



## **Jordan's Role in Regional Security in the Middle East**

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### **Abstract**

Jordan is one of the most important countries in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf region. Amid the complex political situation in the region, it strives to avoid the instability that many other countries in the area experience.

Jordan actively participated in the wars between Israel and the Arab states. Its goal was not to assist Palestine but rather to gain territorial acquisitions for Jordan itself. During the Gulf Wars, the

Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan maintained a neutral stance and sought to establish peace among the Persian Gulf countries.

Over time, Jordan has shifted its foreign policy approach toward its neighboring countries in the Middle East. Since the late 20th century, its primary goal has been to maintain peace in this conflict-prone region. Since then, Jordan has been working to ease tensions among Middle Eastern countries and prevent the escalation of military conflicts. One example of this is that Jordan has long refrained from taking sides in any conflicts while simultaneously accepting refugees from Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. Unlike in other countries, these refugees experience relatively better living conditions in Jordan.

Despite sharing the region's challenges, Jordan's leadership has taken on the responsibility of maintaining peace and stability.

**Keywords:** Jordan; region; Gulf; conflict; refugee.

## **Introduction**

Jordan emerged as a sovereign state during the interwar period and is officially known as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. It is a constitutional monarchy and the only nation ruled by the Hashemite dynasty, whose lineage traces directly to the Prophet Muhammad.

Historically, Jordan has played an active role in the geopolitical conflicts of the Middle East. However, since the late 20th century, the country has pursued a more restrained foreign policy, prioritizing stability and diplomatic engagement over direct involvement in regional conflicts. Despite these efforts, Jordan remains deeply affected by the security challenges and political turbulence that characterize the Middle East, making complete disengagement from regional crises unfeasible.

## **Hypothesis**

Although Jordan strives to maintain a peaceful and balanced political trajectory within the Middle East, it remains engaged in regi-

onal affairs to a certain extent. Such involvement appears to be inevitable, given the country's geographical location and its pursuit of national political interests. Furthermore, Jordan is a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), one of the Middle East's most effective and influential regional organizations.

### **Research Questions:**

What were the reasons behind Jordan's involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

What role did Jordan play during the Gulf Wars?

Why did Jordan shift its foreign policy course within the regional context?

### **Methods**

This study is based on historical-descriptive, interdisciplinary, and content analysis research methodologies.

### **Results**

Our research highlights the extent to which Jordan successfully navigates the complex political dynamics of the Middle East, mitigating the instability that affects many other countries in the region.

### **Discussion**

Jordan is a relatively young Arab state situated on an ancient land that bears the legacy of numerous civilizations. The spread of Islam in the region began in the 7th century, facilitated by the establishment of Arab Caliphate dominance. During the medieval period, Jordan was under the control of Mamluk Egypt until its conquest by the Ottoman Empire in 1516. Despite this, Jordan maintained a degree of autonomy until the mid-19th century, particularly before the Tanzimat reforms. From that period onward, the Ottoman Empire tightened its control over the region, particularly in the Levant (Maggiolini, 2011: 11–12).

Over time, the Hashemites became increasingly active in the political landscape, leading to the formation of the state of Transjordan. Initially established as an emirate, it later evolved into a kingdom. Given the historical and political significance of Jordan's ruling family,

a brief discussion of the Hashemite dynasty is warranted. The Hashemite dynasty claims direct descent from the Prophet Muhammad (Arabic: الهاشميون, *al-Hāshimīyūn*, or "Banu Hashem") through the Quraysh tribe. The name "Hashemite" is derived from Hashim, the great-grandfather of the Prophet Muhammad and the grandson of Qusayy. Thus, the Hashemite rulers of Jordan trace their lineage directly to the Prophet Muhammad. More specifically, they descend from Muhammad's daughter, Fatima, and her husband, Ali, who was also the Prophet's cousin and later became the fourth Rightly Guided Caliph. Ali and Fatima had two sons, Al-Hasan and Al-Hussein. The descendants of Al-Hasan are known as "Sharifs" - an honorary title for the Prophet's direct lineage - while the descendants of Al-Hussein are called "Sayyids," a title signifying claims to descent from the Prophet. The Jordanian royal family belongs to the Sharifian branch, descending from Al-Hasan. Various Sharifian families ruled the Hejaz region between 967 and 1201. The Hashemite branch of King Hussein (father of Emir Abdullah of Transjordan) governed the holy city of Mecca from 1201 until 1925. However, in 1517, they formally recognized the sovereignty of the Ottoman sultan (Bickerton, 2017: 96).

