

CHAPTER IV

JORDAN REASONS BEHIND THE SIGNATURE OF JORDAN-ISRAEL

PEACE TREATY 1994

In this chapter, the author will analyze the reason behind the signature of Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994. The author uses the theory of foreign policy decision-making process by William D. Coplin.

The formulation of foreign policy according to William D. Coplin is affected by three important aspects. They are domestic politics, military and economic capabilities, and international context. First, domestic politics can be understood as internal political dynamic of a state. In domestic politics, there are four types of policy influencers, bureaucratic influencer, partisan influencer, interest influencer, and mass influencer. These policy influencers reciprocally affecting decision maker in formulating foreign policy.

Second, military and economic capabilities. According to the model of foreign policy decision-making, military and economic capabilities of a state could be shaped or affected by the international context. And the last, international context which is international conditions or also believed by Coplin as the result of another states policy which influence or affect the domestic politics and or military and economic capabilities of the state.

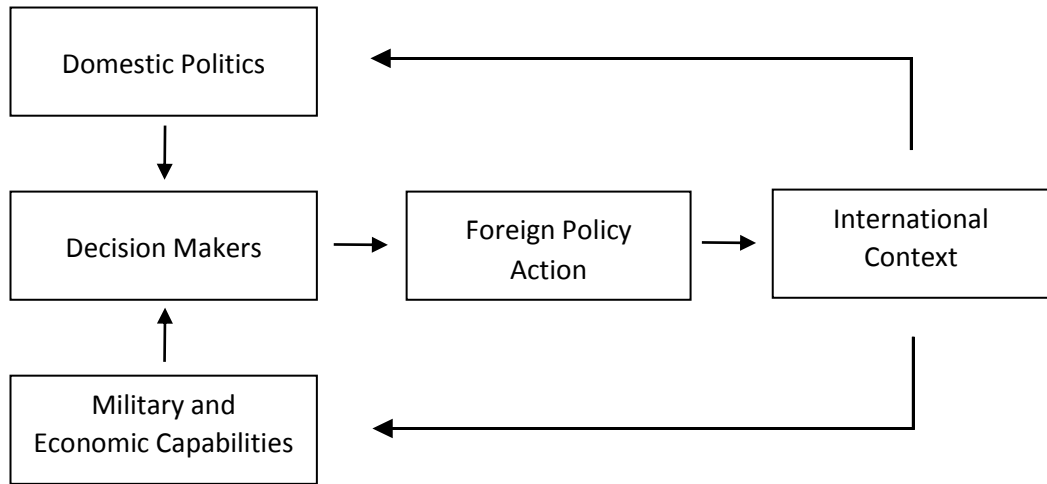


Figure 4.1 Foreign Policy Decision-Making by William D. Coplin (Coplin, 2003).

Based on the brief explanation about the theory of foreign policy decision-making above, the author found several reasons behind the signature of Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994.

A. The Gulf War as the International Context

Linking back to the theory of foreign policy decision-making by William D. Coplin, the Gulf War could be defined as one of the important aspect that affect the formulation of the peace treaty which is international context, since Gulf War is international condition and or the product of other states policy which was affected Jordan.

The Gulf War or also known as Operation Desert Storm that happened in 1990-1991 gave Jordan a really big impact although Jordan did not directly involved in the war. It began when Saddam Hussein, the President of Iraq, accused Kuwait and United Arab Emirates for overproducing their oil. Saddam

Hussein called this act as an economic warfare against Iraq. Besides accusing Kuwait and UAE for overproducing their oil, Iraq also accused Kuwait for drilling oil over Kuwait's border into Rumaila oil field which belonged to Iraq. For those accusation, Iraq warned Kuwait of military action.

On 31 July 1990, there held Jeddah talks in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia to save the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait (Finlan, 2003). In Jeddah talks, Iraq demanded US \$10 billion to Kuwait in order to indemnify the lost revenues that Kuwait took from drilling the oil in Rumaila field. Kuwait did not say yes for the demand of Iraq, instead, they offered US \$9 billion instead of US \$10 billion. Iraq did not want to accept the offer of Kuwait and decided to take military option.

The president of Egypt, Hosni Mubarak immediately initiated negotiation for Iraq and Kuwait before other party intervened the situation. But, the negotiation did not go into the right direction. Saddam Hussein failed the negotiations after only two hours. Then on 2 August 1990, the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait began. Saddam Hussein took this decision to invade Kuwait because he thought that the other Arab countries would be on their side. But unfortunately for Iraq, the other two-third of 21 members of Arab League opposed Iraq invasion to Kuwait.

