

## CHAPTER II

### JORDAN: THE MONARCHY AND ITS FOREIGN POLICY

In order to give more data for the analysis, in this chapter, the author will explain about the general understanding of Jordan such as the geographical, demographical, historical conditions, and also a brief explanation about the monarchy system in Jordan and its foreign policy through the regime before 1994 (King Abdullah I and King Hussein regime).

#### A. General Understanding

##### 1. Geographical Features of Jordan

Jordan, or officially The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, is an Arab kingdom located in the Middle East region with Amman as its capital city. Its geographic coordinates is 31 00 N, 36 00 E. Jordan is categorized as a small country regarded to its area of total 89,342 sq km divided into 88,802 sq km land and 540 sq km water. The huge amount of land compared to its water makes Jordan shared land border with some other Arab countries such as Iraq on the east (181 km), Israel on the west (238 km), Saudi Arabia on the south (744 km), Syria on the north (375 km), and West Bank also on the west (97 km) (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016).

There are 12 governorates (*muhafadha*) in Jordan. They are: ‘Ajlun, Al-Aqabah, Al-Balqa, Al-Karak, Al-Mafraq, ‘Amman, At-Tafilah, Az-Zarqa, Irbid, Jerash, Ma’an, and Ma’daba, although four of them, Jerash, Ajlun, Ma’daba, and Aqabah were newly established in 1994. The governorates of Jordan were not basically divided by the populations or area. It was the geographic landscape of

Jordan that determined the division of the governorates. There are three geographical location in Jordan governorates. The mountains of Moab in Karak governorate segregate the southern part with the middle part. While the mountains of Jerash governorate segregates the middle part and the northern part (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2012).

According to the census 1994, Amman, the capital city of Jordan located in the north part of the country was the most populous governorate with 1,576,238 inhabitants and is considered as one of the most liberal and westernized city in Arab regions (Brinkhoff, 2016).

## **2. Demographic Profile of Jordan**

The growing number of population in Jordan has continuously increased because of the refugees. Those refugees were the result of 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Besides the refugees of both 1948 and 1967 war, Jordan was also home for refugees from Palestine who sought for shelter in Jordan. The number of Jordan population kept growing and the flow of refugees barely stop. Even more, following the Gulf War 1991, Jordan was again, becoming the home for Jordanians who fled from the Gulf War back to Jordan.

**Figure 2.1 Jordan population growth following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War  
and also 1991 Gulf War**

Year	Population (000)	Annual Growth (%)
1966	1062.4	3.29
1967	1362.0	24.84
1990	3468.0	9.81
1991	3701.0	6.50
1992	3844.0	3.79
1993	3993.0	3.80
1994	4139.4	3.60

*Source: [http://www.dos.gov.jo/dos\\_home\\_e/main/Demograghy/Methodology.pdf](http://www.dos.gov.jo/dos_home_e/main/Demograghy/Methodology.pdf)*

Jordan population mostly consist of young people. According to the Human Resources data of Jordan, 42,2% of Jordan population are under 15 years old, and 31,4% are between 15 and 29 years old. The high percentage of youth also means the high need of education in Jordan. It is mandatory for Jordanian children to enroll in educational field until they reach 15 years old. Jordanian government did not only oblige Jordanian children to get education until they are 15 years old but also made the education free for all primary and secondary school in Jordan (The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 2016).

Jordan is an Islamic state that have a great tolerance towards other religions. Although Jordan is an Arab country and highly dominated by Islam as the major religion in their society, it does not mean that Jordan did not tolerate other religions. 6% of the Jordan society are Christians, most of them are either an Orthodox or Catholic and live in Amman. 1% are Shia or Sufi, and the other 1% are the other religions. The rest of the society, which is 92% of them are Sunni Muslim. Jordan also consists of some different ethnics with Arab as the majority, and followed by Circassian, and Armenian. The official language of Jordan is just as same as the other Arab countries, which is Arabic. But English is widely understood among the middle-upper classes society (Embassy of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 2016).

