initiative to instigate the conflict by invading Iran.<sup>219</sup>

As the war progressed, the political relationship between the Jordanian king and the Iraqi president, which was initially based on mutual regional and economic security developed into a close personal relationship with a momentum of its own. During the 1980-1988 Iran–Iraq war, Jordan and its people genuinely supported Iraq

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215 Curtis Ryan, "Between Iraq and a Hard Place: Jordanian-Iraqi Relations," *Middle East Report*, no. 215 (2000), p. 41.

216 Baram, “Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan”, p. 59.

217 Salim, *Jordanian Foreign Policy and Arab Crises*, p. 117.

218 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p.211.

219 Ibid, p. 219.

both as a fellow Arab state and as a protector against Iran's brand of radical Islamism, giving the relationship an increasingly important strategic dimension. When Jordan faced a deep economic crisis in 1989, its Gulf friends refused to help, further increasing Baghdad's relative importance for Amman.<sup>220</sup>

Jordan's economy faced many problems before the Gulf War. There was a high unemployment rate of 20 percent. The country's foreign debt, exceeding \$11 billion, was triple its annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Moreover, the level of financial transfers from Jordanians working in the Gulf was declining.<sup>221</sup> As a result, Jordan had to devalue its currency by 50 percent in 1989. Another factor was Jordan's sensitivity to trade levels and its dependence on international commerce. For instance, exports were worth almost \$1 billion in 1989, with a further \$181 million in goods being re-exported through Jordan. Considering that Jordan's GDP was a mere \$4.3 billion, this is a staggering figure. No less important to Jordanian living standards was the fact that the country imported \$2.16 billion worth of goods in that same year.<sup>222</sup>

Before the Gulf War, well over half of Jordan's exports were sent to the Gulf States. Iraq alone was the market for 23 percent of its exports, while Saudi Arabia was the market for at least 10 percent more. Iraq's importance was underlined by the fact that it was the source of between 10 and 17 percent of total Jordanian imports by the late 1980s.<sup>223</sup>

Largely as a reaction to the problems of the deficit and debt described above, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) pushed Jordan to apply a tough economic

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220 Richard J. Harknett and Jeffrey A. Van Den Berg, "Alignment Theory and Interrelated Threats: Jordan and the Persian Gulf Crisis," *Security Studies* 6, no. 3 (1997).

221 Slam al-Shawa, "Jordan Economy Loss from The Gulf War," *Sawt al-Sha'b*, Issue 2824, (February 26, 1991), p. 9.

222 Economist Intelligence Unit, *Jordan Country Report*, (1992-3), pp. 14, 30.

223 Carolyn Faraj, "Gulf War Effects on Jordan Industry," *al-Ra'i*, Issue 7415, (November 15, 1990), p. 4. and "Economist Intelligence Unit", *Jordan Country Report*, (1992-3), p. 30.

reform program to increase production, decrease imports, reduce government spending, and stop government subsidies. These steps led to massive riots in April 1989 starting in Ma'an, the capital of Jordan's transport sector, and sweeping throughout the country, forcing King Hussein to change the government and keep subsidies for most basic products. By 1990, Jordan's economy had begun recovering from the 1989 crisis but still needed serious domestic effort, international support, and time to reach better levels of performance.<sup>224</sup>

In the early years of the decade, Saddam arranged for the Amman municipality to receive a loan of \$420,000 from Iraq, and the next year Iraq sent delegations to discuss economic cooperation between Jordan and Iraq as well as the unification of the two countries' educational curricula, which would encourage cultural exchanges and technical cooperation.<sup>225</sup> This was followed by an initiative in 1976 to send large sums of money to King Hussein, apparently without the knowledge of the Iraqi president.<sup>226</sup> Saddam continued to send financial support to Jordan from that year onward, playing a major role behind the scenes in the 1978 Baghdad Summit pledge to send \$1.25 billion to Jordan.<sup>227</sup> King Hussein himself seems to have preferred Iraqi aid to aid from other Gulf countries.<sup>228</sup> Jordan benefitted greatly from its Iraqi ally: Iraqi imports in 1980-1981 reached a record \$214 million; transport trade through the port of Aqaba skyrocketed, and by the middle of 1990 approximately three-fourths of Jordan's industry was producing primarily for export to Iraq. The kingdom also depended on Iraqi oil for 80 to 90 percent of its needs. Moreover,

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224 "Gulf War Affected Forty Countries," *Jordan File*, Issue 8489, (April 7, 1991), p. 9.

225 Baram, "Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan", p. 62; Ryan, *Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, p.305.

226 Ibid, p.54.

227 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 213.

228 Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p .151.

Iraqi financial largesse was bestowed upon various groups in Jordan, especially the press and among the tribes.

The King also sought to deploy Saddam's clout with the PLO to check Palestinian excesses in Jordan and thus force the PLO to respect Jordanian sovereignty. Indeed, on some occasions Saddam signaled to the PLO that he was unwilling to compromise the stability of the Hashemite regime. Some researchers attribute this change in policy to geopolitical calculations on the part of Iraq.<sup>229</sup> Jordan had been gradually improving its strained relationship with Syria throughout the 1970s, culminating in a full rapprochement in 1975, just five years after Syria invaded Jordan to aid the PLO forces that Jordan had violently expelled. Meanwhile, relations between Syria and Iraq were deteriorating rapidly, jeopardizing Iraq's access to Syria's Mediterranean ports. Iraq was desperate to find an alternative, and after the 1975 re-opening of the Suez Canal, Jordan's Red Sea port seemed to be an appealing option.<sup>230</sup>

For Jordan, a close relationship with Iraq had its pluses as well. It would no doubt be much more profitable for Jordan, given the former's ability to offer not only oil but also both financial and military support in the event of a conflict with the US or Israel.<sup>231</sup> Moreover, Iraqi use of the port of Aqaba would bring an abundance of transit duties, as well as loans and grants targeted at improving roads between Iraq and Jordan and the port facilities in Aqaba.

The personal bond between the two leaders continued in the years after the cessation of hostilities between Iraq and Iran. The post-war political connections between Iraq and Jordan strengthened as well, and the two countries deepened their political and economic ties. In February 1989, King Hussein formed an international

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229 See Baram, "Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan", p. 62

230 Ibid, p. 54.

231 Reed, *Jordan and the Gulf Crisis*, p. 53.

economic organization with Iraq, Egypt and the Yemeni Arab Republic called the Arab Cooperation Council (ACC), intended to coordinate economic policy between the four countries.

King Hussein was almost successful in using the ACC to broker peace between Iraq and Syria after proposing Syria's accession to the ACC as a means of indirectly restoring diplomatic ties between the two countries. Earlier, the King was even successful in getting Saddam and Assad to meet one another in Jafr in 1987. The meeting, however, came to nothing, and ultimately the King's efforts to effect a rapprochement between the two countries failed.<sup>232</sup>

With the outbreak of rioting in Jordan and the subsequent fall of Prime Minister Zaid Rifai—who had many close Syrian connections and was viewed as the only Jordanian official with enough clout in Syria to affect this sort of rapprochement—the King's Syrian initiative ended, and he remained firmly an ally of Iraq.

Jordanian-US relations, meanwhile, began to deteriorate near the end of the decade due to the US continuing to back Israel and Jordan's growing ties with Iraq. According to Joyce, one major factor contributing to the worsening relationship resulted from the refusal of the US Congress to agree to grant Jordan military aid in 1986.<sup>233</sup> In terms of negotiations, therefore, high-level meetings between old friends King Hussein and President George Bush Senior did not occur for three years prior to 1990, apart from one meeting in 1989. Although the exception, this meeting as well as the personal history between the two leaders showed that a direct, strong link between the United States and Jordan existed in the run-up to the Gulf War.

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232 Joseph Nevo, "Jordan's Relations with Iraq: Ally or Victim?" in Amatzia Baram and Barry Rubin (eds.), *Iraq's Road to War*, (New York, 1993), pp. 139-145.

233 Joyce, *Anglo-American Support for Jordan*, p. 139; Reed, *Jordan and the Gulf Crisis*, p. 23.

Did the US make threats and/or promises to Jordan in order to pressure it to behave in a certain manner during this period? During their meeting in 1989, it was said that President Bush assured the King that Washington would provide Jordan with economic and military assistance.<sup>234</sup> Furthermore, other regional allies of the United States, mainly the Gulf States in the region, had promised to give Jordan enough aid to offset the loss it would incur if it broke ties with Iraq.<sup>235</sup> However, again, Iraqi promises of aid also seem to have been important to Jordan. During the Baghdad Summit in May 1990, Iraq was the sole regional power to make a formal commitment to grant economic aid to Jordan, promising Jordan \$50 million in 1990 alone.<sup>236</sup> At this time, King Hussein appreciated Iraqi support, especially since his state had been experiencing economic hardship; furthermore, he maintained his distrust towards the Gulf Arabs, since their aid in previous years had not been up to what the King had thought was necessary or adequate given the revenue they had been receiving from their endowments of oil. Therefore, although evidence shows that the international power benefactor and its allies had made promises of aid to Jordan, Iraq had also guaranteed the Kingdom sufficient amounts of aid during the same period. Jordan's support for Iraq during the 1990-1991 Gulf War shows a clear divergence from its past pro-western foreign policy behavior.<sup>237</sup> Prior to the actual invasion, however, King Hussein had already begun showing signs of favoritism towards Iraq and against these traditional western allies.

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234 Joyce, *Anglo-American Support for Jordan*, p. 143

235 Markus E. Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope: Jordanian Foreign Policy from the Gulf Crisis to the Peace Process and Beyond." In *Jordan in Transition*, edited by George Joffe, 11-13, (New York: C. Hurst & Co., 2002), p. 9.

236 Asher Susser, "Jordan (Al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyaa al-Hashimiyya)," Ed. Ami Ayalon. Vol. 14 of *Middle East Contemporary Survey: 1990* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p. 483.

237 Susser, *Middle East Contemporary Survey, 1990*, p. 490.

### **3.3.3. King Hussein's pro-western foreign policy and Jordan's inter-Arab Relations**

As mentioned before, Jordan had suffered economic weakness and vulnerability since its establishment, and historically depended on financial aid from various external western powers. Foreign aid from the country's western allies, in fact, was essential for the country's stability. Although Jordan's dependence on western backing in the military and economic spheres cost it dearly in terms of Arab legitimacy, such help was a must given Jordan's strategic vulnerability.<sup>238</sup>

Jordan had maintained further close ties with the west ever since the end of World War II, as the state was seen as a bulwark against communism as well as a moderating element in the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>239</sup> Moreover, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, when regional permeability was especially intense, the regime would occasionally accommodate rival states, only to pave the way for a domestic crackdown.

During the 1960s, the Jordanian leadership adopted policies that accepted that the US was the sole and most important protector of Jordanian territory. Jordan had made clear its interest in having the US play the role of territorial guarantor as early as 1958.<sup>240</sup>

Jordan remained dependent on British economic aid until 1965, when it shifted its dependency to Gulf Arab countries who were unable to fulfill their commitments. Jordan then had to depend on the United States for a short period before it could rely on the Arab oil states, whose financial assistance Jordan has depended heavily upon

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238 Peter John Snow, *Hussein: A Biography*, (N.Y., Robert B. Luce, Inc., 1972), pp. 28-29.

239 Curtis R. Ryan, "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan", in David E. Long, Bernard Reich, and Mark Gasiorowski (eds.), *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, 5th ed. (Westview Press: Boulder, 2007), pp. 310-14.

240 Alfred B. Prados, "Jordan: US Relations and Bilateral Issues", *Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division*, (CRS Issue Brief, April 17, 2003), pp. 1-14.



since 1973. Jordan benefited immensely from the oil boom, not only through increased aid flows from the Gulf, but also through remittances from Jordanians working there.<sup>241</sup> The good economic situation at that time eased the country's fragile social balance between East Bankers and Palestinians.

In the mid-1960s, the United States told King Hussein that Washington would not extinguish Israel, but at the same time would prevent Israeli aggression against Arabs.<sup>242</sup> While Jordanians welcomed Washington's support, they also felt it was unwise to rely exclusively on America for their own national and regional security, and they began to develop deeper ties with other Arab states. This led to problems with Washington when in January 1965 Jordan approached the US with a request for a large increase in military arms in order to fulfill its obligations as a part of a new defensive agreement with the Unified Arab Command (UAC). If the US refused to sell arms to Jordan, King Hussein stressed that he would be forced to acquire Soviet equipment. However, the US did not welcome this idea and considered offering Jordan a more specific assurance of American support. Washington could only say that it would not permit Jordan to be overrun by Israel.<sup>243</sup>

This accommodation was arrived at after the regime faced grave domestic threats aggravated by external interference. It was deployed to insulate the domestic arena from foreign manipulation, and consequently to enable the army and intelligence services to restore regime control. Similar accommodation with western powers had also been a tactic used for statecraft purposes in the Kingdom's formative years, to isolate domestic politics from external interferences and allow the regime's state-

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241 See M.A.J. Share, "The Use of Jordanian Workers' Remittances" in Bichara Khader and Adnan Badran (eds.) *The Economic Development of Jordan*, (London, Wolfeboro, NH: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 32-34.

242 Samir A. Mutawi, *Jordan in the 1967 War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 21.

243 Ibid, p. 22.

building policies some time to take effect. In this same time span, foreign policy alignment choices that appeared to set the country on the path to confrontation with regional foes were chosen in reaction to external manipulation of the domestic arena, usually when the regime felt domestically secure.

Nevertheless, it is well known that King Hussein was careful about the demands of the prevailing socio-political climate in Jordan. Also, his desire to keep in touch with the prevailing popular mood was particularly important.<sup>244</sup> He strived to make his rule appear as an expression of the popular will by seeking to minimize the gap between himself and his people. For that reason, he used public speaking as a means of communicating with Jordanian society. Although no one can claim that Jordan is yet a democracy, the King tried hard to present Jordan as a model for other states in the region to emulate.<sup>245</sup>

In the 1970s Jordan—with its fragile economy and sparse natural resources—achieved economic prosperity through being the world's third largest producer of phosphates, receiving huge inflows of foreign aid and remittances from expatriates, as well as huge loans from allies. High rates of growth transformed the Jordanian economy to the point that the service sector became larger than that of industry and agriculture combined. Jordan's new economic strategy succeeded during the Middle East oil boom of the 1970s.<sup>246</sup>

The golden period of foreign grants received by Jordan was during the oil boom from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, when high financial inflows helped

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244 For example, the king's positive reaction to popular feeling was evident in his decision to dismiss Glob from the Jordanian Army in 1956, his recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization in 1964, and his decision to form a military alliance in 1967 with Jamal Abed Al-Nasser, the former president of Egypt.

245 Rath, Katherine. "The Process of Democratization in Jordan". *Middle Eastern Studies*, (July, 1994), pp. 530-57.

246 Curtis Ryan, "Jordan and the Rise and Fall of the Arab Cooperation Council," p. 390.

lower the country's current account deficit and even sometimes produce a surplus.<sup>247</sup> Due to the fall in world oil prices in the second half of the 1980s, Arab grants and Jordanian workers' remittances were seriously reduced, which led to a slowdown in real economic growth.<sup>248</sup> Regional tensions and war once again threatened to overtake the region in the 1980s; the 1980–1988 Iran–Iraq War created a new set of challenging situations for Jordan. In response, Jordan increased its support for Iraq and provided it with strategic depth and an excellent trading partner.<sup>249</sup> During the war, Iraq became Jordan's main trade partner. Jordan's exports to Iraq accounted for more than 20 percent of total Jordanian exports during that period. Furthermore, Iraq supplied Jordan with cheap oil, financial grants, and low-interest loans.<sup>250</sup>

Since the mid-1970s, Iraqi–Jordanian economic relations had been developing to a significant level. Jordan saw great merit in linking Jordan's economy to Iraq's because of the latter's abundant oil wealth. The Iraqis saw Jordan's access to the Red Sea as a substitute for Syria's access to the Mediterranean, which was lost as a result of souring relations between Iraq and Syria. Substantial increases in Iraqi–Jordanian cooperation in energy, industry, agriculture, transport, and oil exploration began in May 1980.<sup>251</sup>

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247 See the websites of the Jordanian Department of Statistics for all figures. See also detailed financial data on the websites of the Central Bank of Jordan and the Jordanian Ministry of Finance.

248 Giacomo Luciani, "The Oil Rent, the Fiscal Crisis of the State and Democratization", In *Democracy Without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*, ed. Ghassan Salame. (London, New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1994), pp. 130-55.

249 Curtis Ryan, "Jordan and the Rise and Fall of the Arab Cooperation Council," p. 388.

250 Francois Rivier, "Jordan: A Disturbing Dependence on a Deteriorating Regional Situation", in *The Economic Development of Jordan*, pp. 92-103.

251 Iraq was Jordan's largest market for manufactured goods, fruits, and vegetables, making up about one quarter of Jordan's exports, worth between \$400 and \$500 million. Furthermore, in 1989 Jordanian truckers brought another \$250 million into the economy transporting wheat, corn, and industrial imports from Aqaba to Baghdad. Jordan continued to import oil from Iraq because failure to do so would have ground its already devastated economy to a halt.

Jordan's economy is highly intertwined with other neighboring countries in the region. Due to the weakness of its economy and shortages of natural resources, Jordan has had to be supported by some Arab countries and more powerful foreign states. The country imports far more than it exports. This obviously negatively affects the economy and impedes expansion and development. In spite of having had a history of tense relations with some Arab radical regimes, Jordan has tried to cooperate with Arab states and maintained relatively cordial relations with Gulf countries.

The King made attempts to achieve the aspiration of unifying Arab countries. Hussein made calls for Arab unity and the elimination of differences between Arab nations. However, he said, this goal could be attained by economic integration and cooperation alone. Since its creation, Jordan has been at the vanguard of Arab countries in defending the cause and rights of the Arab nation.<sup>252</sup> Thus, Jordan has tried to pursue a moderate approach aimed at creating and strengthening relations between Arab states.<sup>253</sup> As mentioned before, Jordan has long been embroiled in the center of Middle Eastern conflicts. Jordan's geographic position, between its strong neighbors, has made it particularly vulnerable.

The claim that Jordan is an unviable state was used by radical Arab regimes in Egypt, Syria and Iraq in their propaganda campaigns against the King Hussein regime.<sup>254</sup> However, Jordan was considered a modernizing country that has adopted moderate policies, in comparison to other radical Arab countries. Certain Arab leaders even went so far as to regard ending the Jordanian political regime and defeating

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252 Qutaishat, *Jordan-Arab Relations*, p. 8.

253 Salim, *Jordanian Foreign Policy and Arab Crises*, p. 104.

254 Samir A. Mutawi, *Jordan in the 1967 War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 22-25.

King Hussein as a necessary preliminary step in achieving their dream of liberating Palestine.<sup>255</sup>

In this context, the King thought that constructive inter-Arab relationships might serve Arab interests in general and Jordan's national interests, especially in economic security and development, in particular, benefiting Jordan and Arab partners interested in the new Jordanian attitude in the fields of economics, security, and common national interests. Maybe, he thought, trust would grow between the parties and lead to positive, constructive relations, especially if the will and response existed for developing constructive inter-Arab relations in other Arab countries.

King Hussein had sufficient opportunities to change the stereotype of himself as the west's man in the eyes of the Arab people, and to perform a role in promoting Arab unity; he tried to mediate between Saddam Hussein and Assad of Syria, who had supported Iran during the conflict. Though these efforts to bridge the differences between the two Arab leaders failed, Hussein's image as a leader devoted to Arab unity was further enhanced. In trying to foster this form of Arab unity, King Hussein made Arab nationalism work for him, not against him. By becoming perceived as an inter-Arab mediator, Hussein's Arab credentials were strengthened at home and in other Arab countries.<sup>256</sup>

The King tried to keep good relations with the Arab Gulf states, due to the fact that they were the main job market for Jordanian labor. The number of Jordanians working abroad increased over time due to a huge demand for skilled and highly-qualified workers in the Arab Gulf states. Consequently, remittances from Jordanians working abroad began to constitute one of the main sources of national income. The

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<sup>255</sup> Patrick Seale, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 158.

<sup>256</sup> Yorke, *Domestic Politics and Regional Security*. Details mentioned in *the Economist Intelligence Unit, Jordan Country Report*, (No. 3, 1989), p. 49.

annual average of remittances from Jordanians working abroad during the last ten years has constituted about 17 percent of the gross national product (GNP) of the country. In addition, other Arab countries are considered Jordan's primary trade partners. Jordanian exports to Arab countries have constituted on average 45 percent of total exports during the last ten years, while Jordanian imports from those countries have constituted on average 31 percent of total imports during the same period. Historically, Jordan has also benefited from large foreign grants, especially from Iraq and some of the Arab Gulf countries (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates).<sup>257</sup>

During the early 1980s, the most important sources of income for Jordan were Jordanian remittances and financial aid from rich Arab countries. Financial assistance from the Arab oil states was formalized at a supposed \$1.2 billion a year in 1978 at the Arab Summit in Baghdad because of Jordan's position as a 'frontline' state in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Unfortunately for Jordan, Saudi Arabia has been the only country to make good on its aid commitments.<sup>258</sup>

Unemployment rates were particularly high during this time period. The regional recession also resulted in decreased exports of manufactures and agricultural products to countries that imported them from Jordan.

Another incident took place in the 1980s, at a time when the Arab world was divided over the Camp David accords and the Iran–Iraq War. After Egypt signed its peace treaty with Israel, it was expelled from the Arab League, and Arab League members imposed an economic boycott on it. In September 1984, Jordan was the first Arab state to re-establish diplomatic ties with Egypt. In the mid-to-late 1980s King Hussein worked to bring Syria and Egypt back together. Also, in 1989, Hussein declared that he would boycott any Arab summit that did not include Egypt. Later that

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257 Ibid.

258 Yorke, *Domestic Politics and Regional Security*, p.42.

year, in May, Hussein's efforts bore fruit at the Arab summit in Casablanca, when Egypt was formally invited back into the Arab community.<sup>259</sup>

During the 1980s, Jordan perceived other security threats; the first was during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon: at that time Jordanian fears of massive Israeli expulsions of Palestinians from the West Bank were revived. More importantly for Jordan, there was revived talk of the 'Palestinian solution' in which a Palestinian state would replace the monarchy as a result of Israeli expulsions and/or a military attack on Jordan.<sup>260</sup> Another threat came from Iran. The worst case scenario was that Iran would be successful in defeating Iraq and establishing a revolutionary Shi'a state there. Then it would only be a matter of time before Jordan became the target of Ayatollah Khomeini's "holy war". King Hussein demonstrated his concern over security by assisting Iraq's war effort against Iran. Jordan's assistance to Iraq during its war with Iran was significant in many different ways: during the war, Jordan served as Iraq's main supply line, with the port of Aqaba serving as the main drop-off point for food and other goods headed for Iraq.<sup>261</sup>

The revolution in Iran represented a historical division for Islamic movements in the Middle East. Despite Khomeini's Shi'a ideology, the Muslim Brotherhood regarded the revolution as a victory for Islam in general. In this regard, divisions between the movement and the crown emerged over the regime's policy towards Iran. The pro-Iranian proclivity of the Brotherhood became even more evident after the Iraqi war with Iran began in September 1980. The regime occasionally accused the

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259 Al-Zu'bi, *Jordan's Foreign Policy: Regional and International Implications*, pp. 225-26,

260 Lamis Andoni, *Jordan: Racing Against Time*, p. 8. For more research on this issue see: Joseph Nevo, "The Jordanian, Palestinian and Jordanian-Palestinian Identities.", pp. 1-10.

261 Andrew Terrill, "Saddam's Closest Ally: Jordan and the Gulf War", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* (9, 1985), pp. 43-51.

movement of maintaining links with Iran. King Hussein's later support for Iraq during the Iran–Iraq war further emphasized these differences.<sup>262</sup>

While speaking of the security concerns and foreign policy choices of Jordan in the 1980s, it is important to mention that King Hussein's support of Iraq went hand-in-hand with his efforts to foster Arab unity. He saw Arab solidarity as the surest way to check Iranian expansionism. Besides the threat from Iran, there were a number of other reasons why Jordan looked to Iraq for security purposes.

The other possible Arab ally was Syria. One problem with Syria was that it and Jordan had been at each other's throats during much of the 1980s. They were at odds over the Arab–Israeli conflict, in which Syria held a more hardline position. They were also at odds over the Iran–Iraq War, in which Syria was supporting Iran. In the early 1980s, Jordan also provided support to the Muslim opposition in Syria while Assad sponsored violent activities in Jordan.<sup>263</sup>

However, Syria was also considered a risky security partner because of its tense relations with Israel. If Jordan entered some kind of security agreement with Syria, it could end up being dragged into the next Syrian–Israeli confrontation, whereas a close partnership with Iraq did not hold such risks.

The Palestinian *intifada* in the West Bank and Gaza in the late 1980s, with its Islamic overtones and the appearance of Hamas in the Palestinian political arena, added to the Jordanian Brotherhood's expanding resonance, especially among Palestinians in Jordan. While the Brotherhood did not have much of a role in the initial outbreak of the *intifada*, it immediately supported and identified closely with the radical Islamic trends in the West Bank and Gaza. Moreover, the Jordanian

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<sup>262</sup> Qutaishat, *Jordan-Arab Relations*, p. 51.

<sup>263</sup> Yorke, *Domestic Politics and Regional Security*, pp. 44-45.



Brotherhood opposed the King's announcement in July 1988 on disengagement from the West Bank, considering it "unconstitutional".<sup>264</sup>

The end of the Iran-Iraq War brought some optimism to the otherwise bleak economic picture in Jordan. There was hope that the reconstruction of Iraq would provide a boost to Jordan's economy in terms of exports, demand for skilled labor, and revenue from Iraqi tourists. Another reason for hope was the founding of the Arab Cooperation Council (ACC) in February 1989. The stated primary goal of the ACC was to promote economic cooperation and integration among its members (Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, and Yemen).

While some in Jordan viewed the ACC as a panacea for the country's economic problems, its economic benefits did not greatly help Jordan because many of the areas that could have been developed through greater economic cooperation were already being exploited.<sup>265</sup>

### **3.3.4. King Hussein and the Arab–Israeli conflict**

During the 1960s, Israel declared its intent to irrigate the Naqab Desert by diverting part of the Jordan River. In 1964, the Arabs held a summit in Cairo for this reason. The summit endorsed the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).<sup>266</sup> This era witnessed the emergence of Palestinian militia or guerrilla (*fedayeen*) groups; the Fatah movement in particular became very important. Some Arab regimes, such as Syria, encouraged these groups to conduct raids against

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<sup>264</sup> Mohamad Abdel Makid, *The Islamic Movements in Jordan*, p. 9. See also Walid Abdel Nasser, "Islamic organizations in Egypt and the Iranian revolution of 1979: the experience of the first few years", *Arab Studies Quarterly (ASQ)*, (Spring, 1997).

<sup>265</sup> See Ryan, "Jordan and the Rise and Fall of the Arab Cooperation Council".

<sup>266</sup> Yorke, *Domestic Politics and Regional Security*, p. 47.

Israel, not across the Syrian–Israeli border, but rather through Jordan.<sup>267</sup> Israel was unresponsive and continued to foment conflict in the region. King Hussein expressed concern over the dilemmas he faced and hoped the US would halt Israel’s provocations. However, tensions increased between Jordan and Israel, and by the spring of 1967, the situation had worsened still. Egypt asked the UN to withdraw its forces from Sinai on May 16 and closed the Straits of Tiran on May 22, 1967. King Hussein sensed that war was imminent; but he didn’t want to enter the war because he knew the Arabs would lose. However, Jordan was nonetheless drawn into the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War.

As the 1967 Arab–Israeli war took place, the true influence that pan-Arabism had on King Hussein's policies became clear. In the midst of rhetorical attacks on his commitment to Arab unity, King Hussein took an even more militant position toward Israel by allowing Palestinian guerrilla groups to infiltrate Israel from Jordanian territory.<sup>268</sup> He came under more bitter rhetorical attack after his decision to fight the increasingly militant Palestinian guerrillas within Jordan in September 1971. The Ba'athist regime in Syria had succeeded in pressuring Nasser, by questioning his pan-Arab credentials, into assuming a confrontational stance vis-à-vis Israel. Israel used this tense situation as a pretext to launch a pre-emptive strike on Egypt and Syria on the morning of June 5. Hussein had to decide whether to enter the war or sit on the sidelines. Although the risks involved in a war with a militarily superior Israel had been high from the outset, King Hussein sensed that the Hashemites’ position was now too precarious to defy the Arab consensus for military action.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> Israel retaliated harshly to Palestinian actions and Jordan was forced to rein in its guerrillas. As border raids and threats continued through the end of 1965 and into 1966, the strategic depth of the campaigns aggravated tensions in the region. Later came the dramatic Israeli raids into Jordanian territory during the nights of April 29 and 30, 1966.

<sup>268</sup> In another step that could be interpreted as a sign of pan-Arab pressures on King Hussein, Jordan signed a military pact with Egypt on May 30, 1967.

<sup>269</sup> Yorke, *Domestic Politics and Regional Security*, pp. 14-15.

Jordan's entry into the war resulted in the loss of the West Bank, which Jordan had held since 1948. While Israel's victory cost Hussein a huge chunk of Jordan's territory, it appeared to have saved him his throne.<sup>270</sup> If Jordan had not entered the war, it would likely have risked political repercussions at the hands of a population that considered it against Arab unity.<sup>271</sup>

That military disaster carried even more profound social, economic, and political implications, as Jordan lost control of the entire West Bank—including East Jerusalem and its holy places—to Israeli forces. But in the end, King Hussein aligned Jordan with Egypt. Subsequently, Israel launched a surprise attack on June 5, 1967, and more than 300,000 Palestinian Arab refugees fled to Jordan across the Jordan River, joining the thousands who had already settled there since the 1948 Palestine War. The West Bank was occupied, and Jordan had lost Jerusalem.<sup>272</sup>

America grew more concerned about the fate of the Arab–Israeli conflict and this issue became Washington's Middle Eastern priority. In parallel, King Hussein strengthened his relations with the US, and worked repeatedly to improve the situation between Jordan and Israel; he prevented any raids crossing from Jordan into Israel. But in obeying America's requests, Jordan was criticized by other Arab countries.

In 1970, after years of violent confrontations between the Jordanian regime and Palestinian guerillas,<sup>273</sup> changing demographics and regional tensions exploded

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270 Malcolm H. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War*, 3d ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 128.

271 Several scholars consider the 1967 war as the event that marked the end or, at least, the retreat of pan Arabism. See Fouad Ajami, "The End of Pan-Arabism," pp. 355-373, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 57, (winter 1978) for a discussion about how visions of Arab unity in the sense of complete political, cultural, economic, and territorial integration came to an end.

272 In addition to the huge political and military loss, Jordan lost in economic terms also; 70 percent of Jordan's agricultural land was lost as well as half of the Kingdom's industries.

273 Some of the literature refers to them as *fedayeen*, politically mobilized and aggressive Palestinians who immigrated to Jordan after the 1967 loss of the West Bank to Israel.

within the Kingdom in the form of the 1970–1971 Jordanian civil war.<sup>274</sup> The internal struggle pitted the guerrilla forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) against King Hussein's regular army. The regime was victorious, and by 1971 the insurgents had been expelled, mostly to Lebanon, and Jordanian internal security was increased, particularly due to the cessation of the Palestinian guerilla raids against Israel from Jordanian territory.<sup>275</sup> In parallel to this, the full extent of Jordan's dependence on western backing became clear in the 1970 civil war, when it became evident that Syria was planning to invade Jordan to assist the guerrillas in an apparent attempt to overthrow the monarchy.<sup>276</sup> The King sought immediate assistance from the United States. He informed the Americans that he was even willing to accept Israeli intervention to save his throne.<sup>277</sup>

Israel's subsequent mobilization persuaded the Syrians to halt their intervention. Any discussion of Jordan's external security—that is, the threat of foreign aggression on Jordanian territory—should take into account the conflict this aspect of Jordan's security has had on the country's internal stability. As long as the Arab–Israeli conflict remains unresolved, Jordan's security will continue to be under serious threat.