On 3 August 1990, UNSC called for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and on 10 August, Arab League also demanded withdrawal. But, Iraq did not positively responded to the UNSC and Arab League, instead, they annexed and declared Kuwait as their 19th province as City Al-Kadhima on 28 August (Aljazeera, 2010). Iraq stood still on their decision in annexing Kuwait and finally, on January 1991,

the coalition consisted of US, Britain, France, Germany, the Soviet Union, Japan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia were set to face Iraq and its coalition, Algeria, Sudan, Yemen, Tunisia, PLO, and Jordan. This position of Jordan in the coalition with Iraq brought more misery than fortune. Because of the coalition, Jordan loss financial aid from the West and other rich Arab countries which was the part of opposite colition of Jordan.

The Gulf War ended with resolution 686 passed by UNSC. The resolution obliged Iraq to accept sanctions and payment of reparations for war damages. UNSC also continued to press Iraq with resolution 687 about establishing United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) to control Iraq's suspected chemical and biological weapon capabilities. Before resolution 686 and 687, UNSC had already imposed trade embargo for Iraq in resolution 661. The situation of Iraq put Jordan in more devastated situation. Because of the sanctions, Jordan loss Iraq as their biggest trading partner (Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs).

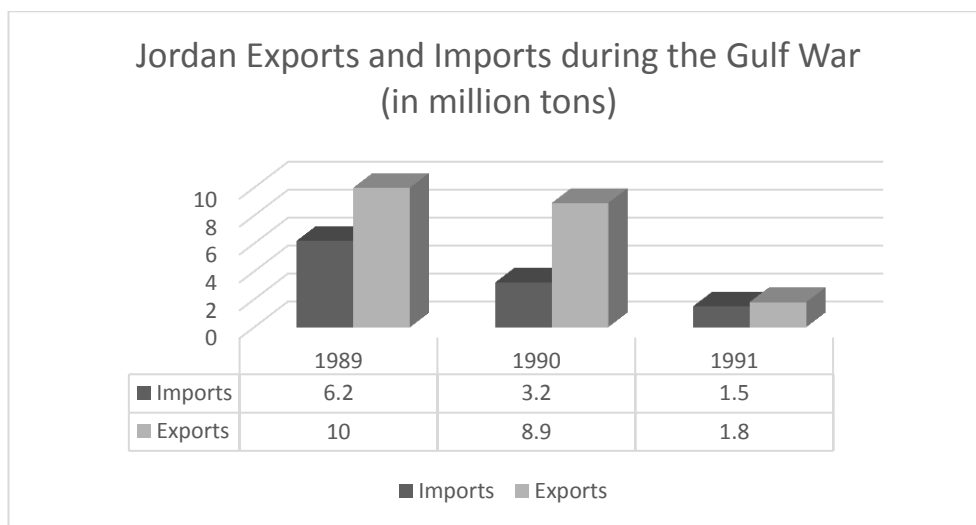
B. The Poor Economic Capabilities of Jordan

1. The Impact of Sanctions Against Iraq

As explained before, the end of Gulf War resulted in several sanctions imposed by UNSC against Iraq through resolution 661, 686, and 687. Those sanctions affected Jordan directly since Iraq had been the biggest trading partner of Jordan for the past ten years before the Gulf War broke out. The reciprocal relations between Jordan and Iraq was essential for both parties. During the war between Iraq and Iran in 1980s, it was crystal clear that their reciprocal cooperation was needed by each of them. Jordan's economy (trade, agriculture,

and industry) was all important for Iraq, while for Jordan, cheap oil, grants, and low-interest loans from Iraq really boosted the economic growth of Jordan. So far, Iraq remains the biggest supplier of cheap oil and also the largest market for Jordanian products. And all of them devastated Jordan economy after the sanctions for Iraq came into force.

Figure 4.2



Source: Data retrieved from <http://www.rubincenter.org/2002/06/swaidan-and-nica-2002-06-07/>

From the chart above, it can be seen that the amount of exports and imports of Jordan was rapidly decreasing during the Gulf War. The Gulf War affected not only Jordan exports and imports but also the number of shipping visits. The amount of ships arrived at Aqaba, the only port of Jordan for trade, decreased from 2583 to 2075 during 1988-1991 (Nica, 2002). These absolutely created domino effect to Jordan economy. When the shipping is decreased, it made harder for Jordan to get ingredients for their industry and then it would decrease the ability of Jordan industry to produce their products where in the end, it would disturb the exports of Jordan.

