

# JORDANIAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE COUNTRIES OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL (1999-2019)

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## ABSTRACT

The study aimed to research the Jordanian foreign policy towards the Gulf Cooperation Council states during the period 1999-2019, as this period is an extension of the previous stages, as during which Jordanian relations with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council were affected as a result of the second Gulf crisis 1990, and the events of September 2001, and what followed in light of the war on Iraq and its occupation by the United States of America, where the United States emerged as a unipolar force that dominates the world.

The study showed that Jordanian foreign policy towards the Gulf Cooperation Council countries was affected by regional and international changes, as relations between Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council were characterized by apathy and approached isolation as a result of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, but Jordanian relations with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries improved, as a result of The multiple visits made by King Abdullah II after he assumed power in 1999, to the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, as Jordan's geopolitical position contributes to enhancing security and stability for the countries of the Council in exchange for Israeli expansionist ambitions, because Jordan looks at its security cooperation with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in the framework of the imperatives of mutual security, which posed this perspective as one of the dimensions in the Gulf of Jordan's foreign policy, which has not changed even in periods of Arab division, or during the boycott Cooperation Council (GCC) to Jordan.

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**Introduction.** The foreign policy of any country expresses its will and political leadership, and is ultimately the result of the interaction of a group of internal and external factors, and it affects its foreign policy aspect with other countries and international units, and its decisions are launched in light of the changing local, regional and international circumstances, as the Kingdom of Jordan is affected by its surroundings Geopolitical and its international relations, in addition to the factors and influences resulting from the geographical, demographic and economic situation, as well as the reality of national wealth, foreign aid and social and economic transformations, and the impact of this on the composition and structure of society in the Kingdom of Whether it is social or political, and in the framework of that, Jordanian foreign policy is the product of overlapping internal and external variables, whether regional or international, working to influence directly or indirectly in the process of directing Jordanian foreign political behavior within the conditions that affect it, as the factors Affecting the policy-making process does not consistently exist with the same degree of influence in all issues that require decision-making, because most internal variables are characterized by a common factor of weakness, because the geographical location and the economic, military and population

factor are important determinants of the decision-maker, and they are in many. Sometimes it is unable to provide alternatives for making a successful foreign policy that raises the level of the required goals, because the political decision taken within any political unit is what is reflected in its results on the environment of its political system, although this reflection varies according to the importance of the decision regardless of the relationship of this decision in domestic or foreign policy.

The Jordanian strategy followed in Jordan's external relations is that it is based on a group of pillars:

1. It affirms the commitment to the Charter of the League of Arab States, and to work to support Arab solidarity with the Arab countries by providing assistance to them, particularly the Arab Gulf states, within the framework of joint Arab cooperation agreements.

2. Commitment to Arab national security, by working to support Arab issues, foremost of which is the Palestinian cause, due to the Palestinian geographical location and its neighborhood with the Kingdom of Jordan, which linked it to its Arab depth, which imposed Jordanian coordination with Arab parties in order to achieve peace in the region and work to find a solution just and comprehensive of the Palestinian cause.

3. Working to support cooperation and integration between Arab countries in various fields, and emphasizing the importance of dialogue in resolving Arab differences to enable the preservation of the supreme national interest at the expense of narrow national interests.

4. Seek to develop balance, moderation, and stability in the Arab regional system, as the geo-strategic location of the Kingdom of Jordan imposed a consistent orientation in its regional policy that it is considered to be the center of balance among the powers surrounding the Kingdom.

In light of the changes witnessed by the countries of the region, the Kingdom of Jordan went towards the priority to remain outside it in safety, and to maintain stability and moderation of the system, as the Kingdom is linked with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates), in historical relations are the product of a set of factors, whether on the geographical, political, economic or security level, in addition to what the Kingdom of Jordan and the Gulf Cooperation Council countries share in common features in terms of similarities in government systems, as well as social components, and agreement on many regional and international issues. The result of the convergence in the nature of the regimes as well as the regional and international trends of each of them, during the reign of King Abdullah II, after relations between Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council that were marred by a thaw, as a result of the difference in Arab attitudes towards the crisis caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 2, 1990, despite the fact that Jordan was more interested in the crisis in the context of its endeavor to urge the Arab states to work to resolve it within the Arab framework, and not to be internationalized, in order to prevent any foreign interference, but the Arab dispute over the vision of this crisis stood without achieving that, which is what made the crisis exacerbated as a result of foreign intervention, and the repercussions and events that accompanied it, resulted in the occupation of Iraq by the United States of America in 2003.

King Abdullah II has sought since his assumption of power in 1999 to work to improve and develop relations with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, by making multiple visits to the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood within the framework of dedicating the approach of coordination and consultation, as the Kingdom is in the vicinity of countries. There is chaos, turmoil and instability, as well as the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council face many threats and challenges, as a result of instability in Iraq and Yemen, and the occupation of the Emirati islands: Tunb Al-Soghra, Greater Tunb, and Abu Musa Island, by Iran, as well as Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons. And he promises a breath of a real threat to the security of the Arabian Gulf in particular, and the region as a whole in general.

**The importance and objectives of the study.** The study aims in its aim to get acquainted with the Jordanian foreign policy within the framework of the foundations, goals and determinants of Jordanian foreign policy in general, and Jordanian foreign policy towards the Gulf Cooperation Council countries in particular, which shows the extent of cooperation in the light of regional and international changes.

As for the importance of the study, it comes through its statement of the extent of the impact of internal and external factors and influences on Jordanian foreign policy in the context of its reflection on relations with Arab countries, especially the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, in the period from 1999-2019.

**The study Problem.** The problem of this study is based on an attempt to get acquainted with the Jordanian foreign policy towards the Gulf Cooperation Council states (1999-2019), and highlight

the impact of the surrounding conditions, whether regional or international, and the implications for Jordan of the foreign policy of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries during the study period.