The issue that mired Jordanians in the Arab–Israeli conflict was the fact that Palestinians immigrating to Jordan caused so much instability in the country. In addition, the ongoing influx of Palestinians deeply affected Jordan in terms of societal

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274 Ryan, "Jordan and the Rise and Fall of the Arab Cooperation Council," pp. 380-90.

275 Kerr, *The Arab Cold War*, pp. 128-29.

276 According to Patrick Seale, an expert on Syria, Hafez al Assad, who was in effective control of the Syrian armed forces at that time, did not wish to overthrow King Hussein but, instead, wanted to provide a sanctuary for embattled Palestinians in northern Jordan where they could then come to some sort of agreement with the King. Seale, *Asad of Syria*, pp. 158-61.

277 William B. Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 115-118.

cohesion, with the Palestinians and their supporters within the Hashemite Kingdom reacting in more than one instance with anger and violence, for example in 1970, and creating conflict within the Jordanian population. For the King and the majority of East Bankers, Soviet emigration increased their serious concerns that the Israeli government was pursuing the strategy of “Jordan is Palestine”, and attempting to create a Palestinian state within Jordan.<sup>278</sup>

The amount of aid Jordan receives from Gulf and other Arab states has always been unstable and dependent on how favorably Jordan's political policies have been viewed. For example, when the Jordanian military fought the insurgent Palestinian guerrilla movement which had threatened the existence of Jordan as well as the monarch, Arab aid to Jordan was cut back.

Jordan's subsequent economic and political isolation compelled King Hussein to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people at the 1974 Arab Summit in Rabat.<sup>279</sup> Following this, the Transjordanian population became insecure and concerned that King Hussein was not paying enough attention to their interests.

The monarch responded to these concerns by reducing the number of Palestinian cabinet ministers and military personnel in addition to cancelling all financial subsidies to the West Bank.<sup>280</sup> Later, Jordan's isolation ended and new aid from the newly wealthy Arab oil states began to flow into Jordan. King Hussein's inter-Arab mediation in the divided Arab world of the 1980s may have been motivated in part by his desire to secure continued aid from his Gulf donors.

While virtually all Arab countries have employed slogans of Arab unity for domestic consumption, and some have attempted a revolutionary approach, Jordan

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278 Susser, "Jordan (Al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyaa al-Hashimiyya)," pp.476-477.

279 Yorke, *Domestic Politics and Regional Security*, p. 40.

280 Ibid, p. 41.

has pursued a course based on realism. History has shown that the unrest fostered by revolutionary regimes has done far more to set back the cause of Arab unity than to promote it.

After the 1980s, Jordan, along with Egypt and Syria, stopped talking about liberating Palestine, and began seeking political and diplomatic solutions to regain the territory they lost in 1967. Yet, the governments of these countries are constrained, in varying degrees, in the foreign policy arena, and policies perceived as undermining Arab interests—such as compromise in the Arab–Israeli conflict or drawing too close to the west, and especially the United States—are risky in terms of provoking domestic unrest.

However, in countries like Jordan, pan-Arabism in the sense of backing Arab solidarity and interests is still a living movement—not as potent as before, but one that the monarch of Jordan must take into account when conducting foreign policy.<sup>281</sup>

Jordanians of Palestinian origin and their supporters, furthermore, showed their discontent with the situation in Israel when up to 20,000 people marched in the Jordan valley in May 1990; the demonstration was large enough that the Jordanian police and army personnel had to intervene to separate the crowds.

This protest was followed by many more, creating more instances where the domestic security forces were forced to intervene, especially within Palestinian refugee camps in the country.<sup>282</sup>

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281 Ibid, pp. 18-22.

282 Ibid, pp. 467-70.

### 3.3.5. King Hussein and peace

In fact, since 1948, successive Hashemite Monarchs have considered peace with Israel a pragmatic necessity, though they nevertheless have persistently rejected offers to pursue any unilateral peace initiative independent of the larger Arab consensus, and especially not before an Israeli–Palestinian agreement was concluded, mainly for fear of domestic repercussions. Thus, and until the July 1988 disengagement from the West Bank, the regime has had to pursue (or seem to pursue) a just solution to the Palestinian question, one which is sensitive to domestic public sentiments and does not encroach upon the PLO's post-1974 designation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.<sup>283</sup>

The choice to pursue peace was made within the Arab consensus, and the pursuit of peace in the region was a cornerstone of King Hussein's foreign policy.<sup>284</sup> Jordan's desire for peace was justified in terms of the need for internal stability and development. Jordan's urgent need for economic restructuring, its unenviable geographic position, and King Hussein's strong sense of personal destiny and history prompted the King to urge for peace at a time when it was dangerous and risky for him and the country to do so.

Some of the matters Jordan regards as positive effects of the peace process with Israel are keeping its position in the region and maintaining its borders and existence, regaining its lands occupied by Israel in 1967, in addition to aspiring to have some of its debts cancelled. On the other hand, the negative effects Jordan faces due to having/making peace with Israel are being left out of the Arab–Israeli conflict equation and granting Israel international legality before Israel puts the UN Security

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<sup>283</sup> Mahdia Rashid Al-Madfai, *Jordan, The United States and the Middle East Process 1974-1991*, (Cambridge University Press 1992), pp. 14-19.

<sup>284</sup> Qutaishat, *Jordan-Arab Relations*, p. 91.

Council decisions regarding the conflict into action.<sup>285</sup> King Hussein had an important part in the peace process in the Arab region; he also announced his support for the peace process on many occasions and claimed he did not intend to withdraw from it. But at the same time, he expressed his interest in overcoming Jordan's security difficulties and internal challenges.<sup>286</sup>

In the latter half of the 1970s, however, after Egypt initiated direct negotiations with Israel leading to a separate peace agreement, Jordan was unwilling to follow Egypt's lead without prior pan-Arab acquiescence. Moreover, Jordan apparently believed that in the absence of broad Arab support to legitimize any political talks with Israel, its own rule in the East Bank could be threatened. Consequently, the Jordanian monarch refused to participate in the Camp David process and was skeptical of Washington's 1982 proposal for a West Bank entity in association with Jordan. Israel's rejection of the US plan had provided Jordan the boon of not needing to respond to an initiative that the Palestinians claimed would deny them genuine self-determination.<sup>287</sup>

Yet, Jordan refrained from establishing diplomatic relations with Israel. The absence of formal relations notwithstanding, the two states cooperated directly or indirectly after the 1967 war in different matters pertaining to the West Bank, the Israeli-occupied territory whose Palestinian population retained Jordanian citizenship until 1988. King Hussein's aim at that time, apparently, was to regain control of the West Bank, a goal that had still not been realized by 1988, when he renounced Jordan's claims to the area. Jordan's ambitions were frustrated by Israel's unwillingness to seriously negotiate any withdrawal from the West Bank and by the increasing

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285 Al-Zu'bi, "Jordan's Foreign Policy: Regional and International Implications", pp. 228-33.

286 Yorke, *Domestic Politics and Regional Security*. More details in the Economist Intelligence Unit, *Jordan Country Report*: (No. 3, 1989), pp. 46-49,

287 R. Day, *East Bank/West Bank: Jordan and the Prospect for Peace*, (Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations, 1986), pp. 2-5.



popularity of the PLO. Regardless, Jordan called for an international peace conference that would include a joint Jordanian–PLO delegation. Jordan received an international forum that brought together the superpowers (the US and the Soviet Union) as well as the Arab States and Israel as a protective umbrella under which Jordan could enter into negotiations with the Israelis.<sup>288</sup>

Through his years of experience, King Hussein was aware of the difficulties involved in achieving the necessary changes and internal structural strength needed for peace. He therefore concluded that Arabs would have to accept the existence of Israel in the region. If this acceptance was not forthcoming, then it would be hard for each side, especially the weaker Jordan, to pursue their interests and goals.

Some of King Hussein's foreign policy decisions angered Islamist forces inside Jordan such as the Muslim Brotherhood, which like Islamic opposition groups in other countries rejects concessions to Israel and opposes close relations with the West, and particularly the United States. Jordan's decision to reopen diplomatic ties with Egypt in 1984 was unpopular with the Muslim Brotherhood because it, in effect, endorsed the Camp David agreement. Amman was also worried that the Arab humiliation in Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Jordan's serious consideration of the Reagan peace plan which ruled out the establishment of a Palestinian state, and Jordan's cooperation with Israel over the West Bank in the mid-1980s combined might have hurt King Hussein's Arab credentials, which he was using to counter Islamic opposition.<sup>289</sup>

Nevertheless, in view of the dominant role played by King Hussein in the formulation of Jordan's foreign policy in the period leading up to the 1990 peace agreement with Israel, it is useful to understand the factors which influenced him.

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288 Al-Zu'bi, "Jordan's Foreign Policy: Regional and International Implications", pp. 228-233.

289 King Hussein's backing of Iraq against the Islamic Republic of Iran further hurt the King's image among Jordan's Islamic activists. The fact that King Hussein was willing to adopt these policies, however, indicates that his concern over Islamist forces in Jordan was not dictating how he conducted foreign policy. See Qutaishat, *Jordan-Arab Relations*, p. 95.

Some scholars and politicians have classified these factors as his aim to protect the survival of his regime as well as the country of Jordan, together with his commitment to the west. Under the aforementioned circumstances, it seems that he had no choice but to turn to the west and America for support. Jordan's vision of peace was also linked to its economic and security concerns.

### **3.3.6. King Hussein's domestic politics: the economic crisis and political liberalization**

The Palestinian *intifada*, which erupted in the Occupied Territories in late 1987, increased the violence. This violence, especially in the West Bank, was one of the major reasons for King Hussein's decision to disengage from the area in 1988 and early-1989 due to his fear that instability in the West Bank would lead to violence inside Jordan.<sup>290</sup> Consequently, what had been a quiet border for almost twenty years witnessed increasing tension throughout this period,<sup>291</sup> and therefore, societal cohesion within the country just before 1990 was seen to be at an extremely low level. Population divisions within Jordan had led to an increasingly unstable domestic environment which reacted with increasing discontent towards regional developments.

Jordan's economy was in dire economic straits as a result of the downturn in the Middle Eastern economy during the late 1980s, which followed the worldwide collapse in oil prices. By March 1989, the government felt it had no recourse but to turn to the International Monetary Fund for financial help. That help was forthcoming, but only in return for a severe economic adjustment program; King Hussein was obliged to accept strict IMF policies in order to qualify for financial assistance, thereby further deepening the country's economic misery.

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290 Baram. "Baath Iraq and Hashimite Jordan," p. 60; Muasher, *The Arab Center*, p. 23; Joyce, *Anglo American Support for Jordan*, p. 141.

291 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 262.

Almost directly after the announcement of the economic changes in April 1989, riots known as *Habat Nisan* erupted throughout Jordan. Surprisingly, these were created primarily by East Bankers, the regime's main group of supporters, involving mostly Transjordanians.<sup>292</sup> The riots, which initially continued for five days; left at least eight people dead and many others injured; a week later, violence continued in other predominantly East Bank areas, again as a direct response to the IMF reforms.<sup>293</sup> Riots broke out due to price increases in basic commodities in southern Jordan, originating in the town of Ma'n, which had been a traditional bedrock constituency of Hashemite rule. The ensuing fifty percent price hikes ordered by Prime Minister Zaid Al-Rifai on a range of goods, including fuel, sparked riots throughout Jordan.<sup>294</sup>

Though no unrest took place within Amman, the monarchy was disturbed by the fact that most of the rioting took place among the country's Transjordanian population, the King's base of political support. Though the economic measures were not rescinded, King Hussein removed Prime Minister Al-Rifai, who had implemented the price measures.<sup>295</sup> Al-Rifai was replaced by Sherif Zaid bin Shakir, a former armed forces commander and distant cousin of the King, who had a reputation for being honest and supportive of Transjordanian interests. One of Shakir's first steps as the new Prime Minister was to remove press restrictions. Rifai's removal and steps to liberalize the political system helped to calm the situation.<sup>296</sup> Furthermore, Saudi

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292 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", p. 6; Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p. 169; Ali Kassay, "The Effects of External Forces on Jordan's Process of Democratization", in George Joffé (ed), *Jordan In Transition: 1990-2000*, (Hurst & Company Publishers, London, 2002), p. 51.

293 Reed, *Jordan and the Gulf Crisis*, p. 28.

294 Mary C. Wilson, "Jordan: Bread, Freedom, or Both?", pp. 87-90, *Current History* (February 1994).

295 This action taken by the prime minister was justified as being necessary to adjust and correct the deteriorated economic situation in the country.

296 Satloff, "Jordan Looks Inward", p. 11.

Arabia (\$200 million), Kuwait (\$40 million), Oman (\$20 million), and Iraq (\$20 million) all rushed to provide financial assistance.<sup>297</sup>

This incident demonstrates how reshuffling the cabinet is a tactic used by the King as another controlling mechanism to maintain as stable a Jordan as possible. Another is his policy of rotating between opening and closing the Jordanian political system depending on which he believes is the appropriate measure to maintain internal stability. Due to these sources of instability, Jordan witnessed many demonstrations in the two months after the 1990 invasion.<sup>298</sup>

The existence of a very large Palestinian population, highly politicized by its recent history, will ensure that pan-Arab sentiment will be a constraint on Jordanian foreign policy for some time to come. This factor will continue to be very relevant to the Palestinian issue. King Hussein was not able to ignore the PLO or its demands in regards to the peace process because the organization is seen by a large population of the Palestinian people to be their representative.

In 1988, King Hussein disengaged the administrative ties between Jordan and the West Bank mainly because the *intifada* had rejuvenated Palestinian assertiveness and independence. Hussein desired to avoid the impression that Jordan had its own designs on the West Bank.<sup>299</sup> Yet, this decision had a profound impact on Jordanian foreign policy. Jordan's decision to disengage from the West Bank was a turning point in Jordanian foreign policy.

It was vital for Jordan to demonstrate its strategic importance to the United States, notwithstanding the fact that the Arab-Israeli conflict had provided Jordan with geostrategic importance for both Arab and Western powers. This disengagement

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297 Baram, "Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan", p. 4. For further details see Economist Intelligence Unit, *Jordan Country Report* (No. 4, 1989).

298 See Telhami, Shibley, "Arab public opinion and the Gulf War", *Political Science Quarterly*, (1993).

299 Baram, "Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan".

demonstrated Jordan's sovereignty, while at the same time preserving, and even expanding, Jordan's role as a peace broker in the Arab–Israeli crisis.<sup>300</sup> At the regional level, King Hussein's decision to disengage from the West Bank was a watershed because it established a dynamic that ultimately freed all parties to the Arab-Israeli crisis to pursue peace negotiations with Israel at their own pace and on their own terms. In the immediate aftermath of disengagement, Jordanian interests appeared no longer to be constrained by Palestinian interests, and Jordan was able to negotiate a peace agreement that addressed its security interests, particularly its efforts to ensure domestic stability.

On the regional level, it was clear, therefore, that in order to maintain US interest in the regime, Jordan had to continue its peace initiatives and sustain good relations with Israel and other allies of the west in the region. Throughout the early 1980s, evidence shows that good relations prevailed between the United States and Jordan.<sup>301</sup> Furthermore, it seemed apparent that President Bush and King Hussein had become close colleagues over the years. In April 1989, the government felt compelled to seek assistance from the IMF.<sup>302</sup> The two parties reached an agreement whereby Jordan would implement a number of economic measures, including cuts in the military budget and price increases on some commodities, in return for a \$125 million stand-by credit loan from the IMF and a \$100-150 million World Bank loan to facilitate Jordan's debt rescheduling process.<sup>303</sup>

The image of the regime was badly damaged during this time period. Due to the downturn in the Jordanian economy in the 1980s, the government felt it had no choice but to turn to the IMF and to implement the organization's proposed

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300 Mahdia Rashid Al-Madfai, *Jordan, The United States and the Middle East Process 1974-1991*, Chapter Three.

301 Stanley Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis", *Foreign Affairs* (1990), pp. 21- 23.

302 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 258.

303 Ibid, Stanley Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis", p. 25.

economic changes. One of these changes was the removal of government subsidies for the basic needs of the population, such as gas, diesel fuel, cigarettes, phone services, electricity, and gasoline.<sup>304</sup>

Jordan's growing reliance on the IMF and the west in 1989 gives us an insight to its level of international legitimacy during the period. First, pursuing the required economic changes proposed by the IMF increased the government's vulnerability vis-à-vis its entire population. Furthermore, the Jordanian regime was aware that democratization would lead to increased levels of aid flowing into the regime from the western world. In reaction, the Muslim Brotherhood's official political influence increased in a dramatic fashion in 1989.

Following the 1989 riots, King Hussein promised to hold parliamentary elections in addition to allowing Shakir to loosen press restrictions. This step helped to ease the tensions. In a sense, King Hussein was able to use increased political freedom to buy silence over his economic austerity program. If King Hussein had been unwilling to liberalize Jordanian politics, he would have been forced to deal with the unrest either through widespread repression, which would have alienated his Transjordanian base of support, or by seeking even more aid than was granted him by the Gulf states.<sup>305</sup> The situation in 1989 was so dire that there were riots in which the people clashed directly with the regime due to domestic causes. However, the true source of the crisis remained the external dimension, as it rested on Jordan's rentier economy and its dependence on external sources of financial assistance.<sup>306</sup>

In controlling the country's political system, King Hussein has minimized the impact economic stresses would have on foreign policy. If the economic pressures

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304 Kassay, "The Effects of External Forces," p. 51; Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis," p. 28.

305 Ibid, 29.

306 Rex Brynen, "Economic Crisis and Post-Rentier Democratization in the Arab World: The Case of Jordan", *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (25 March, 1992), pp. 69-98.

were not relieved through political liberalization, King Hussein would have been forced to alter his foreign economic policy to deal with those pressures. Moreover, the increased dependency on the Gulf States may have led them to attempt to influence other aspects of Jordan's foreign policy.

Election results indicated a significant victory for the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic activists, who won nearly half of the eighty parliamentary seats. Of the Brotherhood's twenty-six candidates, twenty won. Among the reasons for its success were the facts that it was the best organized political group in the country and that the main opposition, the PLO, did not participate<sup>307</sup>. Though parliament has no role in foreign policy decision-making—a domain dominated by the King—Hussein, more than ever before, had to take into account the response his decisions would evoke in the country's growing population of Islamists.<sup>308</sup>

The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan presented itself as an Islamic reformist and not a revolutionary movement that would threaten the survival of the regime; nor has it sought the dissolution of monarchical rule.<sup>309</sup> They did not seriously challenge the legitimacy or power of the ruling regime and have indeed served as a source of stability for the regime throughout Jordan's tumultuous history. The movement disagrees with state policies without challenging state or Hashemite power.<sup>310</sup>

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307 Reed, *Jordan and the Gulf*, p. 12.

308 Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p.170. King Hussein's sympathetic position toward Iraq is not the position the Muslim Brotherhood would have taken. The group's hostility toward the regime of Saddam Hussein was a known fact. Islamist participation in anti-American demonstrations during the crisis was motivated by a different factor, which was to condemn foreign intervention in internal Arab and Islamic affairs. Those who believe King Hussein's policies during the Gulf Crisis were driven mainly by domestic factors would have to conclude that those policies were directed more toward the general population than to any specific social sub-grouping like Islamic groups.

309 Salim, *Jordan Foreign Policy and Arab Crises*, p. 43. Marwan al-Muashir, former foreign minister and the official spokesman of the government, said, "In the past there were international and regional circumstances. There was the Cold War and its alliances. In Jordan we were against the Eastern bloc and against its party and ideological extensions, hence the peculiarity of the Muslim Brotherhood's position in Jordanian political life."

310 Mohamad Abdul Makid, pp. 133-137.

Nevertheless, the monarchical regime in Jordan continues to constrain the organization of Islamic opposition even after the advent of political liberalization. The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan were allowed to operate because, on the one hand, they were considered a supportive opposition or loyal opposition, and on the other, they had adopted a peaceful, non-violent agenda.<sup>311</sup>

The argument about the dynamics of the Islamic movement and its relationship with the state in Jordan may be characterized by cooperation in addition to conflict.<sup>312</sup> In particular, the regime benefited from using the Muslim Brotherhood to keep other radical, more confrontational movements in check. In return, the Muslim Brotherhood, for its part, has benefited from the monarchy allowing it the opportunity to organize and spread. The state has allowed the movement to extend its reach in society and enabled the Brotherhood to deliver its religious message more effectively.<sup>313</sup>

King Hussein allowed the Muslim Brotherhood to operate legally in the Jordanian political system, where they have a strong influence in Parliament. Because of their growing influence in Jordanian society, Islamic activists became able to influence domestic policies in certain areas like education. In the foreign policy sphere, however, King Hussein would continue to reject their extreme positions, particularly in regard to the Arab–Israeli conflict. In early January 1991, a cabinet reshuffle led to the inclusion of five Muslim Brotherhood members and two independent Islamists.<sup>314</sup> The possibility that the influence of the Islamic activists in the government might have an effect on its foreign policy, especially with regard to the Arab–Israeli peace process, seems to have been removed when King Hussein dismissed the cabinet in mid-June 1991. In its place, he asked Foreign Minister Taher

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311 Salim, *Jordanian Foreign Policy and Arab Crises*, pp. 52-57.

312 Ibid, p. 59.

313 Mohamad Abdul Makid, *The Islamic Movements in Jordan*, pp. 17-19.

314 Reed, “Jordan and the Gulf Crisis”, pp. 22- 24.



Masri, a Palestinian, who favors a negotiated settlement with Israel, to form a new cabinet.<sup>315</sup>

Nevertheless, the King's January decision to allow the Muslim Brotherhood into the government now looks like it was only a tactical move to placate Jordan's Islamists during the crisis. The Muslim Brotherhood didn't have a large impact on Jordanian foreign policy, simply because the King's throne wasn't under sufficient threat to force him to make concessions in the foreign policy arena as well as the domestic one. This situation indicates that not all Islamic groups are unequivocal enemies of the regime and that mutual interest can lead to cooperation. This support is not constant, and the relationship is dynamic, but a complete understanding of state–movement relations necessitates noting points of cooperation as well as conflict.<sup>316</sup>

Furthermore, the Brotherhood also served to counter radical Islamic groups. From the perspective of regime survival, the Muslim Brotherhood's most important function is that it marginalizes more militant Islamic groups which propose revolutionary changes to the political and social system.<sup>317</sup> King Hussein tended to view Islamic movements as diverse entities. They are multifaceted and constituted by a variety of different Islamic groups. Arab regimes tend to represent the relationship between radical Islamic movements and the state in terms of political conflict, with the former imposing a central challenge to the stability and survival of their regimes. Radical Islamist groups are composed of hidden networks and informal social networks of like-minded individuals who operate outside the state's control.<sup>318</sup>

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315 Apparently the government was entirely aware to the strength of Islamic activism in Jordanian society. It simply chose to deal with this strength in the domestic political arena, which was of much more concern to the Islamic activists in any case.

316 Salim, *Jordanian Foreign Policy and Arab Crises*, p. 61.

317 Ibid, p. 62.

318 Mohamad Abdul Makid, *The Islamic Movements in Jordan*, pp. 23-28.

The fact was that King Hussein controlled the domestic environment, through gaining the military's loyalty and serving the interests of key elite societal groups. Yet, these measures have their implications for foreign policy. On the contrary, failure to gain the loyalty of the military, for example, might mean the regime has to appease it through foreign policy. Failure to socialize the populace into accepting the regime's policies might result in domestic unrest when unpopular decisions are made. This unrest could force the regime to adopt a policy it would not have taken otherwise.

For the economic situation, in fact, two factors stand out very clearly as the sources of Jordan's economic performance in the pre-Gulf War period. The first stemmed from the immense amounts of foreign debt the state owed to various international and regional benefactors, and the second was the growing interdependence between Jordan and Iraq. The international debt was the result of important events occurring in Jordan's regional environment.

Falling oil prices internationally led to a decrease in the Arab aid flowing into the regime during this period. When combined with decreased aid from the west, this drop in external funding had a significant effect on the Jordanian economy. Worker remittances from the Gulf States also decreased substantially as many workers were laid off due to the drop in oil revenue; overall remittances, therefore, fell to a little over \$600 million, a level significantly lower than the \$1.2 billion the state had received in 1981.<sup>319</sup>

In the late 1980s, however, more economic difficulties appeared due to the continued fall in oil prices, the decline in remittances from expatriates and the cutting of foreign aid, and all this led to a deterioration in the country's current account balance. During the 1980s, Jordan macroeconomic imbalances began to deteriorate further. These imbalances peaked in 1989. Therefore, Jordan started a prudent

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319 Kassay, "The Effects of External Forces", p. 50; Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", p. 4.

economic adjustment process in collaboration with the IMF and the World Bank and support from the international community.<sup>320</sup> Since 1989, Jordan has implemented several economic adjustment programs to overcome major imbalances and to regain macroeconomic stability as a precondition for sustainable economic growth.

The entry of tens of thousands of refugees into Jordan, including Jordanians who had been sending remittances back home, provided yet another strain on the economy. Jordan was soon forced to begin the rationing of staple foods and also made cuts in energy and water consumption. The declining economy led to a sequence of events which were disastrous for Jordan. The Jordanian dinar was devalued continuously during the period.<sup>321</sup>

Due to Jordan's reliance on vast amounts of imports, the devaluation of the dinar had troubling consequences in terms of the country's external trade balance. As imports in that same year amounted to nearly fifty percent of the state's GNP, the state was forced to borrow heavily from international benefactors, eventually leading foreign debt to reach a level twice that of the gross domestic product. The consequence of these events was the inability of the state to service its debt repayments, leading it to default on its foreign debt, the first time in its existence that it had ever done so. Once the truth was finally out, the enormity of the situation became clear: Jordan's foreign debt was the largest in the world, measured on a per capita basis.<sup>322</sup>

Simultaneously, during this period, Jordanian ties with neighboring Iraq were growing significantly. Ties between the two states grew mainly as a result of Iraq's need to finance its war with Iran. Jordan's dependence on Iraq stemmed mainly from the trade which grew between the two states and from Iraq's willingness to supply

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320 Ibid, Reed, p. 24.

321 Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p. 166, Kassay, "The Effects of External Forces", p. 50.

322 Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p. 166.

Jordan with the majority of its oil requirements.<sup>323</sup> The close ties between the two states created an Jordanian economy in which the majority of the business sector was working towards exporting more goods and services to this regional ally; prior to the start of the Gulf War in 1990, for example, three-fourths of the business industry within Jordan was linked to the export business with Iraq, with one-quarter of all Jordanian exports sent there.<sup>324</sup>

Furthermore, Iraqi use of the port of Aqaba for the shipment of arms, goods, and services, as well as labor, created great avenues for growth for the Jordanian economy, as the transit trade expanded exponentially. Unfortunately for Jordan, however, the end of the Iran–Iraq war in 1988 would lessen the positive effects of their relationship, while maintaining the dependence the state had developed towards this regional ally, especially with respect to oil; as Iraq's economic capacity declined, Jordan's benefits from trade, aid, and support from the former state would consequently suffer as well.<sup>325</sup>

On this economic level, two developments should be noted in particular, because they were important in influencing Jordanian behavior. The first concerned US pressure on Jordan: the US continued to refuse to sell arms to Jordan following the signing of the Camp David Accords and the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

US pressure on Jordan to follow the Egyptian pattern moved from the political to the economic level, with US aid decreasing in the 1980s to the point of being negligible. Furthermore, the United States induced its Arab allies in the Gulf (with the exception of Saudi Arabia and Oman and to some extent the United Arab Emirates) to withhold aid from Jordan. These developments diminished the influence of these

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323 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", p. 5.

324 Baram, "Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan", p. 58; Schenker, *Dancing with Saddam*, p.37.

325 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope," pp. 7-10.

traditional donor countries on Jordan and also increased Jordan's dependency on Iraq.<sup>326</sup>

The economic decline experienced within Jordan in these years would have a significant effect on the public sector, as the government's ability to maintain control over this sector was greatly strained. Due to the economic growth of the late 1970s and early 1980s, by 1986 the public sector employed close to fifty percent of the domestic labor force.<sup>327</sup> For this reason, the eventual inability of the government to finance the public sector was to have a drastic effect on the overall performance of the economy. In addition to the deteriorating standards of the public sector, revenue from taxes during this period was also limited, remaining at a level significantly lower than what it would be in the post-Gulf War period. Without new sources of revenue, the government of Jordan would find it difficult to maintain the support of its public sector employees and its traditional support groups.

Economic capacity during this period, therefore, was at a low level. The government's inability to secure continued financing from the external world, and its inability to find avenues of sustainable growth made it vulnerable to external economic shocks, such as was experienced with the declining oil revenues in the 1980s.

Jordan has been cited as a country in which the military has played an important role throughout the history of the state.<sup>328</sup> In the pre-1990 period, this remained the case, as the government was still spending great sums on its military. However, in comparison to Syria and Israel, military spending in Jordan was not very high; from 1985 to 1990, total expenditure in this sector amounted to \$4.35

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326 Ibid, Baram, p. 37

327 Brand, *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations*, p. 52.

328 Keith Krause, "Middle Eastern Arms Recipients in the Post-Cold War World," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 535 (Sept. 1994), p. 88.

billion.<sup>329</sup> Paramilitary forces increased during this period from 11,000 in number in 1985 to 17,000 in 1990, showing an increase in the overall level of manpower allocated to domestic security.<sup>330</sup> Jordan continuously spent over ten percent of its GNP on the military establishment, and remained in the top ten states by number of soldiers per 1,000 people. Furthermore, according to 1989 data, Jordan's exact ratio of soldiers to the population was 60.5 soldiers per 1000 people, an extremely high number.<sup>331</sup>

The key challenges that Jordan faces are the scarcity of energy and water. Unlike most of its neighbor countries, Jordan is a non-oil country; around 97 percent of its energy needs are imported. Furthermore, Jordan has one of the lowest levels of water resources in the world. During the last two decades, Jordan has moved from large government intervention in the economy toward an open and free market system where the ownership of enterprises is largely private, and market forces determine prices, interest rates, and wages. The Jordanian economy depends largely on the service sector. This sector has accounted for 68 percent of GDP and 75 percent of employment, on average, over the last ten years. Despite the Jordanian economy being dominated by the service sector, service exports account for only 20 percent of total exports.

To sum up the economic situation, the Jordanian economy fluctuated over the period 1976-2004,<sup>332</sup> affected by local, regional, and global economic and political situations. This period can be divided into three sub-periods according to their economic features and growth rates. The first sub-period is characterized by the oil

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329 Cordesman, *The Military Balance in the Middle East*, p. 143.

330 Ibid, p.187.

331 Krause, "Middle Eastern Arms Recipients", p. 89.

332 See the websites of the Jordanian Department of Statistics for all figures. See also the detailed financial data on the web sites of the Central Bank of Jordan and the Jordanian Ministry of Finance.

boom, when oil prices recorded sharp increases, causing huge capital inflows to the Arabic oil countries. The oil boom had positive direct and indirect effects on the Jordanian economy, with a significant increase in foreign grants to Jordan from Arabic oil countries. The other positive effects of the oil boom were the increases in demand from Arabic countries for the Jordanian labor force and Jordanian products, which boosted foreign capital inflow and remittances to the Jordanian economy. As a result of those developments, the economy achieved high growth rates. The second sub-period, foreign grants to Jordan declined significantly in comparison to the 1976-1982 period due to the fall in world oil prices. The annual average of foreign grants during this sub-period decreased. As a result, Jordan faced a sharp economic crisis in 1988. Due to these problems in the Jordanian economy, the Jordanian Government began debt rescheduling negotiations with the IMF and Paris Club countries in 1989 and agreed to implement the first IMF economic adjustment program for the years 1989-1992.

