

2013

**Center For Strategic Studies
University of Jordan**

***Milena Pirolli
Research Associate***

[*EU AND JORDAN: BEYOND THE ENP ACTION PLAN*]

Did EU-Jordan relations reshape because of the Arab Spring?

Contents

1. Historical background and context
 - 1.1. EU-Jordan Relations before the Arab Spring
2. Arab Spring and Jordan
 - 2.1. General overview
 - 2.2. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
3. EU and Arab Spring
 - 3.1. General Overview
 - 3.2. EU-Jordan relations after the Arab Spring
4. Funds: what kind of approach is EU having on funds after the Arab Spring?
 - 4.1. A general overview of European Commission's Humanitarian Aid for 2013
 - 4.2. EU-Jordan Economic Relations
 - 4.2.1 Before the Arab Spring
 - 4.2.2. After the Arab Spring
 - 4.2.3. Fiche covering EU assistance for Jordan (2007-2013)
5. The main future challenges: refugees, water and energy
 - 5.1. Refugees
 - 5.2. Water and energy

1. Historical background and context

1.1. EU-Jordan Relations before the Arab Spring

Jordan and the European Community first established contractual relations in 1977 through a Cooperation agreement. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership inaugurated at the 1995 Barcelona conference established a policy with ambitious and long-term objectives. This partnership was reinforced in 2008 with the creation of the Union for the Mediterranean. The Association Agreement with Jordan, which entered into force in May 2002, sets out in more detail the specific areas in which the relations can be developed bilaterally. On this basis, the EU-Jordan ENP Action Plan was adopted in January 2005, for a period of three to five years. The ENP Action Plan supports the national reform process, articulated in Jordan's ten-year national agenda and the initiative "*We are all Jordan*" which form the basis for Jordan's National Social and Economic Development Programme for 2009-2011. A first progress report was adopted in December 2006 and a second one in April 2008.¹

Institutional cooperation through the EU–Jordan Association Council, the EU–Jordan Association Committee and the ten subcommittees, of which nine were activated, enabled both sides to make progress with the implementation of the Association Agreement and the Action Plan.

In November 2008 Jordan submitted a paper on "*Upgrading of Jordan-EU relations*" to the EU-Jordan Association Council. In that paper it expressed the desire to come to a qualitative and quantitative intensification of the political exchange with the EU on a wide range of common political and security challenges. It would like to see a higher level of participation in those exchanges, more diversified substance (*e.g.* including also border security; strengthening of parliamentary relations and civil emergency planning) and a higher frequency of these exchanges.

The Action Plan was developed to further deepen and broaden EU-Jordan relations through intensified political dialogue. This dialogue will include these areas:

1. Democracy and the rule of law²

¹ Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 23/04/09 SEC(2009) 517/2, Commission Staff Working Document, *Accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council: Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2008, Progress Report Jordan*, page 2.

² Objectives in this area include: strengthening democracy, strengthening the rule of law including good governance and transparency, enhancing the independence and impartiality of the judiciary, upgrading its quality and strengthening its administrative capacity.

Progress was also made on transparency and accountability with the adoption of the Ombudsman law in April 2008. A first Ombudsman was appointed in June 2008. Citizens can start lodging complaints with the Ombudsman as of February 2009.

The implementation of the JUST Strategy (2007-2009), which aims at enhancing the capacity and efficiency of the judiciary, progressed steadily, with EC support. The organisational structure of the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), the courts and the Judicial Institute of Jordan was improved, internal standard operational procedures and guidelines were adopted and staff was trained to ensure proper implementation. To improve access to justice and transparency, courts' organisational structures and procedures were published and customer care offices were established in some courts. No significant progress was made to enhance the independence of the judiciary.

Progress was made in the fight against corruption with the establishment of the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) in January 2008.

2. Human rights and fundamental freedoms³
3. Cooperation on foreign and security policy, regional and international issues, conflict prevention and crisis management⁴
4. Economic and social reforms: Macroeconomic framework and functioning of the market economy; employment and social policy
5. Trade related issues, market and regulatory reform
6. Cooperation on justice, freedom and security
7. Transport, energy, environment, information society, research and development
8. People to people contacts, education and health
9. Financial cooperation

By the end of 2009 Jordan had to work on the area of migration and asylum, as the overall number of foreign domestic and agricultural workers with legal permits was approximately 335,000. The number of workers from Egypt, the Philippines and Indonesia was increasing, as well as the number of Bangladeshi workers employed in Qualified Industrial Zones. The large numbers of refugees continued to put severe strains on the Jordanian society and infrastructure, particularly on its medical services, the education system and water supply. The EU has continued to provide assistance to Jordan, with a focus on education for the most vulnerable refugees, water loss reduction measures and the resettlement from Jordan of the most vulnerable refugees.⁵

Towards implementation of the ENP Action Plan, progress included the adoption of the temporary 'Personal Status' Law, which strengthened women's rights when divorcing, and the recent amendment of the Public Gatherings Law (rallies can take place without prior authorisation of a governor). In other areas, two concrete achievements of the EU-Jordan cooperation were the signing of a comprehensive air services agreement leading to a gradual opening-up of these markets (first country in the Near East to reach such a comprehensive Agreement with the EU) and the signing in February 2011 of the Protocol for Dispute Settlement in bilateral trade.