The exports and imports of Jordan was not the only thing affected by the Gulf War. Economic relations with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia was also deteriorated. Jordan position in the Gulf War affected the relations with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Jordan coalition with Iraq resulted in the prohibition of import of Jordanian products imposed by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Both countries also shut Jordan out of the most important Gulf markets. Besides shutting down markets for Jordan products, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other rich Gulf countries cut off the financial support for Jordan. Before the Gulf War, Jordan annually received US \$600 million from rich Gulf countries as financial aid. Again, it was added to the list of Jordan's misery as the effect of Gulf War.

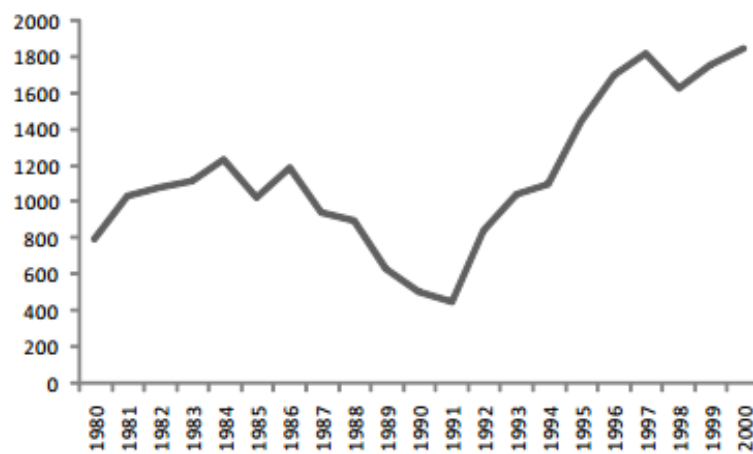
2. The Wave of Refugees and the Loss of Remittances

The economic condition of Jordan was getting even worse with the flow of massive refugees fled from Iraq to Jordan during the Gulf War. According to Mudhar Badran, Jordan Prime Minister at the time, there are five types of people who passed through and or returned to Jordan. Two of five types are 30.000 Iraqi refugees who fled Iraq and eventually settled in Jordan, and 1 million refugees during the last five months of 1990. The big number of refugees who fled to Jordan made its economy even worse. Jordan already lost so much in their economy and yet, the government still needed to spend over US \$60 million with UN only reimbursed US \$12 million, in order to help refugees who fled to Jordan due to the Gulf War (Nica, 2002).

The Gulf War was not only impacted in the flow of refugees coming to Jordan for settlement. The other effect of Gulf War involved Jordanian expatriats

who worked in gulf countries. Jordanian expatriats who worked in the gulf countries got expelled as the respond from gulf countries towards Jordan coalition with Iraq. Jordanian expatriats had been contributing in building Jordan economy with the remmitances that they sent to Jordan. Thus, the return of Jordanian expatriats obviously decreased the amount of remittances inflow to Jordan.

Figure 4.3 Remittance Inflows for Jordan



Source: (Foad, 2009)

The decrease of remittance inflow to Jordan could be seen through the chart above, although it is not merely the inflows of remittance to Jordan from Gulf countries. The chart shows the total inflows of remittance to Jordan, including the remittance from expatriats from gulf countrie. Although the chart does not only show the remittance from gulf countries, it is still shown in the chart that 1991 was the year when Jordan remittances hit the lowest level, and it was due to the Gulf War that affected the inflow of remittances inflow to Jordan. Official statistics reported that in the mid 1980s Jordan received over US \$1,2

billion remittances every year. But then, due to the Gulf War, remittances decreased significantly to only US \$460 million in 1991.