The Gulf crisis that began in August 1990, however, forced Jordan to stop the IMF program and to stop most foreign debt payments as well as suspend rescheduling negotiations. There was a significant decrease in foreign grants from Arab Gulf countries and the Jordanian worker remittances, as well as hundreds of thousands of Jordanians and refugees from Kuwait and Iraq flooding to Jordan, causing significant balance of payment problems. This led to a fall in GDP growth and a strain on government resources. All these negative developments were reflected in the performance of the Jordanian economy.

The third period is characterized mainly by the implementation of multiple IMF economic adjustment programs in order to increase the efficiency and independence of the Jordanian economy through significant structural economic reforms. Under the adjustment programs, the Jordanian government adopted many structural procedures aimed at reforming the tax system, developing the performance of the public sector, implementing a program to privatize public assets, and

liberalizing external trade. As a result of the adjustment reforms, in 2000 Jordan joined the World Trade Organization (WTO), and in 2001 signed an agreement (EU) the European Union (EU), as well as signing a bilateral Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the US in the same year.<sup>333</sup>

Since there was little the King could do to change the economy, he redirected the frustrations of his people by adopting a policy of democratization, whereby he allowed greater freedom of the press, which Rifai had sought to stifle, and called the first general elections in twenty-two years. This played into the hands of the Islamic fundamentalists, who won 35 out of the 80 seats, as well as various leftist parties, including the Ba'ath Party and Palestinian leftist organizations.<sup>334</sup>

One can easily imagine how the empowerment of these opposition forces would have limited the King's room for maneuver during the 1991 Gulf War.

Therefore, as mentioned earlier, and in response to the 1989 riots, the regime attempted to increase its legitimacy through the liberalization of the government. The King allowed elections to take place later that year in order to regain the support he had lost from the East Bankers.<sup>335</sup> What is interesting to note, however, is that the democratization which occurred was not typical, in that it was defensive in nature; in order to consolidate his support, the King forced the ruling cabinet to resign, as it was blamed for the internal economic and societal instability in the country. Furthermore, the electoral laws were altered in an attempt to undermine the power of the purely Palestinian areas while increasing the voting rights of the East Bank Jordanians.<sup>336</sup>

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333 See the websites of the Jordanian Department of Statistics for all figures. See also the detailed financial data on the web sites of the Central Bank of Jordan and the Jordanian Ministry of Finance.

334 Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p p. 170-171; Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope," p. 6.

335 Scott Greenwood, "'Jordan's New Bargain: The Political Economy of Regime Security'", *Middle East Journal* 51, no. 2 (Spring 2003), p. 249.

336 Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p. 174; Kassay, "The Effects of External Forces," p.52.



Although liberalization occurred, showing on the surface a less repressive and corrupt government, it was done so specifically as a strategy of King Hussein to regain the support of his traditional support groups.

The 1989 elections for Jordan's House of Deputies thereby strengthened the process of political reform. Censorship was duly lifted, and candidates for the lower house began to campaign under different ideological banners. Jordanians went to the polls on November 8, 1989, in the first general elections in twenty-two years. King Hussein was given credit for the measures he had taken to secure the return of democracy to Jordan.

This process of democratization permitted Jordanians to participate in government. The king wanted to ease the domestic situation by allowing more freedoms; he wanted democracy based on separation between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government and to build a democratic civic society.<sup>337</sup> It is worth mentioning here that during the 1989 elections, only independents not directly connected to any specific party were allowed to run for office; nonetheless, these independents were usually linked to one political group or other based on their platforms and their political goals.<sup>338</sup> The results of the elections shocked the regime, with at least thirty of the eighty seats being allocated to the Islamic opposition, and a further ten seats to leftist groups<sup>339</sup>. Therefore, the opposition controlled 50 percent of the total seats. Control of the parliament by the opposition posed a significant obstacle to the autonomy of the regime; for example, the King's appointment of Badran as prime minister only narrowly managed to gain the vote of confidence required from parliament.

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337 Abdel Majid Alazam, "Foreign Policy Making in Jordan", p. 8.

338 Ryan, *Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, p. 305.

339 Baram, "'Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan," p. 62; Ryan, "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan," p. 305; Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis," p. 28.

Nevertheless, the Islamic movement in Jordan came to international attention in the wake of the April 1989 disturbances and the subsequent November 1989 parliamentary elections. These developments highlighted the movement's political influence. The Brotherhood in Jordan reached the peak of its influence in the November 1989 elections, winning 22 seats of its own, with independent Islamists taking an additional 12 out of the 80 seats in Parliament.

They also succeeded in pushing through the election of a member of the Brotherhood, Abd al-Latif Arabiyyat, as Speaker of the House. The elections granted the Jordanian opposition, comprising of Islamist and leftist groups, over thirty seats in the 80-seat Parliament, a level of representation they had never previously enjoyed in Jordan.<sup>340</sup>

In 1992, the government approved the Political Parties Law, which legalized political parties for the first time since 1957. A number of political parties began to organize, among them the Muslim Brotherhood and independent Islamists, now under the name of the Islamic Action Front (IAF)—*Jabhat al-Amal al-Islami*. According to the new Political Parties Law,<sup>341</sup> a political party could not have administrative or financial links with any foreign power or political group. Accordingly, the IAF defined itself as an indigenous, home-grown party. The Jordanian Brotherhood was represented in politics through the formation of its own political party, the Islamic Action Front IAC, which has consistently had the largest number of seats of any party in the Jordanian parliaments formed after 1989. The vote for the Brotherhood reflected its own genuine widespread popularity and the dramatic decline of the secular left.<sup>342</sup>

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340 Mohamad Abdul Makid, *The Islamic Movements in Jordan*, pp. 32-36.

341 For the Political Parties Law in Jordan, see: <http://www.f-law.net/law/archive/index.php?t-2160.html> (accessed 24.01.2015).

342 Mohamad Abdul Makid, *The Islamic Movements in Jordan*, , p. 33.

The level of the King's autonomy, therefore, is concluded to have been at a moderate level. The reason that the level was not low was that, even though the opposition held a majority in the lower house of parliament, the King still had the power to dismiss parliament, and the upper house remained one that was appointed by the King. Furthermore, Prime Minister Badran and his cabinet, although having a hard time gaining a vote of confidence, still managed to remain in office. However, elections which were meant to consolidate and increase the support of the King and his Transjordanian allies showed how little support the traditional ruling elite now held in Jordanian society.<sup>343</sup>

The King, however, did not experience the low level of support that the government did during this period. Most of the demonstrators, although openly criticizing the government, did not include the King in their protests; furthermore, the King's response to the riots and the subsequent domestic liberalization, as well as his prior disengagement from the West Bank, increased his support by responding to East Bank demands and removing the primary sources of Palestinian opposition.<sup>344</sup> Therefore, although the government in general was seen negatively, the King was not viewed in a similar light.

King Hussein's attempts at domestic liberalization demonstrated how international pressure to democratize and liberalize influenced domestic politics, consequently resulting in opposition groups penetrating government institutions.

Yet, the combination of the riots, IMF programs, low societal cohesion and resulting border instabilities, and the victory of the Islamists in the 1989 elections show that regime legitimacy within Jordan during this period was at a low level, despite King Hussein's continuing domestic popularity. These events, furthermore, all

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343 Ibid, Robins, p. 171.

344 Kassay, "The Effects of External Forces", p. 55.

occurred in the years directly preceding the 1990 invasion, confirming the temporal link between domestic instability and foreign policy behavior.

The August 2, 1990, Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait represented Jordan's most grave foreign policy challenge. The overwhelming majority of Jordanians demonstrated strong domestic sentiments in supporting Iraq against the allied coalition. Following the invasion, almost daily pro-Iraqi and Pro-Saddam demonstrations<sup>345</sup> were held in Jordan beginning on the first day of the invasion and continuing until the end of the conflict. At their peak, the rallies included some 70,000 protesters and were tolerated and occasionally even backed by the Jordanian regime, and Jordanians in Amman volunteered to fight for Iraq in droves.<sup>346</sup> This public outpouring of enthusiasm for Saddam Hussein came in response to his linkage of the crisis to western powers.

Many Jordanians, and not just those who were of Palestinian origin, decried the perceived hypocrisy of the international response to the occupation of Kuwait and the vigorous enforcement of UN Security Council Resolutions against Iraq while similar resolutions against Israel's occupation continued to be ignored.

At the height of the crisis, in January 1991, the King co-opted the Brotherhood into the government to enable them to share in political life, and to take their responsibilities in decision making. The Brotherhood bloc in parliament succeeded in passing an overwhelming vote against Jordanian participation in the upcoming Madrid peace conference, ignoring King Hussein's unwavering support for participation and

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345 Saddam Hussein's rhetoric held great appeal for much of the Arab and especially Jordanian masses. Many Arab leaders were concerned that his increasing popularity and ambition to assert Iraq's leadership in the region spelled trouble for their own regimes.

346 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", pp.6-7.

the traditional role of the King in running the Kingdom's foreign policy. The king dropped the Islamists from the government in the same year.<sup>347</sup>

Public opinion in Jordan was mobilized during the Gulf crisis particularly because of the coalescence of groups from a broad political spectrum around similar ideas.<sup>348</sup> Public opinion during the Gulf crisis was effective in constraining King Hussein and forcing him to take sides in the conflict, and restricted the King from being part of the war effort.<sup>349</sup> Liberalization had not, however, been the determining variable explaining the King's decision to pursue peace with Israel in 1994.

King Hussein's pattern of inter-Arab mediation continued during the Gulf Crisis. Following the Iraq invasion by Kuwait, Hussein flew to Baghdad in the hope of achieving an Arab solution to the crisis. While he was there, however, the Arab League voted to condemn Iraq's invasion, a step which hardened Baghdad's stand against Arab mediation. Though Hussein was angered by the vote that made his attempts to find an Arab solution much more difficult, he continued diplomatic efforts throughout the crisis to find a peaceful resolution. He made several visits to Baghdad and received the Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz on many occasions.<sup>350</sup>

Later, he would contact or meet with other parties in an attempt to start a negotiating process. In the end, all mediation efforts failed because the American-led

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347 Five Muslim Brothers and two independent Islamists were given the coveted portfolios of Education, Justice, Awqaf (foundations/the third sector), Social Development, Health, Agriculture, Transport and Communications. See Laurie Brand, "The Corrosive Effects of the Peace Process on Political Liberalization in Jordan," paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference (Washington, DC, August 1997).

348 Sasley, "Changes and Continuities in Jordanian Foreign Policy", pp. 36-48. See also Paul L. Scham and Russell E. Lucas, "'Normalization' and 'Anti-Normalization' in Jordan: The Public Debate," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, vol.5, no.3 , (September 2001).

349 Laurie Brand, *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations: The Political Economy of Alliance Making*, pp. 139-58.

350 Baram, "Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan," p. 63.

international coalition was unwilling to accept anything less than unconditional and complete Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.<sup>351</sup>

Despite international criticism, King Hussein's popularity rose at home when he followed the Jordanian public in backing Saddam during the Gulf War and abandoned his traditional American-led western allies. Some explanation for this comes from the perspective of the state of public opinion in Jordan, and indeed, this is the argument most frequently raised in analyses of Jordanian behavior during the Gulf War.

For the Gulf crisis, the combination of economic discontent, recent political liberalization, and Jordanian-Palestinian strong support for Saddam conspired to make for a very delicate political situation for Jordan. However, the question is, how did Jordan's dire economic situation influence its policies during the crisis? King Hussein had to weigh up two important issues. One was the cost to Jordan of honoring United Nations Security Council Resolution 661, which imposed economic sanctions on Iraq. Jordan continued to export humanitarian aid (food and drugs) until late October. These exports, however, were more a reflection of the Jordanian people's support for Iraq than an important source of revenue for Jordan. These exceptions should not hide the fact that Jordan "bit the bullet" as far as its economic relations with Iraq were concerned.

During this time, Jordanians were suffering many economic problems; poverty and unemployment amid a poor social and political atmosphere, and this deteriorating situation could have been the grounds for domestic tensions.<sup>352</sup> In the aftermath of the war, the King played on Jordan's critical role in the peace settlement by willingly

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351 King Hussein's different positions during the Gulf war will be discussed in detail in the coming chapter.

352 Laurie Brand has said that the alliance was connected to balancing the budget and securing the economy.

accepting the terms for negotiations to begin in 1991 in Madrid. Jordanians and Palestinians initially formed a joint delegation to the peace talks before eventually shifting to distinct negotiating teams in Palestinian–Israeli and Jordanian–Israeli peace talks. Israel and the PLO reached a breakthrough in the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, while Jordan and Israel made their peace official in a 1994 peace treaty.

### **3.4. The role of the monarch: the chief foreign policy maker**

In Jordan, as in other Arab countries, the ruler is of overriding, dominant and ultimate importance due to the absence of a historical tradition of popular participation in political life.<sup>353</sup> In Jordan, the King enjoys great powers in making foreign policy. He maintains tight control over key government functions, such as national defense, internal security, justice, and foreign affairs. Indeed, the King is invariably involved in both the formulation and implementation of policy decisions in all important areas. However, the extent of his involvement in the pre-decision or post-decision stage varies in each of the spheres. The extent to which King Hussein participated in the first two dimensions depended on several factors. On one hand, it depended on the nature of the issue with which he was dealing, while on the other hand, it also depended on the particular prime minister in power and the nature of his relationship with the King.

According to the Jordanian constitution, the King is the dominant figure in political affairs. Consequently, the foremost policymaker has always been the King; he is the supreme arbiter and chief executive in the country in all respects.<sup>354</sup> He is the

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353 Al-Ramadanie, *A Study on External Behavior*, (Iraq Dar al Nasher, 1980). (in Arabic), pp. 120-121. The Throne of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is hereditary to the dynasty of King Abdullah Ibn Al-Hussein in a direct line through his male heirs as provided hereinafter.

354 According to the Jordanian Constitution: “The King is the Head of the State and is immune from any liability and responsibility. The King ratifies the laws and promulgates them. He shall direct the enactment of such regulations as may be necessary for their implementation, provided that such regulations are not inconsistent with the provisions thereof.”

chief decision maker regarding foreign policy, and his foreign policy beliefs and personal attributes shape the foreign policy decisions of the country.<sup>355</sup>

The ultimate aspiration in the King's foreign policy actions is the survival of his regime and the country, through building a defense against external threats to the country's territorial integrity,<sup>356</sup> while successfully achieving the mobilization of the country's resources—both external and internal—in order to defend against external threats, and utilizing the remainder of the resources for other things including economic development.<sup>357</sup>

Therefore, the country's foreign policy positions have been directed towards counterbalancing its vulnerability to external actors and their ability to instigate or exacerbate internal challenges to the survival of the Hashemite monarchy.<sup>358</sup>

Furthermore, the monarch is the head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces.<sup>359</sup> His powers include the appointment and dismissal of the prime minister, the right to declare war, and the negotiation of treaties.<sup>360</sup> Also, according to the Jordanian constitution, Jordan is a constitutional monarchy. The politics of Jordan take place in the framework of a parliamentary monarchy;<sup>361</sup> the King holds the highest power in the government and signs and executes all laws. However, his veto

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355 Avi Schlaim, *Lion of Jordan: the Life of King Hussein in War and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), p. 2.

356 The King is the Supreme Commander of the Land, Naval and Air Forces. See: *The Constitution of Jordan 1952*.

357 Al-Zu'bi, *Jordan's Foreign Policy*, pp. 221-27.

358 Abdel Majid Alazm, *Foreign Policy Making in Jordan*, p. 8.

359 The Executive Power shall be vested in the King, who shall exercise his powers through his Ministers in accordance with the provisions of the present Constitution. See: *The Constitution of Jordan 1952*.

360 The King declares war, concludes peace and ratifies treaties and agreements. *The Constitution of Jordan 1952*.

361 The King issues orders for the holding of elections to the Chamber of Deputies, and The King may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, *The Constitution of Jordan 1952*.



power may be overridden by a two-thirds vote of both houses of the National Assembly. He appoints and may dismiss all judges by decree, and approves amendments to the constitution.<sup>362</sup>

One may say that the final and ultimate authority during the period 1953-1999 resided in the central and dominant figure of King Hussein.<sup>363</sup> This authority was given to the King in Chapter 3, Article 26 of the Jordanian Constitution, which states that "Executive Power shall be vested in the King."<sup>364</sup> King Hussein had initiated all of Jordan's major policies. Demands on the political system were made directly to him and in general, he also fulfilled them. Nevertheless, the ruling elite also remained relatively important because of their control of information in advising the King and their influence in the implementation of decisions.

Nevertheless, there are some prominent elite circles in Jordan which have a moderate amount of power in the decision-making process. Under King Hussein, the Senate, in particular, was a pool of potential advisors and officeholders whose loyalty the monarch was able to count upon and who, in fact, were often rotated in and out of government office, to and from the Senate. Likewise, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies was a figure close to real power with a reliable link between the royal court and the legislature.<sup>365</sup> Thus, unlike in a democratic environment, the speaker has tended to speak not only on behalf of the parliament but also to communicate to Parliament the interests of the royal court, essentially performing functions of mediation on the one hand and control on the other.

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<sup>362</sup> All judgments shall be given in accordance with the law and pronounced in the name of the King. See *The Constitution of Jordan 1952*.

<sup>363</sup> Abdel Majid Alazam, *Foreign Policy Making in Jordan*, p. 9.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid, *The Constitution of Jordan 1952*.

<sup>365</sup> The Legislative Power shall be vested in the National Assembly and the King. The King appoints members of the Senate and appoints the Speaker from amongst them and accepts their resignation. See *The Constitution of Jordan 1952*.

The inner core circle of Jordan's decision-making process comprises the core decision makers who can influence strategic issues of national relevance and foreign policy; the prime ministers, the chief of the Royal Court, the King's advisors and the speaker of the senate. In addition to these, the head of the general intelligence department and the heads of the military, security, and police forces play crucial roles.<sup>366</sup> However, it is difficult to determine their exact relative influence in foreign policy making.

Other individuals and groups related to economic reforms became so influential that a number of newcomers have entered this part of the decision making process through being able to influence strategic decisions in various fields related to the economy as well as questions of information technology (IT) and administrative reform, being deemed helpful to the King's economic policy pursuits. The different ministers, advisors and prominent businessmen in this circle are specialized in economic questions or issues related to security and foreign policy. In addition to some powerful individuals from different backgrounds, they are composed of people from a multitude of demographics—the implementers of regime policies, individuals loyal to the regime, and opposition elites (though not in the sense of being anti-regime)—who have an impact on decision-making and influence the political or economic agenda on certain issues.

The lower house has been less politically relevant. Political parties as formal bodies do not possess much influence; they have primarily served their leaders as vehicles for individual rent-seeking. This body is very limited politically with not much to offer regarding political programs and policy development.<sup>367</sup>

Jordan's political parties have functions profoundly different from those of parties in democracies. The same applies to the legislation as an institution, as well as

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<sup>366</sup> Abdel Majid Alazam, *Foreign Policy Making in Jordan*, p. 12.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.

interest groups, professional associations, and business organizations. Among individuals or groups involved in the political arena and even entering decision-making circles, as a rule, the strength and closeness of ties to members of the core elite or the King himself determine the degree of influence a given individual can expect to wield politically. This power is determined by an individual's personality, his or her social or family status in society, contact with key decision makers, and so on.

## CHAPTER 4

### KING HUSSEIN AND THE 1991 GULF WAR

#### 4.1. Introduction: the neoclassical perspective

The US-led international military coalition against Iraq began in mid-January 1991, in the wake of Iraqi forces invading and occupying neighboring Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Political and social upheaval was shaking the Arab world again; the Gulf War redefined the balance of power in the Middle East and led to a reshuffle in inter-Arab relations.

Due to its proximity to the crisis, its political stance and its role as Iraq's primary trading partner, Jordan took many actions and exerted much effort during the Gulf War. King Hussein devoted his efforts to a search for a center ground in the conflict, seeking a negotiated withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. He issued vigorous appeals to Saddam Hussein to yield to the demands of the international community. However, his efforts failed. Jordan suffered tremendous losses during and after the Gulf War on both the political and economic fronts. Iraq had served as Jordan's primary trading partner, and the Gulf Crisis and international sanctions against Iraq created severe economic difficulties for Jordan.

Nevertheless, King Hussein refused to bandwagon with his strong US ally, siding instead with Iraq. Hussein's choice of alignment was based on many elements: the survival of his regime, the strong pro-Saddam and pan-Arabist sentiments inside Jordan—mainly from the citizens of Palestinian origin and Muslim Brotherhood—his

strong personal relations with Saddam, economic reasons—Iraq was the main economic partner of Jordan, and the country was heavily reliant on Iraqi oil and economic aid—as well as the overwhelming majority of Jordan's population opposing the presence of foreign troops on Arab land, among other reasons.

If King Hussein had to choose between countering severe unrest or facing economic pain, he would choose to avoid the former, even though the latter would itself be a potential cause of unrest. The Gulf crisis, however, demonstrated King Hussein's greater concern over survival and stability and played a large role in shaping Jordan's foreign policy orientations during the Gulf War.

The King responded to external pressure from the US and its allies, yet did not cooperate or bandwagon with the stronger alliance. According to the neoclassical realist and balance of interest viewpoints, Jordan was a weak status quo state which had to choose an alternative in aligning itself during the conflict: bandwagoning, neutrality, appeasement, or a balancing strategy for self-preservation of stability, survival and other benefits of the status quo. By the end of this chapter, I will have explained how domestic politics shaped King Hussein's decision to balance together with Iraq rather than bandwagoning with the US.

#### **4.2. King Hussein's foreign policy during the 1991 Gulf War**

The Iraqi–Kuwaiti dispute came to a head in July 1990, when the US Defense Intelligence Agency noticed a build-up of Iraqi military forces on the Kuwaiti border, which appeared to be far more than what Saddam needed if his intent was only to intimidate the Kuwaitis.<sup>368</sup> President Bush spoke to King Hussein over the phone on July 28, expressing hope that the situation would not exceed the limits of reason.

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<sup>368</sup> Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict: Diplomacy and War in the New World Order 1990-1991* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 57.

The King replied that there was no possibility of this, and that it would not reach that point.<sup>369</sup>

The next day King Hussein met with Saddam in Baghdad, expressing his concern that the Americans would intervene to reverse an Iraqi attempt to invade Kuwait. The best way to resolve his dispute with Kuwait, he argued, was through a negotiated inter-Arab solution.<sup>370</sup> On July 31, Hussein alerted the Americans that the situation was becoming serious. He informed President Bush that the Iraqis were angry, but expressed hopes that events would serve the interests of greater cooperation in the region.<sup>371</sup> Hussein's position was that the Arabs and their leaders should collectively deal with the situation.<sup>372</sup>

Saddam's invasion of Kuwait on the morning of August 2 seems to have come as a profound shock to King Hussein. He spent all day attempting to reach Saddam by telephone, but Saddam only deigned to answer him in the afternoon, when his forces were already in Kuwait City. Saddam reportedly told him to relax, saying that he was only interested in teaching the Kuwaitis a lesson, not in taking their country.<sup>373</sup>

That day, King Hussein flew to Alexandria to meet with President Hosni Mubarak. He cautioned Mubarak against adopting a position of condemnation and accusation and a tough stance that might pave the way for outside intervention. If foreigners were to intervene, he warned, the Arabs would "tear each other's eyes out". Together they telephoned President Bush and pleaded with him not to react

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369 Ibid, p. 60.

370 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p.266.

371 Freedman and Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict*, p.62-65.

372 Salim, *Jordanian Foreign Policy and Arab Crises*, p. 22.

373 Jack O'Connell and Vernon Loeb, *King's Counsel: A Memoir of War, Espionage, and Diplomacy in the Middle East* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011), p. 171.

hastily and to give the Arabs an ample chance to solve this problem on their own in an Arab context. Bush gave them mere hours to find a solution. They then telephoned Saddam and asked him to receive King Hussein the next day.<sup>374</sup> The King's goal was to find a formula for an Arab solution. Meanwhile, the foreign ministers of the Arab League were beginning to assemble in Cairo for an extraordinary summit, and King Hussein asked Mubarak to delay any public reference to the invasion until after he had spoken with Saddam.

Mubarak's version of the events was that he and King Hussein agreed beforehand that Saddam would have to meet two preconditions before attending the mini-summit: namely, an immediate withdrawal from Kuwait followed by the restoration of the Sabah family. Mubarak accused King Hussein of being too hesitant to make these demands of Saddam and said he could not agree to a summit with such uncertain Iraqi intentions.<sup>375</sup>

The enforcement of economic sanctions, demanded by the US and UN but extremely unpopular in Jordan, became a central issue. Jordan agreed to comply with all sanctions authorized by the UN, though it questioned their motives, scope, and legitimacy. The US established an intrusive inspection regime at the Jordanian port of Aqaba, which often seemed to be aimed more at punishing Jordan than at isolating Iraq. Aid to Jordan was tied to sanctions compliance. Combined with the influx of hundreds of thousands of returnees from Kuwait, these sanctions made Jordan seriously suffer.

As a result of the 1991 Gulf War, Jordan, Iraq's main economic partner, was left in a deep economic quandary, and King Hussein proposed that the Arab League mediate the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait. The attempt failed. Jordan's position was especially complicated by the trade sanctions imposed on Iraq by the UN, while

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374 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 268.

375 Freedman and Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict*, pp. 73-77.

the massive inflow of returning Jordanians increased the economic crisis.<sup>376</sup> Jordan seriously suffered from the Gulf crisis. Many of these returnees were Palestinian refugees who had benefited from Jordan's unique policy of granting citizenship to any Palestinian who sought it. The influx of these refugees led to increased demand for the country's limited water supplies and infrastructure amid rising poverty and a sharp increase in unemployment to around 30 percent.<sup>377</sup>

The early 1990s marked a watershed in the history of the Arab–Israeli conflict. The Gulf crisis redefined the balance of power in the Middle East, reshuffled inter-Arab relations and demonstrated once again the need to work toward a just and comprehensive regional peace. Moreover, several other factors converged to produce a situation propitious for pursuing peace during this time. The termination of the Cold War allowed the Arab–Israeli conflict to be treated as a regional problem.

In a speech to Jordanians on February 6, King Hussein said that,

The real objective of this destructive war, as evinced by its magnitude and the statements made by its parties and as substantiated by the course of the war, is to destroy Iraq and rearrange the regional state of affairs in a manner that would be far more serious for the present and future of our nation than the outcome of the Sykes-Picot treaty. Our homeland, nation, aspirations, and resources will thus be placed under direct foreign hegemony. All bonds between the parts of this nation will be dismembered, thereby weakening the nation more than it is now, fragmenting it further, and humiliating it more and more.

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<sup>376</sup> Ziad Swaidan and Mihai Nica, "The 1991 Gulf War And Jordan's Economy", *The Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA) Journal*, (2002), Jordan hosted over a million refugees from the conflict.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid.



He also went on in the same speech to criticize President Bush's concept of a new world order. "The talk about a new world order whose features are the destruction of Iraq and its capabilities, and the continuation of such talk during this war, make us wonder about the nature of this order, and have doubts about its criteria and descriptions."

Jordan's motivation and objectives were only to preserve its own unity and cohesion, alongside the sovereignty of Iraq.<sup>378</sup> Jordan's political position during the crisis deserves an explanation. In principle, Jordan wanted the restoration of the original situation to be brought about peacefully, and a solution worked out within the Arab system. Moreover, Jordan stood in full agreement with the international community that the Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait were a breach of international law which could not be allowed to stand. However, from the Jordanian viewpoint, Arab interests dictated that the matter should be settled on a regional basis. Jordan attempted to resolve the matter through the Arab League, and King Hussein personally issued vigorous appeals to Saddam Hussein to yield to the demands of the international community.

Jordan's view of the crisis evolved against the background of a totally frustrated and thwarted Arab world that, since the advent of modern times, had found itself not only challenged, but ridiculed, abused, and rendered helpless at every turn. Also in the background was the vision of the Arab world badly defeated in 1967 and the west's covert and overt glee over the event. So badly had the situation evolved that the west was able to resort to moral double standards in its treatment of Arab and Israeli actions. Jordan's position also evolved in the wake of unresolved internal as well as external challenges and crises facing the whole Arab world: faltering economies, uneven development, questions of political legitimacy and social justice, in addition to problems and crises in Palestine, Lebanon, South Sudan, and Western

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<sup>378</sup> Salim, *Jordanian Foreign Policy and Arab Crises*, p. 22.

Sahara.<sup>379</sup> That is why Jordan insisted on not isolating the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait from its historical background. Within the same context, the constraining impact of Arabism on Jordan's foreign policy rested on the fact that an overwhelming majority of Jordan's population opposed the presence of foreign troops on Arab land and/or supported Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The first round in the countdown to the 1990 Gulf crisis took place at the meeting of the ACC<sup>380</sup> in February 1990 in Amman on the first anniversary of the organization's founding. Here, Saddam Hussein made the announcement that he wanted a complete moratorium on the loans that Iraq had taken from the Gulf states during the Iran–Iraq War, as well as an immediate additional infusion of \$30 billion. He asked King Hussein and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to relay this message. King Hussein immediately passed the message on to the Gulf states on Saddam's behalf.<sup>381</sup> At the same time, Amman was expressing public concern with the escalating trend of Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel. King Hussein feared that this might trigger a nightmare scenario: a large-scale Palestinian exodus from the West Bank to Jordan destabilizing the Kingdom's already tenuous demographic balance and hence threatening the stability of the monarchy. Soviet Jewish immigration, the King argued, posed a grave threat to the stability of the Hashemite Kingdom, and hence the Arab world. After all, the King asked, at whose expense were these people to be settled and where would the Palestinian people be pushed? To face up to these threats, and to play its role as a front-line state in the Arab defense against Israel, Jordan urgently needed Arab aid.

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379 Kamel S. Abu Jaber, "Jordan and the Gulf War, In *The Gulf War and the New World Order*" in Tareq Y. Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael (eds.) *International Relations of the Middle East*, (University Press of Florida, 1994), p. 366-368.

380 The ACC was formed on February 16, 1989. It included Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and North Yemen. The ACC later collapsed in the aftermath of the 1990-91 Gulf crisis. Curtis "Jordan and the Rise and fall of the Arab Cooperation Council", pp. 386-401.

381 Freedman and Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict*, p. 45.

On 24 February, Saddam delivered a sharp, anti-American speech to the summit. It was laden with references to the Palestinian struggle, American support for Israel, and the need for a concerted Arab effort to stave-off American hegemony over the region.<sup>382</sup>

The shift in the global balance of power, engendered by the decline of the Soviet Union, had left the Arab region exposed to unchallenged American designs, Saddam contended. Not only did Saddam argue that the other Arab states were ungrateful for the sacrifice Iraq had made during its eight-year war with Iran, which he cast as a war on behalf of the Arab nation, but he further accused Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates of colluding to bankrupt Iraq by exceeding their OPEC quota for oil production and flooding the oil market, thus driving down the price of oil.

