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Views of Jordan's Foreign Policy during the Current Syrian Crisis

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Abstract:

This research discusses the views of Jordan's Foreign Policy during the Syrian crisis 2011 - 2016, It clarifies the importance of this study, its methodology, concepts, questions and previous studies.

This research focuses on the main two sections, the first section shows mechanism, tools and How to decision-making in Jordanian Foreign Policy, in which the mechanism and tools of this policy has been discussed, the second section discusses the incentives of Jordan's Foreign Policy.

The second section treats with the Jordanian foreign policy toward the Syrian crisis during the study period, it is divided into two themes, the first one tackles Jordan's foreign policy toward Syria before 2011, and the second theme tackles Jordan's foreign policy during Syrian crisis from 2011 to 2016. In conclusion, the most important recommendations are shown.

Keywords: Foreign policy, Jordanian foreign policy, Jordan, Syria, international relations, Syrian crisis

1. Introduction

While we look at the Foreign Policy, we point to that the Foreign Policy is a set of actions and reactions that the state may takes in the foreign environment at its different levels, seeking to achieve its goals and adapting to the variables of this environment, this includes the patterns of different foreign conduct which the state can use through its foreign policy. Moreover; we should distinguish between the different levels of the international environment which customarily included a lot of variables that foreign policy makers should take into consideration while making this policy.

Thus, we can say that the concept of Foreign Policy is as a public plan or strategy governs the state's conduct with the whole world using its sovereignty principle and material and military possibilities. Which is not limited to states only but the multinational companies, regional and international organizations by its legal personality have its own foreign policy which may be consistent or contradict with their affiliated states.

Obstacles and difficulties of studying the Jordanian Foreign Policy is abundant in particular under the current Arab circumstances, no doubt that who research in its paths will find himself in front of hard choice, that he must count all of its terms, tools and incentives then have to correlate of which in frame of consistency and integration.

Therefore, this research will discuss the views of Jordan's Foreign Policy during the Syrian crisis 2011 - 2016.

1.1. Importance of the Study

The importance of this study and case is to study and highlights the views of Jordan's Foreign Policy during the Syrian crisis to clear its effects to attempt to handle it and reduce its risks as much as possible through providing several results and recommendations which may be taken into consideration by the Jordanian Foreign Policy makers in order to have a form or a decision within interrelated circle to achieve maximum benefits and avoid more damages.

1.2. Dilemma and Questions of the Study

through this study, with the increasing of conflict in Syria, a number of crises influenced in making the Jordanian Foreign Policy has emerged, and played a great role in Jordan's future in general whether currently, near future or far future, accordingly; the policy addressed by many ways and approaches that have remarkable effect on making this policy. Based on the above, questions of the study have been formulated in two main questions, they are: -

First question: what is the tools and means used by Jordanian state to achieve the goals of its Foreign Policy and maintain its supreme national interests?

Second question: What is the effects that the Syrian internal conflict made in the Jordanian Foreign Policy?

2. Methodology of the Study

Based on the fact that the scientific research is the output of an integrated work and the fruit of efforts, hard works and backlogs, hence; it may need to specific aspects beyond the narrow range of mind's limits. This study uses making-decision methodology which is based on assumption which eventually results to the point that the policy is a series of making decisions, therefore, through such

methodology, we can study the policy and its situations that require making decisions, such situations may emerge before the decision as there are some arrangements of making decision and it may continue after decision's issuance, execution and then rectification thereof (Al Kasby, 2004: 219).

According to this methodology, the research usually focuses on the president of the state and the limited group who share him in making the decision especially the decisions of Foreign Policy, accordingly; it's necessary to implement this methodology on this study.

2.1. Concepts of the Study

- 1- Foreign Policy: is a set of actions and procedures that the state takes in its relation with other countries in order to primarily achieve its national interest, then to achieve other goals. Typically, it is the product of the interaction of internal and external influences whether negative or positive and perceptions of state's decision makers (William, 1971: p85).
- 2- Diplomacy: is a group of concepts, rules, procedures, protocols, organizations and international norms that regulate relations among states, international organizations and diplomatic representatives in order to serve the supreme interests (security and economy), public policies and to reconcile interests of countries by way of communications, correlation, hold political reconciliations, and execution of international agreements and treaties. Diplomacy is considered as the main tool of Foreign Policy that have an influence on countries and foreign communities leading the attraction and the gain of their support by different means, some of which are persuasive and ethical and the other is terrifying (hidden) and unethical (Al Kayaly, 2010: 662).
- 3- International relations: It's defined as a branch of political sciences that cares about foreign affairs and relations among countries. This concept prevails since Peace of Westphalia 1648 until World War II, then UN was established in 1945. International relations resembles the whole foreign policies of countries under the framework of the postulate that states: "The whole is the total of its part", however; interactions that happen in the scene of international relations witnessed the emergence of other unions under the sovereign of the state as liberal movements and ethnic groups and unions beyond the sovereign of the state such as non-governmental international organizations and multinational companies which leads to the emergence of other interactions other than foreign policies of countries" (Burton John, 1975:15).
- 4- Syrian Revolution: This term is used by the entire demonstrators, civil activists and foreign political protest, some of internal protesters and armed fighters against the dominant reign in Syria (ar.m.wikipedia.org).
- 5- Syrian Civil War: This term is used by many international organizations and European countries in addition to a number of research centers and international media (ar.m.wikipedia.org).