After the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire following World War I, the territory of Transjordan came under the British Mandate. The Emirate of Transjordan was later renamed the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1950, following its unification with the West Bank. The establishment of this monarchy was the result of political maneuvering between the British and the Hashemites (Nghedin, 2012: 124).

The establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan is closely linked to Sharif Al-Hussein bin Ali Al-Hashemi of Mecca (Arabic: 1931–1853, الهاشمي علي بن الحسين). His tenure in the Ottoman Empire was marked by various political activities, including efforts to strengthen alliances with Arab tribes. In 1908, Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909) appointed Al-Hussein as the Sharif of Mecca, thereby expanding his authority in the Hejaz region. In addition to his role as a

spiritual leader, Al-Hussein was also recognized as the ruler of the Arab tribes. In 1913, 35 members of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies sent a memorandum to Al-Hussein, formally acknowledging him as the Emir of Mecca with the approval of Arab deputies. This document serves as the official recognition of Sharif Al-Hussein as Emir of Mecca and represents the first instance of leadership acknowledgment in modern Arab history (Al-Abbadi, 2020:5–6).

During World War I, Sharif Al-Hussein bin Ali of Mecca was given the opportunity to liberate Arab lands from Turkish rule with the help of the British and the French. Al-Hussein's goal was to launch a large Arab revolt and create a unified, independent Arab state, one that would be founded on the ancient traditions and culture of the Arab people, and fully uphold Islamic ideals (Al-Abbadi, 2020: 9–10).

The correspondence between Sir Henry McMahon and Al-Hussein (1915–1916) reveals that Al-Hussein received a promise from Britain regarding support for the creation of a unified, independent Arab state (Murray, 2018:29). This agreement contributed to the Arab Revolt of 1916–1918 (Kingdom of Hejaz, 2021:23). The revolt involved Al-Hussein's sons: Ali, Abdullah, and Faisal. Shortly after the revolt began, Al-Hussein proclaimed himself the King of the Arabs. However, his pan-Arab aspirations were not recognized by the Allies, and he was only acknowledged as the King of Hejaz in 1916. Al-Hussein's relations with Britain deteriorated after Jews were granted the right to immigrate to Palestine, leading to increased tensions (Kingdom of Hejaz, 2021:34).

After World War I, Britain was granted a mandate over Palestine. In 1921, Britain separated Transjordan from Palestine, creating an autonomous entity, the Emirate of Transjordan (*Imarat Sharq al-Urdun*), which was placed under the governance of Emir Abdullah ibn al-Hussein (Emir from 1921 to 1946 and King from 1946 to 1951). Abdullah thus became the founder of the Hashemite dynasty in Jordan (Glubb, 1959:148). On March 2, 1921, Abdullah arrived in Amman and officially declared that he controlled the territory on behalf of his

father, King Hussein. Winston Churchill, alongside Abdullah, participated in negotiations held in Jerusalem from March 28–30, 1921. During these talks, the British side opposed Hashemite claims to Palestine and Syria, and offered Abdullah the leadership of the new state, urging him to remain in Transjordan.

It was ultimately decided that the state of Transjordan would be established on the eastern bank of the Jordan River, with Amman as its capital. In this way, the newly separated territory of Transjordan was granted the status of a separate monarchy. The parties agreed that: Abdullah would recognize the British Mandate over Transjordan as part of the Palestinian Mandate and would establish an Arab government. A state would be formed in Transjordan, with Abdullah ibn al-Hussein at its helm. The Transjordanian government would implement the necessary measures to establish and maintain a functioning independent state. A representative of the mandatory authority would be appointed in Amman, retaining control over the country's foreign and concessionary policies, legislation, finances, armed forces, and taxes. Transjordan would not be used as a base for any operations against Syria and Palestine. Britain would retain the right to construct airbases in Amman, station its armed forces, create and control local military groups, and declare a state of war. The British would recognize Transjordan's independence in the future (Al-Husseini, 2013:86-88).