**Study methodology.** This study relied on the descriptive analytical approach, to determine the nature of that phenomenon and to identify the interrelationship, describing and photographing it, with its various dimensions and effects, considering that the analysis after the description matches the goals and objectives of this study, because the analytical approach focuses on what is called the process of foreign policy analysis, and on understanding and analyzing the variables affecting In its development, the foundations and limitations of the relationship between the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, and the relations between the two parties, whether on the political, economic or security level, in light of a new global system with its various dimensions, to know the extent of congruence in its policies These countries, as well as the basic dimensions of Jordanian foreign policy in the context of determinants, goals, and strategies, and the decisions they take towards the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, within the framework of their relations during 1999-2019.

#### **Study questions.**

The study will attempt to answer the following main question:

What are the attitudes and behaviors of Jordanian foreign policy towards the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council during (1999-2019)?

#### **The first topic: The determinants and pillars of Jordanian foreign policy.**

The Jordanian foreign policy depends on a set of determinants, within the framework of foundations and foundations that stem from the state's capabilities and self-capabilities, which constitute the constituents of its national strength. Therefore, the determinants are those that arise from the environment for international unity, and they come from within the scope of exercising its authority, or that arise from the interaction With other international units, provided that those determinants, whether natural or national, are intended to mean the size and level of capabilities available to the state (elements of state power), and these determinants consist of the interaction of two main elements: the size of the resources available, the level of modernization, and the resources available for the international unit are Cm into two basic types: permanent resources, the most important geographical location, resources and variable related to population and economic status and military, population, military force, which is formed in the entirety of the components of national power of the state which are analyzed on the basis that they support or hinder the different options for the foreign policy of the state [1].

**The historical factor.** The ruling family in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is considered an extension of the Hashemite family that took over the leadership of the Great Arab Revolt and carried its principles, as the monarchy has political experience that has a special impact on political decision-making, within the framework of the historical dimension, which is a factor in controlling the political decision, It seems clear in the foreign policy-making process of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, as the Kingdom was in its stages of historical necessity in the Middle East, as it carried a supreme civilizational message, and it is a strong barrier in the face of Zionist expansion, so this young kingdom was a protective shield Destroy the Zionist aggression against the entire Arab and Islamic nation [2].

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is an integral part of Arab history, as it is part of a great nation that has contributed to human civilization with a clear active role. In Jordan, many battles took place, including: Mu'tah, Yarmouk, and Ajnadin, which is also the gateway through which the first legions of the Islamic conquest crossed, Likewise, the army of the Great Arab Revolution, in the modern era, to become Jordanian lands, the first Arab land liberated from the Ottoman Turks with Arab hands and Arab sacrifices [3].

The historical legacy and family rivalry played a major role in guiding Jordanian foreign policy, as the Hashemites were their original homeland, the Hejaz, and they were forced out of it after a long stay in its territory, where the Hashemites assumed the Emirate of Mecca for several years [4].

**Political leadership.** In the final analysis, foreign policy is made from an individual or a group of individuals, and is influenced to a large extent by his inherited and acquired self-motivated motives, by the characteristics of his personality, and by his intellectual perceptions of the nature of objective factors and their impact on the foreign policy of his country, because the political leader is the main factor in making foreign policy, where The degree of influence of the political leader varies with the variation of political leaders and with varying political positions, given the existence of a set of circumstances whose availability increases the role of the political leader in shaping foreign policy so that this role becomes the primary starting point for understanding that policy, in light of The extent of

the political leader's interest in foreign policy, the way in which he came to power, as well as his personality as a political leader, and the extent of his authority as a political leader in relation to foreign policy, as well as his experience as a political leader in foreign affairs, and his political resilience as a politician, and in this context King Abdullah II belongs to the generation Forty-third of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and he assumed the functions of the viceroy several times during the absence of King Hussein from the country, knowing that he assumed the mandate of the covenant according to a royal will issued in accordance with Article [28] of the constitution on the day of his birth on January 30, 1962 , and also the royal will was issued Toxic On January 24, 1999, by his appointment as Crown Prince, he assumed his constitutional powers as King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on the seventh of February 1999, the day of the death of his father, King Hussein Bin Talal [5].

King Abdullah II has a major role in making foreign policy, in the context of being the head of the three authorities, executive, legislative and judicial, and in light of the broad powers granted to him by the constitution, he has worked to strengthen the Kingdom's positive and moderate role in the Arab world, in terms of working to restore Consolidating Jordanian relations with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council in particular, as well as working with them to find a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, through an insightful vision in realizing the current stage, in light of regional and international changes that affected the international community at the beginning of the new millennium, The Jordanian side, we find, realizes the special features that the Arab regional system has and it is not available in any other system. Arab nationalism are important and prominent features in the Arab system, as Arabs as a human group are distinguished from other regional systems by linguistic and cultural homogeneity and belonging to one religion, It shares one history, one fate, as Arab unity came through Arab nationalism, and this is what drives deepening Jordanian-Arab joint cooperation and this is evident from the date of the kingdom's formation, by seeking to overcome all forms of Arab differences to advance joint Arab action and national solidarity to Touched. It makes the Arab nation in the ranks of advanced regional systems [6].

**Geographical factor.** The importance of geographical data in the field of international relations comes from the fact that it is the most consistent data in influencing the foreign policy of the state and its directions, but this effect varies as a result of the geographical state reality as well as the impact of the geographical location on the strength of the state, as well as the decision maker's awareness of the geographical location with what creates it either A state of strength or weakness, which is reflected in the decision, whether positively or negatively [7].