2.2. Previous Studies

- 1) (Complex Accounts "Hesabat Moakada"): Jordanian Situation Towards Iraqi Crisis by Abou Roman (2014): This study discusses the sources of threat that imposed by the evolution of situations in Jordan regionally and internally and reveals that this threat originates from the pairing between Iraqi and Syrian conditions regionally and also shows the worrying from the regional security domino chaos that creates tensions and untraditional threaten sources along northern and eastern Jordanian borders in the light of the growth of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria "Daesh" which has a historical hostile relation with Jordanian Regime, in addition to human downfalls that raise the concern of Jordan about the potentiality of the occurrence of new third Iraqi refugee wave which results in the occurrence of the crisis of resources and infrastructure due to the refugee of hundred thousands of Syrians.
This study discusses a number of issues in this regard being tackled in this study.
- 2) "What is Jordan's situation towards Syrian crisis events" by Mahmoud (2013): In this study, the ambiguity that surrounds the official Jordanian situation towards events of Syria has been discussed, moreover; it also shows the Jordanian situation that distanced itself as much as possible far from the evolution of the conflict there and is satisfied with addressing advise messages and receiving refugees on the northern borders, so this study is fruitful as it shows the reality of Jordanian situation towards this crisis.
- 3) "Views of Jordan's Foreign Policy During Regional Variables" by Mosalat (2011): This study discusses the variables that occur to Jordanian Foreign Policy during the regional variables. These variables were general and was published in the form of article, however; this study is fruitful in several points that support this research.
- 4) "Jordan's Foreign Policy about to follow a new approach" by Al Hyagna (2016): It is a short study but a distinguished one in which the researcher pointed out the Jordan-Syria relation and Syrian file. The researcher showed that Jordan's Foreign Policy treats assumptions which are going amiss regarding Syrian file and in a lot of details initially based upon ethic and ideal assumption in a great measure, without paying attention that this assumption won't constitute the lifeline or achieve success in Israeli- Palestine Conflict which is the experience preceding the experience and suffering of Syrian People. The other fault is the lack of the rationality in Jordan's Foreign Policy, it is the basis that requires making the decision according to the benefit and cost accounts to assure more benefits and less cost, the basis that planners and developers of Jordan's Foreign and Internal Policy totally neglects. Many guidelines of this study are referred to in this research.

3. First Study

3.1. Mechanism, Tools and Incentives of Making Jordan's Foreign Policy

In this study, tools and mechanism of making Jordan's Foreign Policy will be discussed in First Theme while incentives of this study will be discussed in Second Theme.

3.1.1. First Theme- Mechanism and Tools of Making Jordan Political Decision

Mechanism of making Jordan's Foreign Political Decision is one of the elements that has an influence on a state man interiorly, although the great rule that the state man plays in Foreign Policy, this role doesn't dominate the role of organizations and governmental bodies, whether executive or legislative, in making Foreign Policy since the recognition of the situation is considered as the first stage of making the decision in Foreign Policy and depends dramatically on these bodies and structures or political decision units because it plays a significant role in spreading such recognition among makers of Foreign Policy for discussion (Al Haziema, 2012:171).

In fact, there are two units of making decision in Jordani.e.: -

- Basic Unit of Making Decision.
- Assistant Unit of Making Decision.

1- Basic Unit of Making Decision: This unit is centered on the head of Executive Power "the King" who is descended from Hashemite Family. That Family that are closely affiliated to Islamic Religion due to being traced back to Prophet Muhammad Peace and Blessings of Allah be Upon Him, moreover; Hashemite Family held sway over Mecca for a long century which conferred a wide reputation and acceptance amidst the governing Islamic families in Islamic history on them.

Thus, religious-political appearance adds the political legitimacy to Hashemite Family. The kingship in Jordan became hereditary and is limited to males of the family of the grandfather "King Abdulla bin Al Hussein" who founded Modern Jordan. The Kingship is transferring from the father to the eldest son to the eldest son of the eldest son and so on (Jordanian Constitution: Article 28). The kingship doesn't prevent the King from choosing a successor during his life other than his elder son as has happened when the deceased King/ Al-Hussein Bin Talal appointed his younger brother/ Prince Hassan to be his Crown Prince (Ghazawy 1985:101).

In Jordanian political regime, the King is the head of state, he has immunity against every dependency and responsibility (Jordanian Constitution, Article 30), the King shall practice his powers according to the will of the kingdom. King's powers include juristic, legal, political and administrative powers.

In Jordanian political regime, the King practices his powers through the ministry as the ministry holds responsible before House of Representatives for all acts taken by the King, moreover; the King practices his personal rights without the involvement of the ministry due to legal and political considerations (Al Moshakba, 2012:53).

It's noted that while making the decision, the King focuses on two aspects:-

- Adhering to basics of Foreign Policy management, planning and development of its decisions.
- Promptly making the most suitable decision and considering recommendations of the remained organizations of making the decision.

While pursuing the political belief of the decision maker (the King), we noted that it is centered on several aspects:

- Deepening the national unity and forming it in one pot.
- Making balanced Foreign Policy amidst all Arab countries especially the neighbor countries since the drawing closer to one country means expressing the hostile against the other one under the lack of trust and instability that prevails in the area and threatens Arab national security (Al Hazeima, 182), such condition becomes clear after Arab Spring as well as consequences to which the situation of many Arab countries lead especially the countries that adjacent Jordan.
- Considering Jordan, the first base of Arab Mobilization and the first line defense of Arab and Islamic nation against enemies who are led by Israel.
- Caring about solving Arab disputes within Arab Union System, avoiding the military solutions and resorting political solutions as the case in Syria crisis which Jordan still calls for solving politically.
- Paying special attention to Arab cooperation in order to unify ranks and efforts of the nation to face the surrounding risks.