On April 11, 1921, Emir Abdullah established the first government of Transjordan, known as the "Council of Advisers," which served as an advisory body. On September 16, 1922, the League of Nations agreed to Britain's proposal to separate Transjordan from the Palestinian Mandate. On October 15, Abdullah traveled to London to sign a treaty with Britain, but the British government refrained from signing an agreement with Transjordan. The reason for this was that uprisings had started in many areas of Transjordan against British rule. The Bedouin tribes continued to stir unrest (Mitchell, 2011:96). This visit was followed by a written guarantee that, upon the League of Nations' approval, the British government would recognize the exis-

tence of an independent government in Transjordan under the leadership of His Highness Emir Abdullah ibn al-Hussein, provided that the government would be constitutional and subordinate to the British government (Murray, 2018:37-40). After this, the establishment of Transjordan as a separate and independent political entity was formalized.

On April 25, 1923, the British High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, declared the independence of Transjordan. According to the terms of the mandate, a constitution was required to be adopted. On May 25 of the same year, the British officially recognized the independence of Transjordan under the rule of Emir Abdullah, but financial, military, and foreign affairs remained under British control. On April 19, 1928, the Transjordanian government published its first constitution, which established the Emir as the head of state, with the authority to enact and approve laws, summon and dismiss the "Legislative Council," and exercise other powers (Murray, 2018:175).

Britain focused on its strategic interests in Transjordan, forming the "Arab Legion" from the Bedouins. The country was largely sustained by British subsidies, which were allocated to maintain the Arab Legion. Due to a budget deficit, Britain financially supported the country, increasing its dependence on British aid. The planning of Transjordan's policies toward neighboring Arab states was conducted with consideration of British interests (Schenker, 2015:116).

On May 25, 1946, Transjordan became an independent kingdom, and Emir Abdullah declared himself king. A new constitution was promulgated. In 1949, the state's name was changed to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. However, British troops remained in the country and continued to dominate Jordan's political affairs for another 25 years. Britain established and trained one of the most effective armies in the region, the "Arab Legion," under the command of John Bagot Glubb (Amadouny, 1993:253). The Arab Legion was a crucial pillar of King Abdullah's power. It was both a legacy of Britain's imperial system in Transjordan and one of the most capable military

forces in the Middle East. The Legion combined police and military functions, but it was not the only security force in the country. The British also established the Transjordan Frontier Force (TJFF), an imperial unit under direct British command until its dissolution in 1948. The TJFF was tasked with maintaining border security, a responsibility it ultimately failed to fulfill.

The "Arab Legion" was primarily composed of Bedouins. John Glubb (known among Jordanians as Glubb Pasha) argued that the Bedouin warrior tradition naturally predisposed them to military service (Bradshaw, 2016:32-33). This facilitated the integration of Bedouin tribes into the state, transforming their traditional military role from tribal raids into an organized and disciplined fighting force. Over time, the Arab Legion developed into a highly trained military unit, becoming a crucial instrument in Emir Abdullah's foreign policy (Bradshaw, 2016: 33-34).

John Bagot Glubb commanded and trained Transjordan's "Arab Legion" from 1939 to 1956 (until his death) (Wroblewski, 2018:31). Initially, the Arab Legion was a lightly armed police force, but this changed rapidly. By the late 1930s, conflict in Palestine had escalated into a full-scale Arab revolt, revealing the Arab Legion's weakness in preventing Arab guerrillas from moving between Syria and Palestine. Recognizing this vulnerability, Glubb leveraged the situation to persuade British policymakers of the necessity to strengthen the Arab Legion for desert warfare. Upon securing British approval, he implemented significant military enhancements to the force (Glubb, 1959:138-242).

On March 22, 1946, following the signing of the Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Transjordan, Transjordan gained *de jure* independence. Emir Abdullah was subsequently proclaimed king. However, this treaty preserved numerous privileges for the British in Transjordan, particularly in the military sphere (History of Western, 253).



The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, like other Arab states, was opposed to Israel from the moment of its emergence in the Middle East on May 14, 1948. In April 1948, Jordan's King Abdullah I declared: **"Our attempt to resolve the Palestine problem through peaceful means has ended in failure. The only path left to us is war"** (Jordan-Palestine:198).