Recurrent postponements in the implementation of key reforms have undermined the population's trust in the implementation capacity of the government and its true commitment for

³ Objectives in this area include: strengthening the freedom of the media and freedom of expression, strengthening freedom of association and the development of Civil Society, ensuring respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, promoting equal treatment of women, and promoting fundamental social rights and core labour standards.

In recent years, the Jordanian authorities took significant measures to protect women from violence, such as the opening of the first government-run shelter and the establishment of a family protection department within the Public Security Directorate. In February 2008, the Family Protection Law was adopted.

⁴ In 2007 Jordan was invited to align itself with EU declarations in the field of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) on a case-by-case basis but has not yet taken any decision on this.

The third meeting of the EU Jordan Sub-committee on Justice and Security and of the Working Party on Social affairs - which also cover migration issues - were held in May 2008.

Cooperation with Jordan on border management advanced slowly. While efforts have been made with EC assistance to improve the efficiency of border management personnel through training on document examination, no further policy developments were noted.

⁵ European Commission, Brussels, 12/05/2010 SEC(2010) 525, Commission Staff Working Document, *Accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Taking stock of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2009, Progress Report Jordan*, page 11.

reform. Jordan needed to respond to the legitimate expectations of the population and meet the many challenges that lie ahead, notably in the areas of rule of law, good governance and human rights. In 2010 one of the most urgent issues to be addressed is the revision of the temporary Electoral Law, which maintained an electoral system favouring tribal affiliations over political party development. The fight against corruption should also be enhanced in order to strengthen people's trust in institutions, democracy and economic development.

The continuation of peaceful demonstrations at the beginning of 2011 led to the resignation of the government. In his Letter of Designation of the new Prime Minister, King Abdullah asked the new government to launch political reforms which, if fully implemented, will go a long way in addressing the issues highlighted above and implementing core values of the 'enhanced status' partnership and key commitments of the EU-Jordan ENP Action Plan negotiated in 2010.⁶

The EU kept a regular dialogue with Jordan on CFSP-related matters and international issues. Jordan remains a strong supporter of a comprehensive solution to the Middle East Peace Process (MEPP) and pursues efforts to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on the basis of the two-state solution. Jordan played a constructive role in promoting the stability of the region, especially regarding the Holy Sites in Jerusalem.

2. Arab Spring and Jordan

2.1. General overview

Following December 2010 North Africa's countries, together with other countries from the Middle East, were touched by a wind of revolutions. Revolutions that the world is used to know as Arab Spring.

The international community as a whole was shocked from these movements. After years in which the Arab Islamic world was seen as the terrorism's cradle and of political paralysis, millions of young people went down in the streets calling for freedom, justice and rights.

Young people from the Middle East were using Internet and media for promoting political debate and ask their governments to listen to them to do reforms.

In the past, political movements and protests didn't give the result we are seeing today. There were no changes and promises by the governments were often undecieved. This was justified by the fact that the priority was to fight against terrorism and the rise of Islamic integralism movements, as it happened with political paralysis that followed the electoral success of Hamas in Palestine, just to give an example.

So, what has come out in the last months of 2010 was the strong need for political and economic freedom and a more present and dedicated political class.

Political analysts from all over the world would have never expect such a reaction, even if some scholars wrote about the difficult and unbearable situations, such as 'Alā' al-Aswānī in his masterpiece on Egypt *'Imārat Ya 'qūbiān*.

⁶ European Commission, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Brussels, 25/05/2011 SEC(2011) 648, Joint Staff Working Paper, Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2010 Country Report: Jordan {COM(2011) 303}, page 3.

What is undeniable now, is the fact that the days of political paralysis are over and that civil societies of the Arab world are raising their voices to gain the reforms needed from their countries. This wind of change has blown on almost all Arab countries, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was not excluded.

2.2. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

As noticed, the year 2011 is remembered as a year of political transformation for many Arab countries. Jordan also has been touched by the wind of revolutions, but in a different way. This is why it would appear that Jordan is unable to match the radical political changes seen recently in the Arab World, in the likes of Tunisia and Egypt.

Nevertheless Jordan fully committed in a country-wide debate between its social and political components regarding how the political reform and democratic transformation should be carried out and on what basis.⁷

The explanation that Jordan may not be able to switch to a political change lies on two reasons: firstly, Jordanian political regime is characterized by a high degree of flexibility and the ability of manoeuvre. Secondly, Jordanian society is divided between its two basic components: Jordanians of Palestinian origin and East Jordanians.