Moreover, he accused Kuwait of stealing Iraqi oil by slant drilling into the southern sector of the Rumaila oil field, which straddled the Iraq-Kuwait border, and he noted that Kuwait had set up police posts, military establishments, and farms on border territory that Iraq considered its own. Most worryingly, Saddam began to revive an Iraqi claim that Kuwait was historically a part of Iraq, and thus Iraq had a rightful claim to take control over it.<sup>383</sup>

The anti-American cadence of Saddam's speech resonated perfectly with Jordanian public opinion, earning him a heavy dose of popularity throughout the Kingdom. Saddam had struck a sensitive chord among a population whose opposition to Israel's actions, and to what was perceived as America's unconditional support for Israel, had been growing for decades. Another reason for this was that many Jordanians viewed the ruling al-Sabah family in Kuwait as a pro-American regime with little interest in the rest of the Arab world. They believed Saddam Hussein

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382 See Majid Khadduri and Edmund Ghareeb, *War in the Gulf, 1990–1991: The Iraq-Kuwait Conflict and Its Implications*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

383 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 265.

was aiding the Arab cause in invading Kuwait. There was also resentment among Jordanians, as well as other Arab countries, to the vast oil wealth possessed by the Kuwaitis, wealth they believed to belong to all Arabs. This resentment was compounded by the fact that Kuwait had invested tens of billions of dollars outside the Arab world, funds that could have been used for Arab development. Many Jordanians also blamed the Kuwaitis and Saudis for boosting oil production and lowering oil prices during the 1980s, a policy that resulted in a large decrease in oil revenues from the Gulf benefiting poorer countries like Jordan and Egypt.<sup>384</sup>

The Kuwaiti image in Jordan was not enhanced when many of the hundreds of thousands of Jordanians who returned to Jordan after working in Kuwait began reporting how the Kuwaitis had been “arrogant, even cruel” towards them. Jordanian outrage was also directed at the United States. Why were the Americans mobilizing an entire international coalition to drive Iraq from Kuwait when for many decades it had done almost nothing to pressure Israel out of the occupied territories? The feeling that the United States was applying a double standard was prevalent throughout much of the Arab world. Hatred of the United States during the crisis reached a peak after tens of Jordanians were killed by American warplanes in attacks on trucks carrying oil out of Iraq.

In fact, pro-Iraqi and anti-Western sentiment took the form of daily demonstrations, with the marchers often carrying posters bearing anti-American slogans and pictures of Saddam Hussein, while people listened to speeches in which Saddam Hussein's actions were described as a genuine reflection of pan-Arab nationalism. Another indication of the intensity of pro-Iraqi emotions was the number of Jordanians who volunteered to fight alongside Iraq if the United States attacked it.<sup>385</sup> By mid-August an organization called the Popular Jordanian Committee to

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384 Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf", p. 23.

385 Baram, "Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan", pp. 45-48.

Support the Iraqi Arab People had signed up 80 thousand volunteers.<sup>386</sup> No one in King Hussein's position could have ignored the pan-Arab sentiments of the Jordanian people during the crisis. Any leader who would have defied his populace under these circumstances would have been courting disaster. Hussein could not have survived the political upheaval that would have resulted if Jordan had aligned with the international coalition without resorting to massive and violent repression. In this sense, pan-Arabism was a constraining force on Jordanian foreign policy.

However, these developments also transpired at a time when Jordan was experiencing the after effects of political liberalization initiated in the wake of the *Habat Nisan* riots,<sup>387</sup> and this liberalization process paved the way for the restructuring of the Hashemite regime's relationship with the different components of Jordanian society. Also, professional trade unions, political parties, parliamentary blocs and voluntary associations had become more active as a result of the Kingdom's newly re-launched political process. Jordanians had by then come to enjoy considerable political and civil liberties, especially after the regime lifted, or opted to ignore, a host of legal and extra-legal restrictions on political activity.

The economic crisis had not yet passed, however. Moreover, the devaluation of the Jordanian Dinar, a consequence of Jordan's economic troubles, had weakened the steadfastness of the Jordanians, and the Hashemite regime was left tirelessly searching for external aid to the Kingdom's beleaguered economy. An opportunity to do so emerged in late May 1990, when all the Arab states except Syria and Lebanon gathered for an emergency summit meeting in Baghdad in May 1990. The Baghdad Summit, dubbed "the Arab National Security Summit", was convened ostensibly to discuss threats to Arab national security posed by Israel: namely, the

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386 Maryam M. Shahin and P. V. Vivekanand, "Thousands Demonstrate in Support of Iraq," *Jordan Times* (August 13, 1990).

387 The mass incidents of April 1989 (dubbed "Habat Nisan").

rising scale of Soviet Jewish immigration and purported threats against Iraq from Israel and America.<sup>388</sup>

Saddam pressed his Arab counterparts hard to come to Jordan's aid, pledging to help Amman despite Iraq's own economic difficulties. Indeed, in the aftermath of the summit Iraq promised to donate \$50 million in aid to Jordan. Saddam's efforts on Jordan's behalf with other Arab leaders were also fruitful. In June 1990, it was reported that Jordan could expect up to \$600 million in Arab aid in response to the King's urgent appeals at the Baghdad Summit.<sup>389</sup>

Jordan found itself in the midst of a crisis not of its doing; its position was further complicated by conflicting commitments to the two opposing belligerent sides, with neither willing to heed its advice. Among the immediate side effects of the crisis were the tens of thousands of refugees that poured into the country, adding further pressures on Jordan's limited resources and exacerbating its already deep economic crisis. Although Jordan had already experienced massive waves of forced refugees in 1948 and 1967, this refugee movement was truly a tragic one, not only from a more permanent Palestinian dimension but from a transitory multinational one as well.

Public support in Amman for Iraq among critical sectors of the population was at fever pitch. This support was not only found among the Islamist currents in the Kingdom—which were major agents of popular mobilization—and the Palestinian component of public opinion, but also among East Jordanians. As a result, the regime stood solidly behind Iraq throughout the War.<sup>390</sup> However, in terms of the regime's refusal to directly denounce Iraq's actions, in fact, there were other reasons for Jordan's initial position as well as its later refusal to support the condemnation of Iraq's

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388 Susser, "Jordan (Al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyaa al-Hashimiyya)", pp. 476-480.

389 Ryan, "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan," p. 305; Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis," p. 28.

390 Andrew Terrill. "Saddam's Closest Ally: Jordan and the Gulf War", *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 9, 2 (1985), pp. 43-54.

invasion of Kuwait. US–western and Arab pressure on Jordan to condemn the invasion and annexation did not bear fruit, primarily because Jordan did not wish to provide Arab cover for western military action and intrusion into the region. It was also prompted by Jordan's desire to maintain a link between Iraq and the rest of the world even though it did not condone Iraq's actions. Arab condemnation, Jordan felt, would take the whole matter out of Arab hands and provide a legitimate cover for whatever was being contemplated for the region. Foreign intrusion would further weaken the entire Arab world and leave Israel in a position of military hegemony.<sup>391</sup> Jordan also feared for Iraq's military power, not only in terms of its strategic depth against Israel but also as a check against possible Iranian designs.

At this point, there are two divergent narratives of what took place.<sup>392</sup> According to King Hussein, who flew to Baghdad and met with Saddam on August 3, Saddam agreed to begin withdrawing from Kuwait in four days, provided that the Arab foreign ministers in Cairo not blame him for invading Kuwait and no one threatened to eject him by force. Saddam also agreed to attend a mini-summit in Jeddah with other Arab Gulf leaders to discuss a resolution to his conflict with Kuwait. King Hussein was satisfied by this and contacted Mubarak upon his return to Amman. He was dumbfounded, however, when Mubarak told him that he was under considerable political pressure to condemn the invasion. A group of foreign ministers issued a condemnation later that day and demanded an unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces.<sup>393</sup>

Within a few days of the invasion, however, King Hussein was already making public statements that were perceived as sympathetic to Saddam Hussein. In an August 4 interview on Jordanian TV, the King said that “the invasion did not come out

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391 Adnan Abu Odeh, "The Gulf Crisis", *World Affairs Council*, (Amman: January 12, 1991).

392 Heikal, *Harb Al-Khaleei*, pp. 307-311.

393 Avi Schlaim, *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), p. 487.

of the blue” and that Saddam had legitimate grievances toward Kuwait that needed to address diplomatically. From the public's perspective these signals implied that despite its declared neutral position, the regime was not necessarily against what had befallen Kuwait.

Jordan's vision and its consequent stand emanated from highly complex factors, none of which were apparent to the sometimes overly simplistic explanations in the western mass media. On the Iraqi–Kuwaiti level too, Jordan felt that, in the words of King Hussein, the crisis did not come out of the blue.<sup>394</sup> Jordan's choice, considering its domestic, regional, and international situation, was not between good and evil, but between the lesser of two evils. In fact, Jordan was surprised at the western reaction to its stand. Hussein said, “My objective and that of Jordan was to avoid war and to reverse the occupation of Kuwait peacefully.” Later he added, “Let me be very clear: we were against Iraq's action in Kuwait and we were against Iraqi intransigence in not taking any of the opportunities to move out of Kuwait and to resolve this question peacefully.”

In fact, Jordan could not take any stand other than to oppose the occupation of Kuwait as a matter of principle; it had cultivated good relations with Kuwait and was a member of both the Arab League and the UN. Ever cognizant of conspiracies against its survival, Jordan could not but be against the forceful annexation of one state by another. Since its establishment, Jordan, because of its paucity of natural resources, its refugee burdens, and its security needs, as well as its central geostrategic position as a buffer, has always needed a powerful economic and military ally. In a nutshell, Jordan's foreign policy position was determined to a very large extent by its geography and demography.

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394 Ann M. Lesch, "Contrasting Reactions to the Persian Gulf Crisis: Egypt, Syria, Jordan and the Palestinians," *Middle East Journal* (50) 1 (Winter, 1991), pp. 44-46.



From King Hussein's attempts to find a peaceful solution to the crisis and his condemnation of the war in Iraq, we see that he was more willing to save his vision of a future Arab security alliance than preserve his traditional reliance on the west. Hussein also knew that even if Iraq was destroyed, along with his hopes for a new Arab order, the United States would still consider the survival of his regime important and would continue to support its existence.

Throughout the early weeks of the crisis, the King was categorical in his condemnation of the acquisition of land by force. The Hashemite monarch sought what he dubbed “an Arab solution” to the crisis, shuttling from one Arab capital to another and requesting that the US president allow him some time to realize such a solution, though ultimately this failed. He did not denounce Saddam or Iraq directly, or condemn the Iraqi invasion, arguing that such a move would only impede efforts to resolve the crisis swiftly and amicably and invite the internationalization of the crisis. The King also warned against western military intervention in the region, arguing that this would only complicate the situation and render it explosive.<sup>395</sup>

Jordan's population (approximately half Jordanian and half Palestinian) saw rising Iraqi military power as the only hope for Palestine: either through liberating all of Palestine as radicals insisted, or, at least, forcing the Israelis to negotiate a viable, palatable, and peaceful settlement, as was advocated by moderates. Strengthening this sentiment and giving it more substance were numerous factors, chief among them Israeli intransigence and that country's total disregard for UN resolutions, international law, and the Geneva Conventions, which called for the protection of civilian populations under occupation. The latter could be seen in the ruthless treatment of the Palestinians in the course of their *intifada*. Frustration deepened as the days and weeks of the *intifada* turned into months and years, with the entire western world not only

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395 Lesch, "Contrasting Reactions to the Persian Gulf Crisis", pp. 31-33.

turning a blind eye to the atrocities committed against the Palestinians but finding excuses for the Israeli soldiers committing such atrocities.<sup>396</sup>

Furthermore, internally the country was liberalizing and broadening the base of the regime. The November 1989 elections brought in a parliament that included many fundamentalists, leftists, various radicals, nationalists, and many independents. Their vocal support for Iraq against western aggression could not be ignored even if the regime wished to do so. In the words of Ann Lesch, the Jordanian public and government were predisposed to support Iraq, given their yearning for a strong Arab leader who would stand up to the west, defend them from Israeli attack, and compel the oil-rich regimes to use their wealth to support Arab causes.<sup>397</sup> It was also true that the King had given the impression of sympathizing with Iraq.

The new status quo that emerged in the region, shattering its already fragile stability and radically changing the course of events, increased the need for new and innovative thinking from King Hussein about how to deal with the new circumstances. Could so-called Arab solidarity—the Arab system and the Arab League—be restored to any semblance of a working order? As weak and perhaps ineffective as they were before the conflict began, they did, at least, provide two services to the Arabs: first as an umbrella under which the Arab leaders met at summits and second as a fig leaf of solidarity to present to the world. Skeptical as it may have been, Jordan always viewed these two vehicles as important channels for Arab leaders to communicate with each other and even, occasionally, decide on something.<sup>398</sup>

When, on 6 August, Saudi King Fahd invited American forces to his Kingdom, and UN resolutions were prepared condemning Iraq's actions, Jordanian

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396 Adnan Abu Odeh, special political advisor to King Hussein, in his lecture, "The Gulf Crisis" *World Affairs Council*, (Amman: 12 January 1991).

397 Lesch, "Contrasting Reaction to the Persian Gulf Crisis", p.44.

398 Abu Jaber, *Jordan and the Gulf War*, pp. 369-370.

public opinion united solidly behind Iraq, and in many ways behind King Hussein. As the George Bush Junior administration began to develop its sanctions regime against Iraq, it recognized the unique dilemma that Jordan faced, given its economic dependency on Iraq and the strong pro-Iraqi sentiments among Palestinian refugees living in Jordan. They began to organize international financial help and emergency Arab oil assistance, provided that King Hussein implement the sanctions. The King, however, had been loudly voicing his opposition to US and Saudi plans to send a force of American and Arab troops to protect Saudi Arabia.<sup>399</sup>

Many in Jordan viewed with trepidation and much suspicion the personalization of the conflict against Saddam Hussein and the way in which the western powers prevented any meaningful dialogue with Iraq. Not only was western-Iraqi dialogue somehow excluded as a possibility, but so was Arab-Iraqi dialogue. The entire western world appeared to be speaking of international law, the principles of the UN, and the necessity of upholding certain moral values. However, on the other hand, Saddam had provided his enemies an excuse to strike Iraq and destroy his country under an Arab-Islamic cover, with a military effort largely funded with Arab money.

To take the events in more detail, the Arab League hosted an extraordinary session on August 11, 1990, which fashioned an Arab consensus opposing Iraq and approving United Nations intervention: in effect absolving the Arab world of responsibility and relevance. Jordan strongly opposed this decision, abstaining from the demeaning consensus. The remarkable admission, not simply of the failure of the regional framework, but of enthusiasm for an internationalization of the conflict, effectively shattered any normative claims of the Arab world to resist outside intervention. In many ways, this buck-passing by the Arab League and the refusal to initiate an inter-Arab dialogue towards a consensus solution had as deep

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399 Freedman and Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict*, p. 72.

an impact on the Arab order as Iraq's violation of the norm prohibiting direct military action between Arab states.

At the Arab League, the King reminded his audience that Arab states were indebted to Iraq, who had defended their security against the Iranian menace, and who, after the end of the Iran–Iraq War, had faced campaigns of distortion, slander, and defamation. He saw that the aim of these campaigns was to prepare world opinion for a blow against Iraq to cut it down to size, weaken it, and ultimately to liquidate it as a promising power in the large Arab homeland. When Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, despite the protests of some Arab leaders, put to vote a controversial resolution introduced by Saudi Arabia and tabled by ten Arab countries—the six Gulf states plus Egypt, Syria, Morocco, and Somalia—Jordan, joined by Algeria and Yemen, abstained from voting.<sup>400</sup>

The resolution was adopted as the summit's final resolution, despite contravening Article 6 of the Arab League Charter, which stipulates that in the case of inter-state aggression, resolutions should be adopted by a unanimous vote. The resolution denounced Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, called upon Iraq to withdraw its forces immediately from Kuwait, and met the request of Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states "to dispatch Arab forces to support their Armed Forces in the defense of their territories and territorial integrity against any foreign aggression."<sup>401</sup>

Jordan considered the resolution intentionally counterproductive to peace efforts. Despite his efforts on Iraq's behalf, the King was scrupulous not to damage his relations with the Gulf States beyond repair. The regime avoided any direct condemnation of Saudi Arabia's acceptance of American military deployments on its territory, despite the Saudi decision effectively eliminating the prospect of achieving

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400 The resolution was endorsed by Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, Syria, Morocco, Somalia, Lebanon, and Djibouti. It was rejected by Iraq and Libya, while Mauritania, Sudan, and the PLO expressed their reservations.

401 For details of the summit's proceedings see Heikal, *Harb Al-Khaleei*, pp. 421-438.

an Arab solution. This did not save the Kingdom from Saudi reactions to its promotion of an Arab solution to the crisis and refusal to endorse foreign intervention before such a solution could be found. In fact, Riyadh reacted harshly, withdrawing all promises of aid made in the Baghdad Summit. Oil shipments to Jordan were halted, Jordanian diplomats were expelled from Riyadh, lorries carrying Jordanian products were not allowed entry to, or passage through, Saudi territories, and the Saudi–Jordanian border was temporarily closed.<sup>402</sup>

On August 13, King Hussein asked President Bush for an urgent meeting to discuss the growing crisis in Kuwait. On August 16 he met Bush and pressed for some center ground that could solve the problem. He tried to explain that he could have achieved an agreement if he had had more time, and also that an Arab solution was still possible. Bush responded that most Arabs were against Saddam, and indeed, a majority of Arab League states had voted to send a pan-Arab force to Saudi Arabia less than a week before.<sup>403</sup>

Right up until the launch of Operation Desert Storm, King Hussein would cling to this notion that a negotiated Arab solution was possible. In general, this solution consisted of the following points: (1) freezing the military build-up; (2) mutual withdrawal of Iraqi and US forces; (3) replacement of those forces by UN and Arab peacekeepers; and (4) the establishment of an Arab League committee to discuss the territorial dispute between Iraq and Kuwait.<sup>404</sup> In the decades preceding the crisis, King Hussein had made a career of finding the center ground in Arab politics and had recently acted as an important mediator between Saddam Hussein and the United States during the Iran–Iraq War.

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402 Lamis Andoni explains the Saudi-Jordanian confrontation in detail in “Jordan and Saudi Arabia: Rock Bottom”, *Middle East International*, (October 12, 1990), pp.11-12;

403 Jreisat and Freij, "Jordan, the United States, and the Gulf Crisis", pp. 112-115.

404 Freedman and Karsh, *ibid.* p. 162.

The King's diplomatic efforts failed, and the US-led coalition intervened in force, deploying its troops in Saudi Arabia. Jordan opposed this deployment and continued to seek a diplomatic solution between Arab countries through the dialogue and peaceful talks. US-led intervention changed the nature of the crisis in a fundamental way from aggression between two Arab states to a faceoff between an Arab power and the west. Accordingly, widespread hostility began to arise against western intervention. The Americans and their Arab allies fashioned a sharply bipolar construction of the crisis in which neutrality equaled hostility, and Jordan's interpretation of its position fell on deaf ears.<sup>405</sup>

The King turned his sharpest anger on Arab members of the coalition for contravening the principle of Arab national unity:<sup>406</sup>

When Arab and Islamic territory is presented as a base for the armies of the allies to destroy the Iraq of Arabism and Islam, and when Arab money is used to finance this war with all this generosity that the Arabs, including us and our brothers the Palestinians, in light of our pan-Arab responsibilities and our geographic position, had not experienced, I say—when all this takes place—any Arab or Muslim can imagine the size of the crime committed against his religion and nation.<sup>407</sup>

Saudi retaliation was not the only source of economic and financial worry for the Hashemite regime. The crisis itself closed off many of the Kingdom's sources of revenue. Aid from the Gulf States and America was halted. Trade with Iraq, Jordan's main market and source of petroleum products, came to a standstill, and Baghdad was in no position to pay its debt to Jordan, which in Fall 1989 was

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405 Ebert, Barbara G., "The Gulf War and Its Aftermath: An Assessment of Evolving Arab Responses", *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 1, Issue 4, (November 1992), pp. 75-95.

406 "The King Gives Arab, Islamic Nation Speech 6 Feb," *Amman Domestic Service Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Reports (February 6, 1991)*, p. 28.

407 Ibid.

around \$835 million. Remittances from expatriate workers in the Gulf were severely reduced, and revenues from tourism and trade through the Aqaba port all but evaporated.<sup>408</sup>

The United States was swift in its rebuke. President Bush viewed this as a personal betrayal and ordered a review of the \$55 million American aid package to Jordan over 1991, which ended in the US Senate's suspension of the aid package. Secretary of State James Baker voiced the Bush administration's alarm and unhappiness with the King's position, though he said that the US intended to keep lines of communication open to the King despite his refusal to take their side, which he characterized as a "major disagreement".<sup>409</sup>

Things were very different on the domestic front, as King Hussein reached the peak of his popularity among Jordanian citizens. Anti-western demonstrations were held, and for the first time in its history, the regime permitted them. On February 15, Saddam Hussein signaled that he would be willing to abide by the UN resolution calling for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, but only if the allies met certain conditions, including the withdrawal of allied forces, the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, the payment of war reparations to Iraq, and the removal of the Sabah family from power in Kuwait.<sup>410</sup>

King Hussein latched onto the initiative, sending an effusive personal message to Saddam:

With happiness and joy we receive your responsible peace initiative, which is based on your genuine commitment to the supreme Arab interests. The

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408 Ami Ayalon (ed.) Vol. 14 of *Middle East Contemporary Survey: 1990* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p. 482.

409 Jamil E. Jreisat and Haana Y. Freji, "Jordan, the United States, and the Gulf Crisis," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 13 (1991), p. 111.

410 Chronology: "16 November 1990, 15 February 1991." *Journal of Palestine Studies* (1991), p. 200.

demands contained in your peace initiative are legitimate pan-Arab and national demands that are in harmony with our Arab hopes and with international legitimacy. We do not believe a single Arab can stand against or reject these demands.<sup>411</sup>

In contrast, President Bush dismissed the initiative outright as a cruel hoax.<sup>412</sup>

It is important here to reiterate that the deployment of Western, but especially American, troops in the Gulf played a crucial role in galvanizing and uniting Jordanians of all ideological trends behind Saddam's Iraq and against America and the ruling regimes of the Gulf. For most Jordanians, Iraq had emerged as the last protective shield against an increasingly omnipotent Israel.

The Muslim Brotherhood, who initially objected to Iraq's use of force against Kuwait, and had traditionally opposed Saddam and the ruling Ba'ath party in Iraq, ultimately succumbed to public pressure and joined in the Kingdom's pro-Iraqi frenzy. One indication of this united political stand was the formation in late August of the Jordanian National Front, gathering the Kingdom's myriad political parties in what was dubbed a rainbow coalition formed to protest the deployment of American troops in the region.<sup>413</sup> This coalition stood solidly behind Iraq, firmly supporting what it described as Baghdad's efforts at liberating Kuwait and the Arab world from American and western hegemony.

When Jordan took its position on Iraq during its invasion of Kuwait in 1990, King Hussein's relationship with many states in the West—specifically the United

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411 Freedman and Karsh, *ibid.* p. 379.

412 *Ibid.*, p. 380.

413 Lamis Andoni. "Consensus Against America", *Middle East International*. (14, September 1990), pp.11-12.



States—and the Gulf States in the Middle East deteriorated rapidly.<sup>414</sup> Studies have shown that Jordan in 1990 did not have the choice between the two superpowers as the international system was witnessing the conclusion of the Cold War and the victory of the United States over the Soviet Union.<sup>415</sup> That left the United States as the sole international superpower with power and interest in the politics of the Middle East.<sup>416</sup> However, due to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the attention of the US was diverted to states newly acquiring independence and adopting democratic forms of governance in Eastern Europe.<sup>417</sup> Nevertheless, this did not mean that the US completely neglected the region, since "US interests had more historical continuity in the Middle East than anywhere else in the world".<sup>418</sup> It did, nevertheless, mean that, along with the US "Israel first" strategy,<sup>419</sup> Arab regimes had to work harder to maintain continued US support.

Moreover, following the actual Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, King Hussein's regime took a clear anti-western stance on more than one occasion. The King himself began vocally expressing discontent with the west and its actions, even openly criticizing Allied efforts in one such instance.<sup>420</sup>

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414 Mordachai Gazit, "The Middle East Peace Process," in Ami Ayalon (ed.), vol. 14 of *Middle East Contemporary Survey* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p. 122; Joyce, *Anglo-American Support for Jordan*, p. 146.

415 Kassay, "The Effects of External Forces", p. 61.

416 Charles Smith, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict", in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 233.

417 Kassay, "The Effects of External Forces," pp. 62-63.

418 Barry Rubin, "The United States and the Middle East," In *Middle East Contemporary Survey: 1990*, pp. 19-23.

419 Muasher, *The Arab Center*, p. 18.

420 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, pp. 263-264.

Finally, even though the US showed clear disapproval at Jordan's proposals on how to solve the crisis,<sup>421</sup> and despite Iraq's clearly anti-Israeli actions during the same period, Jordan continued its defense of Iraq. Jordanian officials linked the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. When Prime Minister Mudar Badran emphasized the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, he was not only implying that Iraq should leave Kuwait, but, simultaneously, that Israel should leave the Occupied Territories as well.<sup>422</sup> Given the United States' evident pro-Israel policy, such comments show a clear break with US interests in the region. Although King Hussein eventually supported the UN sanctions imposed on Iraq,<sup>423</sup> his previous actions portrayed a clear refusal to cooperate with Allied efforts to stop the invasion.

The United States' promises of aid were made as early as 1989, before the initial invasion. In the late 1980s, moreover, Kuwaiti and Saudi assurances of economic support were given to guarantee Jordanian compliance with the preferences of the United States, mainly the removal of the King's support for Saddam Hussein. Therefore, rather than portraying a case where Jordanian compliance came as a result of US guarantees of aid, the chronology of this scenario substantiates the contrary: Jordanian noncompliance came after the promise of aid.

Regarding interests in general, former Minister of Foreign Affairs Marwan Muasher, who played an important role in the Jordanian government throughout the 1990s, has claimed that the foreign policy initiatives of the US were meant to secure the safety of Israel.<sup>424</sup> Another government official, Marwan Qasim, who was

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421 Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p. 179; Joyce, *Anglo-American Support for Jordan*, p. 146, Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis", p. 22.

422 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 270.

423 Joyce, Miriam, *Anglo-American Support for Jordan: The Career of King Hussein*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 145.

424 Muasher, *The Arab Center*, p. 22.

the foreign minister of Jordan at the time of the 1990 Gulf War, was warned by Secretary of State James Baker during a visit to the US earlier that year over relations between Jordan and Iraq greatly having improved over the recent years.<sup>425</sup>

These warnings must have been apparent to King Hussein and must have made US interests clear, as he, in a private meeting with Saddam Hussein in July 1990, pushed for a peaceful resolution of the emerging conflict, claiming that western intervention would be inevitable if the Iraqi president did not alter his behavior. A month later, both British Prime Minister Thatcher and President Bush vocally revealed their discontent with Iraqi behavior towards Kuwait. Their statements were made either before, or soon after, the Iraqi invasion that occurred on August 2, 1990.<sup>426</sup>

Israel, furthermore, in specific reference to Jordan, had made it clear that the presence of Iraqi soldiers in Jordan would be viewed as a *casus belli*.<sup>427</sup> Therefore, when King Hussein took an anti-US stance in numerous circumstances, including in comments he made on August 4 defending Iraqi behavior, he and the rest of the ruling elite in Jordan must have clearly known the preferences of the US and the resulting discontent that the regime's siding with Iraq would invoke.

If Jordanian government officials were clear about US demands, did they believe that compliance with these demands would result in the increase in economic and military aid that the regime required? As previously mentioned, although the United States and Gulf States had promised Jordan aid, Iraq's formal declaration of financial assistance, in addition to trade relations between the two countries, the cheap supply of oil, and military support for the Jordanian army must have played a primary role in Jordanian foreign policy behavior at the time.

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<sup>425</sup> Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 265.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid, p.266.

<sup>427</sup> Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p.179.

According to King Hussein's calculations, for him to comply with the demands of the United States, the costs of compliance should have been less than the costs of noncompliance. If King Hussein had decided to comply with the United States, especially with regards to the United Nations sanctions placed on Iraq after the invasion, he might have lost access to the entire Iraqi market.<sup>428</sup>

Furthermore, compliance with the sanctions would have led to the halting of the oil supply flowing into the regime from Iraq.<sup>429</sup> King Hussein may have also had to forget the \$310 million Baghdad owed in import credits, and Jordan would have lost \$50 million a year in Iraqi aid. An additional \$2.6 billion that the Jordanians had guaranteed in third-party loans to Iraq would also be at risk. If Amman were to stop purchasing Iraqi oil, it would face skyrocketing fuel costs estimated at an additional \$280 million annually, if oil prices averaged \$30 per barrel. Jordan has no significant oil output of its own and then obtained Iraqi oil at a fixed price of \$16.40 per barrel.<sup>430</sup> In consequence, complying with the demands of the United States and its allies would have resulted, and eventually did result, in the loss of financial and resource flows to the regime's continued development.<sup>431</sup>

However, had the Jordanian regime complied with US demands from the outset, refusing to come to the defense of Iraq, would it still have suffered losses as severe as it did by postponing its acceptance of UN sanctions? It is important to remember that both the United States and the regional Gulf States had promised aid to Jordan if it agreed to comply with their demands. This aid would have possibly offset the losses incurred by Jordan if it had chosen to neglect its Iraqi ally.

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428 Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis," p. 24.

429 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", p. 5.

430 Ibid, Reed, pp. 25-26.

431 Baram, "Baath Iraq and Hashimite Jordan," p. 67.

Although Iraq was Jordan's primary trade partner, at this time Kuwait was the state's second-largest export market. Furthermore, the Gulf States, in general, were major contributors of aid to the regime.<sup>432</sup> Refusing to comply with the US and its regional allies, therefore, cost Jordan much of the \$550 million in aid flows it was accustomed to receiving from the Gulf States each year, as well as some \$600 million in remittances from the 315,000 Jordanians working in those countries.<sup>433</sup>

Despite the interconnectedness of the two markets, therefore, neglecting the US and its regional Gulf allies would have nevertheless upset continued economic cooperation with Iraq. Therefore, losses incurred by the regime from noncompliance may well have been equal to or greater than losses from compliance.

Given Jordan's centrality in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, King Hussein would have to be included in any future peace initiatives. In consequence, the United States, even if temporarily disappointed with the regime's regional alignments, would not be able to ignore the Jordanian state for too long.<sup>434</sup> Therefore, allowing the Jordanian state to collapse due to its alignment with Iraq, and further destabilizing the border with Israel as a result of the collapse, would not have been a logical maneuver for the United States and its peace efforts.

However, the fact that relations with the US as well as with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait did indeed deteriorate rapidly after the invasion, and the fact that Jordan still suffered grave economic losses from both the Iraqi and western-coalition fronts, show that neglecting the US and its demands was not a rational move for King Hussein and the Jordanian state.

When the Gulf crisis broke out, the King's first reaction was to seek a quick Arab resolution. He rightly concluded that the internationalization of the crisis would

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432 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", p. 5.

433 Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis," p. 24.

434 Muasher, *The Arab Center*, p. 24.

radically transform the regional status quo. This explains the King's initial efforts to ensure an amicable Arab resolution to the crisis. Nevertheless, given the devastating costs of Jordan's stance during the Gulf crisis, why then did the regime opt for this particular choice of alignment? The King was viewed as walking a tightrope<sup>435</sup> between his international reputation and economic survival on the one hand and resisting popular domestic pressures to save his throne on the other hand, and this tough situation severely restricted the Jordanian regime's options.

Moreover, King Hussein has always had Jordan's precarious security situation in mind. His diplomatic efforts during the 1980s to foster Arab unity was designed to establish a stable Arab order in which Jordan's security would be safer. His diplomatic efforts during the Gulf crisis were largely driven by his desire to prevent the possibility of an unpredictable Arab–Israeli war in which Jordan's security would be at grave risk. Economic concerns have also played a role in Jordan's external behavior, bending it at times to the will of the Arab oil states that provided badly needed financial assistance to the country's economy.