The military actions, which began with the goal of destroying Israel but ended in Israel's victory, were halted on January 7, 1949, following the UN's persistent demands. King Abdullah was one of the main instigators of the war against Israel, but after occupying part of Palestine, he entered into an arrangement with Israel. This was because negotiations between Jordan and Israel regarding the division of Palestine had already been taking place even before the war began (International, 2015: 169). The state system of Jordan is based on the constitution published on January 8, 1952, which establishes Jordan as a constitutional, hereditary monarchy with a parliamentary form of government. The king exercises his authority through the government he appoints, which is accountable to the parliament. The parliament is bicameral, consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The king appoints the entire Senate (65 members), while the House of Representatives consists of 130 elected members. Seats are reserved for Christians, Chechen and Circassian minorities, and women. Members of both chambers are elected for a four-year term. The Jordanian constitution serves as the fundamental law of the country. Article XV states: "The state guarantees the freedom of opinion. Every Jordanian shall freely express their thoughts through speech, writing, and other forms of expression" (The Constitution, 1969: 97).

Power is divided among the three branches of government, but the monarch retains a significant portion of actual authority. Despite the hereditary nature of the monarchy, the king has the right to appoint his successor from among the male members of the royal family. The king can only be removed from power due to health reasons. The king's responsibilities include ratifying laws and treaties, declaring war

and peace, granting military ranks and honors, and issuing pardons. He has the authority to call elections, convene and dissolve legislative sessions, and dismiss both houses of the legislature. The king also has the power to appoint and dismiss the prime minister and members of the Senate. If the king removes the prime minister, all ministers are also dismissed from office. Under this constitution, Islam was established as the state religion, and Arabic as the official language. The constitution recognizes religious and ethnic minorities (Constitutional, 2020:99).

As for education, more than half of the population has received secondary or higher education (The United, 2019: 98). Jordan's oldest universities are: the University of Jordan (1962), Yarmouk University (1976), and Mu'tah University (1981). There are many new universities, as well as various schools and colleges (Kamel, 2012: 75).

According to the United Nations data from June 2023, Jordan's current population is 10,500,735 people. Approximately 95% of the country's population is Muslim, with 93% being Sunni Muslims and a small portion being Shiites. Christians make up 3% of the population (Religious, 2021: 176).

After the death of Abdullah I, his son, Talal bin Abdullah, ascended to the throne of Jordan in 1951 (1951-1952). One of King Talal's significant contributions to the kingdom was the enactment of Jordan's modern constitution, which formally established the country as a constitutional monarchy, as previously discussed. However, King Talal's reign was short-lived, lasting only 11 months. Due to concerns regarding his mental health, the Jordanian parliament decided to depose him. Consequently, the throne was inherited by his eldest son, Hussein bin Talal, who reigned from 1952 until 1999.

Hussein Bin Talal marked the beginning of a new chapter in modern Jordanian history, which lasted for forty-seven years. His slogan was: "Let us build this country and serve this nation" (54; الملك). King Hussein bin Talal, the father of modern Jordan, was a leader who aimed to make Jordan a haven of peace and stability in the Middle

East. In the memories of Jordanians, he remains an inspiration for openness, tolerance, and compassion. Among his people, Hussein bin Talal was known as the "Humanitarian King" (King Hussein, 2018: 215).

Jordan is situated among stronger neighbors (Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Israel), but throughout his long reign, King Hussein was able to secure Jordan's position as an independent state and strengthen the Hashemite dynasty. He inherited the West Bank, which was annexed following the 1948-49 Arab-Israeli War. The Hashemites' ambitions always extended beyond Jordan's established borders. This is reflected in King Hussein's words, as he believed that Jordan should have "a greater future than just a few thousand square miles of sand" (Al-Shari, 2016: 271).

The country's poverty, exacerbated by its lack of natural resources, was further compounded by the large number of Palestinian refugees resulting from the 1948-1949 war. Palestinian fedayeen used the Palestinian territories under Jordanian control to carry out attacks against Israel, which sometimes led to retaliatory actions by the Israel Defense Forces against Jordanian citizens (218: الحسين).

From the very first days of his reign, young King Hussein quickly understood the challenges facing the construction of the Jordanian state. He realized that a small, vulnerable country with limited natural resources, situated in an unstable region amidst the rivalry of great powers, could survive and develop by focusing on the development of its human resources and maintaining friendly relations with all countries. To improve the living standards of the Jordanian population, he focused on developing education, healthcare, and infrastructure. In the 1950s and 1960s, he initiated projects such as the development of the Aqaba port, the phosphate, potassium, and cement mines, and began the construction of a network of highways across the kingdom, which, in turn, led to the expansion of industry and the creation of thousands of new jobs (King Hussein, 2020: 213).