2- Assistant Unit of Making Decision: there are several Assistant Units of Making Decisions, the most important are:

- It is the most important and the most closer bodies of making political decision to the first decision-maker. Customarily, the King appoints efficient politicians in the position of Head of Royal Diwan who helps a number of consultants. The Royal Diwan, presided by its head, is considered the link between the King and Prime Minister (Ministry of Culture, 1978:168). Tasks of Head of Royal Diwan is distinguished by the companion of the King in most internal rounds and his visits abroad.
- Government: The King is the one who elects Prime Minister who should have the ability to develop the public policy of ministers and speak on behalf of the government. Members of the government shall hold the responsibility for managing all internal and external affairs of the state (Al Mashakba:130) while ministers shall be responsible for executing their liabilities under the direct supervision of Prime Minister.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs: is Jordan's window to the world. The officials of Ministry are seeking for growing, improving and consolidating relations with other countries via ambassadors and attaches which in return contribute to provide State's bodies with all necessary information according to its domain. Minister of Foreign Affairs plays the executive role of the adopted Foreign Policy (Al Haziema:191).

- Military Establishment: is one tool of Jordan's Foreign Policy (Al Mashkpa:131), the King assigns an executive role to Minister of Defense to provide the advice regarding decisions requiring the support of army to have an executive role in such decisions. The army are used many times in implementing Foreign Policy by way of training military missions who are working abroad.
- Legislative Power: Parliament "Jordanian House of Representatives and Senate", it takes over developing internal and external policies which is limited in the control over the government, ratification of treaties with regard to public and private Jordanian citizens' rights, in addition, the legislative power has a significant role in the discussion of Foreign Policy through Foreign and International Affairs Committee of the parliament (Al Mashakba:131).

It's noted that in spite of these mechanisms and tools of making Jordanian political decision, we should refer, with absolute impartial, that the monopoly of Foreign Policy by Hashemite Leadership represented in that the King has added balance and features to the policy that can't be avoided. No wonder that the policy is of no certain features, is unstable and variable, it appears for others blurred or mysterious but it is sometimes certainly changeable and discrepant. A lot regards the policy as the policy of situations of changeable behavior. Some of these features has harmonized in the policy of the leadership internally for serving Foreign Policy goals and its internal requirements. But the difference here stems from that the ordinary citizen recognized the matter totally and believes that the King is the responsible leader whatever the blurring and contradiction. So we can see this citizen treats with internal officials in a wrongful manners for example accusing prime ministers of living strains on citizens and demanding the King taking an action or dismiss the government while the response of the King usually comes unhurried and late through features of Foreign Policy as the King knows that some citizens believes that the King doesn't directly responsible for decisions of Prime Minister that cause financial and living strains to citizens and other citizens want to believe so, for example, making the decision of receiving Syrian refugees who equal one-third people of Jordan for free and the attrition of Jordan's limited resources.

We also noted that Jordanian governments with its different bodies which is considered as the authorities implementing a great part of policies and its tools by virtue of decisions or instructions that will be vain to be familiar with its nature, goal or targets. No doubt that the policy is the power of the King as one man without public participation. Since goals of the policy are stemmed from warnings and determinants that differentiate from national and Arab goals and strategy, it seems to be the policy that is subject to foreign effects and concerns in the form of political partnership so it's important to refer that the internal policy serves Foreign policy not vice versa as supposed.

Likewise, officials of first class in Jordan due to their positions as Prime Minister or Minister of Foreign Affairs will be deluded if they think or market for themselves that they are familiar with Foreign Policy, tools and its developments from day to day, from state to state, where does they stand? And where will they be? they may face political hinders sometimes while explaining some situations in its normal frame since the King is the only one who can recognize it sometimes because of its nature and goals, the King is also the only one who knows where does the policy stand today? but he doesn't actually know where will it stand tomorrow because he regards that the policy associates with foreign variables and developments on the ground. Whereas the King is the only source who can be contacted at all times to be familiar with the development of the policy in every situation which is impossible to be done by others, they resort to make explanations based on unstable fundamentals but incorrect ones at times (Al Batania, 2014:68).

In general, we can say that the explanation of the two parts of Foreign Policy that are related to its two goals implemented by any official under a direct supervision of the King doesn't based on known fundamentals, thus such explanation shall not be necessarily correct. The quality of the implementation of parts of Foreign Policy that have no influence on this Foreign Policy in secondary matters which are the responsibility of governments and its bodies represented in decisions and situations depends on the political awareness of the implementing body or the responsible person and his understanding of the policy prevailing the stage and its requirements and on his ability to evaluate the situation timely. Unlike issues that directly related to two goals of Foreign Policy, requirements of its implementation and its determinants. Such policy is implemented by the responsible body under the supervision of the King and under his instructions as the head of the executive authority so there is no room for any fault (www.allof.jo.net, 2016).

Accordingly, in its external and internal journey, Jordan impelled to adopt policies that serve two goals of Foreign Policy, thus; some policies and practices that seem to others contradicting the national and public interests and which are not agree with public or supposed piles of Foreign Policy of the state within international and Arab frames referred to as well as contradicting the cultural inheritance and its requirements whose priority are degraded against two basic goals of Foreign Policy, has been adopted because of the necessity of these two goals.