### **3. History of Jordan**

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a product of British colonization to Middle East as the way to dissolve Arab countries under the Ottoman Empire. Without considering anyone's thought, the British and French decided the fate of Arab countries post-Ottoman Empire through the Sykes-Picott Agreement. Through the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Iraq, Kuwait, and Jordan was taken control under British mandate, while French took Lebanon, southern Turkey, and modern Syria (Alkhateeb, 2012).

**Figure 2.2 Map of British and French controlled area according to Sykes-Picot Agreement**



*Source: <http://lostislamichistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/Sykes-Picot-1916.gif>*

Because of the uncertainty created by the British and French, in 1918, group of Arabs decided to hold a congress. The congress then resulted into the decision to claim Hashemite Emir Faisal as the king of independent Syria. Unfortunately, the claim was not recognized by The League of Nations. Not so long after, French troops entered Damascus and occupied the territory to stop Faisal regime and commanded him to withdraw from Syria (Luscombe, 2016).

Rumour has it that in 1920, Abdullah, the brother of Hashemite Emir Faisal led troops consist of 2,000 tribesman towards Damascus as the reaction of French action towards his brother, Faisal. But so far, there was no evidence for the rumour, and moreover, the relationship between Abdullah and Faisal was not in

the level that could make Abdullah take such action on the behalf of his brother, Faisal.

In 1920, Abdullah arrived in Transjordan. It is said that the arrival of Abdullah in Transjordan was supposed to prepare the attack to Damascus. To prevent that, Abdullah was offered by the High Commissioner to rule Transjordan. The deal was then confirmed in Cairo Conference on Middle Eastern Policy 1921. Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister at the time himself acknowledged the term (Bradshaw, 2012).

Transjordan was finally recognized by the United Nations and the Great Britain as an independent state in 1946. The recognition by the Great Britain was attained through new Treaty of Alliance between Transjordan and British government. The treaty was negotiated by Emir's Prime Minister, Ibrahim Pasha, and British representation, Mr. Bevin. Emir Abdullah then granted the title "King of The Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan" which later in April 1949 officially changed the name of the state to be The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Patai, 1958).

## **B. Jordan Monarchy and Its Foreign Policy**

### **1. Jordan Governmental System**

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan governmental system is constitutional monarchy. With just two changes of power since it was recognized by the United Nations as the Emirate of Transjordan until the signature of Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994, it basically did not have much history in their governmental system.

Following the crown of Amir Abdullah Ibn Al-Hussein or as known as King Abdullah I of Jordan, Jordan set parliamentary system headed by a King as their governmental system.

In January 1952, The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan established a constitution called The Constitution of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The constitution was created in order to specify the governmental system of Jordan. It cited in the constitution that The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a monarchy with parliamentary system as the representation.

The constitution also defines the branch of power in Jordan governmental system which was divided into three branches; executive, legislative, and judicial. Each of the branch has its own electoral system, either it is appointed directly by the Monarch, or elected by direct vote. Each also has different powers and functions. Although there are three branches of power in Jordan governmental system, the most power of the government still lied on the Monarch.

#### **a. Executive Branch**

The monarchy system in Jordan is hereditary. And it is fully the King's authority to choose anyone from his male family members to be his successor. The King has much power in the government such as: appoint or dismiss the Prime Minister, the members of the Senate, and Ministers of the Council with recommendation from the Prime Minister.

It is also regulated if in case, the King could not continue to comply his responsibility as a King, the King could elect a Vice-regent or Council of Vice-regents to replace him to rule the country. Vice-regent or Council of Vice-regents

will have the King's power such as to ratify the laws, declare war and peace, ratify treaties, create and conferring military ranks and honours, and grant pardons.

#### **b. Legislative Branch**

The legislative branch in Jordan consists of two houses, the upper house and the lower house. The upper house of Jordan is called Senate, and the lower house is Chamber of Deputies. There are differences in the way the members of Senate and Chamber of Deputies are appointed. Senate consists of 40 member from notables in the nation. The notables are chosen by the King, and it could come from any section of notables such as ambassadors, former Ministers, military officer, and many more, while the Chamber of Deputies are elected through direct election. In Jordan, there are always seats for women in Chamber of Deputies. Both Senate and Chamber of Deputies members are chosen for four years term.

