

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **A. Background**

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Israel are neighbouring countries located in Middle Eastern area. The area of those countries are separated only by the Jordan River. While Jordan is located on the east bank of Jordan River, the Israel who shared territory with Palestine is located on the west bank of Jordan River. Although their location are close to each other, the relation of both countries were not always in a good path. There were dynamics in their relation since the establishment of Jewish home in Palestine.

It is known that Israel was established under The British with its Balfour Declaration 1917. Balfour Declaration 1917 was a letter from the United Kingdom's Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour to Walter Rotschild for transmission to the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland. The Balfour Declaration states the decision of The British government to endorse the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine (Joel Beinin, 2014).

The Balfour Declaration states:

His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country (Kilgore, 1992).

The establishment of Jewish home by the Balfour Declaration in Palestine triggered some big events for the surrounding area such as UN Partition Plan 1947, 1948 Arab-Israeli War and also 1967 Arab-Israeli War or as known as Six Days War. Both of the wars involve some Arab countries such as Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. They thought that the Balfour Declaration hurted the previous agreement between Arab countries and The British (i.e McMahon-Hussein Correspondence 1915) in which The British stated the willingness to recognize the independence of the unified Arab state in the Hejaz and the Levant under the rule of the Hashemites.

In November 1947, United Nations General Assembly produced the Partition Plan that consists of the decision to separate Great Britain's former Palestinian mandate into Jewish and Arab states. The Partition Plan stated that the region would be divided into eight parts: three were allotted to the Arab State and three to the Jewish State; the seventh, the town of Jaffa, was to form an Arab enclave within Jewish territory, and the international regime for Jerusalem, the eighth division, to be administered by the United Nations Trusteeship Council. The Palestinian Arabs refused this resolution since they thought that the Partition Plan was unfair and it was more favorable for the Jews (The State of Israel, 2013).

A year later in May 1948, coalitions of Arab nations (Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and other belligerents) invaded the former Palestine territory following the declaration of independence of Israel. Many sides became the belligerent in this conflict such as the former Palestinian mandate by Arab armies from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. Saudi Arabia also sent a formation with Egyptian as their commander (Sutherland, 2012). This event was known as the first Arab-Israeli War or 1948 War which consisted of series of battles such as Battle of Tzema, Battle of Negba, and also Battle of Latrun which involved Jordanian Legion

The cease-fire brokered by United Nations did not last long because in 1949 the fight continued. This conflict ended with a separate agreement between Israel and the neighboring states of Egypt, Lebanon, Transjordan, and Syria. From the agreement, Israel gained former territory that was granted to Palestinian Arab under the United Nations Partition Plan before. This agreement survived at least until 1967. In 1967, the third Arab-Israeli War broke out and known as 1967 War or Six Day War. The war lasted for only six days and resulted in the victory of Israel. Jordan itself lost so much in this Arab-Israeli War.

1948 and 1967 War affected the relations between Jordan and Israel since both countries directly involved in it. After 1948 War, the relations between both countries were never really settled in peace, although they signed an armistice agreement to end the 1948 War. Thus, it was still possible to trigger another war which was 1967 War.

After 1967 War, both Jordan and Israel found it hard to establish peace between them since they could not meet each other's condition. Thus, peace could not be established at the time. Until then, in 1994, Jordan insisted in conducting a process of peace negotiations with Israel, and produce Israel-Jordan peace treaty, or officially "Treaty of Peace Between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan".

The decision of Jordan to make a peace agreement with Israel obviously caused public reaction in the surrounding Arab countries. The peace agreement were considered as a betrayal towards Palestine and the rest of Arab world who fought for Palestine in years before. It is then interesting to question why Jordan, ignoring all the reaction from the rest of Arab world, willing to make peace agreement with Israel, which was the number one foe for the most of Arab countries. Regarding to that matter, this undergraduate thesis will explain possible reasons and factors behind the decision made by Jordan to sign the peace agreement with Israel.