The geographical location is considered one of the influencing factors in Jordanian foreign policy, as the Kingdom of Jordan is located in the heart of the Middle East, which gave it weight at the regional level, and it is in the position of a buffer zone between Palestine as a region targeted by the Zionist settlement project and the centers of Arab population weight surrounding the Kingdom This is reflected in the location of the Kingdom of Jordan, its borders, as well as its area and shape, so that it is considered the clearest model of what it embodies in the connection of foreign policy to the geographical location, as the Kingdom is surrounded by four regional countries: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq and occupied Palestine, as long The borders of the Kingdom of Jordan with neighboring countries amount to 1724 km, and each of the countries of this neighborhood is distinguished by one source of power or more, which is not available to Jordan [8].

The area, the primary resources, the influence of climatic conditions and the geographical location all play an important role towards the political decision-maker, whether positively or negatively. The geographical location of the state affects its foreign policy and orientations at the economic and security level, as well as the direct vital area of the state's foreign policy; The cases direct its foreign policy to the geographical region within which it falls, which gives the geographical location an advantage with other variables in terms of its permanence and continuity in the field of influencing foreign policy in various forms, which confirms that "the location of the state Geography is one of the factors that exert a significant influence on the extent of its participation in the international community and its regional power, "which Ratzel emphasized by saying that" one of the geographical locations is what achieves political value in itself ", as the country that enjoys a strategic location can influence the course of the conflict And it becomes of special importance through its influential role in the field of international relations [9].

The strategic importance of the geographical factor in Jordanian foreign policy can be perceived through awareness of the importance of the site of the Jordanian kingdom, from the linking of this site with geographical roots with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and is considered the gateway

to the Kingdom of Jordan towards the rest of the Gulf Cooperation Council, as well as the importance of its neighborhood to the occupied Palestinian territories, the Kingdom of Jordan It is located on the largest line adjacent to Palestine by about (650 km<sup>2</sup>), so that this site made it exposed to the direct and continuous threat from the Zionist entity and its expansionist aspirations that extend to the Arab Gulf. The neighborhood with Israel imposed concern among the Jordanian decision-maker with Passing the feeling that it is being targeted by Israel, which wants to solve the Palestinian issue at the expense of the Kingdom of Jordan, as a result of the failure to reach a final solution between the Palestinians and Israel, so this matter constitutes a permanent source of danger to Jordanian security, which will have an impact on the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council Also [10].

The Kingdom of Jordan is considered in terms of the geographical area of the Arab countries small in size compared to the size of most of its neighboring countries, because the area of Jordan is about 89 thousand km<sup>2</sup>, and the other thing is that the Kingdom of Jordan does not have a direct access to the global seas, and what it owns from the coasts is considered a patch Narrowed on a beach, which is the Gulf that lies between the lands of three Arab countries: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Palestine. As a result, its waters are considered regional and not international waters [11].

Most of the lands of the Kingdom of Jordan are of a desert nature and amount to approximately 80% of the total lands of the Kingdom and are not used in agricultural production as a major pillar in the field of food security, and as a result, the geographical position on Jordanian foreign policy and the decision-maker imposed a consistent orientation in Arab regional policy that goes towards Maintaining a center of balance among the surrounding forces, which distinguished Jordanian foreign policy by moderation, balance, and even caution at the regional level [12].

The average location of the Kingdom of Jordan has gained importance for the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, as it is a geographic partner that depends on it in securing the borders of the largest countries of the Council, which is Saudi Arabia, whose borders with the Kingdom of Jordan are 782 km long, this geographical neighborhood is a specific element of Jordanian foreign policy, and it is a strategic depth For Jordan, and a pressure element on the decision-maker, and geographically, each of the two countries is considered an outlet for the other to other regions, which is what Saudi Arabia constitutes as an outlet to reach the rest of the Gulf Cooperation Council states for the Kingdom of Jordan, which can make a real contribution to achieving the goals It is intended for Saudi Arabia and the extension of this even to other Gulf Cooperation Council states, with regard to effective monitoring by the Kingdom of Jordan in the field of limiting smuggling of arms and drugs to Saudi lands, and the rest of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, and this contributes to maintaining the security and stability of these countries, so the geographical factor is important He played the role of chief and officer on the kingdom's foreign policy toward the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states [13].

**Population factor.** The population factor has an influential role in determining the status of the state, because the availability of a huge population in the state is considered a human basis for economic growth and also in building military power, especially if the size of the population is related to the availability of natural resources and the availability of other capabilities that can benefit from this size, but in Sometimes the size of the population itself may not mean much in relation to the foreign policy of the state, unless it is related to other factors, and this is what the demographers indicate to him that the optimal size of the population is the size in which a balance is achieved between the number of the population and the available natural resources [14].

The Kingdom of Jordan is considered one of the third world countries and it is like any of these countries, it suffers from a misallocation of population wealth and its accumulation in some regions without the other with widespread unemployment and a decrease in the level of individual and national income, and the Kingdom of Jordan is in constant confrontation with these challenges, as a result of the deficit in its trade balance, which is What reflects negatively on the social variable, and this affects the outcome on the political decision-maker, and limits his freedom in achieving his national or national goals, but the Kingdom has sought through bilateral agreements with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries to transfer labor, whether through contracts or secondments Informatics [14].

**Economic factor.** The interest in the role of the economic variable has increased, because it has an impact on the state in its international relations and foreign policy, as it plays a central role in the choices of that policy, and the setting of its goals, because the political behavior of most countries stems from its economic background, because the economy is a very important pillar of the state's strengths, but The economic state is not only viewed in terms of providing welfare, but rather because it is a flexible element

of power, which can support other elements of power, within the framework of the interdependence of security and economic requirements between countries, and this makes the resort to armed force difficult, since in many cases it is not Possible, The importance of the economic factor does not come from its direct impact on improving the level of military power, but rather by the role that the economy plays in determining the strength of a country, as well as the quality of its foreign policy. Therefore, the economic factor contributes to strengthening the state and directing its foreign policy (), and for the Kingdom of Jordan, The economic factor is considered one of the most important determinants of its foreign policy, as it is the weak point that it has needed since its inception, and still accompanies it until now in the movement of its external relations with other countries, which increases the economic situation sensitive if its economic situation is compared to that of some countries in the region [17].