3.1.2. Second Theme: Incentives of Jordan's Foreign Policy

The driver of Foreign Policy of any country is the interest. The concept of interest is deemed the essential driver or the compass of Foreign Policy of countries by which a country is driven towards its interests and to define the tool to be used to implement its Foreign Policy. Any country may believe that its interest lies in adopting military force tool in order to implement its Foreign Policy in cases of conflict or dispute with other countries. In contrary, other country may believe that the diplomacy, conversation language, logic and rationality is the suitable tools to implement its Foreign Policy especially in such conflicts and disputes. Under these disputes that currently happen in Arab World and in other world countries, we regard that many countries interfere in these disputes, in particular; Russia and America, for the sake of preserving its interest and the interest of her main ally in the region which is Israel so that it can preserve its safety. Type and importance of the interest is the element that determines interference volume, for example; the powerful

and severe Russian interference in the current conflict of Syria which may result to the confrontation between Russia and America who are searching for its interests under the weakness of its political leadership, on the top of whom are Obama, and the event breakdowns there. The war may be broken out for the sake of the interest of either side.

The main incentive of Jordan's Foreign Policy in Syria, we found that such conflict initially stems from Jordan interest in all security economic, political aspects. Jordan tries to preserve the remained Arab national security system so Jordan desires to finalize this conflict peacefully and diplomatically without using internal and external military intervention although Jordan has all facilities that qualify it to use all tools of the implementation of Jordanian Foreign Policy whether diplomatic, military, economic, physiological or propaganda. The following are the most important drivers of Jordanian Foreign Policy: -

1- **Diplomacy:**

Diplomacy is one of tools of the implementation of Foreign Policy, some writers define it as: the art of negotiation (Ghaly, 1989:65) since the most task of the diplomat is negotiation by which the convergence of views is achieved between the disputing parties. It's not strange to see or hear that there is a camp on the border of belligerent state in which a delegation of each disputing party seats to discuss ceasing and ending the dispute by a truce or yielding without conditions. Upon parties hold negotiations, each party is seeking to turn out from the conflict with the minimal damages.

Hence, we believe that Foreign Policy implementation and management can be made by diplomacy through peaceful means away from the use of force. The diplomacy is represented in conversation language, mind, logic and convergence of view between parties. The diplomacy is the science with rules, and the art with principles because it requires being aware of relations among countries. Jordanian Diplomacy can prove its existence and have a great influence in countries lives and in its relations with other countries.

Diplomacy covers the best endeavors, mediation, arbitration and international investigation committees and judicial settlement at last.

2- **Military Force:**

Military force is one of tools of the implementation of Foreign Policy. It means the actual usage of military force which is represented in weapons of all types. When a crisis happens among two parties or more countries, it seems that the dispute can be settled by discussions and the attempt to convergence of views between parties, but when discussions or negotiations reach the point of no return, the relations between parties shall be escalated to reach the use of weapons force on the ground. Having used the military force, the dispute passes escalation or deterrence and other stages of dispute management. Jordan has a military force that can't be underestimated. It is also being used in the implementation of Jordan Foreign Policy at least to protect its internal and external borders. This case is clear, as Jordan uses its military force to protect its borders during the state of crisis of Syria and Iraq and to strike terrorist movements out of Jordanian borders as happened with Daesh after the burning of Jordanian Pilot (Moazz Kassasbeh).

3- **Economic Tool:**

It's an important tool to which countries resort in many situations in order to solve the pending problems. This tool is used as one of persuasion, temptation, invitation and intimidation so it has two aspects: -

First Aspect- Economic Aids: -

It is represented in providing the economic aids which is a significant element in relations among countries. Aids can be bilateral if it is provided by one country to the other and it can be collective if it is given by an international organization to one country or another. Such aids aim at attracting these countries to be friend and ally, in addition, it aims at placing military bases or having economic interests such as getting the petroleum at cheap prices.

Some people points out that the economic tool is a new form of colonialism since the economic aids may be conditional on that the state should import all its needs from the donor country. These aids are covered by signing economic agreements and treaties which are reflected in the policy on the grounds that the policy and economy are twins. Therefore; the countries that provide aids are entitled to interfere in interior affairs of the state to which aids are provided.

It's noted that in general, Jordanian economy is characterized by its dependence on aids (loans and foreign aids) so there are agricultural and nutritional subjection and the deficiency of productive industries, and lack of power, oil burdens, trade deficit and foreign budget weight (Al Badawy, 1978:181) which eventually lead to the weakness of Jordan in using this tool to practice the pressure on others.

Second Aspect- Economic Sanctions:

Economic sanctions aspect is the first form of non-military intervention which involves dispatching forces to the epicenter of the dispute. it can be made by imposing economic sanctions on a country to obligate its rulers to amend its policies. The utilized means are economic ones, however; waging and target have policies and the country or countries that decide to impose economic sanctions are seeking to practice pressure on the political authority of the targeted country (Abdel Galil, 2014: 3).

So, we noted that the first possible sanction is to suspend the export of certain product to this country i.e. trade embargo in order to put the targeted country into a difficult situation. The second possible sanction is to reject the import of certain product of the targeted country i.e. boycott.

In general, the economic sanctions should be selective and should aim at achieving accurate and certain goal so that it can be effective, since; sometimes, it's not suitable to intend to impose total trade embargo on a certain country, on the contrary; it may be more realistic to seek for making a fruitful amendment to the policy of certain country by adopting specific commercial or financial sanction which puts this country in very difficult situation.