Figure 4.4 List of Countries' Impact of Gulf Crisis

Box 1: Impact of Gulf Crisis (where impact > 1% of GNP)				
Country	Impact of the Gulf crisis			
	Oil Cost/ (Benefit)	Non-oil Cost	Total Cost	% GNP
	US\$m	US\$m	US\$m	
Low income				
Middle East				
Yemen	(570)	1400	830	10.4%
South Asia				
Bangladesh	130	115	245	1.4%
Pakistan	560	295	855	2.4%
Sri Lanka	140	125	265	4.0%
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Benin	40	-	40	2.2%
Chad	25	-	25	2.5%
Ethiopia	115	-	115	2.0%
Ghana	50	-	50	1.0%
Kenya	125	-	125	1.5%
Lesotho	15	-	15	2.0%
Liberia	20	-	20	2.0%
Madagascar	50	-	50	2.1%
Mali	35	-	35	1.9%
Mauritania	10	-	10	1.2%
Mozambique	20	-	20	2.0%
Rwanda	35	-	35	1.6%
Sudan	75	305	380	3.8%
Tanzania	80	-	80	2.8%
Lower middle income 'Front line' states				
Jordan	200	1,570	1,770	31.5%
Turkey	1,210	2,150	3,360	4.9%
Egypt	(1,215)	2,200	985	2.9%
East Asia				
Papua N Guinea	60	-	60	1.8%
Philippines	470	160	630	1.6%
Thailand	980	-	980	1.7%
Latin America & Caribbean				
Costa Rica	75	-	75	1.7%
Dominican Rp.	150	-	150	3.4%
Honduras	60	-	60	1.4%
Jamaica	70	-	70	2.6%
Nicaragua	45	-	45	1.4%
Panama	60	-	60	1.4%
Paraguay	105	-	105	2.8%
North America				
Morocco	260	150	410	2.0%
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Botswana	35	-	35	2.8%
Côte d'Ivoire	110	-	110	1.1%
Mauritius	50	-	50	2.6%
Total severely affected low income countries 3,200				
Total severely affected low and lower middle income countries 12,100				

Source: (Overseas Development Institute , 1991)

For all countries affected by the Gulf War besides Kuwait and Iraq, Jordan so far lost the most and suffered from the biggest GNP's decrease. The significant decrease of GNP was the result of some impacts of the Gulf War such as sanctions on Iraq and lost of remittances from expatriates. In the figure above, it can be seen that Jordan's GNP affected most than the other countries. While the highest GNP other than Jordan affected by the Gulf War is around 10%, Gulf War effect on Jordan's GNP hit the number of around 31%.

Linking the event to the concept of national interest and theory of foreign policy decision-making by William D. Coplin where both of national interest and foreign policy decision-making should be interconnected, it is then obvious that Jordan national interest played significant role in the formulation of the peace treaty. The devastating economy, or in the model of foreign policy decision-making is economic capabilities of Jordan, was affected by the Gulf War as the international context. And according to the theory, economic capabilities that in this case already affected by the international context would influence the decision maker in formulating the foreign policy.

As explained before, foreign policy decision-making and national interest is connected one another. State needs to produce foreign policy in order to achieve its national interest. King Hussein of Jordan was well known for his priority in directing the direction of Jordan foreign policy. King Hussein always put the survival of Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan as main priority and national interest. The devastating economy as the result of Gulf War then triggered King Hussein to act and formulate foreign policy as the solution since the national interest of Jordan to survive in the region was threatened by the fall of their economy.

The economic reason finally became one of the reason for King Hussein, or decision maker, to sign peace treaty with Israel in which they did not only establish peace among them but also agreed to cooperate in term of economy which can be seen in Article 7 Economic Relations Treaty of Peace between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and also other sectors which

could help Jordan boost their economy back to normal or even to a better condition. Any related articles of the treaty will be provided in appendix.

C. The Domestic Politics of Jordan

In the theory of foreign policy decision-making, besides international context and military economic capabilities, there is also domestic politics that can affect the decision maker in formulating the foreign policy. In the case of Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994, the type of policy influencer that shape the domestic politics of Jordan are first, partisan influencer where government relied on the support of loyalist tribal groups in the parliamentary election to pass the bill of the treaty. Second, mass influencer where the mass media positively blew up the news about the peace treaty in order to frame the public opinion into supporting the decision of the government to sign peace treaty with Israel.

In Jordan government, in order to be ratified by the King, or decision maker, a proposal should pass a process of decision making. First, a proposal will be given to the Chamber of Deputies. Chamber of Deputies could accept, amend, or reject the proposal. In case that the proposal got accepted, it will then be given to the government, and government will change the proposal into bill. The bill then passed back to the Chamber of Deputies to be approved. After it got approved, the bill will be given to the Senate, and Senate will hold debate and vote about the bill. If the bill passed by Senate then the King could ratify it.

The member of the Senate are appointed directly by the Monarch, while the member of Chamber of Deputies are appointes through direct election. Thus,

in order to the proposals and bills would be approved, the King needed to ensure that the member of Chamber of Deputies are the pro-government groups or people.

In 1992, Jordanian government officially legalized political parties after being banned since 1957. After legalizing political parties in 1992, the government also changed the electoral system into one man one vote (The National, 2010). This decision was aimed to clear the way for government to pass the bill of peace treaty so it could be easily ratified. This change believed to be a favor for loyalist tribal groups or pro-government groups.

