THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JORDAN: 1947-1967

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM FADDAH
Norman, Oklahoma
1971
THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JORDAN: 1947-1967

APPROVED BY

[Signatures]

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Jordan is the product of peculiar circumstances. Its creation was a political accident dictated by expediency and the exigencies of World War I. Its existence has been that of an "incubator nation," its political development and survival have been unique among the states of western Asia.

This study will analyze Jordan's foreign policy 1947-1967. It is by no means exhaustive, for it is derived mainly from already accessible materials. Ideally, the study of foreign policy should be based on the primary materials of the state's papers still confined to the confidential archives.

The study, however, will be based on the memoirs of the prominent political leaders in Jordan, Israel, Great Britain and the United States; from releases and documents of these states; public announcements; legislative deliberations; treaties and agreements; and speeches of key figures in the countries under discussion.
much is derived from books on the region, a substantial source has been Arabic publications in the form of books, periodicals, and particularly the official collections of speeches by the rulers of Jordan.

This dissertation will analyze Jordan's foreign policy in three main areas. First, Jordan's role in the Arab-Israeli conflict where its role has been paramount in view of the common long frontier and the unique geography of that border. Second, Jordan's role in inter-Arab relations and its position in the Arab League. Third, Jordan's relations with the Great Powers, particularly Great Britain and the United States. In addition, the study will focus on the application of four key factors in decision-making: the personality factor; the political culture; the political recruitment; situations, the external setting and the tactical capabilities.

The study of foreign policy and international relations seek to understand the behavior of nations and individuals acting for these states in their capacities as decision-makers. Accordingly, there are specific aspects of foreign policy to which the study of the individual attitude has relevance. As national ideologies have bearing on matters of war and peace, so war and peace also depend on personality attitudes.\(^1\)

Personality characteristics can influence the way a decision-maker responds to situations. His attitude may be affected by many factors including his cultural environment, the kind of political system in which he operates, his role in the institutional framework, and his formative background. The latter may be considered as the cause for his certainty or insecurity about his future role, his dominance, values and philosophy, need for achievement and power seeking. His education and intelligence as well as religious values and ideology also significantly influence the method by which a decision-maker approaches foreign policy. One author stated that the person who ultimately determine policy should possess certain leadership qualities. Among these are: one, astute sense of socio-political climate; two, deductive capacities and talent for synthesis and; three, courage. "It is the scarcity of such talent that leads to so many political miscalculations," since significant political decisions may produce a chain reaction. In studying the conduct of Jordan's foreign policy, the personality factor of the rulers can be seen as the dominant influencing factor in their approach to the development of Jordan's foreign relations.

The second factor is political culture. According to Almond political socialization is the process of

---

Induction into the political culture creating loyalty of the individual to that political system. It is also the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. Political culture, on the other hand, refers to the propensities or the psychological dimensions of the system. It consists of people's beliefs, attitudes, values, skills and the special propensities of subcultures within the system. Professor Sidney Verba has defined the concept of political culture as follows:

The political culture of a society consists of the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which define the situation in which political action takes place. It provides the subjective orientation to politics.

The importance of studying political culture lies in the fact that it constitutes a subsystem of the international system. Secondly, since political culture reflects the attitudes and orientation of the individual member of the society toward politics, such orientation constitutes the latent political tendencies and the propensities for political behavior. These propensities are:

---


5 Ibid., p. 23.

of great importance in explaining and predicting a state's political action, in understanding the psychological aspects of political development and political change in that nation.\(^7\) In the case of Jordan, political culture appears to have influenced the personal conduct of King Abdullah's foreign policy. This was facilitated by the lack of political involvement by the Transjordan population, and in view of the fact that the authoritarian culture of the Middle East has been largely molded by Islam, which literally means submission; that the ruler is the agent of God who must be obeyed.\(^8\) However, this situation changed significantly with the introduction of the Palestine Arabs who were politically more involved, and whose loyalty to the Jordanian regime was less reliable.

The third factor is political recruitment. Each political system is constantly involved in recruiting to fill the roles of the political system. It is defined as the process of selection and induction of members of the society into specialized roles of the system by training them in appropriate skills and providing them with "political cognitive maps" and values for the operation of that system.\(^9\) Recruitment may be accomplished by the universal-

\(^7\) Almond and Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