Within this context, the influence on foreign policy of Islamic and Arab nationalism and security far outweigh that of economic concerns related to the US and Gulf countries. Despite Jordan's unstable economic situation at the start of the crisis, King Hussein chose to follow a course that deepened the country's economic woes. In adhering to the international boycott, Jordan cut connections to its most important economic partners. King Hussein most likely calculated that maintaining economic links to Iraq made no sense if his eastern neighbor was going to be destroyed. Jordan also lost out in economic terms. Aid had been a critical factor in Jordan's economy for over many years, and King Hussein's position during the Gulf Crisis guaranteed that previous levels of assistance would not be met for years to come. Economically, Jordan was in a no-win situation during the Gulf crisis. Hussein needed to appease the

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435 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", p. 7.

demands of the public—mainly the Palestinian component, the Muslim Brotherhood with its growing influence in Jordanian society, and Arab Nationalists activists—and take into account security considerations, with the aim of maintaining and preserving the stability of the country and the survival of the regime.

### **4.3 The 1991 Gulf War and the Jordanian economy**

During the 1980s, US aid to Jordan averaged \$110 million per year, although this number began decreasing towards the end of the decade.<sup>436</sup> However, another regional power, Iraq, began playing a major role in the development of Jordan as well. Although Iraq cannot be considered an international power benefactor, especially in comparison to the United States, this analysis would not be complete without a brief discussion of the influence Iraq has had on the Jordanian regime.

First, trade played a major role in the relationship between the two states, reaching \$1 billion worth of bilateral trade in 1988.<sup>437</sup> This trade resulted mainly from the Iraqi need to finance its war with Iran during the Iran–Iraq war of 1980-88. The use of the port of Aqaba for the transportation of equipment, labor, and cargo destined for Iraq increased overall trade for Jordan by great amounts. Between 1979 and 1988, imported cargo transiting Jordan through the port of Aqaba increased from 161,000 to 6,930,000 tons per annum, with almost all the increase destined for Iraq. Transit exports through Aqaba, almost entirely from Iraq, increased from 98,000 tons in 1981 to close to 3 million tons in 1988. Equally impressive was the increase in the movement of people through the port of Aqaba. In 1979 the total number of arrivals to and departures from the port was just over 7,000; by 1988 the number totaled more

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<sup>436</sup> Schenker, *Dancing with Saddam*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid, p. 30.

than 823,000, almost all of them Egyptian workers heading to or coming from Iraq.<sup>438</sup>

The best explanation in realist terms, for Jordan's behavior, is its overwhelming economic dependency on Iraq, which had grown immensely throughout the Iran–Iraq War. This dependency rested on three pillars: (1) Iraq's use of the port of Aqaba; (2) Iraq as the largest market for Jordanian exports; and (3) cheap oil imported from Iraq. Iraq's war with Iran had led to the closure of Basra and Umm Qasr, its only major ports in the Persian Gulf, and worsening relations with Syria, which supported Iran, had led to the closure of the trans-Syria oil pipeline in 1982.<sup>439</sup> Iraq therefore desperately sought the use of Jordan's Red Sea port of Aqaba, which had been made all the more appealing by the reopening of the Suez Canal in 1975. As such, it invested heavily in Jordanian infrastructure relating to the port and made monthly payments of \$12 million. Some 70 percent of all the imports and some 25 percent of all the exports through the port of Aqaba were transit trade, and most of it was going to and from Iraq.<sup>440</sup> By 1989, 40 percent of Jordan's non-phosphate exports were going to Iraq. By 1990, Jordan depended on Iraqi oil to meet 80 to 90 percent of its needs.<sup>441</sup>

Eventually, the Jordanian economy became strongly intertwined with Iraq. Iraq not only provided Jordan with oil at concessionary prices but freely allowed Jordanian goods into the country. Busy with its war with Iran in the 1980s, Iraq needed additional agricultural produce and bought many Jordanian manufactured products. By the time the crisis erupted in August 1990, nearly 40 percent of Jordan's economy

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438 Baram, "Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan", p. 56.

439 Ibid, p. 58

440 Ibid.

441 Schenker, *Dancing with Saddam*, p. 12.



depended on Iraq.<sup>442</sup> Iraq was, in the eyes of the Jordanians, a neighbor and a sister Arab Islamic country that was working toward the twin goals of Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine. Geographical contiguity and the renovated transportation system added to the growing relationship. Many Jordanians felt that supporting Iraq was a natural, nationalistic duty.

Immediately after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 661, which invoked economic trade sanctions against Iraq, a decision with which Jordan complied. UN sanctions deeply affected Jordan's interests and economy since, as stated above, Iraq had been the largest Jordanian trade partner for the previous ten years. Many Jordanian companies lost large amounts because Iraqi companies were unable to repay their debts due to the sanctions. Moreover, key Jordanian economic sectors such as transportation, agriculture, and industry, mainly serving Iraq, were severely affected by the UN resolution.

The effects of the Gulf War on Jordan can be summarized in three dimensions: the trade sanctions against Iraq, the refugees who fled the Gulf area and passed through Jordan, and the Jordanian expatriates who returned to Jordan. The total impact was vast and caused Jordan's leadership to worry enormously about the future of the country. Before the crisis, Arab and international financial support was vital for Jordan's economy. As a result of Jordanian support for Iraq during the war, those countries cut off their support. In addition, Iraq and Kuwait themselves had previously been the source of 30 percent of the total financial aid received by Jordan.<sup>443</sup>

Jordanian exports to Arab and other countries also declined. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia prohibited the import of Jordanian products because of Jordan's political position during the war. The tourism sector was harshly affected by the Gulf War. Jordan was one of the largest providers of Arab employees to Gulf countries. Making

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442 Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis", p. 24.

443 Mufleh Akil, "Jordan Economy after the Gulf War," *al-Dustur*, (1991), p. 7

matters worse, after the Gulf War, Jordanians who had formerly been working outside Jordan, previously a source of national income, suddenly became a major burden inside Jordan. The return of 330,000 Jordanians had many serious negative effects on Jordan. The unemployment rate soared and poverty increased.<sup>444</sup>

Jordan was supposed to receive a replacement for Iraqi crude through the Trans-Arabian Pipeline, or Tapline, which ran from Saudi Arabia through Jordan to Lebanon. Instead, Saudi Arabia chose to shut off the Tapline to Jordan in retribution for Jordan's perceived support for the Iraqi invasion. Moreover, Saudi Arabia refused to buy any Jordanian goods. One can also assume that Jordan lost an additional \$550 million in annual aid from Gulf states and \$600 million in annual remittances from Jordanians working in the Gulf.<sup>445</sup> The United States even suspended its relatively meager annual aid of \$20 million in military assistance and \$35 million in economic assistance.<sup>446</sup> Finally, trade in and out of Aqaba all but dried up, despite Jordan's refusal to adhere to the embargo, as international shipping voluntarily avoided the port.

One important fact was that Iraq was providing Jordan close to 85 percent of the oil needed for its development at a price lower than any other regional ally was willing to offer; in actuality, Jordan did not have to pay for the oil it received in hard currency, as the cost was subtracted from the overall debt Iraq owed Jordan for the financing of its war effort.<sup>447</sup> Indeed, Iraqi trade and oil provided Jordan with years of economic growth that it may not have otherwise enjoyed.<sup>448</sup> During this

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444 Ziad Swaidan and Mihai Nica "The 1991 Gulf War and Jordan's Economy", *The Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA) Journal*, (2002).

445 Ibid, p. 25.

446 Jreisat and Freji, "Jordan, the United States, and the Gulf Crisis," p. 101.

447 Baram "Baath Iraq and Hashemite Jordan", p.68; Schenker, *Dancing with Saddam*, pp. 12, 31.

448 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", pp. 3-8.

period, Iraq was willing to supply Jordan with military support, compensating for the refusal of the United States to grant military aid. Iraqi military support was essential to offset the regional threats facing Jordan, specifically those emanating from Syria and Israel. Israel, however, proved to be a greater threat due to increasing Soviet Jewish emigration into the country during this period; Jordan was worried that this would lead to border instability with the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. Unable to receive military funding from the United States, Jordanians felt the need to acquire military support from elsewhere; Iraq was willing to provide such support.<sup>449</sup>

#### **4.4. The balance of interests: a neoclassical realist analysis of King Hussein's foreign policy in the 1991 Gulf War**

Although the external pressures imposed on King Hussein during the Gulf War in 1991 were extreme, the war redefined the balance of power in the Middle East and reshuffled inter-Arab relations. The King did not cooperate with the US and its allies, choosing to side with Iraq and not to bandwagon with the US.

Jordan, caught between powerful conflicting poles—its traditional pro-western policies, its friendship and strong ties with the Gulf regimes and Saudi Arabia on the one hand, and its strong relations with Iraq on the other—tried to stand in the middle without denouncing Iraq.

In doing so, it hoped to influence the course of events in such a way as to avoid military conflict. Underestimating and perhaps unaware of the undercurrents of western (principally British, US and Israeli) long-term strategy, Jordan found itself in the unusual situation of being isolated together with Iraq. In effect, the economic blockade applied to Jordan as well, making it a secondary target; its very survival

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<sup>449</sup> Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis," p. 31.

hung in the balance for the entire duration of the crisis, from August 2 1990 to March 1991.<sup>450</sup>

Applying the neoclassical realist perspective and the balance of interests model to King Hussein's alignment choice would offer sufficient explanation for a weak status quo state like Jordan choosing to balance with the aim of self-preservation together with the maintenance of domestic stability, economic gains, and regime survival. By then, the regime's survival and domestic stability were both in jeopardy.

We need to clarify the unit-level variables that had an impact on King Hussein's perceptions in his choices made in the face of external pressure. Hussein could not have survived the political upheaval that would have resulted if Jordan had aligned with the international coalition without resorting to massive and violent repression. In this sense, pan-Arabism was a constraining force on Jordanian foreign policy. Accordingly, domestic influences and demands shaped Hussein responses toward external pressures, preventing him from cooperating with the US or bandwagoning with it.

Given these factors, domestic pressure dictated the King's actions during the crisis, as any contradiction of Jordanian popular opinion or reversal of the process of liberalization might have been deeply harmful to the monarch's regime. Because of his fierce criticism of the west, King Hussein's popularity among Jordanians reached unprecedented levels; he reached the peak of his credibility among Jordanian citizens, and Jordanians felt united as never before.

How did King Hussein conceptualize his behavior? While there is no doubt that King Hussein must have felt significant pressure from his people during the crisis, the King's words, both public and private, and actions do not betray any lack of comfort with his decision to back Saddam Hussein. He viewed Jordanian public opinion as a significant constraint on his actions. King Hussein's hands were tied by

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450 Abu Odeh, "The Gulf Crisis".

this interrelationship of internal and external threats, but they were tied in a way that seemed to accord well with his individual beliefs.<sup>451</sup> Moreover, King Hussein seemed to have a genuine sympathy for Saddam Hussein. This sympathy went back to the strong, longstanding relationship between King Hussein and Saddam Hussein.

Under realist alliance theory, a weak state like Jordan might be expected to bandwagon with, rather than balance against, a strong state like Iraq.<sup>452</sup> Instead, Jordan conspicuously bandwagoned with Iraq throughout the Gulf crisis. This position cost Jordan dearly, alienating it diplomatically from Jordan's traditional western patron-states and Arab neighbors and placing it in grave financial jeopardy by cutting it off from the much-needed economic aid that those countries could offer.

Threat-balancing explanations could look to how the domestic political dilemma posed a severe challenge to the survival of the regime and the security of the country.<sup>453</sup> Threat-balancing explanations seek such objective indicators as proximity, offensive military capabilities, and aggressive behavior patterns; they also assume the existence of a single obvious, primary threat.<sup>454</sup> Threats clearly mattered in influencing Jordanian behavior in the Gulf crisis, but this threat was the product of public interaction rather than an independent external factor. The serious ultimate threat could quite plausibly be considered a domestic revolution or war itself. After Iraq invaded Kuwait, many Jordanians feared Israel would settle the Palestinian issue by facilitating the establishment of a Palestinian state in Jordan.

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451 Richard J. Harknett and Jeffrey A. Van Den Berg, "Alignment Theory and Interrelated Threats: Jordan and the Persian Gulf Crisis," *Security Studies* 6, no. 3 (1997), p. 128.

452 Bennett et al., *Friends in Need: Burden Sharing in the Persian Gulf War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 324.

453 Marc Lynch, "Jordan's identity and interests", in Shibley Telhami, Michael N. Barnett (eds.), *Identity and foreign policy in the Middle East*, (Cornell University, 2002), pp. 28-30.

454 Steven Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*.

Hence, Jordan also feared Palestinians in Jordan being given a Palestinian state on the East Bank.<sup>455</sup>

Thus, throughout the Gulf crisis, domestic constraints and exigencies, especially the level of pro-Saddam sentiment in the Jordanian Army, eliminated the possibility of any alignment choice other than that embraced by the regime. That the Hashemite regime could not ignore these constraints during the Gulf crisis reflects the extent to which the political liberalization process initiated after *Habat Nisan*, and its consequent impact on the organization of state–society relations in the Kingdom, had intensified domestic pressures and constraints on foreign policy and alignment choices.

The King apparently feared the strength of a united mass public opinion. Jordan's populace, almost over half of whom were Palestinians, also stood behind Saddam Hussein and strongly supported Iraq throughout the crisis. If the regime were to oppose this populist fervor, it would risk its own stability given its tenuous legitimacy among its people. In all cases, the outbreak of war represented a fundamental threat to Jordan's vital interests and its regime survival.

The Gulf war came right after Jordan began experiencing the aftereffects of the political liberalization initiated in the wake of *Habat Nisan*.<sup>456</sup> Thus, at the time, the country was liberalizing and broadening the base of its regime. The November 1989 elections brought in a parliament that included many fundamentalists, leftists, various radicals, nationalists, Islamists and many independents. This liberalization process paved the way for the restructuring of the Hashemite regime's relationship with different components of Jordanian society.

The professional trade unions, political parties, parliamentary blocs, and voluntary associations renewed their activities following the Kingdom's newly re-

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455 Ibid. See Telhami, *Arab Public Opinion and the Gulf War*.

456 "The mass incidents of April 1989" (dubbed "Habat Nisan")

launched political process. Pro-Iraqi and anti-Western sentiment took the form of daily demonstrations. King Hussein's position could have ignored the pan-Arab sentiments of the Jordanian people during the crisis, but the popular pro-Iraqi sentiment was so strong it could not be ignored, even if the regime had wished to do so.<sup>457</sup> In fact, the tidal wave of pro-Saddam sentiment that swept across the Jordanian Army and people was so strong that solidarity with Iraq was the King's only option to forestall a military confrontation and the collapse of the country.<sup>458</sup> The political costs of doing otherwise would have been too high, jeopardizing the stability of the Hashemite monarchy, its control over the liberalization process, and the loyalty of the army.

The Gulf war played a crucial role in galvanizing and uniting Jordanians of all ideological trends behind Saddam's Iraq against America and the ruling regimes of the Gulf. In the summer of 1990, then, political groups, Parliamentary blocs, professional trade unions, and popular associations all joined ranks in support of Iraq and the King's perceived stance on the issue. Most importantly, however, support for Iraq bridged the Kingdom's seemingly unbridgeable Transjordanian–Palestinian divide. Tensions between the two had survived the King's declaration of disengagement in July 1988 and the subsequent *Habat Nisan*.

It was also true that the King gave the impression of sympathizing with Iraq. The constraining impact of Arabism on Jordan's foreign policy rested on the fact that an overwhelming majority of Jordan's population opposed the presence of foreign troops on Arab land and/or supported Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

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457 Abu Jaber, "Jordan and the Gulf War", pp.372-374.

458 Lamis Andoni, "Hussein's Vision", *Middle East International*. (13 August 1990), pp. 12-13. Pro-Iraqi sentiments had developed into a mass movement cutting across the Kingdom's different socio-political and class cleavages, and also engulfing the armed forces. The pro-Saddam faction in the Kingdom was very strong and, perhaps more importantly, there was an overwhelming majority in the Jordanian Army in support of Saddam.

The King realized the gravity of the situation, which was complicated by pressures from within the country. Hussein's actions were described as a genuine reflection of pan-Arab nationalism among Jordanians, as he reminded the Arab states that they were indebted to Iraq, which had defended their security against the Iranian menace. The King was wary of any importation of dangerous revolutionary ideas from the Islamic Republic of Iran, which might provoke anti-royalist unrest in Jordan.<sup>459</sup> In other words, King Hussein also saw Saddam as a potentially effective shield against his regional enemies Iran, Israel, and Syria, as well as against his domestic enemies.<sup>460</sup>

Hussein seemed to have viewed Saddam as defending the Arab world against the new threat from Iran. The personal bond between the two leaders continued in the years after the cessation of hostilities between Iraq and Iran. Also, Jordan's behavior can be explained by understanding King Hussein. Jordan's behavior seems in full accord with what is known about King Hussein's personality and personal beliefs. His new tendency toward supporting Arab nationalism and his Hashemite dynastic ambitions at least partially explain his affinity for the self-proclaimed pan-Arab leader Saddam Hussein, as well as for the country of Iraq, a former Hashemite realm. Moreover, the King's personality traits seem to have played a role in Jordanian foreign policy as well. In particular, the King's tendency toward independence and self-reliance stemmed from a lifetime of significant betrayals, including some by the United States and other Arab leaders.

Another important factor, however, seems to have been the King's personal relationship with Saddam Hussein, which extended back to the rough years of the 1970s, when Jordan found itself in need of economic benefits and Iraq found itself in need of a port to export its oil.

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459 Ryan, "Between Iraq and a Hard Place", p. 41.

460 Baram, *Ibid*, p. 59.



On the economic level, Iraq was Jordan's main economic partner. Jordan simply could not sacrifice this economic relationship with Iraq, and indeed during the Gulf crisis, a senior Jordanian official contended that for Jordan to adhere to the UN embargo on Iraq would be tantamount to committing economic suicide. The Jordanian government estimated its financial losses from the embargo at \$1.1 billion in 1990, and its potential losses at \$2.5 billion for the following year. This economic aspect of relations was critical. During the war with Iran, Jordan's economy—including transportation, trade, agriculture, and industry—all became essential for Iraq. In exchange, Iraq supplied Jordan with cheap oil, grants, and low-interest loans. Iraq remained the major supplier of discounted oil and Iraq continues to be the largest market for Jordanian products. Delivering these goods in both directions has become one of the main pillars of Jordan's transportation sector.<sup>461</sup>

Steven David, in his omnibalancing theory, distinguishes the Third World States from other states because of their special susceptibility to internal threats that challenge the regime's hold on power.<sup>462</sup> Alignment decisions become more complicated for regimes when external threats and internal threats are interrelated, as when an external threat foments internal insurrection. Given the strong support for Saddam Hussein among Jordan's population, King Hussein may have bandwagoned with Saddam Hussein to bandwagon with his population. If he had not, he would have risked his regime.

In sum, domestic pressures dictated the King's actions during the crisis, as any contradiction of Jordanian popular opinion or refusal to accommodate domestic demands to maintain vital historical, economic and political relations with Iraq might have been deeply harmful to the stability of the country and the monarchic regime. Therefore, the king had to maintain a stance in harmony with that of the public, as the

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<sup>461</sup> Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis," pp. 21-24.

<sup>462</sup> David, *Explaining Third World Alignment*, p. 243.

political costs of doing otherwise would have been too high, jeopardizing domestic stability and risking the survival of the country and the regime.

Based on the above, and utilizing a neoclassical perspective and balance of interest theory model, we can say that Jordan balanced in an attempt to preserve its interests. There were several major factors that potentially led Jordan to decide to adopt this position:

Jordanian pro-Saddam public opinion and strong domestic demands weighed heavily on King's decision not to side with the coalition. This choice consolidated the domestic public consensus about Jordanian identity, interests, and regime legitimacy.<sup>463</sup>

Another important consideration comes second: Jordan's high degree of economic dependency on Iraq, which would have meant grave damage to the Jordanian economy should it have made another alignment choice. In addition, the existence of strong relations between the two countries and their leaders.

Therefore, King Hussein's behavior was shaped accordingly, and this seems in full accordance with what is known about his personality and personal beliefs, as well as his tendency to support Arab Hashemite dynastic ambitions. Hussein's alignment was ultimately made to maintain his key interests of preserving Hashemite rule, domestic stability, and economic gains.

In a nutshell, Hussein's position against his traditional allies in defiance of their external pressures is explicable. Nevertheless, King Hussein's alignment choice during the Gulf crisis was the first, and last, occasion in which he broke one of the principal rules of Jordanian foreign policy adopted since his ascension to the Hashemite throne in 1953.

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<sup>463</sup> Marc Lynch, *Contested Identity and Security: The International Politics of Jordanian Identity*, (Cornell University, NY, 1997), , pp. 227-228.

#### 4.5. King Hussein's foreign policy during the peace process

Jordanian foreign policy behavior after the Gulf War in 1990 showed a clearly divergent and contradictory pattern. Neighboring the Israeli state and containing a significant Palestinian population, Jordan has played a central role throughout the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. After the Arab defeat by Israel in 1967, Jordan's role in the region became one of seeking to bridge the gap between Arab states and the west by continuously seeking a comprehensive peace settlement in the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>464</sup> Whatever progress had been made towards achieving such peace, however, was halted once Jordan stood beside Iraq in the Gulf War. King Hussein's relationship with many states in the west—specifically the United States—and the Gulf States in the Middle East deteriorated rapidly.<sup>465</sup>

The ultimate result of these negotiations was the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty signed on October 17, 1994.<sup>466</sup> However, this was the first change in Jordanian foreign policy. The reasons behind Jordan's clear reversal in foreign policy strategy in regard to Israel will be discussed later.

As with Jordan in 1990, the distribution of power in the international system in 1994 allowed the United States to play a primary role in political and economic developments in the Middle East.<sup>467</sup> Furthermore, as in 1990, the preferences of the United States in this period were clearly distinguished by its continued support for the economic development and regional security of the Israeli state. As evidence of the United States' role in Israeli politics, it is worth noting that the level of foreign aid

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<sup>464</sup> Yassin El-Ayouty, Egypt, *Peace and the Inter-Arab Crisis*, (New York: State University of New York, 1979), p. 4.

<sup>465</sup> Mordechai Gazit, "The Middle East Peace Process", Ami Ayalon (ed.), vol. 14 of *Middle East Contemporary Survey* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p. 122; Joyce, *Anglo-American Support for Jordan*, p. 146.

<sup>466</sup> Susser, "Jordan: Al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyya al-Hashimiyya", p. 412.

<sup>467</sup> Charles Smith, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict," in Louise Fawcett (ed.) *International Relations of the Middle East*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 226.

from the US to Israel is unmatched in the history of foreign aid, reaching \$77 billion from the late 1980s to the early 1990s.<sup>468</sup> Furthermore, the United States' continued interest in a resolution to the Arab–Israeli conflict led to the convention of the Madrid Conference in 1991 and the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993,<sup>469</sup> highlighting US preferences in the region in advance of the signing of the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty in 1994.

At this time, evidence shows that many international negotiations took place between the United States and Jordan. In the post-Gulf War period, these negotiations began when Secretary of State James Baker traveled throughout the region to resume previously existing peace initiatives.<sup>470</sup> These travels led Baker to Jordan in April 1991 and resulted in the Madrid Peace Conference that convened in October of that year.<sup>471</sup> The Madrid talks went on for a couple of years, providing evidence that communication between the United States and Jordan was sustained throughout the years in advance of the signing of the peace treaty<sup>472</sup>. Jordan was present at the conclusion of the Oslo Accords in 1993, and it was there that the Trilateral Economic Committee was created, joining the United States, Israel, and Jordan together in an attempt to promote future economic relations between Israel and Jordan.<sup>473</sup> Additionally, in terms of high-level negotiations, during 1994 alone, King Hussein visited the United States three times for further talks on the Washington Declaration,

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468 Abdel Salam Majali, Jawad A. Anani, and Munther J. Haddadin, "Peacemaking: The Inside Story of the 1994 Jordanian-Israeli Treaty" (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), p. 13.

469 Ibid, p. 99.

470 Ibid.

471 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 291. Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p.184. Majali, Anani, and Haddadin, "Peacemaking", p.13.

472 Charles Smith. "The Arab-Israeli Conflict." in Louise Fawcett (ed.) *International Relations of the Middle East*, p. 233. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

473 Abdel Salam Majali, Ibid, pp. 243-244.

and he also held meetings with Secretary of State Warren Christopher that year as well.<sup>474</sup>

Although the King and President Bush had begun to reconcile their differences in the post-Gulf War period, the rest of the US government was still greatly disappointed and unwilling to forget Jordan's behavior.<sup>475</sup> However, despite the two states' differences, there is evidence showing the promise of aid and cooperation in the future. In a letter written to the King, President Bush assured him that he would be willing to push the US government to supply Jordan with aid if the King was willing to work in their interest.<sup>476</sup>

During this period, negotiations began on US debt forgiveness to Jordan for an amount of up to \$950 million.<sup>477</sup> An agreement between the two states promised that this forgiveness would be given over three years starting in 1994; King Hussein's visits to the US during that year also made apparent the promise of bilateral aid in the future.<sup>478</sup> Thus the promise of a peace dividend from the United States was made clear.<sup>479</sup>

The IMF and World Bank both provided large loans for the implementation of the structural adjustment program. The foreign policy decision made by the monarch to make peace has to be considered from a wider framework of political and economic regional foreign shifts and dynamics.<sup>480</sup> The actual behavior of Jordan during this period corresponds to the interests of the United States. Unlike in 1990, the signing of

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474 Susser, "Jordan (Al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyaa al-Hashimiyya)."

475 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 294.

476 Ibid, p. 286.

477 Robins, *History of Jordan*, p. 186.

478 Susser, *Middle East Survey*, (1994), p. 431.

479 Ibid, p. 418.

480 Cunningham, "The Causes and Effects of Foreign Policy Decision Making".

the Israeli–Jordanian peace treaty of 1994 demonstrates behavior clearly in line with US peace initiatives in the region.

During this period, Jordan was also undoubtedly distancing itself from its former regional ally Iraq, an action that also shows correspondence with US preferences.<sup>481</sup> Furthermore, the promise of aid given to King Hussein after he met with Congress in July 1994 also preceded the actual signing of the peace treaty with Israel, which took place in October of that year.<sup>482</sup> For Jordan's signing of the peace treaty to be the result of US international pressure, Jordan must have known without a doubt what the US expected of it in terms of its foreign policy behavior.

President Bush had written a letter to the King reiterating his desire for Jordan to participate in the peace process by joining the 1991 conference.<sup>483</sup> Indeed, the King was confronted with major political opposition for his intention to make peace with Israel. King Hussein, therefore, was aware of the connection between aid and the participation of his regime in the peace talks with Israel. But just as throughout its history, Jordan was still reliant on external aid to finance its domestic economy. The years between 1990 and 1994 were no exception, as the country received aid up to a maximum of JD 225.2 million per year.<sup>484</sup> Jordan's reliance on external aid and loans remained important, and the United States would guarantee the state \$250 million in cash per year, an amount surpassing the levels of aid it had been receiving prior to the peace treaty being signed.<sup>485</sup> Relations with the United States, however, were not the only ones which would improve by the signing of the peace treaty. As relations with

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481 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p. 295; Bouillon, , p. 7.

482 Susser, *Middle East Survey*, (1994), p. 411.

483 Ibid, p. 286.

484 Susser, *Middle East Survey*, (1994), p. 409.

485 Gad G. Gilbar, and Onn Winckler, "The Economic Factor of the Arab-Israeli Peace Process: The Cases of Egypt, Jordan and Syria," In *Arab-Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Resolution*, p. 201, (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

the US progressed, President Clinton pushed European countries to consider relieving Jordan of the debt it owed them.<sup>486</sup> Britain, for example, agreed to write off all of Jordan's aid-related debt.<sup>487</sup> Furthermore, in 1997, Egypt and Israel agreed to redirect \$50 million from each of their personal aid programs to increase the funding available to Jordan. Loans from western states and Japan also increased in the post-1994 period as well.<sup>488</sup>

Relations with Arab states at this time, furthermore, continued to be strained due to the behavior of Jordan in the Gulf War.<sup>489</sup> Therefore, the possible aid and support available to the Kingdom showed that King Hussein had no choice but to comply with the demands of the United States during this period.

Jordan's behavior towards Iraq in the five years following the Gulf War saw an important change worthy of foreign policy study. Between 1991 and 1995, Jordan shifted from being Iraq's closest ally to hosting Iraqi opposition groups and American warplanes and openly calling for the overthrow of Saddam's regime. Needless to say, this represented a major shift in alliance behavior following the Jordanian refusal to join the American coalition in the war. As power relations, threats, and incentives shift, states change alliances. Because it could no longer afford to balance against an American–Israeli hegemony made violently explicit by the Gulf War, Jordan joined the Madrid peace process, rebuilt its relations with the US, and looked to restore ties with the Gulf States. When Jordan opted for a return to the American camp, ties with Iraq proved to be an obstacle on the road to reconciliation. A disengagement from the country's relations with Iraq thus became necessary, and Jordan made the rational decision to change sides and abandon Iraq. King

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486 Susser, *Middle East Survey*, (1994), p. 421.

487 Gilbar, and Winckler, "The Economic Factor of the Arab-Israeli Peace Process," p. 201.

488 Ibid, p. 202.

489 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", p.11. Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, pp. 293- 294.

Hussein's compliance with US demands, therefore, in 1994 seemed crucial to guaranteeing the sustainability of his regime.

#### **4.6. King Hussein in the wake of the 1994 peace treaty: domestic and foreign policies in transition**

Dynamics within Jordanian society changed considerably after 1994. Many East Bank Jordanians, as well as those of Palestinian origin, who had supported Iraq were against signing peace with Israel, whether it was due to their Ba'athist beliefs, or to their hatred of the west, which had fought Saddam, and neglected, in their view, to support the Palestinian cause.<sup>490</sup>

Domestic opposition—mainly Islamic—was on the increase in parallel to the 1994 peace agreement with Israel: the regime moved toward freezing the limited political liberalization of the country, due to fears of the implications of internal political actors for domestic stability.

Internal violence against the regime, however, did exist. Islamist groups within society were beginning to voice their dissent more openly. Islamic groups associated with the violence were not part of the Muslim Brotherhood, which was then cooperating closely with the government, but instead were groups who had broken away from moderate Islamic organizations in order to be able to voice their criticism of the government more openly.<sup>491</sup> An atmosphere of repression similar to 1990 continued to prevail during this period alongside defensive liberalization. For example, although martial law was abolished in 1993, it was replaced by a new Defense Law, which allowed the cabinet to announce a state of emergency in the instance of large-scale domestic instability.

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490 Reed, "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis", p. 23.

491 Susser, *Middle East Survey*, (1994), p. 438.



Furthermore, while many political parties were allowed the right to gain party status, many others were still unable to gain formal recognition by the end of 1992, including those who held primarily leftist ideologies. Also, although the Press and Publications law was meant to increase the rights of journalists, it forbade them from protecting their sources or writing articles critical of the Hashemite monarchy.<sup>492</sup>

Other attempts at protecting the regime from domestic opposition were more transparent, including changes in the electoral laws in 1993, which were carried out to reverse the gains that the Islamist groups acquired in parliament after the 1989 elections. The law changed allowing voters to cast as many ballots as there were seats allocated to their district into one that allowed everyone one-vote; this voting method ensured that traditional Jordanian tribal leaders, who supported the King, would prevail against the Islamic opposition.<sup>493</sup> Furthermore, during this period the King allocated more power to the security forces, allowing them to suppress vocal opposition against the regime by any means necessary.<sup>494</sup>

It is important to note that King Hussein still enjoyed a rather high level of domestic support, especially after the 1991 Gulf Crisis. Furthermore, the population's outpouring of support for the King after his battle with cancer in the early 1990s demonstrated their appreciation and respect for him.<sup>495</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the Jordanian political system allocates much authority to the King. The constitutional rights of the King during this period did not change

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<sup>492</sup> Ibid, p. 440-441

<sup>493</sup> See; Mutayyam Al-O'ran, "The First Decade of the Jordanian-Israeli Peace-Building Experience: A Story of Jordanian Challenges (1994-2003)," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 10, no. 4 (Dec. 2006), p. 84; Paul L Sham, and Russell E. Lucas, "'Normalization' and 'Anti-Normalization' in Jordan: The Public Debate," *Israel Affairs* 9, no. 3 (January 2003), p.145; Salloukh, *Organizing Politics in the Arab World*, 81; Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope," p. 12; Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, p.301.