Under a certain circumstance, it's not necessary to virtually implement the prescribed economic sanctions, the mere threat of the implementation of this sanction may adept rulers of the targeted country from the execution of certain project or from processing in a certain policy (Abdel Jalil: 5).

In the same context, it's noticeable that Although Jordan suffers from the above-mentioned complex economic conditions, it has almost limited ability to use this tool on a small scale in certain circumstances and against certain countries whether by embargo, boycott or mere threat due to the lack of Jordanian economic resources.

4- Physiological or Propaganda Tool:

Propaganda, in general, refers to any attempt to persuade individuals or groups to accept a certain point of view or to conduct in a certain manner. Countries use the propaganda as a tool of the implementation of Foreign Policy aiming at persuading foreign countries to accept policies that are suitable for the country which spreads the propaganda or at least suitable for the allied countries. The first country that uses such policy is Soviet Union (Previously) after the Russian Revolution in 1917.

There are many factors that help the growth of this tool including (Falah:162):

- 1- Great revolution of communications technology or the so-called "Trinity Technologies" which are represented in "Internet, mobiles and TV channels", this trinity adds a lot to the facilities of the propaganda.
- 2- The prominence of Ideology role in the international relations as the basic international conflicts has acquired the ideological feature.

Thus, we find that the significance of propaganda stems from the implementation of Foreign Policy. It precedes the military intervention that the country intends to conduct in order to pave the way for it among international communities and legalize it, moreover; its significance lies in that by using media diplomacy, the propaganda may accompany the diplomatic works.

In the same context, by way of its psychological and propaganda means and tools, Jordan can affect many events and developments in the area especially towards the current Syrian crisis and its latest developments. However; the usage of such tools isn't improbable in the present time as Jordan believes in the possibility of resolving the dispute peacefully in following the non-alignment policy towards all parties.

4. Second Study

4.1. Jordanian Foreign Policy towards Syrian Crisis

This study discusses Jordanian Foreign Policy towards Syria before and after the crisis. It will be dealt with in two themes: The First theme is Jordanian Foreign Policy towards Syria before 2011, the second one is Jordanian Foreign Policy during Syrian Events since 2011 to 2016.

4.1.1. First Theme: Jordanian Foreign Policy towards Syria in 2011

The Jordanian- Syrian relations are tensed during the mandate period since Emir Abdulla Bin Al-Hussein, the King who founded Jordan, supported the armed Syrian uprisings and revolutions in years 1936-1939-1945 (Wikipedia: 2016:165). It was axiomatic that Amir Abdulla supported these Syrian revolutions due to his national fundamentals that seeking for liberating Syria from French occupation and unifying the Syrian state. Based on these fundamentals, Emir Abdulla allied Alestqlal Party after they are accused of the assassination attempt of General/Gouraudin 1921, in addition, he hosted the Syrian rebel/ Ibrahim Hanano in the same year (Wikipedia:167).

During 1920 to 1931, the situation was still confused on the Syrian-Jordanian borders because of the continuing attacks between Syrian and Jordanian tribes and due to the failure of any of two governments to overcome its tribes, however; the so-called "*Jordanian Desert Patrol*" Forming in 1931 can restore peace between the two sister countries (Zein, 1975:65).

After that, Jordanian-Syrian relationships were improving. A boundary Commission was formed between two countries. In 1932, it was agreed that the border is from a point situated in the south shore of Tiberias Lake to a point close to Tanf Mountain at Syrian desert which the meeting point of Jordanian-Iraqi-Syrian borders (Zein:68).

When World War II broke out, France surrendered to German armies in 1940 and French forces in Syrian declared its loyalty to Vichy Government, Jordan-Syria relationships began to be supported until it followed the right track in the independence era (Al-Bayany, 1988:63).

It's noted that Jordanian- Syrian relationships are negatively affected in the current period due to the repeated military coups in Syria that are resulted from the fluctuation of Syrian Foreign Policy according to the political doctrines that govern the coup every time (Al Hazeima, 111). Meanwhile, the unitary talks between Damascus and Cairo press Jordanian Decision-Maker for taking similar steps with any other Arab country. Iraq is the candidate to be included in this step due to the family relationships between rulers of two countries in order to cope up with the change wave followed by the unified Syrian-Egyptian leadership as Ideology that is considered as positive indications serving the nationalist action adopted by political and republican regimes in Arab world at large.

However, it's noticeable that shortly before the political instability duration that prevailed after President Hafez Al Assad took over the power of Syria, Jordanian-Syrian relations became antagonistic, the Syrian forces were mobilized towards Jordanian borders and some clashes happened (Al Bayany:63) in an attempt of Syrian Decision-Maker to help the armed Palestinian factions in its dispute with Jordanian Legitimate Authority. But the tension became lessen when President Al-Assad took the control of Syria and ordered troops stationed on the border to retreat (Bahgat, 1984:297). Jordanian- Syrian relations improved as far as the coordination of two

countries became the most brilliant feature of the stage which positively led to the accession of Jordanian troops besides Syrian troops to Ramadan War in 1973.

In June 1975, Jordanian- Syrian relationships has developed and was enthroned by the visit of President/ Hafez Al Assad to Jordan which found Jordanian positive reaction. Then the two parties proceeded to have a new form of relations to establish a type of union that led King Hussein Bin Talal and Syrian President/ Hafez Al Assad to sign the protocol of union between Jordan and Syria whereby official measures were taken to facilitate the transit between the two countries which is still ongoing until the present date (Wikipedia:185). Besides; a lot of economic and developmental projects are established between two countries.