King Hussein placed great emphasis on the protection and care of Islam's holy sites. In his belief, culture and religion required a deep

connection. He always stressed that the citizens of Jordan - Muslims and Christians - are brothers in God's worship and belong to one Jordanian family, sharing equal civil rights, duties, and existence as part of the Arab nation. In 1980, King Hussein established the Institute for Islamic Thought, which helped foster the rapprochement of Islamic-Christian ideas. Additionally, in 1994, he founded the Royal Institute for Interfaith Studies in Amman, which contributed to enhancing cooperation and strengthening relations between different religions (Ben Hussein, King, 145, الملك الحسين بن,,: 145).

King Hussein always believed that the people of Jordan were his greatest asset, and throughout his reign, he consistently urged everyone, regardless of their background, to strive for the betterment of themselves and the prosperity of the country (King Hussein I, Biography: 165).

During King Hussein bin Talal's reign, the country's development was hindered by regional conflicts and rivalries. In his pursuit of long-term peace in the region, he tried to make use of every opportunity available. After the 1967 "Six-Day War," he participated in the development of UN Security Council Resolution 242, which called for Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories it had occupied in exchange for peace. Hussein called for attention to the Palestinian issue at every forum. In 1973, he took part in the Geneva Peace Conference. In 1984, the Jordan-Palestine Principles Agreement, known as the "February 11 Agreement," was signed, and Hussein played a significant role in convening the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference. The 1994 peace treaty between Jordan and Israel was a key step in achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East (Jordan-Palestine Relations, 1999: 242-245).

King Hussein also worked on resolving issues between Arab states. Among these was the 1990-1991 Gulf Crisis and the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty. He also played a mediator role in the Yemeni Civil War during the 1960s. In nearly every speech or forum, he emphasized the necessity of international humanitarian aid for Iraq,

Palestine, and other Arab countries, aiming to alleviate the harsh social conditions of their populations. He frequently sent Jordanian experts abroad to participate in peace missions. King Hussein's approach contributed to the growth of Jordan's development in areas such as the economy, education, healthcare, and other sectors (King Hussein Foundation, 2020: 95).

King Hussein's commitment to democracy, civil liberties, and human rights played a key role in transforming Jordan into a model state in the region. In 1990, a royal commission appointed by King Hussein developed Jordan's "National Charter." Today, this "National Charter," along with the country's constitution, serves as a guide for the democratic institutionalization and political pluralism in Jordan. Parliamentary elections were held in 1989, 1993, and 1997, which were internationally recognized as some of the freest and fairest elections ever conducted in the Middle East (King Hussein I, Biography: 188).

King Hussein faced multiple assassination attempts and coup attempts throughout his reign, but they were all unsuccessful. He passed away on February 7, 1999. For Muslims, King Hussein was not just a king; he was a direct descendant of the 50th generation of the Prophet Muhammad (King Hussein I, Biography: 197). After his death, the throne was inherited by his son, Abdullah bin Hussein.

King Abdullah II (from 1999 to present) has maintained his father's moderate pro-Western policies. During the first decade of his reign, significant economic reforms were carried out in the country. Given that 80% of Jordan is desert, the country is not as economically strong in the region. Unlike neighboring countries, Jordan's lack of natural resources has led to state debts, unemployment, and poverty, resulting in the country's dependence on foreign aid from both Western and Arab allies in the Gulf region (Abdullah II: 52).

Abdullah II launched an aggressive economic liberalization program, which became the foundation for attracting foreign investments, public-private partnerships, the development of the Aqaba

Special Economic Zone, and the improvement of the country's growing information and communication technology sectors (King Abdullah II: 27).

As a result of these reforms, Jordan's economic growth doubled. Foreign investments from the West and Gulf countries also increased (Abdullah II: 63). Jordan's economy had been dependent on subsidized oil from Iraq (Burns, 2003: 241). However, after the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, oil supplies from Iraq were halted, leading Jordan to start importing gas from Egypt. The wave of protests from the Arab Spring spread to Sinai, where a natural gas pipeline ran between Egypt and Jordan (Kirk H., 2016: 98). From 2011, ISIS attacks on the pipeline led to its closure in 2014 (Osama Al Sharif, 2016: 86). This forced Amman to purchase expensive raw oil from open markets. The wars in Iraq and Syria also limited Jordan's exports. At the same time, nearly a million Syrian refugees arriving in Jordan increased real estate prices and tightened the job market (Schenker, 2015:79).