Besides the differences in the way the members are appointed, there is also a difference in what Senate and Chamber of Deputies could do. Jordan constitution gave the rights to Chamber of Deputies that were not given into the Senate. Based on Jordan constitution, the Chamber of Deputies are allowed to question the government and accuse ministers through the decision of 2/3 majority of Chamber of Deputies members.

#### **c. Judicial Branch**

According to Jordan constitution, there are three categories for judicial branch in Jordan; civil courts, religious courts, and special courts. Jordan constitution also stated that the judicial branch are independent and it was not



subject to any authority in Jordan. But in the other hand, the judicial system in Jordan is supervised by Higher Judicial Council.

The civil courts has jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters, which also means that the civil courts is the court for all citizen in all cases according with the law. The judges of civil courts are appointed by the King. The civil courts include Magistrate courts, Courts of First Instance, Courts of Appeal, High Administrative Courts, and the Court of Cassation (Supreme Court).

The religious courts are governed by religious law. It included *shari'a* (Islamic law) courts and the tribunals of other religious communities. The religious courts only deal with matters such as marriage, divorce, inheritance, and child custody. The judges of religious courts are also appointed by the King.

The last one is the special courts. Special courts are the courts that deal with any law that has not been interpreted by the other courts. Special courts also deal with military and administrative matters according with the law. The special courts are appointed through the rule of law.

**Figure 2.3 Jordanian Governmental System According to Constitution 1952**

Branch	Hierarchy	Appointment	Powers	Removal
Executive	Monarch	Hereditary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ratifying laws</li> <li>• Declaring war and peace</li> <li>• Ratifying treaties</li> <li>• Calling for elections</li> <li>• Convening and closing legislative session</li> <li>• Dissolving the Parliament</li> <li>• Appointing Prime Minister, other Ministers, and members of the Senate</li> <li>• Conferring military ranks and honours</li> <li>• Granting pardons</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In case the King/Monarch cannot continue to perform his duties, he may then establish Vice-regents or Council of Vice-regents to replace him</li> <li>• It is permitted for the legislature to dismiss the Monarch if in case he is mentally ill</li> </ul>
	Prime Minister	Appointed by the Monarch from the Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overseeing the Council of Ministers</li> <li>• Co-signing decrees of the Monarch</li> <li>• Administering the internal and external affairs of state</li> <li>• Advising the Monarch</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dismissed by the Monarch</li> <li>• Upon loss of or removal from qualifying position</li> <li>• By a vote of no-confidence of the legislature</li> <li>• By impeachment by the legislature and removal by the High Tribunal</li> </ul>
	Council of Ministers	Appointed by the Monarch on recommendation by the Prime Minister	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Co-signing decrees of the Monarch when relevant to their ministry</li> <li>• Administering the internal and external affairs of state</li> <li>• Advising the Monarch</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dismissal by the Monarch</li> <li>• If Prime Minister is dismissed</li> <li>• By a vote of no-confidence of the legislature</li> <li>• By impeachment by the legislature and removal by the High Tribunal</li> </ul>
Legislative	Senate	Appointed by the Monarch from notable national figures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Passing laws by a majority vote</li> <li>• Overcoming a royal veto by a 2/3 vote</li> <li>• Interpellation</li> <li>• Passing a vote of no-confidence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The four year term has ended</li> <li>• Upon dissolution by the Monarch</li> </ul>
	Chamber of Deputies	Elected by direct vote	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drafting laws</li> <li>• Passing laws by a majority vote</li> <li>• Overcoming a royal veto by a 2/3 vote</li> <li>• Interpellation</li> <li>• Passing a vote of no-confidence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The four year term has ended, but it can be extended by the Monarch by 1 or 2 years</li> <li>• Dismissed by the Monarch</li> </ul>
Judicial	High Tribunal	Consists of head of the Senate, 3 members elected by direct vote, and 5 of the most senior judges from the highest civil court	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interpreting the constitution at the request of the Council of Ministers or a majority of either House of the Parliament</li> <li>• Trying impeachment of Ministers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Upon loss of or resignation from qualifying position</li> </ul>
	Special Tribunal	The President is from the highest civil court	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interpreting any law not heard by a court at the request of Prime Minister</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Upon loss of or resignation from qualifying position</li> </ul>
	Civil Courts	Appointed by the Monarch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Civil and criminal cases</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Upon removal by the Monarch</li> </ul>
	Religious Courts	Appointed by the Monarch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal matters between believers of that religion</li> <li>• Hearing cases over personal matters involving non-believers with consent of all parties</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Upon removal by the Monarch</li> </ul>