The economic situation means the available natural and human resources, which include natural resources, energy sources, minerals and agricultural resources, as the availability of these resources is considered the material basis for the economic growth of the state, as it facilitates the process of entering into intensive external relations, which goes to the state to enter into policies Armament, and in choosing specific systems for armament, all of this is greatly affected by the extent to which the state has economic and natural resources, as the state's lack of natural resources was the reason for the outbreak of many international wars[18], as the lack of natural resources is a major reason in determining political behavior etc. I hope for the state, therefore, the economic factor has a great impact and importance in international relations, as it plays a central role in those relations [19].

The weakness and fragility of the Jordanian economy has made it a factor of constraint and weakness towards the external decision-maker. The economy is a growth of internal and external policy in terms of whether it is strong and effective, and vice versa, the Jordanian economy so far operates within a set of variables that are [20]:

1. The shortage and lack of some mineral resources and energy sources.
2. The lack of sufficient water sources.
3. The majority of the desert lands are not suitable for cultivation.
4. The increase in population and the tightness of the local market.
5. The concept of economic integration does not exist among the Arab countries.
6. The accumulated political problems and events that created instability in the Arab region.

In light of the existence of the aforementioned variables, we find that the Kingdom of Jordan is a poor country of natural resources, and its economic conditions are difficult that it has not been able to overcome since its inception until now, which imposed on the Jordanian economy to submit to and accept the terms of external debt, foreign aid and dependence on other economies, as the Kingdom's lack of Commercially exploitable natural resources, such as oil, have placed a burden on the Jordanian economy because of its heavy dependence on importing it in light of its fluctuating prices, which is a specific form that pressures its foreign policy towards ensuring that it has different alternatives to energy sources, which is what the governor imposes on him On good relations with the oil-exporting countries, especially the neighboring countries [21], and if we exclude phosphates and potash and the limited quantities of natural gas and agricultural production that do not exceed 15% of the country's food needs, the Jordanian economy is still fragile and in constant need of foreign aid, until it was said that it "Achieve political independence without economic independence" [22].

Foreign aid contributes significantly to influencing the movement of the country's foreign policy, especially when it is relied upon permanently as in the Kingdom of Jordan. Therefore, most studies on the Jordanian economy adopt the statement that it is dominated by weakness and reliance on foreign aid [23], and even in The volume of foreign aid remained increasing, but it is considered insufficient and does not cover the deficit, whether in the budget or the trade balance, which decision-makers went to resort to loans and external debt, in order to achieve its goals to increase growth rates, but with the late eighties, an economic crisis began, which made the economy Except Donny cannot fulfill the consequent repayment of external debts, as the continuous budget deficit has caused a restatement of dependency relations and domination of Jordanian politics. External debt is a tool for imposing external hegemony and economic dependence, and in light of these conditions the Kingdom of Jordan has tried to find a solution to the economic problem , And by working to strengthen economic and commercial cooperation between them and other countries, and to the extent that this approach constitutes an approach to address the trade balance and reduce economic burdens, it constitutes yet another determinant of foreign policy if it wishes to maintain Vital economic alternatives to its outputs [24].

The application of Jordanian foreign policy objectives is closely related to its political, economic and geographical conditions, as it affects the ability of the foreign policy maker and the degree of its independence in shaping Jordanian foreign policy. Hence, the Jordanian foreign policy maker had to go towards reconciling Jordan's needs for aid and aid, and between preserving The independence of the national decision and its political capabilities, but in light of the Jordanian economy, which faces multiple challenges, including: its lack of natural and primary resources, especially oil, and its limited ability to expand in agricultural activity because 80% of the land is desert It is suitable for agriculture, as well as the scarcity of financial resources, the scarcity of financial resources specialized in developing the agricultural sector, dependence on expatriate hands, and the small agricultural areas, and incurred additional defense burdens that we provide for geographical location conditions, and the small size of the local market, all of which pushed the Kingdom of Jordan to face economic challenges through Attention to borrowing and external debt, relying on foreign aid, and moving towards providing Arab countries with trained labor in exchange for financial aid, as well as deepening and organizing trade exchange between them and Syria, which made them one of the Kingdom's most important trading partners Jordan in the Arab region, especially with regard to the bilateral and developed trade relations between the two countries, compared to the volume of trade exchange with other Arab countries[25].

In light of the foregoing, one can say that one of the most serious obstacles that stand in the way of Jordanian foreign policy is "dependency in energy." The Kingdom of Jordan is living a long period of dual dependence and varying levels of resources, where it imports most of it, in addition to the impact of energy independence on the National independence in general and the Kingdom of Jordan in particular, and let us remember that there is no political independence without economic independence [26], as foreign aid greatly affected his political decision, and this came as a result of the scarcity of his economic resources, as successive Jordanian governments worked through the use of the strategy The economic development of self-resources, to reduce dependence on foreign aid.

The Jordanian economic factor often depends on foreign aid, especially the assistance of the United States of America, as well as the aid of Arab oil states, and this dependence has contributed to influencing the Jordanian foreign policy-making process, in a manner that is set against the pressures of some countries, especially those countries whose aid is And its markets are of value to the Jordanian economy, and although the Jordanian economy has achieved some successes, it is still in the process of growth and will remain fast influencing each of the pressures of the internal, regional and international environment and its changes, as a result of the dependency relationship that binds it with many countries p At the regional and international levels, especially with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, in light of the Jordanian economic situation, we see that the behavior of Jordanian foreign policy has been taken care not to provoke rich Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, which is the Jordanian gateway to reach the rest of the Gulf Cooperation Council because of its role In support of the Jordanian economy [27].