In the eighties of the last century, the relationships between two countries were disturbed and soon the tension came back as a consequence of the complication of relations to the extent of mobilizing Syrian troops on the Jordanian borders and accusing Jordan of intervening in Syrian internal affairs by supporting Muslim Brotherhood in it. Accordingly, Jordanian leadership assumes its attitude that is based on self-control, carefulness in entering into a war destructing both countries and calming the situation by all means. There are several elements that help to cease this deteriorated relation between two countries including the following (Zard, 1986: 142):

- 1- Appointment of Ziad Al Refae as Jordan's Prime Minister who is identified with his political inclinations that meet inclinations of some Syrian bodies of making decisions.
- 2- The role of high-level Saudi mediation.
- 3- Efforts exerted by Arab Reconciliation Committee to relieve Arab tensions.
- 4- The will of King Hussein to reduce the escalation of tension in Arab relations that is revealed through his message that he sent to his Prime Minister in order to overcome elements that ruin Jordanian- Syrian relations centered on Jordan (Al Haziema:113), hence Syrian Decision-Maker moves towards improve his relation with Jordan in an effort to have a main role in the area.

The relations have improved between two countries to the extent that Jordanian government declared that it would abolish departure tax and charges levied on Jordanians, vehicles, trucks and buses when leaving borders between countries in 21st of December, 2009 (Wikipedia:185). This decision came within the light of the implementation of Jordanian Memorandum of Understanding that was signed between two countries during Jordan-Syria Ministerial Committee Meeting emanating from the Higher Committee presided by Prime Ministers of two countries, held in Damascus in the same year. An official date has been set for executing this memorandum one month before its signing.

Based on the above, we note that Syria is considered as being a major determinant of Foreign Policy during this stage. Jordanian Decision-Maker can't develop Foreign Policy of its country away from Syrian political situations.

4.1.2. Second Theme: Jordanian Foreign Policy during Syrian Events 2011-2016

Throughout five years and more, Jordan keeps neutral situations towards the ongoing conflict in Syria in which it booths Syrian's looking forward for the change and the reformation but it refuses to involve in the crisis. Moreover; it supports political efforts to ensure a peaceful transition of power through transitional stage that keeping Syrian and neighbor countries away from chaos and civil wars.

So, Jordan's official situation towards Syria is characterized by alertness and balances amid complex pressures internally and externally. It is also seeking to be in harmony with regional and international roles in a manner that can keep pace with difficult conditions that are at least reflected on Jordanian security, political, social and economic stability.

Alertness and contradiction policy that Jordan is following in dealing with Syrian crisis doesn't satisfy a number of international parties even the regional ones, meanwhile; under the effect and consequences on Jordan's national security together with the great influx of refugees, they are all reasons that made Jordan the influential player of Syrian crisis (www.albosla.com).

In spite of the above, it's noted, through the ongoing events, that Jordan believes that the continuity of Bashar Al-Assad regime is better than the dominance of extremist groups over the power in Damascus under which Syria becomes broken country and enters in eternal civil war and source of threat for the neighbor countries (Al Khetan, Al Ghad Newspaper:3).

However, when the crisis escalates and western powers side with the step down of Al-Assad option, Jordan recognizes that there is no room for keeping its former situation without prejudice to basics of Foreign Policy and Jordan's vital interests.

In other words, we can say that Jordan reshapes its situation towards Syrian crisis considering changes of both international and regional situations and persists in rejecting the armament of the opposition or the involvement in military actions against Syria as referred, but, on the contrary, Jordan are greatly ready for supporting civil opposition politically in the face of extremist and military active orientations. At the same time, there are three Jordanian requirements of support (Al Khetan:3) which are: the unity of Syrian land and people, the guarantee of the participation of all factions and spectrums of Syrian people in deciding its future, and preservation of the unity of Syrian army and the only power in the country.

Thus, in this light, it's seemed that Jordan becomes ready for cooperating with political characters of Syrian apposition including dissident Prime Minister/ Riyad Hejab who manages a series of communications in Amman in order to crystallize a certain concept of a specific political solution that ceases bloodshed and assures whole transition of the power.

If we went little back, the tension between Jordanian and Syrian regimes reach its climax in the recent years in 27th of May, 2014 when Jordan expelled Syrian Ambassador in Amman/ Bahget Soliman after giving a number of notices and statements by Jordanian government as he offended Jordanian politicians and party members and intervened in the internal affairs. That time, Jordanian Minister of Foreign Affairs/ Nasser Gouda assured that the request of his ministry regarding the expulsion of the Ambassador/ Soliman doesn't represent Jordan's situation towards Syrian regime but it relates to the offensive and repeated behaviors of the

ambassador towards Jordan and sister Arab countries pointing out that Syrian regime can nominate new ambassador who adheres to diplomatic practices that are internationally recognized (Diwani, Al Sawt Al Ekhbary:5).

In this regard, Jordanian Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed to Riyadh Saudi Newspaper that “there is no relation between considering the Syrian Ambassador as undesirable person and news that are circulated by the media that Jordan desires to appoint the ambassador of the National Coalition for Syrian Revolution and Opposition in Amman and that such expulsion doesn’t mean the closure of the embassy but it is mere the expulsion of the Ambassador. The embassy still works as usual” (Diwani:5).

As a result of Jordanian decision, Damascus expelled the acting ambassador of Jordan in Damascus as well and consider him as an undesirable person.