There were ten political groups joined the 1993 parliamentary election. They are Islamic Action Front, Jordan National Alliance Party, Al-Ahd Party, Al-Yakatha Party, Al-Mustakbal Party, Jordan Arab Baath Party, Jordan Arab National Democratic Party, Jordan Communist Party, Jordan Democratic People's Party, and the Independents. However, among those parties, there is only one dominant party, which was Islamic Action Front. Unfortunately, IAF did not support the peace treaty. Thus, the government ensured the support by changing the electoral system into one man one vote. One man one vote system believed to be a favor for independent candidates. Independent candidates came from tribal groups in Jordan. And people tend to vote candidate based on their tribes.

The benefit of one man one vote system was proven when the election was done and independent candidates won 50 seats from total 80 seats in Jordan parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1993). 50 seats for independent candidates in the Chamber of Deputies made sure that the bills of Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994 approved by the majority vote and passed to the Senate in which the

members are appointed by the Monarch, thus it should be favorable for the Monarch.

One form of support that came from the tribal group said directly by a member of Na'ur tribe, Abdul Salam Samarneh Ajarmeh

All his life, the King has worried about leaving something for the generations to come. This peace will be a good thing, I think. During all these years, we were in a state of no war, no peace. Now, we finally have a solution that might improve the economy and create more jobs (Times, 1994).

The devastating economic due to the Gulf War affected the citizen and it made them hope for more economic benefits from the peace agreement with Israel.

Although political groups already knew about the agenda of peace with Israel, the idea of Jordan-Israel peace treaty 1994 massively heard by public through Washington Declaration. Washington Declaration which was signed by King Hussein of Jordan and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel on 25 July 1994 was the hallmark of the new phase of relations between Jordan and Israel. The Washington Declaration was the way for Jordan and Israel to finally signed the peace treaty several months after (Sciolino, 1994).

The Washington Declaration triggered reactions from mass media. The shocking decision of Jordanian government created curious atmosphere for the media to report more about the issue. Jordanian government was alarmed by the situation, they thought that they could use the media to gain public support towards the agreement. The strategy of Jordanian government to gain public support was through media campaign with four major arguments:

1. The peace treaty was the most realistic and best option for Jordan at the moment in order to escape the devastating effect of the Gulf War.
2. The treaty would give Jordan back the territories they had lost to Israel during the wars and battles in the past.
3. The treaty would provide multilateral cooperations for Jordan in order to solve some issues such as refugees and economic cooperation.
4. The treaty would give Jordan much benefits in term of economy, so that they could bounce back from their bad economic condition after the Gulf War (Lucas P. L., 2001).

The mass media campaign seemed to be successful in framing the public opinion to support the signature of Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty 1994. It was proven by series of public opinion polls held by Center for Strategic Studies University of Jordan. CSS held public opinion polls about the reaction of people around Jordan towards the Washington Declaration and the peace process of Jordan and Israel.

Center for Strategic Studies conducted the public opinion polls on 18-20 August 1994 by doing 1172 interviews to people aged 19 and above in all around Jordan. The result of the polls stated that about 80,2% from the sample surveyed by the CSS supported the Washington Declaration, 14,1% disagreed, and 5,7% were unsure whether to agree or disagree towards the declaration (Center for Strategic Studies University of Jordan, 1994).

Jordanians seemed to get the message of the media campaign that promote about better economic condition for Jordan if they signed the peace agreement with Israel, thus they hoped for the better economic condition of Jordan as the

result of the peace treaty (Lucas R. E., 2005). Another polls conducted by the CSS showed that around 82,8% of people surveyed hoped and believed for better economic condition for Jordan if they signed the peace agreement. The detailed result can be seen in the table below.

Figure 4.5 People Opinion on the Effect of the Peace Agreement towards Jordan Economic Condition

The economy of the state will get better	82,8%
The economy of the state will stay the same	5,4%
The economy of the state will get worse	6,6%
Do not know	5,2%
	100%

Source: (Center for Strategic Studies University of Jordan, 1994)

King Hussein was well known for his sensitivity to the public opinion. The King was a leader who wanted his rule to be the manifestation of the popular demand (Humaidan, 2013). Thus, the result of polls that showed the support from Jordanian to conduct peace treaty with Israel in order to recover its economic condition, affected King Hussein as the decision maker to realize the popular demand by conducting peace treaty with Israel.