**Military factor.** The military variable is considered one of the influencing factors in the state's foreign policy and an importance that is parallel to other variables, and it plays a crucial role in the level of determining the state's foreign policy goals[28], and it is a major factor in the external political decision-making process, as reliance on the military tool is not only in times Conflict, in the case of peace, the state must have a military force that maintains or prevents other countries from violating the prevailing peace state, and for this we find many countries that do not have the reasons for military power depend on alliance with others, despite knowing that this will restrict their sovereignty at least in making their policy External Therefore, the ability of the armed forces to accomplish their function in foreign policy is affected, negatively or positively, by a set of qualitative and quantitative variables, including economic, human and weapons potentials[29], and to achieve this, international units seek to develop their capabilities of strength for motives that may be their fear of external threats, or of The fierce competition between international units, but most countries do not resort to the use of their military strength until when the role of diplomacy finally ends, and in light of the development of events in the region, the Jordanian political decision-maker has increased his dependence on the military institution to implement the objectives of his private policy Weigh, and care about the Jordanian Armed Forces quality and quantity by working to equip and upgrade the efficiency of training and arming them to reach the stage of military professionalism [28].

That, since the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan in 1921, the army and gendarmerie forces, whose primary nucleus of the guards accompanying King Abdullah I when he came from the Hejaz, were started, but these forces became after their arrival under the command of the English

leaders, as they became a means of political pressure on the king and the government Jordanian role towards achieving British interests in the region, and this role has continued until 1956, which affected the movement of the Jordanian decision-maker and the nature of its foreign decisions for a long time, but the growing need to use the armed forces to implement the objectives of Jordanian foreign policy, the decision-maker in March of P Or 1956, by adopting a decision to Arabize the leadership of the Arab army, the British presence in the army leaders is considered a determinant of the foreign policy of the Kingdom of Jordan, and therefore it was necessary to get rid of the English leadership by excluding it [29], where the Jordanian military capabilities are one of the most important factors affecting foreign policy, as it imposed quantitatively Of restrictions and requirements, and what it represented as a tool to express the orientation of its foreign policy, and the nature of its location on the hotlines in the Middle East, which witnessed and witnessed sharp and varied fluctuations in the nature of political alliances as well as the nature of the various sources of threat, both existing and existing, Where the Jordanian armed forces are considered one of the tools for Jordanian foreign policy, in that they play the same roles that other decision-making structures of political decision-making structures play, which is consulting or expressing an opinion, the king is the supreme commander of the Jordanian armed forces, and the armed forces are directly responsible to the king according to Constitution of 1947 and 1952. Therefore, how the military variable influences the decision-making behavior is determined by the type and capabilities and military capabilities that it has available to the state, as there is a strong relationship between the quality of the military capabilities and capabilities of a country, and the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of its external political behavior, and that the militarily strong countries are distinguished With a high ability to achieve the goals of its foreign policy and protect its vital interests[30].

In light of the foregoing, the impact of the Jordanian national income decline was negative on military spending, and on translating that into a geopolitical analysis linking the military variable and its effect on the orientation of Jordanian foreign policy towards the countries of the Arab regional system, and from here there are restrictions imposed by the military factor on the Jordanian decision-maker, Can be summarized in the following restrictions[31]:

1. The Kingdom of Jordan relies entirely on arms issues for foreign imports, due to its inability to manufacture nationally.

2. The lack of financial ability to secure the quality and quantity of weapons required, prompting successive Jordanian governments to request foreign military assistance from Arab countries in general, and the United States of America in particular.

3. The quality of weapons available to the Jordanian military leads to the subject of the decision to expand and modernize the Jordanian army to the issuing party, for security reasons related to Israel, which in its conventional and comprehensive military capabilities exceed all Arab military capabilities combined.

Therefore, the influence of the military factor on Jordanian foreign policy towards the Arab regional system and in the framework of its Arab relations seems weak and negative, and therefore it is not an effective and influencing factor in foreign policy, but rather it has led to diplomacy being the primary tool in foreign policy is the only axis of it in the movement Jordanian at the regional and international levels, as the kingdom relies on Arab and Western military and economic aid to support its military establishment, which is what the decision-maker had to take into account in preserving distinguished and normal relations with Arab countries in general, and the states United Nations in particular, to ensure the continued provision of military assistance to him and to protect him under the precarious conditions in the Arab region, where the military factor was used in the Arab dimension of Jordanian foreign policy, to enhance security and stability in many countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, by supplying the Gulf countries with cadres Trained manpower and military missions to contribute to the development of the military and security forces in most of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, and this cooperation created high confidence between Jordan and the countries of the Council. This was reflected in the Kingdom of Jordan through what is provided to it by financial and economic assistance and the development of areas of cooperation Various military [32].

**The second topic: The position of Jordan and the Gulf Cooperation Council countries on regional and international changes:**

The increasing military and security cooperation between Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council is considered an indication of the two sides 'sense of the same security challenges. Jordan considers the Gulf countries a strategic depth for it, as a result of the occupation of



Iraq and the subsequent instability, which reflected its impact on the Kingdom of Jordan, as well as on the GCC states. Gulf cooperation, as a result of Iraq's exit from the regional balance of power equation, which caused a significant imbalance in the balance of power at the present time [33].

The events of September 11, 2001:

The events of September 11th affected the reality of international relations, as one of the most important international issues, in addition to the restructuring of the international system, after the decline and disintegration of the Soviet Union system, which made the United States unique to the international system as a single power compared to any other international force. The countries of the Cooperation Council and the Kingdom of Jordan have been affected by these events and have reflected on their international policies and relations, which prompted the two sides to stress the importance of fighting attempts to link the Islamic religion with the phenomenon of international terrorism, and not to hold Arabs and Muslims responsible for committing such actions, because terrorism is It fulfills all the principles of Islam, as these trends coincided with the position in the strategy to deal with counter-terrorism by pursuing and dismantling terrorist cells, and at the same time seeking to address the causes that lead to terrorist acts, foremost of which are political issues, where the Jordanian viewpoint meets the GCC countries. In its stance on terrorism and the September events, which came within the framework of individual positions, which were expressed through statements or through visits and contacts to confirm its rejection of terrorism and its side with the United States of America [34].