Source: <http://www.constitutionnet.org/country/constitutional-history-jordan>

From the table above we can see the distribution of power in Jordan government. The power and removal of the member of Jordanian government is specified in the constitution 1952. According to the distribution of power in Jordan governmental system, the King is the only one having the power to ratify a treaty, which in this case is Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994. But, in order for the King to be able to ratify the treaty, the bill of treaty should pass the voting process in the legislative branch of Jordan government which consist of Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The bill has to pass by two-third majority of the vote. The bill then will pass back to Chamber of deputies and they will repeat the voting session. When the bill also pass by two-third majority, meaning that both houses pass the bill by two-third majority, it can overcome the royal veto.

## **2. Jordan Foreign Policy before King Hussein Regime**

Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994 happened in the reign of King Hussein of Jordan. King Hussein was the second King of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Before King Hussein, there was King Abdullah I of Jordan whose regime did not last very long. It started since the independence of Transjordan, and ended in 1951 when King Abdullah I was assassinated by Palestinian gunman. With such short period of reign, it also impacted on the foreign policy that had been made in his reign.

Jordan as a newborn state did not have much to offer to their citizen. As one of Middle East countries, Jordan was among them who cannot produce their own oil, and also lack of water resources. Thus, foreign policy became very important to gather aid from other countries. Foreign policy decision making

under King Abdullah I regime was centered on the King himself as the decision maker (Dessouki, 2008).

King Abdullah I was so famous of his “Greater Syria Plan” expansionist policy where he wanted to unify Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine under the Hashemite dynasty. This policy was the one that made his relationship with other Arab leaders got worse. The other leaders definitely saw his desire as a threat towards their country.

The Zionist leaders saw “Greater Syria Plan” as the reflection of King Abdullah I dissatisfaction on Jordan borders. Zionist took advantage of the situation by raising the idea of partition of Palestine to King Abdullah I. And King Abdullah I was not just playing with his words because he clearly stated in secret meeting with Golda Meir, the Acting Head of the Jewish Agency’s Political Department, that he wanted to annex the whole Palestine, or at least its Arab parts (Karsh, 2002).

The desire of King Abdullah I to occupy Palestine as part of the expansionist policy was later temporary accomplished by his success of capturing the West Bank and East Jerusalem in 1948. Then in 1950, Jordan annexed both territories with resolution declared:

its support for complete unity between the two sides of the Jordan and their union into one State, which is the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, at whose head reigns King Abdullah Ibn al Husain, on a basis of constitutional representative government and equality of the rights and duties of all citizens... (State of Israel, 2013).

The annexation of West Bank and East Jerusalem by Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was considered temporary by the Arab League since it was broadly

regarded as an illegal annexation with no formal recognition but from the United Kingdom and United States of America (Massad, 2001).

In 1951, King Abdullah I of Jordan was assassinated when he was entering El Aqsa Mosque to attend Friday prayers. The King was shot dead by Mustafa Shukri Ashshu. The event was reported hit young Prince Hussein and affect him to not have peace talk with Israel later when he became King (The Guardian, 1951). Besides the assassin, there were also 10 conspirators accused as the actor behind the assassination of King Abdullah I. Those conspirators were then brought into trial in Amman. The death of King Abdullah I of Jordan also meant for the end of his reign as King in The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.