

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Since the first movement of Jewish from Europe to the land of Palestine, it rose the tension to surrounding Arab countries. Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan obviously affected by all chaos that occurred because of the existence of Israel since Jordan shared land border with Israel and also had some disputed area in the border of both countries.

To reduce the tension among Arab countries and Israel, United Nations created partition plan in 1947 in which the United Nations divided the land of Palestine into eight parts in order to create separated Arab and Jewish state. The region was divided each for Arab state, Jewish state, and other parts that were administered by the UN. Though, the United Nations plan to create separated Arab and Jewish land and made them live together side by side in peace was failed. The partition plan was rejected by the other Arab leaders.

The first Arab-Israeli War that happened directly after the announcement of the independent Israel was 1948 War. 1948 War happened right the day after the declaration of the independence of Israel. The belligerents of 1948 War was five coalition of Arab countries consist of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan. The war lasted for almost a year, and in this war, Jordan successfully conquered the Old City of Jerusalem. This war ended with a separated armistice agreement between Israel and each Arab country that involved in 1948 War, including Jordan.

The armistice agreement talks between Jordan and Israel occurred in 1949. There were several points in the armistice agreement such as the drawing of armistice line between Israel and Jordan, and also agreement about places that had been conquered by Jordan during the 1948 War. The armistice agreement between Jordan and Israel was hoped to bring peace towards both countries. Yet, it was not like what it was wished. Both Jordan and Israel did several violations towards the armistice agreement, thus, the peace remained out of reach for both countries.

After 1948 War, the relation among Arab countries, including Jordan, and Israel were never really fine. The second Arab-Israeli War broke out in 1956, though Jordan was not involved in the second Arab-Israeli War. Jordan involved in the third Arab-Israeli War, or as known as 1967 Six-Day War. This war lasted for only six days and yet, brought a victory for Israel.

1967 War triggered by the fight over Jordan River and also the rise of Palestinian guerilla group as known as Palestinian *fedayeen*. The *fedayeen* created some chaos which then became the trigger to the 1967 War. In 1967 War, Israel really proved the ability of their armed forces. Israel could repel any attacks that came to them and ended the war for only six days. The 1967 War brought so many losses for Jordan. Among other Arab countries, Jordan suffered the most for losing the West Bank, and West Bank was the center of Jordan agricultural and Industrial sector. Thus, it hardly hit Jordan economy to lose the center of its most contributing sector.

The loss of 1967 War changed the direction of Jordanian foreign policy. After losing the West Bank in 1967 War, Jordan focused on regaining the land it had lost due to 1967 War. But then, there was a new challenge and problem for Jordan. At the time after 1967 War, PLO gained much popularity and they kept creating chaos and conflict in surrounding area. What had been done by the PLO made it harder for Jordan to focus on regaining what had been lost in 1967 War. Although in the end, Jordan finally defeated and expelled the PLO. With the defeat of PLO, Jordan could focus on establishing peace with Israel in order to regain the land that lost.

Jordan formally conducted peace agreement with Israel in 1994. According to the concept of national interest and the theory of foreign policy decision-making, there were some aspects or reasons behind the decision of Jordan to sign peace agreement with Israel. Jordan itself formulated the peace agreement as an act to achieve its national interest. According to the theory of foreign policy decision-making, domestic politics, economy and military capabilities, and international context are aspects that can influence the decision maker to formulate foreign policy.

Thus, according to the theory, the first reason or factor affected Jordan decision to sign peace agreement with Israel was the devastating economic condition of Jordan as the effect of the Gulf War 1991. As the effect of Gulf War 1991, Jordan lost its biggest trading partner and supplier for cheap oil, Iraq. The UN imposed sanctions and trade embargo for Iraq, thus Jordan exports and

imports deteriorated. Jordan exports and imports fell dramatically due to the Gulf War.

Beside exports and imports, Jordan also broke its relations with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait because of Jordan alliance with Iraq during the Gulf War. With that reason, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other rich gulf countries which were on the side of Kuwait during the war, cut their financial aid off for Jordan. Jordan used to annually receive US \$600 million as financial aid from rich gulf countries. Not only cutting off the financial aid, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait also shut Jordanian products out of most important gulf markets. Jordan economy kept falling down with the lost of remittances from expatriats that no longer could work in gulf countries and have to go back to Jordan.

According to the data, Jordan GNP was affected the most by the Gulf War compared to the other Arab countries. King Hussein of Jordan was well known for putting the survival of Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan as the main priority, direction of foreign policy, and national interest. The devastating economic condition of Jordan put the survival of the Kingdom into danger. Thus, the devastating economic condition of Jordan became one of the reason for King Hussein to sign peace agreement with Israel in order to recover Jordan economy, so that it could survive in the region.

In the theory of foreign policy decision-making, besides international context and economy-military capabilities, there were domestic politics. Here, the support from political groups and Jordanian was considered as the domestic politics that affected King Hussein as decision maker in formulating the peace

treaty as Jordan foreign policy. As explained before, King Hussein was very sensitive of public opinion. He wanted his rule to be the manifestation of popular demand.

Mass media campaigned and reported positively towards the idea of peace treaty between Jordan and Israel. Intensive campaign of the media shaped the public opinion into supporting the decision of Jordan government to sign peace agreement with Israel. The people got the point of mass media campaign that the peace agreement was the best way for Jordan to recover its economy. The treaty was believed by political groups and the Jordanian to bring economic benefits for Jordan which was very needed at the time. The people agreed to the idea of economic benefits and started to support the government for peace agreement. It was proven by some polling done in order to know the percentage of people who supported the agreement. It turned out that majority of people surveyed supported the agreement. Thus, the popular demand of the people became the other reason of decision maker to sign peace agreement with Israel.