In May and June of 2018, Amman was engulfed in demonstrations protesting tax hikes and reductions in commodity subsidies. To appease the protesters and temporarily ease the economic challenges, King Abdullah II received foreign aid from Saudi Arabia and its allies. Regional instability significantly affected tourism in Jordan. This forced King Abdullah II to demand that the government establish a ten-year (2015-2025) plan to address the economic issues (Schenker, 2015: 99).

Jordan made a strategic choice to integrate into the global economy through partnerships with international organizations and adopted the principles of economic liberalization, aiming for the kingdom to become an effective part of global competition. As a result, economic and structural reforms were implemented, and significant economic agreements were signed both at the Arab and international levels (135-132, عبد الملك الله).

Jordan is an active member of the United Nations (joined on December 14, 1955) and several other organizations. Among them are:

the Arab League, World Health Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, International Atomic Energy Agency, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and the Gulf Cooperation Council (Foreign relations of Jordan: 213).

King Abdullah II established the King Abdullah Design and Development Bureau (KADDB) to enhance local arms production and provide scientific and technical services to the Jordanian Armed Forces. He expanded the combat aircraft fleet, built a new naval base, founded an Air Force College, and established a naval battalion, among other military advancements (Abdullah II of Jordan: 86-88).

Despite challenges, Jordan's economic growth exceeded expectations. International tourism recovered, and exports improved, though some economic difficulties persist (Jordan Economic, 2022:232-235).

Jordan has consistently pursued peace and a moderate political course despite Middle Eastern instability. This is reflected in the saying: "Jordan is a quiet house in a turbulent region" (الحسين ابن الثاني الله, 198; عبد الملك). One of Jordan's key challenges remains the Palestinian issue. The kingdom is a strong supporter of peace, security, and stability in the region. It has maintained its commitment to Arab nations in crisis, such as Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, and Lebanon. King Abdullah II has upheld Jordan's openness to neighbors and allies, leading efforts against extremism and terrorism. Since 1999, Jordan has signed multiple anti-terrorism agreements and plays a key role in international conflict resolution, actively participating in UN peacekeeping missions (الحسين ابن الثاني الله عبد الملك; 197).

Queen Rania of Jordan, originally from a Palestinian family in Kuwait, is internationally recognized as a champion of tolerance, compassion, and inclusivity across all cultures and religions (The Royal Family, 2021:76). She has served as the Global Honorary Chair of the UN Girls' Education Initiative, advocating for educational access on international platforms. Queen Rania has participated in numerous global events, including the 2016 UN Summit on Refugees and Migr-

ants, and has personally visited refugee camps in Jordan, Greece, and Bangladesh (Her Majesty Queen Rania Al Abdullah, 2023: 75-79).

In November 2002, under King Abdullah II's initiative, the slogan "Jordan First" ("الأردن أولاً") was introduced. This slogan emphasizes Jordan's national interests as a priority, reinforcing the principles of justice, equality, and national unity (174; الملك جلالة رسالة). The core idea behind this slogan was Jordan's shift away from pan-Arabism, instead focusing on strengthening its own sovereignty and stability (154; الهاشمية الأردنية المملكة شعار).

Jordan has long been a haven for refugees, and one of its most pressing and unresolved issues remains the temporary resettlement and eventual repatriation of Palestinian Arab refugees. Since the late 19th century, when the country was still known as the Emirate of Transjordan, various ethnic groups-including Circassians, Chechens, Assyrians, and Armenians - sought refuge in the region. Over time, these communities successfully integrated into Jordanian society (International Labour, 2015: 14).

The Arab-Israeli wars led the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to accept hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees. After the 1949 armistice, some Palestinian Arabs fled to Egyptian-controlled Gaza (where Egypt accepted relatively few refugees), while others settled in Transjordan-annexed West Bank and East Jerusalem (The Danish, 2020: 75-88). Many also sought refuge in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan (History of Western: 99-102). Among these host countries, Jordan took in the largest number of Palestinian refugees (Dabash, 2022: 176) and currently hosts over 2 million Palestinian refugees.

Unlike other Arab countries, Jordan granted full citizenship to all Palestinians who relocated following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, as well as those who arrived from the West Bank after the Six-Day War in 1967. Today, citizens of Palestinian origin constitute a significant portion of Jordan's population and enjoy the same rights and responsibilities as native Jordanians from the East Bank. At the same time,



they retain their refugee status and, consequently, the right of return to Palestine (The Danish, 2020: 187).