In the same context, under the tensed relations between Jordanian and Syrian regime, King Abdulla Al Thani was also the first leader who advised Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad to step down for the sake of his country and to pave the way to peaceful transition of the power, in addition, he said in an interview with BBC channel “If I were in his position, I would step down” (www.alarabiya.net).

But the reality refers that the persuasion of Jordanian Decision- Maker depends on other accounts that relate to the achievement of the balance preserving the national security which doesn’t lead Jordan to enter into losing game by which the Jordanian regime attempts to build bridges of trust between two countries. However, as referred by many new agencies (alsawt.net), Syrian regime neglects a number of messages sent from Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently which highlight the point of view of Damascus that Syrian is in better strategic position and doesn’t want facilities to normalize or improve the relationship with Jordan free of charge, noting that both Jordan and Syrian regimes face a lot of risks of their common potential enemy on the ground which is some armed extremist groups.

In the context of Damascus’s desire to gain a compensation against the restoration of relationships between two countries, Jordanian unionists who are close to Syrian regime point out that Syrian leadership requires taking a direct Jordanian situation which is the clear turn against the opposition and its factions so that the danger of promoting the level of representation, that automatically reduces according to the diplomatic practices, can be proved upon convincing the replacement of ex-ambassador Bahgat Soliman (Diwani: 5).

As mentioned above, we note that Jordan is in enviable position since it is surrounded by an environment full of risks. The issue that can make Jordan is balanced towards the complex Syrian crisis is that almost Jordanian public opinion agrees on the necessity of the change of regime and on the step down of Al-Assad but they are against foreign intervention to make the change in Syria. The results of Arab poll conducted by Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies during the period from 5-11 July, 2012 revealed that vast majority of Jordanians take the side that solving Syrian crisis lies in the major and political change of the current regime and in the respond to Syrian People demands (Al- Hayary, Ammon News:1).

Based on such results, it’s found that there is almost consensus by (82%) on supporting the Syrian revolution while 3% of Jordanian public opinion expressed their loyalty to Syrian regime, tools and its ways in dealing with Syrian revolution and opposition forces there and a small percentage are of no significance as per Arab poll (Al Heiary:1).

As consequence of these internal and external circumstances, Jordan attempted and are attempting to have balanced policy according to the actual evidences so Jordanian Monarch assured its support to political efforts exerted to guarantee the peaceful transmission of the power that keep Syrian and neighbored countries including Jordan away from chaos and civil war. Meanwhile, he directly supports Arab League decisions against massacres that are committed by Syrian regime and supports providing Opposition Coalition Syria’s seat in Arab League (Mahmoud, Khaled, Al Jazeera Website Net:7).

Within the context of the talk about Jordanian Foreign Policy towards Syrian crisis, it’s worth mentioning the role of Syrian refugees who flocked in thousands through Jordanian borders resulting a burden on the Jordanian economy. In addition to Security fears raised by the potentiality of war expansion aboard Syria.

Throughout Syrian revolution, it’s noted that Jordan still adheres to the impartiality to avoid the current severe dispute in Syria which his considered as important commercial partner of Jordan and vital goods crossing-point. But the matters become complicated for Jordan due to the accelerated pace of the influx of refugees and the continuing war in Syria causing it make a relative change of his situations towards Syria. Jordan repeatedly warns the effect of events in Syrian on the stability of the area so it increasingly biases the opponents of Syrian regime. Thus; Jordan opens wide its cities and villages and builds camps for Syrian refugees that escaped from the escalating violence of the regime against the opposition.

Due to the lack of facilities, Jordan urgently demands the international community to provide humanitarian aids at the same time at which refugee camps begins to increase the desert belt near some Jordanian cities in particular northern cities.

Not far from camps, other site, which reporters are forbidden to enter, is established to host Syrians who dissent security bodies of Syrian regime. Dissented Syrian Prime Minister/ Riyadh Hejab who escapes to Jordan is residing in the capital Amman in a clear reference to the change of Jordanian situation towards Syrian crisis and Jordan abandonment of the regime with which there were diplomatic relationships (Satel, News:1).

Then, the step of openly hosting of Syrian refugees and dissidents that taken by Jordan carries little danger for a country like Jordan which is the oasis of instability in troubled region, the feature that makes Jordana point of attraction of refugees during previous wars witnessed by Middle East area in the recent years. Consequently, some Jordanian officials expressed their concerns about Syrian regime’s endeavor to take revenge of Jordan or pursue its dissidents. In addition to Jordanian officials’ fear of the internal disorders that happened during Arab spring wave when Jordan attempts to calm protest movement demanding democratic reforms.

The major fear of Jordanian officials is still the potentiality of Syria’s division into ethnic and tribalism groups that may have an influence on the loyalty of adjacent regions to Syria whether Jordan, Turkey or Lebanon, besides; the undercover operations of Al Qaeda and other extremist groups to booth its dominance in some Syrian areas. In an interview with (Washington Post:2), King

Abdulla Al Thani describes the potentiality of Syria division as the worst scenarios for Jordan pointing out that the ghost of the outbreak of sectarian war surrounds all area.

One of other fears that overwhelm Jordan is the fate of Syria's significant chemical weapons arsenal. In this regard, western diplomats expressed that King Abdulla Al Thani was on the top of leaders who supported the development of emergency plans by United States and the remained allies in Middle East in order to secure these weapons in case fighters can control over some parts in Syria by way of the intervention of Special Forces (sate, News:1).