<sup>494</sup> Susser, *Middle East Survey*, (1994), p. 438.

<sup>495</sup> Robins, *History of Jordan*, p. 186.

significantly, and, if anything, were increased with the passing of the National Charter in 1991. Although the main opposition group, the Islamic IAF, held power in parliament up until the 1993 elections, their loss in this election consolidated the autonomy of the monarch, especially on issues of foreign policy.

The National Charter was meant to continue the process of liberalization which had begun in previous years by legalizing political parties and allowing them to participate in the lower house of parliament.<sup>496</sup> However, most importantly, the Charter consolidated the power of the King by reaffirming his role as the supreme ruler, granting him control over all the different institutions of government.<sup>497</sup> The elected lower house, furthermore, was constrained as it needed the approval of the upper house to pass laws, and the majority party in the lower house did not necessarily have to be included in the formation of the new executive, which was to be decided upon by the monarch.<sup>498</sup>

It is clear, therefore, that the power and authority of the King were incontestable either by the main opposition groups or by the different branches of government. His rule was agreed upon by the people of Jordan, as the Hashemite Kingdom is seen to have a direct link to the Prophet Mohammed, creating a powerful bond between the King and Islam, the state religion.<sup>499</sup>

This internal legitimacy enjoyed by the King, along with the constitutional and structural authority he had been allocated, when combined with the appointment of a

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<sup>496</sup> Ibid, p. 175.

<sup>497</sup> Laurie Brand, "The Effects of the Peace Process on Political Liberalization in Jordan," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28, no. 2 (Winter 1999), p. 54; Curtis R. Ryan, "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan." In *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by David E. Long, Bernard Reich, and Mark Gasiorowski, p. 292-314. ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007).

<sup>498</sup> Robins, *History of Jordan*, p. 175.

<sup>499</sup> Susser, *Middle East Survey*, (1993), p. 437.

cabinet loyal to the King and an opposition afraid to voice their preferences, ensured the monarch had a high level of autonomy.

Economically, worker remittances remained an important source of income for the Jordanian government in this period, amounting to \$3.92 billion between 1990 and 1994.<sup>500</sup> Despite the losses said to have been experienced as a result of the Gulf War, Jordan still enjoyed high growth rates before the signing of the peace treaty, reaching six percent in 1994.<sup>501</sup>

However, despite some gains enjoyed by the Jordanian economy during this period, the state still experienced major setbacks. First, the government's debt to the west and other sources of financial assistance were growing, creating an extremely high level of overall debt. For example, in 1993 and 1994 alone, external debt exceeded GDP by over \$2 billion and \$1.5 billion respectively; overall debt increased to 140 percent of GDP by 1993.<sup>502</sup>

Furthermore, despite its attempts to comply with the sanctions against Iraq, Jordan still relied on it for its oil supply and a significant portion of its trade; in addition, the growth experienced in the post-Gulf War period had begun to slow, demonstrating the difficulty in maintaining such high levels of growth.<sup>503</sup>

From all the above, given the evidence provided for autonomy, economic capacity, and coercive capacity, the predictions of the realist approach alone are not sufficient in explaining Jordanian foreign policy behavior during this period. Moderate levels of economic and coercive capacities, also, allowed the regime enough power to

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<sup>500</sup> "World Bank, Peace and the Jordanian Economy" (Washington D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1994), p. 24.

<sup>501</sup> Ibid, Susser, *Middle East Survey*, (1993), p. 407.

<sup>502</sup> "Jordan" in *The Middle East Military Balance, 1999-2000*, ed. Shlomo Brom and Yiftah Shapir (Massachusetts: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2000), p. 235.

<sup>503</sup> Geoffrey Kemp and Jeremy Pressman, *Point of No Return: The Deadly Struggle for Middle East Peace* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1997), p.97

control and manipulate the domestic arena and secure its preferences. King Hussein's decision to sign the peace treaty with Israel, therefore, also cannot be explained solely by factors in Jordan's domestic environment.

When Jordan signed its peace treaty with Israel in 1994, the US and its allies began to deliver substantial amounts of diplomatic sponsorship, economic aid, and security assistance.<sup>504</sup> For Western powers, sustaining the peace treaty with Israel took precedence over any aspect connected with Jordan. For the regime, such international support lowered the cost of domestic repression and fulfilled key political needs.

In essence, American foreign policy in the Arab world had not yet shed its Cold War-era orientation of hard realism. Post-Cold War political developments in the Kingdom after the Gulf War changed with the onset of the 1994 peace treaty with Israel, the US and its allies, which delivered mounting flows of economic aid and security assistance to Amman.

In parallel, Jordan's relations with Iraq shifted dramatically many times over these years. Jordan agreed to impose sanctions against Iraq despite strong popular opposition and severe costs to its economy. However, Jordanian foreign policy maintained its commitment to preserving the integrity and unity of Iraq. Jordan distanced itself from the Iraqi regime and shifted toward the west. In November 1992, the King stated that Iraqis needed democracy. While expressing disappointment at developments in Iraq, he did not call for the overthrow of the Iraqi regime. In 1993, he said that Iraqi leadership had become a burden.

The important discursive outcome of this episode was the distinction drawn between the Iraqi regime and the Iraqi people, which lay the foundations for justifying a turn against Saddam<sup>505</sup>. Despite the state's burning interest in regaining

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504 Russell Lucas, *Institutions and the Politics of Survival in Jordan: Domestic Responses to External Challenges, 1988-2001* (Albany: State University of New York, 2005), pp. 87-98.

505 Bouillon, "Walking the Tightrope", pp. 11-13 Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, pp. 290-295.

Gulf budget subsidies, the public consensus rejected sacrificing Iraq as the price for reconciliation with the Gulf.

On August 23, 1995, King Hussein delivered an extraordinary speech to the nation, launching a new Jordanian policy. It was interpreted as a second White Book and a milestone in the history of relations between Jordan and Iraq. After reviewing Jordanian-Iraqi ties, the King slammed the Iraqi leadership for consistently ignoring his advice and breaking explicit promises by invading Kuwait. He also complained that Iraq had consistently shown no regard for Jordanian interests, during the Gulf War and after.<sup>506</sup>

In late November 1995, King Hussein met publicly with Iraqi opposition leaders in London and offered Jordan as a base for their political (but not military) activities. Some prominent Iraqi defectors took up residence in Amman, while several opposition groups established political and information offices and were given lavish attention in the official media. By January 1996, the government gave the clearance to Iraqi opposition groups to open offices in Amman.

King Hussein and Jordanian officials met with Iraqi opposition leaders in London in early 1996, and the King met personally with leaders of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP). The Kingdom also granted political asylum to Iraq's highest-ranking defectors, including daughters and sons-in-law of Saddam Hussein. Some of these defectors, like the Kamel brothers, shocked Jordan by returning to Baghdad, where they met a grisly end. However, less than a month later, Jordan granted asylum to another high-level defector, General

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<sup>506</sup> Arib Rentawi, "Commentary on the speech," *al-Dustur* (27 August 1995); also see Mohammed Subayhi, *al-Dustur* (26 August 1995).

Nazar Khazraji, who had served as chief of staff for the Iraqi army in the late 1980s.<sup>507</sup> All this went alongside a closer US-Israeli-Jordanian alliance<sup>508</sup>.

The Americans then called on Jordan to cut economic ties with Iraq and to become a base for operations aimed at overthrowing Saddam Hussein, suggestions that Jordan rejected<sup>509</sup>. Jordan's foreign policy change toward Iraq nevertheless led to a sharp improvement in US-Jordanian relations, which were already strong in the wake of the treaty with Israel. The King's energetic and passionate campaign for a warm Arab peace with Israel had secured Jordan a more central role in American strategy. The US encouraged Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to restore relations with Jordan

The King also allowed the Iraqi National Accord (INA), an exile group opposed to the regime of Saddam Hussein, to set up a radio station in Jordan. Moreover, for the first time in his long rule, the cautious King called for, and actively supported, the removal of Saddam Hussein.

King Hussein stated that the cause of the tragedy in Iraq stemmed from the policies followed by the Iraqi leadership, which had consequently lost all its credibility. Following the murder of the Kamel brothers upon their return to Baghdad, he also asserted that it was the right time for a change in the Iraqi leadership and that the Ba'athist regime had no respect for human dignity or the freedom of its citizens. The next month, American F-16 fighters and troops arrived in Jordan. Although the regime denied any connection between the warplanes and its Iraq policy, it was clear that the intention was for the United States to use Jordan as a staging ground for its military operations against Iraq.

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507 Curtis Ryan, *Jordan in Transition: From Hussein to Abdullah*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 20-25.

508 See Mohammed Subayhi in *Al Dustur*, (28 August 1995), *Al Hayat* (29 August 1995).

509 *Al Hayat* (29, 30 August 1995).

Jordan allowed these warplanes to be based in southern Jordan in order to monitor southern Iraq and train Jordanian pilots, although, in response to public pressure, the government denied that there would be a permanent US presence.<sup>510</sup> Such a direct Western military presence had not been seen on Jordanian territory since the 1956 dismissal of the British commander of the Jordanian Army, an event widely celebrated as the true declaration of Jordanian independence and sovereignty. Jordanian and American forces began conducting joint maneuvers, which the public found even more distressing. President Clinton also pledged to protect Jordan in the event of Iraqi retaliation.<sup>511</sup>

Jordan took extra steps toward change, imposing tight controls on the borders, restrictions on visa issuance, more cooperation with UN inspectors concerning illegal Iraqi shipments, and measures against journalists supporting Saddam. However, economic relations could not be severed as cleanly as political relations. While state actors hoped to reduce the centrality of the Iraqi market for the Jordanian economy and reorient the economy as a whole, it could not simply survive without the Iraqi oil at preferential prices.

These policies were a complete reversal of King Hussein's previous condemnations of foreign soldiers on Arab soil during the Gulf Crisis. The proximate causes of this policy were the search for resources and the desire to get back into the good graces of the Americans and the Gulf states.

As mentioned before, for the rationalist, this reversal poses little obvious challenge. As power relations, threats, and incentives shift, states change alliances. Because it could no longer afford to balance against an American-Israeli hegemony made violently explicit by the Gulf war, Jordan joined the Madrid peace process,

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<sup>510</sup> Ibid.

<sup>511</sup> Ryan, "Jordan First", pp. 47-49. See also David Schenker, "Between Baghdad and Washington: Jordan's Balancing Act," *Policy Watch* No. 501, (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, November 8, 2000).

rebuilt its relations with the US, and looked to restore ties with the Gulf States. When Jordan opted for a return to the American camp, ties with Iraq proved to be an obstacle on the road to reconciliation. Disengagement from Iraq thus became necessary, and Jordan made the rational decision to change sides and abandon Iraq.

This Jordanian change of policy seems rather straightforward, continuing Jordan's policy of bandwagoning with the ascendant Israeli-American pole. Most observers agree that the shift away from the Iraqi alliance followed directly and necessarily from Jordan's increasingly close alliance with Israel and the US.

This was a very unpopular policy in Jordan, whether on the street, in parliament, or among business owners. Jordan's policies were controversial in large part because the regime was perceived by the populace to be doing the bidding of the United States and Israel in working to oust Saddam. Also abhorrent to Jordanians was the idea that their country was contributing to the suffering of Iraqis under UN sanctions. Jordanians were displeased with the regime's agreement to let the Iraqi opposition operate from Jordan and its role in undermining Saddam Hussein. Neither could these new alignments save Jordan from the negative impacts of the Palestinian uprising, the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, and the US war in Iraq.

The Jordanian state maintained political stability through a governing strategy that leveraged two principal mechanisms: the first was its ability to redistribute economic resources to societal units, and the second was its control over the security apparatus.

Since 1994, the US had granted key economic aid to Jordan's first Qualified Industrial Zones, increasing its investment in projects that aspired to generate business ties with Israel, local job growth, and export income all at once. Support for these projects also came from the EU after 1995 through the Euro-Mediterranean



Partnership framework.<sup>512</sup> Likewise, Washington enlarged its security linkages to the regime. After 1994, the Clinton White House conferred increasing quantities of weaponry on a grant basis, and selected Jordan as a “major non-NATO ally”. This diplomatic promotion made Jordan into a pivotal state in American grand strategy,<sup>513</sup> reinforcing the confidence of Jordan’s ruling elites through this blunt message of being a part of a strategic alliance.<sup>514</sup>

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512 Bichara Khader and Adnan Badran (eds.), *The Economic Development of Jordan*, p. 12 (London: Croom Helm, 1987), and Laurie Brand, *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations: The Political Economy of Alliance-Making*, p. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

513 See Robert Chase, Emily Hill, and Paul Kennedy, "Pivotal States and US Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75: No. 1 (1996), pp. 33-51.

514 Sean L.Yom and Mohammad H. Al-Momani, “The international dimensions of authoritarian regime stability: Jordan in the post cold war era” , *Arab Studies Quarterly* Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter 2008), pp. 39-60.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **KING ABDULLAH AND THE 2003 IRAQ WAR**

#### **5.1. Introduction: the neoclassical perspective**

The 2003 United States-led Iraq War caused structural change and reshaped the region, as well as shattering the Middle East system. The US invasion of Iraq, and the occupation that followed, has had far more dramatic consequences than the 1991 Gulf War. It eliminated Iraq as a strong state, created a regional power vacuum and completely altered the power balance in the Middle East. In the lead-up to the US-led Iraq war in 2003, Jordan was highly dependent on external assistance, mainly from the United States. King Abdullah repositioned Jordan as a regional player in the post-September 11 era through his pro-American foreign policy choices and vow of steady support for the US in fighting terrorism.

King Abdullah, with his pro-American policies, his friendship and strong ties with Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf regimes, made his alignment choices according to these relations, as well as looking to maximize the country's economic benefit and make other gains through bandwagoning with the US. His perception and understanding of the nature of the balance of power and distribution of capabilities between great powers in the international system, on the one hand, and his realization of the restriction and obstacles that faced Jordan, on the other hand, defined Jordanian foreign policy choices and tendencies according to the strategies most likely to achieve Jordan's national goals.

Applying the neoclassical realist perspective and the balance of interests model to King Abdullah's choice of alignment offers a satisfactory explanation for why Jordan, as a weak status quo state, chose to bandwagon for profit. Many variables worked together to influence Abdullah's response to the 2003 Iraq war: external motivations from the US for more military and economic aid and cooperation against terrorism, external pressures from global terrorism, regional fears of Iranian expansionism, domestic concerns from radical Islamism and the absence of real pressing domestic demands for the regime to support Iraq—which had been a factor during the 1991 Gulf War—all shaped Abdullah's choice to bandwagon, with his behavior representing a typical profit-seeking choice of alignment. Another important factor was King Abdullah's leadership style and personal foreign policy orientation, which was characterized by a strongly pro-American approach.

If King Abdullah had to choose between countering the moderate internal demand to support Iraq and losing his strong relations with the US and the military, economic and financial benefits that flowed from it—the United States and the Gulf countries now served as Jordan's primary trading partners—he would choose the former, even if the latter was itself a potential cause of limited unrest in the country. The 2003 Iraq War, however, demonstrated that King Abdullah's foremost concern was economic and security priorities linked to international and regional actors, and it was these that played the major role in his response to the US-led Iraq War and shaped his foreign choices.

## **5.2. The invasion of Iraq**

The Bush administration has been forthright about its goal of global hegemony and its goal of regime change in Iraq as well. From the US military perspective; the shift from a two-superpower (bipolar) distribution of power during the Cold War to unipolar US military dominance caused US strategy to shift from policies of

deterrence or containment of threats to policies of preventive warfare against threatening rogue states.<sup>515</sup>

On November 8, 2002, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted an important resolution, no. 1441, stating that Iraq was in material breach of its obligations under the terms of the previous Resolutions of the Council (Resolution 660, Resolution 661, Resolution 678, Resolution 686, Resolution 687, Resolution 688, Resolution 707, Resolution 715, Resolution 986, and Resolution 1284), including the production and use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and offered Saddam Hussein a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations with reference to the previous Security Council resolutions.<sup>516</sup>

In 2002, the Bush Administration announced its determination to invade Iraq if necessary to prevent Saddam Hussein from gaining weapons of mass destruction, which, they claimed, he could use for conquest or provide to terrorists.<sup>517</sup> The post-Cold War shift to a unipolar rather than bipolar distribution of power was a permissive cause of the decision to invade, in that it eliminated a check on US action: The US would not have attacked Iraq had it been a Soviet client state, as in the Cold War.

The shift to unipolarity also impelled the US to assert its military-political dominance against symbolic or material challenges such as the September 11 attacks. In this sense, the September 11 attacks constituted a proximate, near-term cause of the decision to invade Iraq. In a speech at the UN in February 2003, US Secretary of State

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<sup>515</sup> Stephen Walt and William Wohlforth. "American Primacy in Perspective," pp. 20-33. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4, (2002).

<sup>516</sup> See the official United Nations website:

<http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/documents/1441.pdf>

<sup>517</sup> In his State of the Union Address in January 2003, President Bush said: "Year after year, Saddam Hussein has gone to elaborate lengths, spent enormous sums, taken great risks to build and keep weapons of mass destruction. communications, and statements by people now in custody reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of al Qaeda". President George W. Bush, State of the Union Address (Washington, D.C., 28 January, 2003). As of October 1, 2007: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/print/20030128-19.html>. (Pirnie and O'Connell 5).

Colin Powell stated that Iraq was seeking weapons of mass destruction—chemical, biological, and, one day, nuclear weapons—and was involved in terrorism.<sup>518</sup>

On March 17, 2003, President Bush delivered an ultimatum to Iraq, stating that Iraq had aided al Qaeda terrorists and that the United States would initiate military action unless Saddam Hussein and his sons left Iraq within 48 hours.<sup>519</sup>

For several reasons, US forces encountered little resistance from the Iraqi Army during the invasion: Saddam regarded Kurds and Shi'ites backed by Iran as more immediate threats than an unlikely US invasion. Therefore, he kept most of his forces trained on the Kurds and Iranians, leaving the invasion corridor through Kuwait to the vicinity of Baghdad largely unprotected. Baghdad was defended by Republican Guard divisions deployed around the city, but even they offered only sporadic resistance. Saddam and his two sons issued amateurish and confusing orders to their military commanders, who were not allowed to exercise any initiative. It seems the Iraqi Army was neglected, demoralized, and poorly trained even by regional standards. Moreover, the Iraqi soldiers knew from experience that US forces were overwhelmingly superior.

Before the invasion, Saddam Hussein had developed several paramilitary forces that later fed into the insurgency. He developed a large militia called the Al-Quds (Jerusalem) Army, but although its troops numbered in the hundreds of thousands, the Al-Quds Army had negligible military value. It was commanded by Ba'athist politicians who were almost entirely untrained and were by no means equipped to confront any serious military force. Saddam also developed a smaller, but more lethal force called Fedayeen Saddam. He initially created this force to repress Shi'ite Arabs and Kurds, but subsequently gave it a security mission against all

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<sup>518</sup> Colin Powell, "Address to the U.N. Security Council" (New York: United Nations, February 5, 2003).

<sup>519</sup> Washington, D.C.: The Cross Hall, White House, March 17, 2003, p. 1. Accessed October 1, 2007: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/print/20030317-7.html>.

enemies of the regime. Fedayeen Saddam operated training camps that hosted volunteers from regional Arab countries, some of whom fought against US troops during the invasion.<sup>520</sup>

In defeat, the Ba'athist regime collapsed quickly and completely. Suddenly no longer a centrally controlled, one-party dictatorship, Iraq became ungoverned space, lacking basic services and security for its citizens. Iraqi civilians looted government offices and installations of everything movable, including electrical wiring and plumbing fixtures, leaving only shells behind. Two months after the invasion, Ambassador Paul Bremer arrived in Baghdad. He subsequently recalled that he had been extensively briefed on Iraq. However, he said, "nobody had given me a sense of how utterly broken this country was".<sup>521</sup>

Through the summer of 2003, resistance to the occupation stayed at a low, relatively tolerable level. There were two main sources of this resistance: remnants of the Ba'athist regime and extremists, especially foreign fighters from other countries in the Middle East. Because Iraqi armed forces had deserted rather than being defeated in battle and surrendering, Iraq was thickly sown with former soldiers, weapons, and munitions. Although Saddam and his sons were still at large, they apparently did not exercise much control over the insurgency. This resistance became a serious problem by the fall of 2003. Also, insurgents were supplemented by foreign fighters from other Middle Eastern countries. After the fall of Baghdad, more foreigners arrived to resist the US occupation.<sup>522</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> Michael R. Gordon and Lt. Gen. (USMC, ret.) Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq*, p. 505, (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006,). Pirnie and O'Connell, *ibid*, p. 8.

<sup>521</sup> Paul Bremer III, with Malcolm McConnell, *My Year in Iraq, The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006, p. 18). Pirnie and O'Connell, *ibid*, p. 9.

<sup>522</sup> Gordon and Trainor, *Cobra II*, p. 507. Pirnie and O'Connell, *ibid*, p. 8.

On July 22, 2003, acting on a tip, US forces surrounded a house in Mosul where Saddam's sons Uday and Qusay were hiding. The sons offered resistance and died, together with their bodyguards, in a gun battle. On December 13, US forces captured Saddam hiding in a place near Tikrit. For several weeks after his capture, there was a lull in insurgent attacks, but they then resumed their former tempo. Considering the circumstances of his capture, Saddam was probably not leading the insurgency, although he had helped promote it. On November 5, 2006, after a year-long trial, the Iraqi Special Tribunal sentenced him to death by hanging for having ordered the killing of civilians in the village of Dujail following a 1982 attempt on his life.<sup>523</sup>

When Ambassador Bremer met with leading Iraqi politicians on May 16, 2003, they advised him that a new government was urgently needed. Jalal Talabani told him that, "while we sincerely thank the coalition for all its efforts, we have to warn against squandering a military victory by not conducting a rapid, coordinated effort to form a new government".<sup>524</sup>

On July 13, 2003, Bremer announced the formation of the Iraqi Governing Council, which was composed of 25 members chosen by the coalition. The Council chose as its first president Ibrahim al-Jaafari, a leader in the Shi'ite Dawa Party, whose members included Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim, the leader of SCIRI; Masud Barzani, head of the Kurdistan Democratic Party; and Jalal Talabani, head of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. The new council thus included prominent leaders of the Shi'ite Arabs and Kurds, but not of the Sunni Arabs, who opposed it.<sup>525</sup>

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<sup>523</sup> Paul Bremer III, with Malcolm McConnell, *My Year in Iraq, The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope*. p. 18.

<sup>524</sup> Ibid, pp. 19-20.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid, pp. 40-45.

The council approved an interim constitution, known as the Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period, drafted by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in coordination with the council.

This interim constitution provided that the government “shall be republican, federal, democratic, and pluralistic” (Article 4); that “Islam is the official religion of the State and is to be considered a source of legislation” (Article 7); that “the Arabic language and the Kurdish language are the two official languages” (Article 9); and moreover, that “natural resources shall be managed to distribute the revenues resulting from their sale through the national budget in an equitable manner proportional to the distribution of population throughout the country” (Article 25(E)). A fully sovereign Iraqi Interim Government was to take power on June 30, 2004 (Article 2(B)), but Bremer relinquished his authority two days earlier to assure his safe departure from the country.<sup>526</sup>

Support for the 2003 Iraq War came in different forms from different sources: armed troops, the use of airspace and bases, logistical support, political support, and participation in reconstruction efforts.<sup>527</sup> At the same time, major opposition existed among many of the populations and parliaments of the states which formally pledged their support. Some of the nations which had been allies of the United States during the Gulf War were opposed to another Iraq War. However, President Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair were optimistic that they would reach the 9 out of 15 votes of approval necessary to pass a UN resolution on the issue.

The Middle East was profoundly affected by this war. Religious extremists, and especially Al Qaeda, appeared after the fall of the Iraqi regime, which also strengthened Iran as a key actor in the region due to its influence over the newly-

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<sup>526</sup> L. Bremer and McConnell, *My Year in Iraq*, pp. 47-50. Pirnie and O'Connell, *ibid*, p. 9.

<sup>527</sup> Government positions on the Iraq War prior to the 2003 invasion of Iraq.



powerful Shi'ite Islamists in Iraq. Also, the Kurds in Iraq became stronger and wealthier as the Kurdish region gained an autonomous status.

In fact, Iraq turned out not to own WMD.<sup>528</sup> Saddam himself had lost much of his actual power during the 1990s, and he was no longer a source of threat to his neighbors.<sup>529</sup> Then the Bush administration changed the rationale justifying the invasion. They now said the war on Iraq stemmed from the American fear that Saddam Hussein was developing WMD and collaborating with al-Qaeda insurgents, and that it was possible that he would hand these weapons to them.

In other words, the invasion of Iraq by the US-led coalition revolved around their imperialistic objectives. Iraq is believed to have over 10 percent of the world's total oil reserves. The US economy was increasingly becoming dependent on oil imports, and it is estimated that the US will have to import two-thirds of its oil by 2020, making it highly dependent on the Oil and Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).<sup>530</sup>

The US has had an explicit policy of securing global oil supplies for decades, as drawn up in the Carter Doctrine which stipulates that: “any attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interest of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary including military force”.<sup>531</sup> The foreign policy of President

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528 Nana Adu-Pipim Boaduo, “Invasion of Iraq: Introspective Analysis of US Long Term Foreign Policy in the Middle East”, *Journal of Political Studies*, (Winter 2012).

529 Mohammed Ayoob, “The War Against Iraq: Normative and Strategic Implications”, *Middle East Policy*, Volume 10, Issue 2, (June 2003), pp. 27–39.

530 Harding traces the US's and UK's interests in Iraq oil as far back as 1928 when the UK's incursion into Iraq failed abysmally. Since then, the two super powers have had a longstanding tradition of intervention and invasion in order to take part in oil drilling and establish compliant cheap oil regime in Iraq. Harding, J. *After Iraq: War, Imperialism and Democracy*, (Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing Ltd, 2004), p.9.

531 Paragraph 7 of the Carter Doctrine. The Carter Doctrine was a policy proclaimed by President Jimmy Carter of the United States in his State of the Union Address on January 23, 1980,

George Bush Junior exhibited a marked unilateralism and militarism in the service of US interests and hegemony. This in turn was influenced by a cadre of neoconservatives seeking to overthrow of Saddam Hussein, and seize control of Iraqi oil.<sup>532</sup>

The argument that the war against Iraq was fought at least in part to ensure Israeli hegemony in the region has gained credibility among Arabs and Jordanians.<sup>533</sup> They were angry about the American invasion and US false allegations about the war, and viewed this war as having been launched for control of oil resources and to guarantee Israeli hegemony in the Middle East.

### **5.3. The foreign policy of King Abdullah: new choices and orientations**

When King Hussein died in 1999, Jordan gained a new foreign policy chief for the first time in more than four decades. King Abdullah, Hussein's successor, has foreign policy views that largely follow on from those of King Hussein. He is moderate and vigilant; he is determined to maintain close alliances with Jordan's traditional Western allies, mainly the US, and seeks peace in the Middle East. Jordan's cooperation with Washington's war on terrorism amplified the geopolitical importance of Jordanian stability to the US, which in turn gave Amman access to unparalleled volumes of economic and military support. King Abdullah declared that Jordan gave full, unequivocal support to America's stand against global terrorism. He made it clear

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which stated that the United States would use military force if necessary to defend its national interests in the Persian Gulf region.

<sup>532</sup> Ibid. The final decision-making members involved in this action were Dick Cheney, who was then the Vice President, Daniel Rumsfeld, the then Secretary of Defense, Paul Wolfowitz, the then Deputy Defense Secretary, Richard Perle, the then Defense Board Chair and Elliot Abrams, the then Security Council Director.

<sup>533</sup> Ayman El-Amir, "Israeli Roots of Anti-Americanism," *Al-Ahram Weekly On-Line*, (September 2002), <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2002/603/sc191.htm>. pp. 12-18.

in each interview he gave that he fully supported the US actions in Afghanistan and its efforts to eradicate terrorism, pledging his full support the United States.<sup>534</sup>

When King Abdullah II ascended to the throne, his priority was to strengthening security; his major fears were global terrorism, radical Islamism and the Iranian influence in the context of an unstable and deteriorating regional context. Economic reforms to attract foreign investment and obtaining foreign financial aid were on the top of his agenda. He worked hard on strengthening the domestic security situation due to deteriorating regional stability, linking the economic situation to Jordan's security. The domestic political liberalization process also returned to the agenda.<sup>535</sup>

Jordan had also repositioned itself as a regional player in the post-September 11 era, and the country pledged genuine support for the US in its war on terror. Therefore, the first year of Abdullah's rule witnessed growing strategic alliances with the US, UK and EU, in addition to close economic and financial cooperation with the IMF, World Bank, and WTO.<sup>536</sup> Jordan signed major economic agreements establishing Qualified Industrial Zones (QIZs) and free trade agreements, opening up the Jordanian economy to the world economic stage.<sup>537</sup>

Abdullah's relations with Israel strengthened further after he closed the offices of Hamas in Jordan and expelled several of its top leaders in 1999.<sup>538</sup> He refused to tolerate any Islamist interventions in his domestic or foreign policies.

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534 Sasley, "Changes and Continuities in Jordanian Foreign Policy", pp. 36-48. Abdullah was one of the first world leaders to visit the United States after the September 11 attacks, (he arrived on September 28).

535 Brand, "The Effects of the Peace Process on Political Liberalization in Jordan", pp. 52-67.

536 Ryan, "Jordan First".

537 Scott Greenwood, "Jordan's 'New Bargain': The Political Economy of Regime Security," *The Middle East Journal* 57 (2) (Spring 2003).

538 Sasley: "Changes and Continuities in Jordanian Foreign Policy", p. 39.

His strengthened alliance with the US yielded unprecedented rewards, including billions of dollars in foreign aid and a more intimate diplomatic partnership as well as large-scale military cooperation.<sup>539</sup> The King tried to stabilize and strengthening Jordan's relations with other Arab nations, mainly Gulf countries, in parallel to maintaining peace with Israel.<sup>540</sup> He also focused on implementing an economic modernization program that aspired to bolster foreign investment, privatization, and technological innovation, in parallel with strengthening the country's strategic alliance with The United States and the west. The regime took many steps toward this purpose: acceding to the WTO in January 2000, opening QIZs, and transforming Aqaba into a Special Economic Zone in January 2001.<sup>541</sup>

The September 2000 outbreak of the second *intifada* in the West Bank created dynamic opposition rallies against Israel. Though Jordanian security forces canceled many of these protests, such rapid mobilization raised security concerns given the country's Palestinian masses. In response, the government banned public demonstrations. The huge effects of the *intifada* led to policies aimed at containing regime opponents including Arab nationalists, Ba'athists, and Islamists.

King Abdullah wanted to include Jordanian Palestinians in domestic political dynamics by naming some of them as prominent figures in his government. Accordingly, Prime Minister Abu Ragheb's cabinet included Palestinian ministers. The government then attempted to ease the domestic situation, initially allowing

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539 Ryan, *Jordan in Transition*, pp. 19-20; and Malik Mufti, "Elite Bargains and the Onset of Political Liberalization in Jordan," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 32: No. 1 (1999), p. 100-129. As Ryan notes, "Jordanian foreign policy, therefore, must be seen as walking the tightrope between domestic, regional, and even global constraints. But by the same token, the regime's interest in the economics of its own security tends to take precedence in both domestic and foreign policy over all other considerations."