Before the Syrian Civil War, Jordan also received a significant number of Iraqi refugees, many of whom remain in the country today. Iraqis arrived in Jordan at different times. The first wave of Iraqi refugees came after the 1991 Gulf War (European Resettlement, 2007: 244). The second wave followed the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq and the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime (1979-2003). Another influx occurred in 2006 due to sectarian violence between Sunnis and Shiites. A further wave of displacement took place in 2014 when thousands of Iraqi Christians fled the country following the entry of ISIS into Iraq (Caritas Jordan, 2020: 153-156).

In 2016, the Jordanian government and the European Union signed an agreement to integrate the influx of refugees into the country's economic growth. In 2018, donor accounts were established to support Jordan's healthcare system, which are used to subsidize healthcare services for refugees (Caritas Jordan, 2020: 147-152).

A dire situation emerged in Jordan's Palestinian refugee camps, where radical ideologies spread easily, contributing to the rise of terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism. Palestinian extremist groups posed a threat to Jordan's political stability; in 1951, King Abdullah I was assassinated in Jerusalem by a Palestinian gunman. However, his successor, King Hussein I, continued efforts to integrate Palestinians into Jordanian society. The 1954 amendment to the citizenship law established that any Palestinian residing in Jordan between 1949 and 1954 would be granted citizenship (Bauer, 2022: 190-194).

In 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded. Between 1965 and 1967, Yasser Arafat's group (Arafat served as the PLO chairman from 1969 to 2004) carried out guerrilla attacks on Israel from neighboring Arab countries. These operations became so popular among Palestinians that various factions within the PLO began organizing military activities, further increasing the organization's regional influence.

King Hussein needed to maintain peace with Israel to protect his own interests while dealing with an increasingly radicalized Palestinian population that posed a threat to Jordan's stability (Pierre, 2009: 96-100). After the Six-Day War in 1967, Jordan lost the West Bank, leaving only the East Bank of the Jordan River under its jurisdiction, effectively returning the country to its pre-1948 borders (Al Hussein, 2013: 230-245).

The Jordanian Civil War of September 1970, known as "Black September," was an attempt by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) to overthrow King Hussein and seize control of the country. On September 17, King Hussein ordered his army to expel Palestinian fighters from Jordan (AFP, 2020: 99-104). Clashes continued in northern Jordanian cities, and Syria intervened on the side of the Palestinians, forcing the Jordanian army to fight on two fronts. On September 25, 1970, Hussein and the PLO signed a ceasefire agreement in Cairo through Arab mediation. In 1971, Yasser Arafat and the PLO were expelled from Jordan and took refuge in Lebanon (Pierre, 2009: 188). In 1974, Jordan faced external pressure. At a meeting of Arab states in Rabat, Sudan, it was unanimously decided that Jordan must recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Aruri, 1985: 131).

To balance the strained relations following the 1970-71 civil war, King Hussein and Yasser Arafat met after the Rabat Summit. As a result of their discussions in early 1975, a decision was made for Jordan and the PLO to cease mutual accusations (U.S. 2003: 75). In March 1977, Hussein and Arafat met in Cairo to prepare for the upcoming Geneva Peace Conference. Their next contacts took place the following year (U.S. 2003: 77).

In 1982, the PLO was expelled from Lebanon, after which King Hussein agreed to accept a small contingent of displaced fighters and, for the first time since the 1970-71 civil war, allowed the PLO to open

political offices in Jordan. However, Arafat and Hussein could not agree on a common strategy, leading to strained relations between Jordan and the PLO (U.S. 2003: 83). Hussein and Arafat later resumed cooperation, and in 1985 they announced a joint Jordan-Palestine agreement on peace. However, the agreement was short-lived. The Jordanian government supported the PLO's efforts to establish a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip through peace conferences, including those that followed the Madrid Peace Conference of 1991 (Jordan–Palestine Relations, 1999: 113-117).

As of today, Jordan and Palestine maintain peaceful relations. Jordan has an embassy in Ramallah, while Palestine has its capital in Amman. Both countries are members of the Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and the Union for the Mediterranean.