The Kingdom of Jordan has stressed the increase in cooperation and the need to increase the degree of joint security coordination in the field of combating terrorist cells by raising the level of security coordination between them and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council. American in this regard, with Jordan asserting the necessity to differentiate between the concepts of terrorism and the right of legitimate resistance of the peoples who are under the weight of occupation, and that Jordan stands a solid stance of terrorism and terrorist operations against civilians everywhere in the world. Pain [35].

**Iraq.** It can be said that Jordanian foreign policy was clear.

In the context of its foreign policy, the Kingdom of Jordan objected, politically, to the US-British invasion of Iraq in 2003, while positions differed between Arab countries towards the occupation of Iraq, which came outside the framework of the United Nations, whether at the level of the Gulf states, Kuwait has expressed full support for this process, In addition to providing Qatar with logistical support and support represented by the US military's use of the Qatari "al-Khareb" base, and Bahrain's use as a base for the US Fifth Fleet, Saudi Arabia announced that it would not allow its lands to be used to enter Iraq, nor would it provide any assistance to American forces. And the Kingdom of Jordan also announced that he would not participate in military actions against Iraq, in addition to not allowing its lands to be a crossing point for the entry of American forces into Iraq, while the official position of the rest of the Gulf states was to require the former Iraqi regime to comply with the UN Security Council resolutions related to its disarmament. And not threatening its neighbors, and at the same time these countries and the Kingdom of Jordan announced that it is with the Iraqi people to get rid of its isolation and economic blockade, and it is against any military action targeting Iraq, and that it is necessary to resort to a method of dialogue and political pressure on the regime, which it considers to be. The United States of America is a factor of tension and instability in the region [36].

The American military presence in the region as a result of the occupation of Iraq posed a threat to some countries of the region, such as Syria and Iran, which made the region threatened by the occurrence of conflicts and crises, which goes to threatening the regional security of the countries of the Middle East, where the American presence deliberately dismantled the Arab regional system so that there would be no nationalist alliance convergence. Or my religion can strengthen the resistance of American policy in the region, in addition to the many negative effects that resulted from the American presence on the economies of the countries of the region, in their deteriorating political, economic and social conditions, as well as the occurrence of major imbalances in regional balances. In The region reflected this in the increasing strength of Israel, Iran and Turkey, and consequently the weakening of the elements of Gulf power in the Arab Gulf and the rest of the Arab countries in general [37].

The Iraqi reality represented in the weakness of the political process and the variation in the political aspirations of the segments of Iraqi society, after the handover of sovereignty to the Iraqis on June 1, 2004, resulted in a state of practical division of the Iraqi state between the Shiites, Sunnis and the Kurds, and thus formed a prelude to an actual division of Iraq, stripping Iraq From his Arab affiliation politically and demographically, which constitutes a security challenge that the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries

of the Gulf Cooperation Council fear [38], the Gulf states announced their donation of large sums to the reconstruction of Iraq, where Kuwait announced the allocation of one billion dollars, Saudi Arabia half a billion dollars, and the rest of the Gulf states with Adult less than that, she supported the process of political transformation in Iraq, recognized the Transitional Governing Council and the Iraqi governments that followed, and opened diplomatic missions in Baghdad [39], which is also what the Kingdom of Jordan has taken from its steps toward Iraq, but the repercussions of the Iraqi reality politically, security and social after The occupation created challenges for the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, due to the increased instability in Iraq, and this would work to increase the sources of terrorism and violence in the region; imposed on the neighboring countries of Iraq political and security implications that necessitate joint action to restore stability in For Iraq, after the process of withdrawing the American combat forces in 2010, ahead of schedule, which increased the degree of threats facing the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council as well as the Kingdom of Jordan, despite the fact that these countries face joint threats at the present time, came from within, and some of them Linked to developments in the regional environment, as well as some of them related to the new American strategy it adopted towards the region [40], as Kuwait is more concerned with the threat that Iraq poses to it from many angles, foremost among which is the state of unrest on the Iraqi-Kuwaiti borders, which leads to its exploitation to smuggle weapons and the brain She saw Kuwait, and on the other side, Saudi Arabia, which is also concerned with the Iraqi threat, but to a lesser degree, as the Saudi concern lies in its fear that Iraq will turn into a base for launching terrorist attacks on its lands, while Bahrain comes its fear of the escalation of Shiite influence in Iraq on the Shiites in Bahrain, What goes towards the threat of its internal cohesion, as well as Qatar, where its fear of the possible repercussions of hosting the American bases and means is very much concentrated, while the UAE and the Sultanate of Oman do not see in the current conditions in Iraq a threat to them [41].

**Iran.** After the American occupation of Iraq in 2003, the region was exposed to a large imbalance in the balance of power in favor of Iran, making the Gulf states more exposed to Iran, as the Iranian policy towards the Gulf countries has become largely influenced by developments in Iraq, as it seeks to increase its influence in Iraq Especially with the deteriorating security and the increasing sectarian tension in the Iraqi situation, as Iran is making great efforts to block any Arab role in Iraq, and this has become a feature of Iran's regional policy after the occupation of Iraq, as the Iranian position on the peace process was one of the reasons for the chill in relations Between the Kingdom of Jordan Iran and the intention that the Kingdom is making efforts and endeavors to advance the peace process between the Palestinians and Israel, but Iran has ties with some Palestinian factions opposed to the peace process between the Arabs and Israel, and from this standpoint, Iran is striving to hinder the peace process as it conflicts with its interests if it achieved the peace process Its desired results [43].

Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons, with the aim of imposing the presence and will on the countries of the region, given what Iran's possession of nuclear weapons carries, posed threats and challenges to both the Gulf Cooperation Council countries and the Kingdom of Jordan, as well as to the Middle East region in general, and the Kingdom of Jordan and the GCC countries have emphasized more than Once its desire for the Middle East to be free of weapons of mass destruction, as the possession of nuclear weapons by some Middle Eastern countries, including Israel and Iran, exposes Arab national security as a whole to great danger, which makes the Arab states exposed to this nuclear arsenal on their borders, both towards the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Jordanian or Gulf Cooperation Council states [44], as what is known as the Iranian nuclear crisis and its future prospects will leave its effects on Arab-Iranian relations. The countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council do not view the Iranian nuclear file, far from Iran's regional power, as a pivotal expansionist country in the region. With or without nuclear weapons, as they have become influential in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, especially Gaza, and finally in Yemen, as the Arab Gulf states in particular and the Arab states in general are the logistic of the Iranian Western detente process, because they see that these talks are not nuclear Just that It is a policy that carries with it deals with a nuclear cover, whether by agreeing on the issue of the nuclear file, or by extending negotiations, in addition to what the new alliances that may arise in the region, especially after the war in Yemen, paving the way for different scenarios, which will put the issue of Iranian regional expansion. On the basis of the research, as it is no longer acceptable or possible to continue the situation to what it was before the agreement, and the Yemen war, which imposed itself as a new reality on the region [45].

Obama stressed that "the countries of the region are right to be concerned about Iran's activities, especially with regard to their support for a violent group within the borders of other countries." Obama

mentioned the countries in which Iran interferes, such as providing support to the regime of Bashar al-Assad, Hezbollah in Lebanon, and Hamas in the Gaza Strip, and the Houthis in Yemen, and this is in the context of his defense of negotiations on the "Iranian nuclear file" and said: "We can imagine how Iran will become more provocative if it possesses a nuclear weapon, and this is one of the reasons for the comprehensive agreement it seeks with Iran, to remove one of the most dangerous Threats to the security of the region, "Obama reminded the deployment of thousands of military personnel Americans in the region, that the United States is conducting several joint military exercises each year, and that the Gulf states should have no doubt about the commitment of the United States to its partners in the Gulf Cooperation Council, and the summit was held hours after the humanitarian truce entered into force in Yemen after Seven weeks of air strikes launched by the Saudi-led Arab coalition against the Houthi rebels [46].

**Terrorism.** The Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council witnessed a wave of terrorist operations through a series of bombings, and a diplomat at an American development agency was killed in the Kingdom in 2002, and the Jordanian security services arrested a network that was planning to strike the General Intelligence Department in 2004, and three signed Terrorist bombings using explosive belts that targeted three hotels located in the center of the Jordanian capital on 9/11/2005, the first of which occurred at the entrance of the "Radison SAS Hotel", then the second hit the "Hyatt Amman" hotel and then the "Hotel" was targeted. The number of victims was 57 dead, 115 wounded, was adopted Al Qaeda responsibility for the bombings [47].

In the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, Saudi Arabia was attacked by the offices of the American Training Mission for the Saudi National Guard, where several Islamic groups announced their demands to expel the American military, and gunmen also detonated a bomb in barracks designated for American soldiers in the Saudi port of Khobar, killing nineteen Americans. More than a hundred others were injured in 1996, and then the armed operations continued between the Saudi security forces and Al-Qaeda, which declared itself in the name of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, and in the State of Kuwait, a series of acts of violence occurred in 2003, targeting Kuwaiti security centers, as well as in the Sultanate of Oman If a network consisting of twenty Omanis was discovered in 2004, the aim of which was to overthrow the government, in addition to targeting American interests in the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council after the occupation of Iraq in 2003 [48]:

The cooperation between Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council in the field of combating terrorism came through the following:

1- Jordan and the countries of the Cooperation Council are concerned with the repercussions that are going on in Iraq, as chaos and lawlessness directly threaten the security of the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Council alike, and thus, which necessitates cooperation among them in the field of strengthening border control with Iraq.

2- Devoting efforts in cooperation with the war on terrorism led by the United States of America, through exchanging information and handing over wanted persons, as well as cooperation in the field of fighting money laundering.

King Abdullah II stressed in the opening of the international conference on special operations in national defense, which was held in the Jordanian capital, Amman on 27/4/2004, where he said: "The success in combating terrorism is through a political, not security, solution to the roots of terrorism and its causes, not to identify the terrorists." And killing them only, and that regional and international cooperation in the field of information exchange and control means is important in combating terrorism. "The Kingdom of Jordan is still facing challenges imposed by the crisis in the northern neighbor Syria, and the Kingdom has made some amendments to the anti-terrorism law issued in 2006, in order to send RS A powerful tool by imposing the death penalty on the perpetrators of the terrorist act if it resulted in "a person's death or building demolition, in whole or in part and in which one or more people were involved," and if he committed "using explosive or inflammatory materials or toxic or incendiary, epidemic, bacterial or chemical products" Or radiological, or by weapons, ammunition, or whatever is in the provisions of these articles. "The amendments to the law in Jordan classified" the use of the information system, the information network, or any means of publishing, informing, or creating a website to facilitate terrorist acts or support for groups, organization, or association that Acting as a terrorist, or promoting or financing her ideas." Terrorist [49].