540 See Curtis Ryan, "Jordan First".

541 Jane Harrigan, Hamed al-Said, "The IMF and the World Bank in Jordan: A Case of Over Optimism and Elusive Growth," *The Review of International Organizations*, Vol. 1: No. 3 (2006), pp. 263-292.

public rallies in support of the *intifada*. Furthermore, there was a vital need for a strong nationalist approach to support the King's foreign policy choices against local opposition: mainly the Muslim Brotherhood and its Islamic Action Front.

However, when anti-Israeli demonstrations turned aggressive, public demonstrations were highly restricted, and later, increasingly violent acts took place and the government banned any anti-Israeli gatherings. On June 17, 2001, King Abdullah dissolved parliament in an attempt to contain the internal unrest in the country.<sup>542</sup>

However, the *intifada* continued to shape the domestic agenda in Jordan. The regime, under strain from anti-Israeli opposition and pro-Palestinian identity politics, opted to amend the electoral law in 2001. The new election law that came into force in July 2001 retained its "one person, one vote" formula. Moreover, temporary laws passed after September 11 allowed the government to vow full collaboration with the United States war on terrorism.<sup>543</sup>

Jordan has taken various steps to support US campaign against terrorism. On October 9, 2001, soon after the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, the Jordanian government issued an amendment to the terrorism laws banning any banking operations linked to terrorist activities, along with banning border infiltration and attacks on industry, shipping, telecommunications, and computer systems. In December 2001, Jordan sent approximately 200 military medical personnel to Afghanistan to set up a 50-bed field hospital in the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif.<sup>544</sup>

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542 Scott Greenwood, "Jordan, the al-Aqsa Intifada and America's 'War on Terror,'" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2003), pp. 90-92.

543 Greenwood, "Jordan, the al-Aqsa Intifada and America's 'War on Terror,'" pp. 90-92.

544 "Jordan: Background and US Relations". *Congressional Research Report*, RL. 33546 (June 2009), p. 17.

Within Jordan, Jordanian authorities continued to arrest and prosecute individuals linked to exiled Saudi extremist Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organization. On October 28, 2002, Lawrence Foley, a US diplomat in Jordan, was killed: this marked the first lethal attack on a US official in Jordan in more than 30 years. The Jordanian military prosecutor charged 11 men with carrying out terrorist activities, including a Jordanian exile called Ahmad Khalaylah, better known as Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.<sup>545</sup>

Under King Abdullah's rule, the political economy of Jordan's security became a central factor in understanding Jordan's foreign relations. Jordan's economy was totally dependent on foreign aid from its western allies.<sup>546</sup> The supply of oil was also a major concern. Therefore, strong relations with Gulf countries were essential in order to avert any economic strikes. The political economy of Jordan shaped the new foreign policy of Jordan and became the top priority of the new King.<sup>547</sup> The King inaugurated Jordan first slogan—"Jordan First"—in October 2002 in a public campaign urging the people to national unity.<sup>548</sup>

In February 2005, the King appointed a commission to create the National Agenda, a ten-year plan for economic transformation and political reorganization of the country that brought security back to the forefront, as the bombings in Amman the previous November had refocused minds on the issue.<sup>549</sup>

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545 Greenwood, "Jordan, the al-Aqsa Intifada and America's 'War on Terror,'" pp. 88-90.

546 Ryan, "Jordan First".

547 For the political economy of Jordanian foreign policy see: Laurie A. Brand, "Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations" in her book *The Political Economy of Alliance Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994) and Marc Lynch, *State Interests and Public Spheres*, (1999).

548 Ryan and Schwedler, "Return to Democratization or New Hybrid Regime? The 2003 Elections in Jordan," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2004), pp. 146-147.

549 Ibid, p. 50.

Jordan's solid alignment with the US was the principal characteristic of the monarch's foreign policy. Jordan enjoyed big economic grants and loans from the European Union and rescheduled debt repayments through the Paris Club for its IMF and World Bank loans. On the peace agenda, the monarch sincerely exerted huge efforts to revive the Arab–Israeli peace process. Jordan also declared its commitment to the US-backed road map.<sup>550</sup>

However, the second *intifada* and the Iraq War demonstrated Jordan's continuing vulnerability to external conflicts. Huge economic aid transfers helped to secure the budget, while western assistance after September 11 shielded Jordan from the externalities of regional conflict.<sup>551</sup> The price of this aid was Jordan's becoming a steadfast ally of the US in the region.

In world politics, when small states lack regional influence, their foreign policy becomes very grave during periods of domestic crisis<sup>552</sup>. During the Iraq War, the monarch employed his foreign policy to try to gain international support.

In return, the United States rewarded Jordan for its support and bandwagoning action by increasing its volume of annual economic and military aid. Since 2002, the US Congress has exceptionally provided additional assistance to the Kingdom for its supportive role during the war, as well, for supporting US strategy in fighting terrorist groups and the monarch's role in reviving the peace process.

In 2003 alone, the Bush administration transferred over \$1 billion in grant aid to compensate Jordan for the costs of the Iraqi invasion, a sum equal to 28 percent of

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550 See Curtis Ryan, "Jordan First". The Minister stated "We should stay the course with a view to implementing the roadmap and putting an end to the (Israeli) occupation and to the tragic killing of civilians on both the Palestinian and Israeli sides".

551 See Julia Choueair, "Illusive Reform: Jordan's Stubborn Stability," *Democracy and Rule of Law Project Paper No. 76* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006).

552 Mohammed Ayoob, *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995).

the regime's total expenditures that year. On the security front, the US provided further arms support and implicit force protection. From 2000 through 2006, the Pentagon furnished over \$1.7 billion in grant military aid, the bulk of which underwrote transfers of heavy weaponry and combat vehicles. In early 2003, it delivered several Patriot anti-missile batteries to Amman to improve its air defenses in case of Iraqi attack, and after the invasion, it transferred another batch of advanced F-16 jets for free.

The 2003 US Iraq War represents new tendencies of colonialism which have caused structural change in the world order, altering the distribution of capabilities and forms of interaction between key states and ensuring the prevalence of American hegemony. This war also caused a profound structural change in the regional order.

#### **5.4. King Abdullah's foreign policy during the 2003 Iraq War**

King Abdullah refused to support the war effort at the beginning of the crisis, and advised Washington against starting the Iraq War; instead, he sought a peaceful resolution of the issue in the United Nations Security Council with Iraqi compliance. When this option fell through, he blamed Saddam and laid responsibility on him for all the consequences. The King had to take into consideration Jordanians' popular opposition to the US invasion and their feelings of anger and rage at any potential role for their country in this war, which they felt was unjust and unjustified.<sup>553</sup>

The King explained the importance of solving this crisis through diplomatic means to the American administration and the European Union, signed UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions 1284 (1999) and 1409 (2002), and confirmed that it was

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<sup>553</sup> Raymond Hinnebusch and Neil Quilliam: "Contrary Siblings: Syria, Jordan and the Iraq War", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 3, (September 2006), pp. 519-522. See also G. Kessler and P. Slevin, "Abdullah: Foreign Leaders Oppose Attack; Jordanian King to Urge Bush to Focus on Peace in Mideast, Not Invasion of Iraq", *Washington Post*, (August 1, 2002).



the only suitable policy for resolving the conflict between Iraq and the UN.<sup>554</sup> The King repeated his initial position at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland at the beginning of 2003. He stressed a diplomatic solution to the crisis instead of the US launching war against Iraq; raising the importance of solving the Palestinian crisis as another priority.<sup>555</sup>

At first, the King described the US-led attacks on Iraq as an invasion and said his country had persistently refused to open its airspace to the coalition. Abdullah, in an interview with the official Petra news agency on April 3, 2003, also expressed his pain and sadness over civilian war casualties in Iraq, whom he described as martyrs. “Frankly speaking, we were asked to open our airspace to military aircraft, but we steadfastly refused,” the King told the director of Petra when asked to comment on reports that coalition planes used Jordanian airspace to attack Iraq. “Jordan is not and will never be a launchpad for strikes on brethren in Iraq and if our airspace was being used for that purpose, we would not have allowed civil aviation to use it and would have closed it like other countries have,” he added. Jordanian airspace remained open despite start of the war in Iraq.

The King also denied press reports alleging that US troops could deploy through Jordan to attack Iraq after Turkey had denied them passage, saying: “This was never proposed to us, and we would never allow it.” Twice in the interview he referred to the invasion of Iraq by coalition forces, insisting on his opposition to the war and any new leadership imposed by external forces on Baghdad:

We have used all our contacts with influential countries across the world to avert this day in which we see brethren Iraq facing an invasion and all the pain it carries for the innocents. The Iraqi people have the right to choose their

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554 Rick Fawn and Raymond Hinnebusch, *The Iraq War: Causes and Consequences*, p. 143, (USA, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006).

555 Kessler and Slevin, "Abdullah".

leadership, and because we believe in democracy we cannot imagine that any people will agree to a leadership imposed on them from the outside, against their will.

The King added that he shared his people's anguish at seeing on television the rise in the number of Iraqi civilian and innocent martyrs killed in the war: "We strongly denounce the killing of women and children and as a father I feel the pain of each Iraqi family, and each Iraqi child and father." He also insisted that Jordan was determined to maintain strong historical and brotherly ties with the Iraqi people now and in the future, even Jordan had recently expelled three Iraqi diplomats accused of harming state security.<sup>556</sup>

Although Jordan sent military troops to Afghanistan to support the United States against terrorism, the King was hesitant at the beginning to take an active part in the war against Iraq. Jordanians were against any participation or any role for their country in a US-led war against Iraq.<sup>557</sup> Therefore, Abdullah declared his rejection of an American attack on Iraq, saying that Iraq did not represent a threat to the security of the United States or its regional allies.<sup>558</sup> Apparently, his initial opposition to the war was intended to satisfy the domestic opposition.

As the war came closer, the situation became more complicated in Jordan; about 400,000 Iraqis lived in Jordan. Most were exiles from difficult circumstances in Iraq, but some were secret police agents who, Jordanian intelligence officials claimed, may have been planning to foment trouble. Jordan's eastern border with Iraq is open desert, allowing Iraqis virtually unhindered passage. A tide of Iraqi refugees flooding

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556 "Jordanian King Slams 'Invasion' of Iraq", *Sydney Morning Herald*, <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/04/03/1048962835005.html>.

557 See <http://www.cssjordan.org/polls/index.html>.

558 See King Abdullah II's interviews with *Le Figaro* newspaper (Sep. 28, 2004), *Al-Sharq Al-Awst* Newspaper (May 17, 2004) and with *Al-Arabia TV News* (Aug. 3, 2004). The text of these interviews are available on the King's website: <http://www.Kingabdullah.jo>.

into Jordan to escape a war would be another major headache. Among Arab leaders, few, other than Saddam Hussein, had more of an interest in the outcome of an Iraq war than King Abdullah. Fifty percent of Jordan's population are Palestinians, many of them refugees bitter toward the United States for its support of Israel. Jordan also depended on a thriving trade with Iraq, its eastern neighbor, including cheap oil which provided savings of nearly \$500 million a year, about equal to American aid to Jordan.

In the midst of all this and huge internal and external pressure, The King felt compelled to respond to international rather than domestic pressures and to make a choice. When he realized the unwavering will of the US administration and its steadfast determination to remove Saddam Hussein, the King chose to bandwagon. At the same time, the government promoted "Jordan First" over any other considerations in an attempt to contain opposition.

By the onset of the war, the King had allowed US forces to make their base in Jordan in a low profile way. Despite all the Jordanian denial,<sup>559</sup> the King allowed these forces to be present in Jordan and decided to cooperate with the Americans in their war effort.<sup>560</sup> Moreover, in this way he started to shift the foreign policy of Jordan. He gave the invading coalition covert and tacit support in defiance of the overwhelming opinion of the Jordanian people.<sup>561</sup>

Within this context, Jordan's act of rejection was merely a "rhetorical opposition", and did not exceed official statements attacking American hostilities to

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<sup>559</sup> See Robins, *History of Jordan*.

<sup>560</sup> According to Vivienne Walt, "Thousands of US special operations forces and regular troops have quietly arrived in Jordan. Hundreds of regular US troops also are stationed at US-built Patriot anti-missile batteries in Jordan's desert, according to Jordanian officials. The anti-missile systems are ready to shoot down any Iraqi Scud missile that Saddam might try launch against Israel, a three-hour drive West. Air Force, Army and Marines now are stationed in the Jordanian air base in Safawi." Vivienne Walt, "US troops keep quiet on Iraq's western front", *USA Today* (March 16, 2003).

<sup>561</sup> Kessler and Slevin, "Abdullah". In a poll conducted in January by the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan, 98 percent of the respondents foresaw "adverse repercussions" for Jordan from a war; 88 percent opposed any support for American forces.

appease popular opposition to the US invasion. But when the war broke out on March 21, 2003, Jordan opted to bandwagon with the United States, and also, according to some sources (as mentioned earlier) provided logistical support to United States forces.<sup>562</sup>

The King's awareness, understanding, and correct reading of the systematic balance of power and distribution of capabilities in the international system led him to understand the intention of the United States to strike Iraq, on the one hand, and be aware of the limited potential of Jordan to influence the US decision. Hence, he was left with no choice but to bandwagon with the US. Despite his opposition to the war, Abdullah had to agree to British and American special forces being stationed in Jordan. He also had to agree to allow coalition aircraft to fly over Jordan. Jordanian officials said, however, that no combat missions would be allowed.<sup>563</sup>

In August 2003, a bomb exploded in a car outside the Embassy of Jordan in Baghdad, killing 17 people and wounding many more. Neither the US nor Jordanian officials were able to identify the perpetrators. However, in the aftermath of the bombing, the US-appointed then-Government Administrator of Iraq, Paul Bremer, speculated that various terrorist groups that had targeted US military personnel might have been involved, including remnants of the former Ba'athist regime or the paramilitary force known as Saddam's Fedayeen. Bremer also said that US officials were tracking an Islamist group known as Ansar al-Islam, formerly based in Iraq's northern Kurdish areas, which had alleged ties to Al Qaeda.<sup>564</sup>

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<sup>562</sup> Ryan: "Jordan First", pp. 43-62. Jeremy Sharp, "Jordan: Background and US Relations". *Congressional Research Report*, RL. 33546 (June 2009).

<sup>563</sup> John F. Burns, "Threats and Responses: Allies; Jordan's King, in Gamble, Lends Hand to the US", *New York Times*, (March 9, 2003). In spite of this collaboration not being announced, it was widely rumored, mainly among the Palestinians in the camps. Some reported that American troops were moving toward Iraqi borders on the highways with military equipment.

<sup>564</sup> "Bremer says no conclusion on Iraq embassy bombers" *Reuters* (Aug. 9, 2003).

In parallel, Jordan broadened its contacts with the US-sponsored interim government in Iraq and assisted in the reconstruction of the country. In the aftermath of the war, Jordan supported the elections in Iraq in 2005. King Abdullah urged Sunni Muslims in Iraq to participate in the January 2005 elections for a Transitional National Assembly due to worries about the growing influence of Iran in Iraq.<sup>565</sup>

The King announced that Jordan would train approximately 30,000 Iraqi police and military personnel in a series of eight-week courses to be conducted in Jordan, pointing out that he did not plan to send Jordanian trainers to Iraq given the sensitivities involved.<sup>566</sup> He explained that Iraqi army personnel were being trained by the Jordanian Army while the Iraqi police training sessions were a joint venture with private sector companies.<sup>567</sup> The training of Iraqi police cadets was conducted at six police training academies. One of these centers, known as the Jordan International Police Training Center, had instructors from 15 countries, including Jordan. On January 13, 2005, the 12<sup>th</sup> class of 1,440 cadets completed training at the Jordanian training centers, making a total of almost 10,000 Iraqi police officers and cadets having completed training in Jordan.<sup>568</sup>

Jordan had always been hostage to both its geostrategic location and economic vulnerability. King Abdullah inherited both Jordan's political and economic problems and its security threats. The two primary areas the King worked on directly were maintaining the fragile balance between different domestic, regional and international political actors and the deteriorating domestic socio-economic conditions in the country. As a wedge between several larger regional powers, Jordan has always been forced to seek alignment with strong powers in order to protect its security, stability,

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<sup>565</sup> King Abdullah, in an interview with the Kuwait news agency (Jan. 9, 2005).

<sup>566</sup> Ibid.

<sup>567</sup> King Abdullah in an interview with *Defense News* (Feb. 9, 2004).

<sup>568</sup> Robin Wright and Peter Baker, "Iraq, Jordan See Threat To Election From Iran," *The Washington Post* (Dec. 8, 2004).

sovereignty and survival. This regional position, along with the international conditions and domestic factors—which will be explained in more detail in the next section—led King Abdullah to bandwagon with the US in its war on Iraq.

### **5.5. The balance of interests: a neoclassical realist analysis of King Abdullah's foreign policy during the 2003 Iraq War**

King Abdullah chose to bandwagon with the US in its war on Iraq, succeeding in securing his regime and country from all internal and external threats during this time. Also, he managed to maximize the gains from the US and its Gulf allies in obtaining more military and financial aid: in order to do that, the monarch adopted an America-oriented foreign policy. King Abdullah's perception was also important given his understanding of the nature of the balance of power in the international system and its relative distribution of capabilities.

An application of the neoclassical realist perspective and the balance of interests model to King Abdullah's choices of alignment offers a satisfactory explanation for why Jordan, as a weak status quo state, chose to bandwagon for profit.

Many variables worked together in influencing King Abdullah's response to the 2003 Iraq War: external motivations such as the US providing more military and economic aid and cooperation against terrorism; and external pressures from global terrorism, fears of regional Iranian expansionism, domestic concerns of radical Islamism and the absence of real pressing local demand for Jordan to support Iraq—which was the case in the 1991 Gulf War—all this shaped his incentives and led him to choose to bandwagon, behavior representing a profit-seeking choice of alignment. Another important factor attributed to King Abdullah's leadership style in choosing foreign policy orientations was his strong personal pro-American approach. Moreover, domestic interests and regional pressures shaped King Abdullah's responses toward external pressures, resulting in the King choosing to cooperate with the US. King

Abdullah's foreign policy in this war was clearly in line with the balance of interest theory.

As for the arguments of neoclassical realists, the King bandwagoned with the US in its war on Iraq and war on terror because he concluded that the outcomes of these policy orientations would serve Jordan's fundamental interests, leading the country to gain more military aid and financial profits, and securing Jordan and its economy. Abdullah had also observed the lesson of King Hussein opposing Washington in 1991, and his behavior strengthened Jordan's regional situation.

For structural realism, in an anarchic world, the international structure is the most influential factor in determining states' actions in international politics, because of the restraints and restrictions it imposes on states' abilities. However, in the case of Jordan, domestic variables that shape the monarch's perceptions need to be taken into account. The historical record of Jordan's foreign policy has demonstrated that unit-level dynamics mediate and filter kings' responses to external influences. In other words, Jordan's foreign policy behavior appears to have been in line with the neoclassical realist approach; the country responded to international system pressures only after they had been filtered through dynamic domestic influences shaping the perceptions of the decision makers (in this case, the monarch) who made Jordan's foreign policy choices. The role that the perceptions of the leadership has played in many cases, such as the 1991 Gulf War, the Arab-Israeli peace process, the terrorist attacks of September 11 on the United States, as well as the 2003 US-led Iraq War, have been explored in this thesis.

The balance of power theory suggests that small states, with their weak capabilities, should bandwagon with the strongest parties to preserve their survival, but even when Jordanian kings did so, survival was not the only reason: they wanted to maximize their gains, seeking to profit and achieve the foreign policy goals and secure the interests of the country.

The balance of threat theory argues that states seek to maintain their survival and ensure their security in an anarchic system; they do this not by bandwagoning but by balancing against other threatening great powers who have offensive capabilities and aggressive intentions. During the Iraq War, the Jordanian leadership joined the side of the United States and bandwagoned, although it was not threatened by the US. Therefore, the shortcoming in this explanation is that Jordan bandwagoned with the US to appease and please it with the aim of maximizing its interests and profits. Jordan was aware of the cost that might be paid for this alignment choice following the disintegration of the Iraqi state. Jordan bandwagoning with the United States was a choice made to enable Jordan to meet its military and financial challenges, and to increase the amount of available support provided by the US.

King Abdullah's perception and understanding of the nature of the balance of power and distribution of capabilities were crucial in this decision-making process. The King responded to external pressure and bandwagoned with the US in its war on Iraq. According to the neoclassical realist and balance of interest perspective, Jordan as a weak status quo state has various alternative alignment choices to make during the conflict; one of those is to bandwagon with the stronger power for profit.

This profit was a result of Jordan's strong ties with the US, which had borne fruit at many levels: Jordan succeeded in reforming its economy; signed a free trade agreement with the United States and joined the European Trade Agreement; it also set up Qualified Industrial Zones (QIZ) and joined the World Trade Organization. Jordan managed to restore diplomatic ties with all six Arab Gulf monarchies and revived part of its earlier economic partnership with the Gulf states. Also, Jordan gained firm support and cooperation from the US and other western powers for its war against terrorism. Jordan's position has been steadfast in denouncing all forms of terrorism; the country strongly condemned the September 11 terrorist attacks and backed the United States in its fight against terrorism. In turn, Jordan got support from the US in its quest for peace with Israel, a stronger neighbor whose foreign policy



choices have the power to dramatically affect Jordan's security and stability. Jordan also guaranteed itself strong US cooperation against any Iranian influence in the country.

Furthermore, from the perspective of its interests, Jordan joined the strong power without any high risks, on one hand, and maximized its economic and security gains on the other. Jordan benefited financially and militarily from the US, signed free trade agreements and rescheduled its debt, as well as being granted loans and financial aid. By making this choice, King Abdullah maintained the stability of the country and the regime as well. Therefore, his choice of alignment is eminently compatible with the arguments of the balance of interest theory.

## **CHAPTER 6**

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has mainly been concerned with the process of change in the foreign policy of Jordan, focusing on the role of the leadership. I aimed to analyze the importance of domestic politics and the role of the leadership in explaining changes in Jordanian foreign policy from the 1991 Gulf War to the 2003 Iraq War.

The central puzzle of this thesis was how and why two monarchs of Jordan—King Hussein and King Abdullah—appeared to behave so differently when confronted with two apparently similar US-led wars. King Hussein sided and aligned with Iraq against the US-led international coalition against Saddam Hussein in 1991, whereas in 2003, King Abdullah decided to bandwagon with the US against Iraq.

Therefore, in the previous chapters, I have analyzed Jordanian foreign policy during the two US-led wars against Iraq through applying a neoclassical realist approach. In conducting such an analysis, this work aimed to contribute further to the existing literature on foreign policy change and present a reasonable explanation for the shifting foreign policies of King Hussein and King Abdullah of Jordan, benefiting from the multi-dimensional neoclassical realist approach and the balance of interest theoretical model.

In this study, I attempted to address one of the puzzles of foreign policy change—the role of domestic politics and the leadership—from the perspective of the neoclassical realist approach. This thesis has entailed a search for the dynamics motivating the behaviors of both monarchs and the reasons for changing their alignment in foreign policy choices during the two US-led wars against Iraq in 1991 and 2003. By arguing that the motives behind this change can be attributed to the domestic concerns and leadership style of each king in addressing the two US wars in

the context of a neoclassical realist approach, this study has reached the following conclusions:

Jordan's vulnerability since its foundation in 1921 has often been cited as the key to understanding its foreign policies. The sources of these vulnerabilities are both internal and external.

At the international level, Jordan has been profoundly affected by the changes that took place as the world order became unipolar and the influence of the United States took on a hegemonic role. These developments led to fundamental changes in the nature of the balance of power and distribution of capabilities in world politics. Like other small states, Jordan attempts to pursue appropriate foreign policies and alignments—whether this means balancing, appeasing or bandwagoning with the major world powers—with the aim of maintaining and achieve security, survival, and economic gains. Therefore, Jordan has relied heavily on foreign backers to satisfy its security and economic needs. Jordan's colonial history tied it to the British and the country long remained dependent on them in obtaining economic and military aid. Then, when the United States prevailed, its dominance and hegemony in world politics led the source of Jordanian dependence to shift to the United States. Hence, the monarch of Jordan followed a pro-western foreign policy in order to achieve its goals. Alliance with the United States and bandwagoning with the world's sole superpower was thought effectively strengthen Jordan's ability to meet these threats and needs, by the virtue of the economic, financial and military help which the United States could provide.

At the regional level, Jordan has been profoundly affected by regional influences. It was founded in a regional system in turmoil and trapped between stronger and more aggressive neighbors: namely, Israel, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Jordan has expended huge efforts to survive and maintain its stability in the face of

domestic and regional intimidation and threats, and has been highly vulnerable to internal troubles caused by regional actors. Also, pressures emanating from Jordan's stronger revisionist neighbors have severely limited Jordan's foreign policy options. Therefore, the country's geographical location has often exposed it to the pressures of regional powers and manipulation.

Within this context, throughout history Jordan has been subject to international, regional and domestic wars and revolutions because of its geographical location. The country has long confronted external threats—both direct military threats, as well as economic and political challenges—which have threatened the survival and stability of the monarchy. The periods 1956-57 and 1970-71 in particular demonstrate how external factors and actors threaten the Jordanian regime's security. The civil war of 1970 was one example of regional manipulation and intimidation that caused the regime concern for its own survival and the political stability of the country. For a host of historical, economic, cultural, and political reasons, Jordan has been unable to dissociate itself from the Palestinian Question and the Arab–Israeli conflict. In fact, in Jordan, the Palestinian question is both a domestic and a foreign policy concern.

Jordan's monarchs have usually followed a conservative foreign policy due to Jordan's dependence on rich, powerful regional actors, mainly Iraq and Gulf oil countries. King Hussein's attempts at inter-Arab mediation may have been motivated by his desire to secure essential financial aid from his Gulf donors. Therefore, and due to the lack of a viable domestic economic base as a result of a scarcity of natural resources—particularly oil and water—Jordan has built the foundation of its economy on aids, funds, and remittances from Jordanians overseas.

As a result, major determining factors influencing the foreign policy decisions of the Jordanian monarchs have been the maintenance of the survival of the regime, domestic political stability and security. Jordan's foreign policy orientations have been

shaped according to concerns about domestic vulnerabilities, which in turn have influenced the perceptions of the monarchs in responding to these external pressures.

Those external pressures were clearly demonstrated during the two US-led wars on Iraq, which shattered the Middle East state system and redefined the balance of power in the region, profoundly affecting Jordan in the process. The Gulf War in 1991 marked a watershed in the history of the region, while the 2003 Iraq War created a significant structural change that reshaped the region. It eliminated Iraq as a strong state and created a regional power vacuum, completely altering the power balances throughout the Middle East.

These military interventions into its stronger neighbor had huge implications on Jordan and its foreign policies. The country behaved quite differently in responding to the two different US-led Wars against Iraq. The two monarchs responded in very different ways, despite Jordan experiencing similar external constraints. In 1991, King Hussein sided with Iraq against the US, whereas in 2003 King Abdullah bandwagoned with the US against Iraq.

That difference in Jordan's foreign policy behavior will refer us back to the main question of this thesis: how and why the two monarchs of Jordan behaved so differently in responding to similar external factors. Hence, it is valid to make a distinction between the foreign policy behaviors of the two monarchs by arguing that the motives behind those changes be attributed to domestic concerns and the leadership style of each king in addressing the two US wars.

By applying the neoclassical realist perspective in this study, we can argue that both monarchs of Jordan, in their role as chief foreign policy makers, responded to external influences in different ways due to differences in their perceptions and leadership styles. Domestic dynamics played a key role in constraining or motivating their perceptions and shaping their foreign policy behaviors, resulting in foreign policy change.

The two external influences were similar; the two foreign policy behaviors were different. King Abdullah in the 2003 Iraq war aligned with the United States and bandwagoned with the world's sole superpower against Saddam Hussein, while King Hussein allied with Saddam Hussein against the United States during the 1991 Gulf War. This foreign policy change appears to be the result of the impact of the leadership style and unit-level variables influencing the perceptions of the two kings in responding to the US influence during the two wars. This understanding stems from a neoclassical realist perspective in explaining Jordan's foreign policy change.

As to Jordan's domestic politics and concerns, the internal vulnerability of Jordan has often been cited as the key to understanding its foreign policies.

Jordan is a poor state lacking any strong economic foundations; it suffers from a scarcity of natural resources, mainly water and oil. This has shaped a rentier economy in the country built on external financial aid and remittances from Jordanians abroad. Budget security is a major concern in Jordan, which struggles financially in maintaining a reasonable defense capability, securing its socio-economic programs, supporting its burgeoning population, and maintaining the security and stability of the state. Over the time period examined in this thesis, Jordan suffered from severe economic problems including widespread inflation and unemployment, which created high levels of frustration among the Jordanian populace as well. The country's monarchs could not ignore the possibility of severe economic difficulties causing widespread unrest.

Furthermore, Jordan's political establishment represents a range of different political orientations; in particular, the impact of Arab nationalism and political Islamism had recently increased, strongly influencing the country's domestic politics. Jordan has suffered due to its closeness to the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Each political current inside Jordan advocated a particular approach to the country's position on the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli conflict in general. The successive influx of Palestinians due to the wars of 1948 and 1967, as

well as from the temporary formal annexation by Jordan of the West Bank, created a severe demographical imbalance and damaged the country's level of social cohesion. The Palestinians and their supporters within the Hashemite Kingdom have, in more than one instance, taken direct action over domestic and foreign policy, as in the 1970-71 civil war. Therefore, the country has dramatically suffered from internal demographic problems due to its segmented population. The absence of a unified communal identity has had a huge impact and further deepened the vulnerability of the country and its foreign policy. Also the impact of Arab nationalism and political Islamism has had a strong influence on the country's Middle Eastern politics and the regime's foreign policy choices. Security concerns have an enormous influence over Jordanian foreign policy. As a result, Jordan's internal vulnerabilities have often been cited as the key to understanding its foreign policies.

The role of the monarch as the chief foreign policy maker and his perceptions and leadership style are also key in shaping the foreign orientations and behavior of the country. Foreign policy in Jordan is determined by how far the king is in control of the internal environment in Jordan, and how far he is able to shape the country's response to external influences accordingly. The monarch, according to his constitutional powers, enjoys the executive freedom to make foreign policy and has the final say in all matters. Both monarchs' foreign policy orientations and leadership styles were critical in shaping the foreign policy decisions made by Jordan during the US wars in Iraq.

Based on the above, neoclassical realism, with its comprehensive and flexible perspective, has facilitated my reaching the conclusions of this study. While this thesis accepts the argument of neoclassical realist theory that the importance of Jordan's relative power in the international order, and the importance of structural influences as the independent variable have affected Jordan's foreign policy behaviors during the two wars, the study also accepts the importance of domestic dynamics as mediating dependent variables in filtering the responses of Jordan's monarchs to external

pressures imposed by the US during the two wars. Finally, this thesis has emphasized the relevant importance of the role of the monarchs and their perceptions in shaping Jordan's foreign policy conduct during the two wars.

Due to its proximity to the crisis in 1991, its political stand and its role as Iraq's primary trading partner, Jordan took many actions and exerted many efforts during the Gulf War. King Hussein devoted his efforts to a search for a middle ground in the conflict, seeking a negotiated withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. He issued vigorous appeals to Saddam Hussein to yield to the demands of the international community. However, his efforts failed. Jordan suffered tremendous losses during and after the Gulf War on both the political and economic fronts.