## **B. Research Question**

By examining the background of the issue on Jordan involvement in Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the question generated by this undergraduate thesis is

**Why did Jordan decide to sign peace treaty/agreement with Israel?**

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

To analyze the issue, it is very important to use theoretical framework. The writer has decided to explain and analyze the issue through concept and theory. The function of concept itself is to organize ideas, perception, and symbols in the form of classification and generalization. While the function of theory is to help to explain and predict a certain phenomenon (Mas'ood, 1990). The writer has chosen the theory of decision making process to further analyze about the issue.

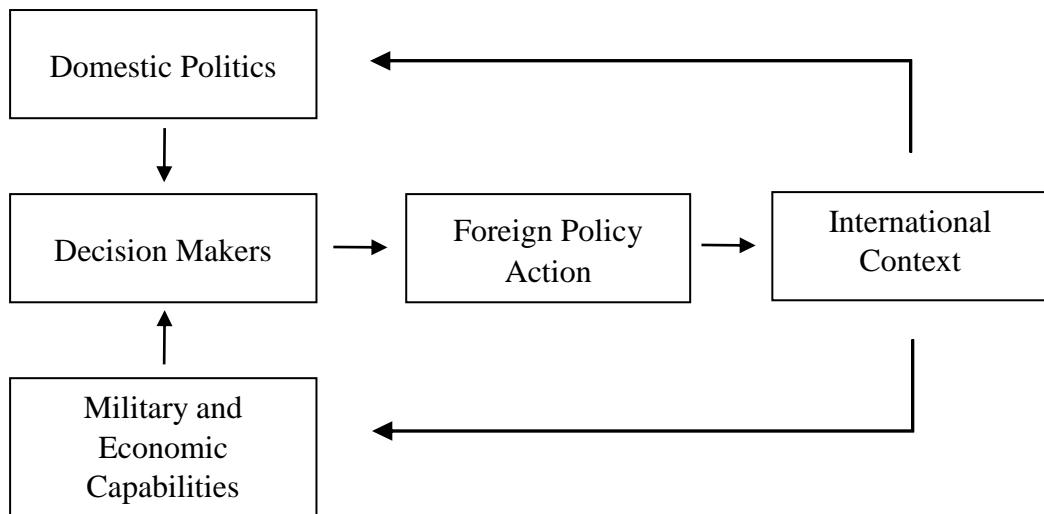
### **1. Theory of Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process**

Foreign policy is a product created by a state through foreign policy decision-making process to address its national interest towards international scope. Foreign policy is defined by Mark Webber and Michael Smith in their book as:

Foreign policy is composed of the goals sought, values set, decision made and actions taken by states, and national governments acting on their behalf, in the context of the external relations of national societies. It constitutes an attempt to design, manage and control the foreign relations of national societies (Webber & Smith, 2002).

While according to William D. Coplin, foreign policy is the product of three affecting aspects. Those three affecting aspects are domestic politics, economic and military capability, and international context (Coplin & Kegley, 1971).

To understand more about how the four determinants in the analysis above influence the foreign policy decision-making process, the author will provide a figure as follows:

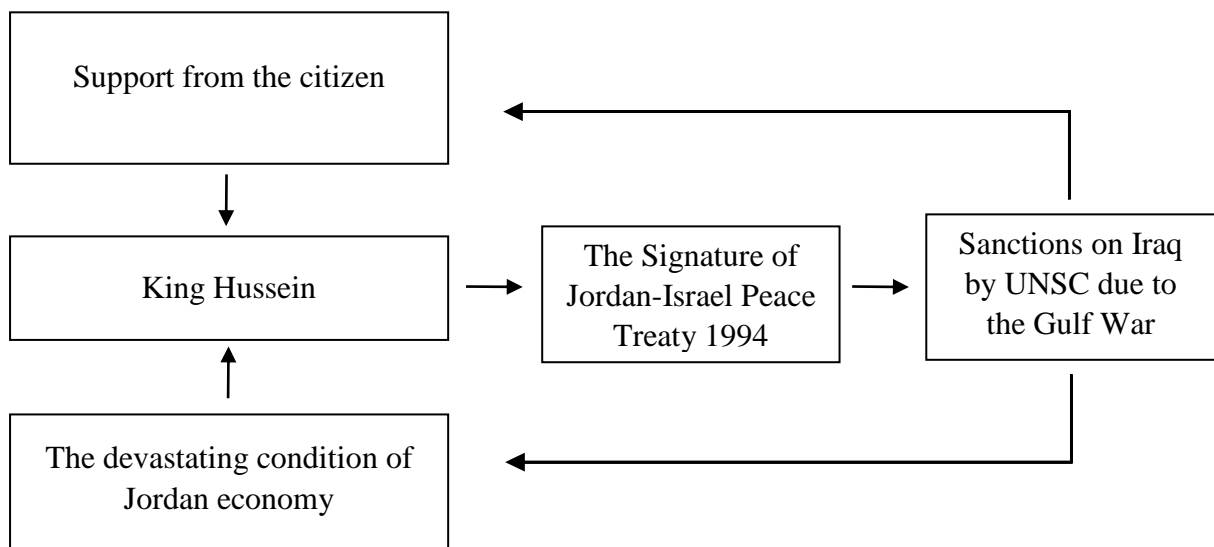


**Figure 1.1 Foreign Policy Decision-Making by William D. Coplin** (Coplin, 2003).

From the figure above, it is shown that domestic politics and economic and military capabilities which has influenced by international context both influence the decision maker in formulating the foreign policy.

Several Middle Eastern countries believed that there should be one dominating figure in their political affairs. In Jordan at that time, it is obvious that the figure was King Hussein. King Hussein played a very significant role in formulating Jordan foreign and domestic policies. King Hussein decision to sign a peace treaty with Israel was affected by Jordan domestic politics and condition. It was supported also by the economic and military condition of Jordan at the time, while both the domestic politics/conditions of Jordan and economic and military capabilities were affected by international context.

The author will try to illustrate the applied theory as follow:



**Figure 1.2 Implementation of Foreign Policy Decision-Making by William D.**

**Coplin**

### **a. Domestic Politics**

In the foreign policy decision-making by William D. Coplin, domestic politics is one of three important aspects that influence the decision maker in formulating foreign policy. Domestic politics can be defined as the internal politics of a state or it can be simply understood as governmental system adopted by the state. In some governmental system, the leader of a state have dominant role in formulating a foreign policy as the decision maker.

According to William D. Coplin in his book *Introduction to International Politic*, there are four categories of domestic politic actors that can influence the decision making. They are called *policy influencer*. The relations between policy influencers and decision maker are reciprocal. The decision maker needs the policy influencers as their source of support, while policy influencers need decision maker as the way to actualize their interest to be a policy. Policy influencers according to Coplin are *bureaucratic influencer, partisan influencer, interest influencer, and mass influencer* (Coplin, 2003).

The first policy influencer is bureaucratic influencer. Bureaucratic influencer itself is individuals, organization, and or group of people within the government who contribute in formulating, decision-making process, and execution of the policy. The second policy influencer is partisan influencer. Partisan influencer is aimed to transform the interests or demands of the society into political demands. Then, the next policy influencer is interest influencer. Interest influencer is individuals or group of people who share the same interest.



The last policy influencer is mass influencer. Mass influencer is public opinion that will be used by the decision maker in formulating the policy.

In the case of Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994 itself, the domestic politics became a very important factor that affecting the formulation of the peace treaty. It can be analyzed using the mass influencer type where the decision maker was gained support from the society through public opinion polling and also media campaign.

#### **b. The Economic and Military Capabilities**

Based on the model of foreign policy decision-making by William D. Coplin, the economic and military capabilities of a country is affected by international context. The same thing happened to Jordan when the Gulf War 1991 as the international context strongly affected the economic capability of Jordan. While in Jordan view, peace are always linked with economic growth and military conditions since it is connected with internal stability and development of the country.