Regarding Jordan-Israel relations, they date back to the British Mandate period. Both sides fought each other while also maintaining good interactions. Before the signing of the peace treaty, they maintained informal contacts for many years (Yitzhak, 2018: 122-131). It is noteworthy that Jordan participated in three wars against Israel (THE DYNAMIC, 2018: 74-77).

The Six-Day War of 1967 had a significant impact on Jordan's policy towards Israel. Specifically, Jordan's priority shifted towards the return of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which it lost during the war. Jordan was faced with a new challenge. On March 21, 1968, the Battle of Karameh increased the popularity of the PLO, making it necessary to prepare for the challenges posed by them. After the discontent between Jordan and the PLO, Jordan expelled the PLO from its territory in 1970. Following this, King Hussein was ready to sign a bilateral peace treaty with Israel. However, peace between them was not established until 1994. On October 26, 1994, the peace treaty was signed by King Hussein of Jordan and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in the Wadi Araba desert (THE DYNAMIC, 2018: 94-

103). Jordan became the second Arab country to recognize the state of Israel (Grossing the Borders, 2027:156-164).

During the "Arab Spring," amidst uprisings in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, and Syria, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan represented an oasis of stability. In Jordan, there was no demand for a regime change through revolution, and the country did not experience the same upheavals as its neighbors. However, there were street protests (Abdullah II of Jordan; 118). Between 2011 and 2012, protests were sparked by economic conditions. Only a small number of protesters called for the overthrow of the monarchy. The protests were directed at politicians accused of corruption. Jordan's monarchy was the first Arab political regime to make political concessions during the "Arab Spring." The unrest was managed by implementing reforms, amending the constitution, and establishing an independent electoral commission (Abdullah II of Jordan: 123-128). As a result, from 2012 to 2017, the situation in Jordan was limited to protests, which did not escalate into an uprising against the regime. Despite external pressures arising from regional instability, Jordan chose to maintain peace (Ghedin, 2019: 51).

As for the Jordan-Iraq relations, initially, they maintained close ties based on family connections. However, after the overthrow of the Hashemites in Iraq in 1958, relations between the two countries became less favorable. It should be noted that during the 1991 Gulf War, Jordan surprisingly sided with Iraq, rather than with the United States and the Gulf Arab countries. Prior to that, during the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq war, Jordan supported Iraq. In exchange, Iraq provided Jordan with oil at below-market prices. During this war, the Arab Cooperation Council (ACC) was established with the goal of fostering closer economic cooperation and integration among its members. Apart from Iraq and Kuwait, no country was affected by the Gulf Crisis as much as Jordan. At that time, the Hashemite Kingdom had taken in a large number of refugees, which increased the demand for water and infrastructure, while poverty and unemployment sharply rose. In 2003, during the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Jordan joined the coal-

tion led by the United States and allowed the U.S. to use some of its military bases for its forces.

In 2014, a civil war broke out in Yemen. In 2015, Jordan joined the Arab coalition formed by Saudi Arabia against the Houthi rebels. Along with its allies, Jordan's participation in the Yemeni military campaign underscores the importance of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries' security to Jordan's strategic interests. Jordan's involvement in this military campaign is based on the protection of its national security.

The personal ties between the ruling families of Saudi Arabia and Jordan date back decades. Both countries are dominated by Sunni Muslims. Most importantly, Jordan does not seek to challenge Saudi Arabia's leadership role in the Arab world. Jordan has well-trained and professional military and security services, which enhance the country's defense capabilities. It should be noted that Jordan's cooperation with allied forces during the Iraq War (2003) strengthened its security apparatus, particularly its special forces, in terms of technology and equipment (El-Katiri, 2011:4).

Jordan maintains economic and political ties with the GCC member countries, particularly with Saudi Arabia. Jordan is a country that lacks hydrocarbon resources and is entirely dependent on oil supplies at preferential rates from GCC oil exporters. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates also serve as sources of assistance for Jordan's development.

The strong relationship between Jordan and Saudi Arabia is evident in the frequent visits exchanged between the leaders of these two countries. Military cooperation between them is also significant. Additionally, today, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is considered beneficial for Jordan. The two countries continue to peacefully engage in political, economic, cultural, and other forms of cooperation.

### **Conclusion**

The Middle East region, where Jordan is located, is full of challenges and various types of conflicts. Despite this, Jordan strives to

maintain peaceful relations with the countries in the region. Therefore, Jordan's role in the security of the Middle East is crucial.

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