During the 1991 Gulf War, strong domestic pressures dictated King Hussein's actions during the crisis, as any contradiction of Jordanian popular opinion and strong domestic demand for a foreign policy in favor of Saddam Hussein's Iraq might have been deeply harmful to the stability of the country and the monarch's regime. As a result, Jordan suffered tremendous losses during and after the Gulf War on both the political and economic fronts due to the king choosing to adopt a policy in harmony with public opinion, as the political costs of doing otherwise would have been too high, jeopardizing domestic stability and risking the survival of Jordan and its political regime. Moreover, King Hussein's leadership style, strong sense of Arab solidarity and personal beliefs played a major role in shaping his choice of alignment during the 1991 Gulf War. King Hussein wanted to strengthen his Arab credentials. Therefore, the true influence that pan-Arabism had on King Hussein's policies became clear in this crisis through his support for Iraq. Also, his pattern of attempts at inter-Arab mediation continued during the Gulf crisis.

In applying and utilizing the neoclassical realist perspective and balance of interest theory, we can say that the Jordanian regime balanced in order to preserve its interests. Jordanian pro-Saddam public opinion, strong domestic demands, and the



leadership style of King Hussein were all important factors in his decision not to side with the coalition.

In contrast, in the 2003 Iraq War, King Abdullah, with his pro-American policies, his friendship and strong ties with Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf regimes, made his choice of alignment in line with those relations. His perception and understanding of the nature of the balance of power and distribution of capabilities between great powers in the international system, on the one hand, and realization of the restrictions and obstacles that faced Jordan, on the other, led him to define a pro-American foreign policy choice as being in Jordan's national interests.

Applying the neoclassical realist perspective and the balance of interests model to King Abdullah's choices of alignment offers us sufficient explanation for why Jordan, as a weak status quo state, chose to bandwagon for profit. The US motivated King Abdullah to maximize his profit and making gains through bandwagoning; he concluded that there would be vital benefits in Jordan's interest, such as gaining military and financial help, securing Jordan and its economy, benefiting from the American war against terrorism with help containing the local radical Islamists, and likewise to secure US support against any domestic Iranian influence. Thus, he saw this choice of alignment as the surest way to accrue all these benefits for his country. Furthermore, King Abdullah's leadership style, with his strong pro-American leanings and western-culture oriented personality, led him to seek rational, pragmatic alignments with strong powers to strengthen Jordan's interests in terms of the economy and security, and to preserve his country's stability and survival from any internal and external threats. Therefore, he responded to external pressure and bandwagoned with the US during its 2003 Iraq War, and his behavior represents a profit-seeking choice of alignment. At this time, the domestic demand for Jordan to support Iraq was also not as strong as in 1991. Thus, King Abdullah's foreign policy in this war was in line with the arguments of the balance of interest theory.

Drawing on the insights and the observations of the neoclassical realists, this study has shown that both monarchs of Jordan have repeatedly had to consider both domestic influences and external variables, and to maintain both budget and regime security in making the foreign policy of Jordan. Both monarchs had to consider domestic dynamics when responding to external influences, which, in turn, led to changes in foreign policy choices and outcomes during the two wars. Therefore, the motives behind this change are attributable to domestic concerns and the leadership style of each king in addressing the two US wars.

While conducting this analysis, I have demonstrated the shortcomings of the dominant realist perspectives of the balance of power and balance of threat, as well as their power- and threat-dominated assumptions in explaining states' foreign policies while focusing only on external influences. Thus, I argue that these approaches do not offer sufficient explanations based on factors other than power and threats, such as incentives and motivations, either from external variables or from the domestic realm. These perspectives ignore the relevance of unit-level variables and leadership style in shaping the perceptions of leaders in responding to external pressures.

Neoclassical realism has been useful in testing how foreign policy change has occurred in Jordan. It is an emerging theory in International Relations, and might need more theoretical consistency. Other theories, such as Steven David's Omnibalancing, might themselves be useful for explaining the foreign policy behavior of the leaders of small third world countries, as they tend to focus more strongly on threats directed at the leaders themselves, and focusing on how the precise balancing of internal and external threats is carried out with the aim of maximizing power and ensuring the survival of their regimes. This theory distinguishes third world states from other states because of their special susceptibility to internal threats that challenge the regime's hold on power. When making alliance choices, he argues, third world regimes must take into consideration not only external threats but also internal threats, and these

regimes tend to balance or bandwagon in their foreign policies according to whichever threat poses the more imminent challenge to the regime's survival.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A. CURRICULUM VITAE

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Al Kayed, Basel

Nationality: Jordanian (HKJ)

Date and Place of Birth: 2 January 1974, Amman, Jordan

Marital Status: Married

Phone: +90 531 8381619

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#### Education

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	The University of Jordan, Jordan Political Sciences – International Relations First Class Honors Degree 4 GPA out of 4	2002-2003
BA	Yarmouk University, Jordan Political Sciences and Economics	1996
High School	Al Hussein College, Amman, Jordan	1992

#### Work Experience

2015 -	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates, Jordan
2011 - 2015	Deputy Head of Mission Counsellor / Consul Embassy of Jordan / Rome

<b>2010 - 2011</b>	Deputy of Director – Operations Department Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates, Jordan
<b>2006-2010</b>	Deputy Head of Mission Consul and Cultural Counsellor Embassy of Jordan / Ankara
<b>2006</b>	Prime Ministry, Jordan Office of the Prime Minister Political Affairs
<b>2004-2005</b>	Chargé d'Affaires Consul Embassy of Jordan / Ankara
<b>2002 -2004</b>	European and American Affairs Department International Relations and Organizations Department Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates, Jordan
<b>1996-2002</b>	International Communications and Relations Department Studies and Research Department Jordan Institute of Diplomacy, Jordan

### **Foreign Languages**

Arabic; Mother Tongue

Advanced English, Intermediate Turkish, beginner Italian

**Participated in many international and regional conferences and seminars, as well as training courses and workshops**

## APPENDIX B. TURKISH SUMMARY

Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesiyle ABD dış politikası Ortadoğu bölgesinde de Amerika'nın hegemonya kurma çabalarına odaklanmıştır. Bu Amerikan hegemonyası özellikle Amerika'nın Irak'a açtığı iki savaşta kendini göstermiştir. Bu savaşlarla Ortadoğu sistemi yıkılmış ve bölgedeki güç dengesi yeniden tanımlanmıştır. 1991'de yaşanan Körfez Savaşı, Ortadoğu'nun tarihinde bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. 2003'te Irak'ta meydana gelen savaş ise derin bir yapısal değişime yol açmış ve bölgeyi yeniden şekillendirmiştir. Amerika'nın Irak'ı işgali ve o zamandan beri devam eden varlığı son derece önemli sonuçlar doğurmuştur. Bu işgal sonucunda Irak güçlü bir devlet olmaktan çıkmış, bölgede bir iktidar boşluğu oluşmuş ve güç dengeleri tamamen değişmiştir.

Küçük bir ülke olan Ürdün, uluslararası düzende meydana gelen köklü değişikliklerden ve savaşlardan büyük oranda etkilenmiştir. Bu savaşların Ürdün ve Ürdün'ün dış politikası için önemli çıkarımları olmuştur. Ancak Ürdün, Amerika tarafından yönlendirilen bu iki Irak savaşına oldukça farklı tepki vermiştir. Farklı dönemlerde iki kralın tepkileri farklı olmuştur. 1991'de Ürdün, Bağdat'a karşı kurulan ve Amerika'nın başını çektiği uluslararası koalisyonla karşı Irak'ın yanında yer alırken, 2003'te gerçekleşen Irak savaşında ise Amerika ile işbirliği içinde olmuş ve Irak'a karşı savaş girişimine

katılmıştır. 1991’de Kral Hüseyin Irak’tan yana olup Amerika’ya karşı bir denge tutturmaya çalışırken, 2003’te Kral Abdullah Irak’a karşı Amerika’nın yanında yer almıştır. Ürdün’ün dış politikasındaki bu değişim, iki kralın iki savaşta benimsediği farklı dış politika tutumlarını yansıtmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, Ürdün’ün dış politika tepkilerinde meydana gelen değişimi, iç dinamikleri ve Irak’a karşı Amerika’nın başlattığı iki savaşta liderlerin rolünü (İki Kral) analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Dış politikayı belirleyen ana kişiler olarak her iki Ürdün kralı da dış politikayla ilgili kararlar alırken ve yönelimleri belirlerken hem iç hem de dış etkileri göz önünde bulundurmamak ve irdelemek zorunda kalmışlardır, ve bu etkiler krallar için hem motive edici hem de sınırlayıcı olmuştur.

Bu bağlamda bu tez, dış politika karar vericilerinin politikalarında bir değişiklik yaparken sadece dış tehditleri göz önünde bulundurmaları gerektiğini söyleyen Güç Dengesi ve Tehdit Dengesi teorilerine ve bu teorileri savunan Realist ve Yapısal Realistlere karşı çıkmaktadır. Bu çalışma, uluslararası düzen etkisinin ve baskısının, Ürdün’ün dış politika yönelimlerini ve seçimlerini sınırlamada önemi olduğunu göz önünde bulundurmaktadır. Ancak, bu çalışma ayrıca, Ürdün’ün her iki kralının dünya düzeni ve iç etkilere ilişkin algı ve görüşlerinin iki Amerikan savaşında Ürdün’ün dış politika kararlarını şekillendiren ana unsurlar olduğunu savunmaktadır.

Gideon Rose gibi Neoklasik Realistlere göre, uluslararası düzen, devletler, özellikle de küçük devletler üzerinde bir etki ve baskı oluştururken,

dış politika eğilimleri ve davranışları, iç etkileri ya da birim düzeyinde değişkenleri göz önünde bulundurarak açıklanabilir<sup>569</sup>. Rose, iç sınırlamaların ve bireysel aktörlerin, liderlerin dış politika eğilimlerinde ve seçimlerinde sahip olduğu merkezi role dikkat çekmiştir. Başka bir deyişle, bu uluslararası etkiler, iç ya da birime özgü dinamikler dahilinde yorumlanmalıdır. Ürdün dış politikasında yaşanan değişim, Neoklasik Realizm bakış açısını temel alarak ve Irak'a karşı gerçekleşen iki savaşta iç etkilerin ve liderlerin rolünü göz önünde bulundurarak açıklanabilir.

Neoklasik Realizm dış ve iç değişkenler arasında bir bağlantı kurmayı hedeflemiştir. Buna göre, dış politika hedefleri ve eğilimleri hem uluslararası düzende devletin gücü hem de devletin nisbi maddi kapasitesiyle açıklanabilir. Bu iki unsur devletin dış politikasına karmaşık bir şekilde etki etmektedir. Maddi kapasite yapısal-sistemik düzeyde uzun vadeli sonuçları etkilerken, birim düzeyinde değişkenler ise kısa vadeli dış politika yönelimlerine müdahale eder ve sınırlar.

Tüm bu bilgiler ışığında, bu tezin cevaplandırmaya çalıştığı soru şudur: Ürdün, Amerika'nın devam eden baskın hegemonyasında benzer yapısal dış baskılara ve etkilere sahip olmasına rağmen, neden Irak'a karşı Amerika'nın başlattığı iki savaşta farklı davranmıştır? Bu tez, bu soruyu Neoklasik Realist bakış açısından hareketle cevaplamaya çalışacak ve Ürdün'ün dış politikasını etkileyen dış ve iç değişkenler arasındaki bağı araştıracaktır. Böyle kapsamlı ve

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<sup>569</sup> Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy", *World Politics*, (1998), p. 142-145

çok katmanlı bir yaklaşımla, Amerikan savaşlarında dış politika değişimi sürecinde kralların rolü açıklanabilir. Neoklasik Realistler, liderlerin deneyimlerini ve politik olguları, iç ve dış değişkenler çerçevesinde ve olayların, sınırlamaların, hedeflerin ve isteklerin tarihi bütünlüğünü göz önünde bulundurarak değerlendirmeyi hedeflemektedirler.

Neoklasik Realistler, olayların liderlerin bakış açısından hareketle değerlendirildiği durumlarda, göreceli gücün yaşanan değişimler için gerçek bir açıklama sağlayabileceğine inanmaktadırlar. Bu analizde, ittifak olma kararı dış dinamiklerin iç politik özelliklerle etkileşimi dikkate alınarak detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir.

Bu çalışma için seçilen araştırma metodu, teorik temelli tarihi yaklaşım içeren vaka çalışmasıdır. Nedensel süreçleri belirlemede nedensel hipotezleri ve teorik değişkenleri kullanan tarihsel anlatımlar, hem teorik tahminleri değerlendirmemize olanak sağlar hem de söz konusu tarihi sonuçlar için bize iyi açıklamalar sunar. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma, ülke odaklı bir analiz ve tarihsel-açıklayıcı metotlar ve yaklaşımlar kullanmaktadır.

Bu çalışmayı diğer çalışmalardan ayıran ve alan yazına katkı sağlamasına neden olan özellik, teorik analiz için Neoklasik Realizmin bir rehber olarak seçilmesidir. Çalışmanın literatüre yapacağı katkı, daha önce yoğun bir şekilde irdelenmemiş olan dış politikadaki değişim konusunu, bu değişimin kaynaklarını ve Irak'a karşı Amerika'nın başlattığı savaşlarda liderlerin rolünü detaylı bir şekilde ele almasıdır. Mevcut çalışmalar daha çok

farklı perspektiflerden Ürdün'ün dış politikasıyla ve belli problemlerle ilgilenen vaka çalışmalarından oluşmaktadır ve bu çalışmalar çoğunlukla geleneksel realist yaklaşımı takip etmişlerdir.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Neoklasik Realizmin esnek ve çoklu perspektifine dayanarak, hem içte hem de dışta karşılaşılan çoklu dinamikleri sorgulamak, liderlerin rolünü araştırmak, ve böylece Ürdün'ün dış politikasındaki değişim konusunda mevcut literatüre katkı sağlamaktır.

Tezin ikinci bölümü, teorik çerçeveyi anlatmakta ve çalışmanın ele aldığı problem ve ana araştırma sorusunu ele almaktadır. Bu nedenle bu bölümde, teorik analiz için gereken ilgili kavramsal literatür tartışılmaktadır. Öncelikle tezin ana konusu ve dış politika ve liderliğin rolü konuları, dış politika davranışlarını açıklamak için yaygın bir şekilde kullanılan gerçekçi ve yapıcı yaklaşımlarla ele alınmaktadır. Daha sonra, Neoklasik Realizm anlayışına dayalı olan teorik çerçeve açıklanmakta ve bu çerçevenin dış politikanın açıklanmasında kullandığı temel varsayımlar ve argümanlar özetlenmektedir. Bu bölümde ayrıca Neoklasik Realist yaklaşımın araştırmacı tarafından seçilme nedenleri, tezin Randall Schweller tarafından geliştirilen Çıkar Dengesi Teorisi etrafında şekillendirilmesinin nedenleri, ve bu tezin Ürdün'ün dış politikasını açıklamadaki yeterliliği açıklanmaktadır. Dış bağlamın, iç değişkenlerin süzgecinden geçtikten sonra devletlerin dış politika çerçevelerini nasıl şekillendirdiği ve politikaya yön veren iki kralın (Kral Hüseyin ve Kral Abdullah) algıları da ele alınmaktadır.



Üçüncü bölüm, Neoklasik Realist bir perspektiften Ürdün'ün dış politikasının temellerini ele almaktadır. Bu bölümde, yapısal dış değişkenler, iç ortam değişkenleri ve dış politikayı şekillendirmede krallığın rolü analiz edilmektedir.

Ürdün gibi küçük bir ülke için, hassasiyet konusu dış politikaların anlaşılmasında sıklıkla anahtar bir role sahiptir. Bu hassasiyet, hem iç hem de dış kaynaklardan kaynaklanmaktadır. Ürdün, Amerika ve onun hegemonyası nedeniyle dünya düzeninde meydana gelen değişimlerden son derece etkilenmektedir. Ayrıca, bölgesel değişkenler de Ürdün'ü önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir. Ülke, karışıklık içindeki bir bölgesel sistemde yer almaktadır ve daha güçlü ve agresif olan İsrail, Irak, Suudi Arabistan ve Suriye gibi komşuları arasında köşeye sıkışmıştır. Ürdün, bu iç ve bölgesel tehditler karşısında istikrarını muhafaza etmek ve ayakta kalabilmek için çok çaba sarf etmekte ve bölgesel aktörlerin sebep olduğu iç karmaşalara oldukça fazla maruz kalmaktadır.

Krallık, bu hassas ortamdan dolayı genellikle muhafazakar bir dış politika takip etmiştir. Ürdün'ün zengin ve güçlü Irak'a ve Körfez'deki petrol ülkelerine bağımlılığı, kralların Körfez bölgesindeki bağışçılardan gelen maddi desteği garanti altına almak istemesinden kaynaklanmaktadır. İç dinamikler göz önüne alındığında, Ürdün'ün ekonomik bir temeli olmadığı, doğal kaynaklarının, özellikle de su ve petrol kaynaklarının yetersiz olduğu, ve ülkenin gelirinin dış maddi destekten ve Ürdünlü işçilerin getirdiği dövizlerden

oluştugu görülmektedir. Bütçe güvenliđi Ürdün'de önemli bir konudur. Filistinli mültecilerin yol açtığı ciddi demografik dengesizlik hem iç hem de dış politikaları sınırlamaktadır. Ayrıca, Arap ulusalcılığı ve politik İslamcılık, problemleri daha da ciddi bir boyuta taşımış ve ülkenin Ortadođu politikalarını ve kralların dış politika seçimlerini etkilemiştir.

Bu çalışma, Kral Hüseyin'in etkisini, Ürdün'ün dış politikasının belirlenmesindeki rolünü, Krallığın her türlü zorluktan nasıl başarıyla çıktığını ve uzun saltanatı boyunca ülke bütünlüğünün nasıl sağlandığını tartışmaktadır. Kral Hüseyin, Ürdün'ü 1953'ten 1999 yılına kadar yönetmiş ve Haşimi krallığına yöneltilen iç ve dış güvenlik tehditlerini en aza indirmeyi başarmıştır. Ayrıca tüm bunlar elbette ülkenin dış politika gündemine yansımıştır. Kral Hüseyin tutarlı bir biçimde Batı yanlısı bir dış politika izlemiş ve Amerika ile yakın ilişkiler içinde olmuştur.

Bu çalışma, ülkenin dış politikasının oluşmasında kralların önemli rolüne vurgu yapmaktadır. Kralların algıları ve liderlik stilleri ülkenin dış yönelimlerini ve tutumlarını şekillendirmede anahtar bir rol oynamaktadır. Anayasadan gelen gücüyle birlikte kral, dış politikanın belirlenmesi konusunda yönetsel bir özgürlüğe ve her türlü konuda son sözü söyleme hakkına sahiptir.

Dördüncü Bölüm, Kral Hüseyin'in 1991 Körfez Savaşı'ndaki rolünün incelenmesine ayrılmıştır. Çalışmada, onun, müttefiki ABD'ye karşı Irak'tan yana taraf seçmesini etkileyen meseleler ele alınmaktadır. Kriz sırasında

Kral'ın güçlü iç baskılara maruz kalması ona bu kararı almaya itmiştir. Kral, halkıninkiyle uyumlu bir duruşu sürdürmeliydi; aksi bir hareketin siyasi maliyeti fazlasıyla yüksek olurdu ve iç istikrarı tehlikeye atıp, ülkenin ve Haşemi monarşisinin devamı için risk oluştururdu. Irak'a ekonomik açıdan bağlılığın derecesine ek olarak, iki ülke ve liderler arasındaki ilişkiler de Kral Hüseyin'in kararlarını derinden etkilemiştir.

Beşinci Bölümde, Kral Hüseyin'in 1991 Körfez savaşı akabinde, yani barış sürecindeki dış politikası ve Ürdün-İsrail Barış Antlaşması'nın imzalanmasındaki rolü incelenmektedir. 1991 Körfez savaşı sonrasında Ürdün dış politikasındaki davranış örüntülerinde belirgin sapmalar ve çelişkiler görülmektedir. Tarihi barış kararı, siyasi ve ekonomik kaymalar ve dinamiklerin oluşturduğu geniş çerçeveden ele alınmaktadır. Buna paralel olarak Kral Hüseyin'in ekonomik krizle baş etmedeki rolü ve bunun ülkenin dış politikasına etkisi bu bölümde yer almaktadır. Ülkenin 1989'dan sonraki siyasi liberalleşmenin önemi ve iç siyasi aktörlerin dinamiklerinin Kral Hüseyin'in 1991 Körfez savaşı sonrasındaki dış politika kararlarını nasıl etkilediğinin tartışmasıyla bu bölüm sonlanmaktadır.

Altıncı Bölüm Kral Abdullah'ın 2003 Irak Savaşı'ndaki dış politikasına ayrılmıştır. Amerika yanlısı politikalarıyla, Suudi Arabistan'la ve Körfez rejimleriyle sıkı bağlarıyla Kral Abdullah kar ve kazanımlarını en üst seviye getirmek için ABD ile birlikte hareket etmiştir. Ürdün, önemli ölçüde ve en çok ABD'den gelen dış desteğe bağımlı bir ülke olmuştur. 11 Eylül 2001

döneminden sonra, Kral Abdullah Ürdün'ü bölgesel bir oyuncu olarak yeniden konumlandırdı ve Amerika yanlısı dış politika seçimleriyle teröre karşı mücadelede ABD'ye sürekli bir destek vermeye söz verdi.

Neoklasik Realist ve Çıkarlar Dengesi modelini Kral Abdullah'ın yanaşma kararlarına uygulayarak, bu çalışmada, Kral Abdullah'ın daha fazla askeri ve finansal yardım elde ederken, ABD ve onun Körfez müttefiklerinden gelen kazançlarını en üst seviyeye getirmek için Irak'a karşı savaşta ABD ile birlikte hareket ettiği öne sürülmektedir. Bu nedenle, kral dış politikayı Amerikan yönelimleriyle uyuşacak biçimde adapte etmiştir. Neoklasik Realistlerin öne sürdükleri gibi, kral, Irak'a ve terörizme karşı savaşta ABD'nin yanında hareket etmiştir. Zira bu, Ürdün'ü ve ekonomisini emniyete alacak finansal ve askeri kazanımları elde etmek isteyen Ürdün'ün menfaatine idi. Kral Abdullah'ın taraf seçimi, Ürdün'ün, kâr için güçlü ile uyuşmayı tercih eden zayıf statükolu bir devlet olduğuna dair yeterli bir açıklama olacaktır. Birçok değişkenin bir araya gelmesi 2003 Irak Savaşı'nda Kral Abdullah'ın cevabını etkilemiştir: ABD'den daha fazla ekonomik ve askeri yardım elde etme ve teröre karşı işbirliği gibi dışsal motivasyonlar, küresel terörizmin yarattığı dışsal baskılar, İran'ın yayılmacılığına dair korkular, içeride radikal İslam'a dair kaygılar, ve de 1991 Körfez Savaşı'ndaki gibi Irak'ı desteklemeye yönelik baskın taleplerin ülkede olmayışı. Bütün bu etmenler onun ABD ile aynı tarafta bir çizgi tutma kararını şekillendirmiştir. Onun davranışı, kâr arayan bir çizgiyi temsil etmektedir.

Bu bölümler bir araya getirildiğinde, Ürdün'ün dış politikasının ana politika oluşturucular olan krallar tarafından nasıl yürütüldüğünü göstermektedir. Kralın rolünü, liderlik stilini, dışsal etmenlere cevap verme anlayışını, ve bu anlayışı etkileyen iç ortamın dinamiklerini ortaya koymaktadır. Ürdün'ün dış politikasındaki değişimin nasıl ve niçin olduğu, Neoklasik Realist yaklaşımın içgörülerinden yararlanarak açıklanabilir. Bu nedenle, son bölümde, önceki bölümlerde verilen bilgiler tez sorusu ve iki vaka çalışması ışığında değerlendirilecektir. Bu bölüm, ABD yönetimindeki her iki savaşa cevap verirken iki kralın dışsal ve içsel zorunluluklar etkisiyle dış politikalarındaki değişimi açıklamaktadır.

Bu tez, Ürdün'ün iki kralı, Kral Hüseyin ve Kral Abdullah'ın ABD tarafından yönetilen iki savaşta nasıl ve niçin oldukça farklı hareket ettiği sorusunu ele almaktadır. Kral Hüseyin 1991'de ABD yönetimindeki Saddam Hüseyin karşıtı koalisyonla karşı Irak'ın tarafında bir çizgide yer alırken, Kral Abdullah 2003'te Irak'a karşı ABD'nin yanında durmaya karar vermiştir.

Bu nedenle, Irak'a karşı yapılan ABD yönetimindeki iki savaşta Ürdün'ün izlediği dış politika Neoklasik Realist yaklaşımla incelenmiştir. Bu incelemenin amacı, Neoklasik Realist Yaklaşım ve Çıkarlar Dengesi Modelinin çok boyutlu yaklaşımından yararlanarak Kral Hüseyin ve Kral Abdullah'ın değişken dış politikalarını açıklamak ve dış politika değişimi konulu alan yazınına katkı getirmektir.

Ürdün, ABD'nin Irak'a karşı yürüttüğü iki savaşa farklı şekilde cevap vermiştir. Ürdün benzer dışsal kısıtlamalar yaşamamasına rağmen iki kral farklı davranmıştır. 1991'de Kral Hüseyin ABD'ye karşı Irak tarafında dururken, 2003te Kral Abdullah Irak'a karşı ABD yanında durmuştur. Bu tezde, Ürdün'ün ana dış politika oluşturucuları olarak iki kralın dışsal etkilere çok farklı cevap vermelerinin sebebinin farklı anlayış ve liderlik biçimlerinden kaynaklandığı öne sürülmektedir. Ülkenin iç dinamikleri kralların anlayışlarını motive etmiş ve dış politika davranışlarını şekillendirmiştir. Bu da dış politik değişimlerle sonuçlanmıştır. Bu dış politik değişime liderlik biçiminin ve birim düzeyde değişkenlerin neden olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. 1991 Körfez Savaşı'nda, yoğun iç baskılar Kralın kriz sırasındaki davranışlarını tayin etti. Ürdün kamuoyunun görüşüne ve büyük iç taleplere herhangi bir ters düşme ve Irak'la olan hayati tarihsel bağları yok sayma, ülkenin istikrarına ve kralın rejimine büyük zarar verebilirdi.

Körfez Savaşında ve sonrasında Ürdün her ne kadar hem siyasi hem ekonomik yönde büyük kayıplar verdiyse de Kral kamuoyuna uyumlu bir dış politika benimsemiştir. Çünkü başka yönde davranmasının siyasi maliyeti fazla olurdu, ve Ürdün ve siyasi rejimin varlığına ve iç istikrarına bir tehdit oluştururdu. Ayrıca, Kral Hüseyin'in liderlik biçimi, güçlü Arap dayanışması duyguları, ve kişisel inançları onun 1991 Körfez Savaşı'ndaki taraf seçimlerinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. O, Arapların itibarını güçlendirmek istiyordu; Pan-Arabizmin Kral Hüseyin'in politikaları üzerindeki gerçek etkisi onun krizde Irak'ı desteklemesiyle belli olmuştur. Onun Araplararası arabuluculuğu Körfez

Krizi sırasında da sürmüştür. Neoklasik Realist bakış açısı ve Çıkarlar Dengesi Modelinden yola çıkarak denilebilir ki, Ürdün'ün Saddam yanlısı kamuoyu ile güçlü iç talepler ve de Kral Hüseyin'in Ürdün çıkarlarını koruma isteği ve liderlik biçimi onun koalisyonun tarafında yer almasında etkili olmuştur. Oysa, 2003 Irak Savaşı'nda, Amerika yanlısı politikaları ve de Suudi Arabistan ile diğer Körfez ülkeleriyle güçlü bağları ve dostluğu olan Kral Abdullah, uyuşma kararını bu ilişkilerin lehinde olacak şekilde almıştır. Bir yanda uluslararası sistemde büyük güçler arasındaki imkan dağılımını ve güçler dengesini göz önünde bulundurması, öte yandan Ürdün'ün yüz yüze olduğu kısıtlamaları ve dengeleri anlaması, kralın Ürdün'ün ulusal hedeflerine ulaşmasını sağlayacak eğilimlerini ve dış politika kararlarını belirlemiştir.

Kral Abdullah'ın seçimine Neoklasik Realist perspektif ve Çıkarlar Dengesi modeliyle bakıldığında, kar elde etmek isteyenlerin zayıf bir statüko devleti olarak Ürdün'le neden birlik olmadıkları yeterli şekilde açıklanmaktadır. Amerika Kral Abdullah'ı çoğunluğa katılarak karını en üst düzeye çıkarması ve kazanç elde etmesi konusunda teşvik etmiştir. Kral Abdullah, Amerika ile uyum içinde olmanın Ürdün için önemli bir çıkar oluşturacağı, daha fazla askeri ve mali kazanç elde edileceği, Ürdün'ün ve ekonomisinin garanti altında olacağı sonucuna varmıştır. Ayrıca, Kral Abdullah, yerel radikal İslamcılarını içeren terörizme karşı Amerika'nın sürdürdüğü savaştan fayda sağlayacağını ve herhangi bir İran etkisine karşı Amerika'nın desteğini güvence altına alacağını düşünmüştür. Bu nedenle, uyum kararının tüm bu karlı sonuçları elde etmenin en kesin yolu olduğu sonucuna varmıştır. Dahası, Kral Abdullah'ın Amerika

yanlısı politikalardan ve Batı kültürü odaklı kişiliğinden beslenen liderlik stili, güçlü ülkelerle rasyonel ve faydacı birliktelikler kurmasına yol açmıştır. Burada amaç, Ürdün'ün ekonomi ve güvenlik çıkarlarını kuvvetlendirmek ve her türlü iç ve dış tehdide karşı ülkesinin istikrarını korumaktır. Bu nedenle, dış baskıya karşılık vererek Amerika'nın 2003'te Irak'a açtığı savaşta Amerika'nın yanında yer almıştır. Bu davranış, kar arayışında olan uyum odaklı bir seçimi temsil etmektedir. Ancak, Irak'ı destekleme konusunda iç talep 1991'deki kadar güçlü değildi. Bu nedenle Kral Abdullah'ın bu savaşta dış politikası Çıkar Dengesi teorisinin argümanıya bağdaşmaktadır.

Neoklasik Realistlerin görüş ve gözlemlerinden yararlanan bu çalışma, Ürdün'deki her iki kralın da sürekli olarak hem iç etkileri hem de dış etmenleri göz önünde bulundurmaları hem de Ürdün'ün dış politikasını oluştururken bütçe ve rejim güvenliğini korumak zorunda olduklarını bulmuştur. Her iki kral da dış etkilere karşılık verirken iç dinamikleri göz önünde bulundurmaları durumundaydılar, ki bu dinamikler iki savaşta da dış politika tercihlerinde ve sonuçlarında değişime neden olmuştur. Bu nedenle, bu değişimin altında yatan nedenler, iç politika ile ilgili endişelerle ve Kral Hüseyin ve Kral Abdullah'ın iki Amerikan savaşında sergiledikleri liderlik stilleriyle ilişkilendirilebilir.

Neoklasik Realizm, Ürdün'deki dış politika değişimini analiz etmek açısından faydalıdır. Uluslararası İlişkiler alanında yeni ortaya çıkan bir teoridir, ve daha fazla teorik tutarlılığa ihtiyaç duyabilir. Diğer teoriler, örneğin



Steven David'in Çok Yönlü Dengeleyici teorisi Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinde liderlerin dış politika davranışlarını açıklamak için faydalı olabilir.

## APPENDIX C. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Al Kayed

Adı : Basel

Bölümü : Uluslararası İlişkiler

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : The Process Of Change in The Foreign Policy of Jordan: The Role of The Leadership in The Cases of The 1991 Gulf War and The 2003 Iraq War

**TEZİN TÜRÜ**: Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**