Jordan knows it is a militarily weak and economically poor country in a turbulent region, so it has to perform delicate balancing acts to ensure its security by minimising tensions with its neighbours. It knew it would gain more from a peace with Israel that did not require major concessions.. (Nashashibi, 2014)

Jordan was always rely on the help of the West (in this case is United States) and other Arab countries. And it was essential for Jordan to sign a treaty with Israel expecting that the peace within the neighborhood will bring fortune for Jordan in term of economic and also military cooperation.

#### **c. International Context**

International context itself believed by William D. Coplin as the result of another states foreign policy which influence the domestic politics and economic and military capability that affects the decision maker in formulating the foreign policy.

The 1991 Gulf War was resulted in United Nations Security Council forth conditions for cease-fire on Resolution 686 for Iraq, in which, one of them was sanctions and payment of reparations for war damages done by Iraq. A year before United Nations was also imposed Iraq with trade embargo which state in Resolution 661 (Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs United States Department of State, 2016).

The sanction that has been imposed to Iraq affected Jordan since Iraq was Jordan's biggest trading partner and the one who provide Jordan with cheap oil. The condition was not favorable for Jordan and was also becoming an important factor that influenced King Hussein in formulating foreign policy and sign the peace treaty with Israel.

#### **D. Hypothesis**

From the brief implementation of theory of decision making process, the author has define the hypothesis for this undergraduate thesis that the reasons behind Jordan decision to make peace agreement/treaty with Israel are:

1. The gulf war as the international context
2. The poor economic capabilities of Jordan
3. The domestic politics of Jordan

### **E. Scope of Analysis**

In order to set the limits for this research, the writer will observe back to the year of the signature of Jordan-Israel peace treaty (1994) and years before in order to analyze the factors behind the signature of Jordan-Israel peace treaty.

However, the limitation of the scope on analysis will not prevent the writer to use other data outside the mentioned time period if it is considered as necessary and relevant.

### **F. Purpose of Analysis**

Through this research, there are some significant points that will be achieved:

- a. This undergraduate thesis is expected to give more understanding and knowledge for the author and other fellow international relations student in term of foreign affairs, specifically between Jordan and Israel.
- b. To know the factors/reasons behind the decision of Jordan to sign Jordan-Israel peace treaty 1994.
- c. This undergraduate thesis is a product of knowledges and theories that has been studied by the author in the university, which will be used to prove the hypothesis that has been written above.

## **G. Method of Analysis**

This research will be complete with library research in which there will be several types of sources that the writer uses. The writer will use informations and datas from various sources such as:

### **a. Media research**

Media research includes articles, videos/documentaries, reports, and news (printed or online). This variety of sources was used in order to analyze the history of Jordan-Israel relations, and also the reason of Jordan behind the signature of Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994. Then, the author would like to use official statement, news, or report from the Jordanian government to analyze the factors that affected Jordan political behavior at the time.

### **b. Library research**

Library research includes collecting data from relevant books or journal in order to find reliable data for the issue.

## **H. Structure of Analysis**

This undergraduate thesis is done with systematic analysis by separating all the parts of this undergraduate thesis explanation into several chapters.

Chapter One: This chapter explains about the background, what is the main problem with certain phenomena, and the objectives and significance of the research. It also explains and analyzes some theories, gives a hypothesis about the key points of this research, and closes with the writing outline to explain how this research will proceed.

Chapter Two: This chapter will explain about general understanding of Jordan.

Chapter Three: This chapter will chronologically explain about Jordan-Israel relations, how the history of their cooperation and conflict through time was. This chapter also shows the continuation of Jordan-Israel relations since the beginning of the conflict up until the signature of Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994.

Chapter Four: This is an analytic chapter. The author analyzes the reason behind Jordan signature of Jordan-Israeli Peace Treaty 1994. The analysis is elaborated with theory and supported by several data.

Chapter Five: This chapter provides the conclusion of this undergraduate thesis.