It is clear that Jordanian officials fears from the infiltration of Syrian security forces to it through some refugees or arms smuggling across the border by opposition activists under living hinders that Syrian refugees suffered in camps which forms red line of Jordanian political decision-makers (Alittihad Emirate Newspaper:3).

The last word in the recent period is that some indicators, that predict the occurrence of major change of Jordan's situation, reveal especially after the significant change of American situation that the only solution is Al-Assad stepping down which America constantly issued before the Russian intervention in Syria, then, Jordan's situation became divided into two parts; the first is strategic and the other is tactical, as the strategic situation is represented by the Jordanian basis towards Syria which is the political solution, table discussion and the worry from the rising of extremist groups, while the tactical is changing with international and national mood (Issa, Osama, 2015:1).

Thus, it became obvious to us that the official Jordan situation was clear through receiving the Syrian Refugees, and allowing to the Syrian opposition to move freely to some extent inside Jordanian territory through doing activities and events against the Syrian regime, but at the same time; it didn't break off the diplomatic relations with the regime of Bashar Al-Assad to keep the way back to him in case of the failure of the revolution, and gentleness towards the opposition in case of the success of the revolution.

But in the recent period, some of indicators showed the clear changing in the Jordan situation, pointing that it takes the side of the revolution or at least beginning of animosity to the Syrian regime, and leaving the neutralism policy, which point to that this situation corresponds with the with the seriousness and firmness shown by the new head of the Saudi regime the king Salman bin Abdul Aziz and the Turkish Saudi Alliance toward the Syrian crises. Jordan, as well, worked on Quieting its role in its fighting against the terrorism organization Daesh and agreeing with the situation of Saudi Arabia in considering that Al-Assad is the first risk and his overthrow is a priority.

In the latter period, many questions arise whether Jordan has left the idea of overthrowing the Syrian regime or the previous security equation in Deraa in southern Syria after years of dealing with the opposition factions. In this context, the observers of (albosala.com:5) said that this matter changed after the Russian Military intervention, and the declarations of some Russian authorities which support the category said that Jordan's silence about the fall of the strategic city Sheikh Meskean in Deraa, which followed by the fall of the Atman city and others, while the Jordan government devoted to London conference and trying to bring investment to support areas where the Syrian refugees settled in, with the confirmation of its refusal to receive new refugees especially after the explosion of Al- Rokban Syrian camp that occurred in June 2016, which killed many lives of Jordanians civilians and the military.

In a nutshell, it can be said that the Syrian-Jordanian relations seem open to all possibilities, where you cannot predict its next results and developments and which mean that it's the top priority of the political decision at the moment.

5. Conclusion and the Most Important Recommendations

The Syrian crisis has been considered one of the most important sources of concern to Jordan's foreign policy, because of its obvious complications on Jordan, by virtue of the geographical Neighborly between the two countries. So, their diplomacy has sought to find a solution to the crisis and the ways to remedy it.

Since the breakout of Syrian Crisis, Jordanian Foreign Policy plays vital role in solving the problem through the convergence of views and the use of mind, conversation and logic language between all disputing parties and through the involvement in the international forums that are attempting to end the dispute and bloodshed, meanwhile; warning the occurrence of the immigration and human disasters in the area due to this crisis.

Until now, it is clearly affirmed that the Jordanian official situation has no readiness for military intervention and it doesn't support providing facilities to any foreign forces that are planning to intervene and it seeks to find a solution that guarantees the avoidance of the domination of extremist groups over Syria after Al-Assad stepping down or Syrian division or turning Syria into a hotbed of these groups. It's sought that policy is the essence of its political trend currently, therefore; this Jordanian situation is based on some considerations commencing from the effects of deteriorated conditions in Syria on Jordan especially the subsequent and quick events that northern borders witnesses including the influx of Syrian refugees and its economic, political, security and social consequences and pressures that are imposed on Jordanian regime internally and externally.

Jordanian Foreign Policy towards Syrian crisis reveals a significant change in the stable orientations that are regionally known, no doubt that the increasing tension that surrounds Jordan constitutes an essential factor in shaping the new features of Foreign Policy.

6. Recommendations

As a result of the clear and continuous change and the hesitation in the Jordan trends regionally especially towards the Syrian crisis, it was necessary to put several following recommendations:

1. Jordan shall remain committed to neutral line in order to avoid a strong running animosity represented in Syria which considered an important trade partner for Jordan and pivotal crossing for its goods.
2. an attempts ability of the Jordan attitude towards the Syrian crisis and not changing it except for Jordan Supreme National interest.

3. keeping far from alliances and agglomerations that may drag Jordan to any military action would destroy the Jordan's military and economic duties.
4. The Jordanian decision makers shall ask for consultancy from several departments/ headquarters, research centers and specialists in this regard, and not cornered the opinion of certain people, because this matter is complicated and critical, playing on this matter would lead to disasters that its effect may extend/reach to tens of years.
5. Any decision or attitude towards this crisis shall be taken by a political committee consist of the king, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the various concerned departments/ headquarters and Legislative Authority of the house of lords/Upper House and the Parliament.
6. Take into consideration the Jordan's public opinion when taking any attitude towards this crisis.
7. The media and press declarations towards this crisis shall be limited to one person who is the official spokesman of the government, and not allowing to any one even the president to proclaim/speech any declarations without return to this only authority.
8. Focus on the current stage to induce the world to support Jordan especially towards the Syrian refugees who have weaken the Jordanian economy.
9. The decision makers shall assure the Syrian that Jordan has no interest or desire in Syria or its territory at all.

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