These measures came in order to reconsider the laws of terrorism in the Kingdom of Jordan to face the repercussions of what is happening in Syria, where Syria has become a magnet for jihadists, so that it has become a challenge to regional and global countries, and these amendments aimed to

address the repercussions of the Syrian conflict, where the amendments to the anti-terrorism law came In the Kingdom of Jordan after the Saudi authorities included a group of groups and organizations on the list of terrorist and extremist organizations, including the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant known as "ISIS," the Shiite Houthi group in Yemen, and the Nusra Front And "Saudi Hizballah", Iran sought to contact the Shiite minorities in the Gulf states to make them revolt against the political systems, as it had a role in revitalizing the Shiite minority in the eastern region of Saudi Arabia by urging it to demand an increase in its representation in the Saudi government circles, as it was accused Bahrain Iran is behind the political unrest of some Shiite political societies in Bahrain, as the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council are aware of the status of their Shiite minorities and Iran's relationship with them, although in most of the GCC countries the Shiite opposition is still considered a problem of a sectarian minority rather than the problem of Of the whole, and in fact, Iran's relationship with the Arab countries are considered as intertwined dimensions leave of major security effects on a number of Arab countries most notably the Arab Gulf States[50].

**Conclusion.** The relations that bring together the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council are not modern but rather relations that go back to the beginning of the founding of these countries, as the Kingdom of Jordan was one of the first Arab countries to cooperate and coordinate with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, and to recognize them as independent and sovereign political units, The Kingdom has made the basic infrastructure for these countries at the beginnings of its establishment, at various levels, whether political, military, security, economic, social, or educational, until it was able to manage itself, because after the discovery of oil, a qualitative shift took place to a world Modernity and development, as it exceeded all the Arab countries in terms of progress and prosperity, and became one of the countries of the welfare.

The need for a Jordanian foreign policy has become more effective than before with regard to the Gulf Cooperation Council states, as a result of what is imposed by the reality of the Kingdom of Jordan in the context of its difficult economic conditions, and its geographical location among countries that live in a state of chaos, turmoil and instability, and the events that occurred in the nineties of the twentieth century. Specifically, the second Gulf crisis that cast a shadow over the Kingdom after the Iraqi invasion of the State of Kuwait, and its reflection on the relations between the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, where relations became tainted by a state of apathy, as a result of different Arab attitudes towards that crisis, despite a Jordan was more neutral towards the crisis through the Kingdom's position by emphasizing the necessity of resolving the crisis inside the Arab House, and not internationalizing it in order to prevent foreign interference, but the Arab deficit and different positions stopped without achieving this, as the 1990s period was a turning point between the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Kingdom of Jordan As a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The events of September 11th represented a turning point on the reality of international relations, as a new transitional stage in the behavior of countries and their dealings with each other, and because the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council are part of the global system, in light of the world's division into two parts from the United States 'viewpoint: With us in all political directions, or against us and with terrorism; and the ensuing US occupation of Iraq and the challenges and obligations imposed on the countries of the region, especially the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council as a result of the geographical neighborhood of Iraq, that terrorism in all its forms has become present in Iraq and neighboring countries, it was not necessary for the Kingdom of Jordan and the GCC Gulf of closer ties and challenge the political and economic conditions in greater convergence in various fields.

**Results.** By taking up the study for the time period from 1999 until 2019, I came up with the following results:

1. Evolution in political relations, through convergence in common attitudes and positions regarding regional and international issues that affect the interests of the two parties in particular, and the interests of Arab countries in general.

2. The Jordanian foreign policy directions towards the Gulf Cooperation Council countries came within the framework of the elements and factors shared by the two parties, which created a state of cooperation in the field of developing political, economic and military relations in all aspects, on the basis of mutual interest and mutual benefit.

3. That the relations between the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Cooperation Council developed at the economic and development level, by signing many economic agreements and

establishing a free trade zone, as these agreements contributed to providing a better climate to enhance economic and trade relations between the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, in addition to efforts King Abdullah II's efforts in this field, which gave the greatest opportunity to the Gulf Cooperation Council countries to benefit from these facilities, and from the investment climate, as the Kingdom of Jordan is a fertile oasis for investment in the Gulf Cooperation Council. The imposition of activating the fields of economic cooperation by expanding the investment of Gulf funds in the Kingdom, by removing customs barriers that impede commercial exchange between the two sides, opening Gulf markets to Jordanian products to enter them without obstacles, expanding the fields of scientific and cultural exchange, and increasing communication between civil organizations and civil society institutions and centers Research and media institutions to enable the expansion of the circle of communication with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council in order to serve the common interests between the two parties.

4. It has become necessary to expand in the field of security cooperation between the Kingdom and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, as the Kingdom is located in the heart of the Arab East, and stands as a buffer state in the face of Israeli ambitions, and from here the Kingdom must be strong in its internal structure at the political level And economic, and this is at the heart of the common interests between the Kingdom and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, through security cooperation at the regional and international levels, as the phenomenon of terrorism and religious extremism has become the next enemy of states, and this has led to the development of laws and regulations to combat terrorism and religious extremism, to support joint efforts in Security areas and to develop their own programs within the framework of cooperation of the two parties.

5. That the political will of leaders is affected by regional and international conditions and their respective links at the regional and international levels, as well as local factors. In the Iraqi issue, the Kingdom and the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, especially Saudi Arabia, agree on how to deal with this crisis, while Jordanian politics intersect with Saudi and Kuwaiti politics and agree with The orientations of the rest of the GCC states regarding the peace process and the relationship with Israel.

**Recommendations.** This study came out with a set of recommendations as follows:

1. The countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council must support the comprehensive development process in the Kingdom, especially the economic side, and bring in financial investments to serve the Jordanian economy.

2. Supporting the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council to establish Arab unity so that it has its place among nations and peoples and a unified stance towards various Arab issues.

3. That solving the problems that exist between Arab countries by peaceful means to remove the danger of external interference in the region, and thus can avoid them risks of falling prey to international conflicts.

4. Seek joint security coordination between the Kingdom of Jordan and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council to combat the phenomenon of terrorism in the region.

5. Activate Jordanian diplomacy towards the Gulf Cooperation Council states, and work to rearrange and formulate Jordanian foreign policy for the security and stability it provides to both parties.

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