This polarization has been particularly visible in 2011, and the impact of the division is reflected in the country's process of political reform and democratic transformation. The demonstration in Amman's Squares showed it very clear.

Behind this protest there can be found the main opposition Islamic parties, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, leftist and nationalists, as well as trade unions, syndicates and civil society organizations. All looking for political and constitutional reforms.

In such a context, together with dissent movements from political parties and traditional forces, youth movements emerged from varying political factions and conquered their place within the sphere of calling for reforms; they became known as the 'Hirak' movement. Since then, Jordan has witnessed more than five thousand protests and demonstrations with a multiple of political and economic demands.⁸

It was the result of the influence of the events that were happening in Arab countries and also of the benefits of social media networks, which created this new "generation 2.0" ready to go down in the streets and asking for better living standards, women and students' rights, and so on. These groups served alongside the traditional political parties and the non-traditional and communal groups, as well as a number of active CSOs, all of which attempted to a certain extent to bring forth change and transition in Jordan.⁹

The downfall of Ben Ali and Mubarak created surprise and anxiety, so that some measures were introduced to satisfy people's needs, such as increasing salaries for employees, setting fixed price on oil and electricity, and so on. But protests continued and rough measures were taken to

⁷ Oraib Al-Rantawi- *Jordan: A Time for Elections and Assessing Political Reforms*, in IE Med. Mediterranean Yearbook, 2011, page 187.

⁸ *The Role of Civil Society Organizations in the Political Reform in Jordan*, Center for Strategic Studies, Dr. Musa Shteiwi, 2013, page 6.

⁹ *The Role of Civil Society Organizations in the Political Reform in Jordan*, Center for Strategic Studies, Dr. Musa Shteiwi, 2013, page 7.

suppress them.

In this context the Jordanian government decided to create a National Dialogue Committee, headed by a moderate political figure, the Upper House Speaker Taher Al-Masri.¹⁰

Even if the Committee didn't receive a lot of consensus, as the Jordanian Islamic Movement boycotted it, it adopted a unique system of electoral law based on a mixed parliament, whereby 88.5% of parliament seats are based on an open proportional list at the governorate level, and 11.5% are based on an open proportional list at national level, but one that is restricted.¹¹

Reforms were made to facilitate balance between authorities: the Constitution was modified in order to enable the Parliament to perform its legislative and competitive duties with merit and independence in addition to allocating the judiciary independent rule within the various authorities and commissions, and on all levels and forms of the Judiciary. These reforms were the largest comprehensive revision to the constitution in the history of the Kingdom. It included reforms on almost 42 articles.¹²

On the 10th of May 2011, the Gulf Cooperation Council leader decided to accept Jordan's application for membership in GCC. This is a very good opportunity for Jordan for intrastate relations but also for jobs.

The alliance has come as a result of the Arab Spring revolutions and aims to counter them. In a way, subjecting Jordan under the Saudi wing implies a social, cultural and religious impact that may result from an extreme Saudi Wahhabi school of thought.¹³

¹⁰ The committee was responsible for formulating Electoral Law as well as Political Party Law.

¹¹ It means that proportional open list at the national level means that this list includes 15 seats in Parliament out of 130 seats, the overall number of seats in Parliament provided that each governorate is represented (there are 12 governorates in the Kingdom in addition to 3 seats for Bedouins).

¹² These reforms have passed and been enacted through the Parliament; most prominent of these reforms were the following:

- Establishing a Constitutional Court with the duties of monitoring the constitutionality of laws and legislations. This court replaces the higher court overlooking such laws, which was headed by the leader of the Senate, and was generally considered not completely independent.
- Establishing an Independent Commission to monitor the elections in lieu of the Ministry of Interior, meanwhile the electoral objections are transferred to the Judiciary instead of the Parliament.
- Empowering civil liberties, and criminalizing the eradication of rights and public freedoms, sovereignty and sanctity of Jordanians' in their private life, and forbidding torture in its various forms.
- Limiting the governments' powers in issuing temporary laws in the absence of the Parliament (this is what the government used to do before as it wished).
- Limiting from the National Security Court's sphere of authority in cases of highest treason, spying, terrorism; and instead to transfer citizens to civil courts, inclusive of previous ministers who had been tried in Higher Parliamentary Courts.
- Limiting the Government's ability to dissolve the parliament without giving its resignation
- Binding the governments privileges in issuing temporary laws, with exception to cases of war, natural disasters, expedient and necessary expenditure that cannot sustain postponing.

From: *The Role of Civil Society Organizations in the Political Reform in Jordan*, Center for Strategic Studies, Dr. Musa Shteiwi, 2013, page 9.

¹³ Oraib Al-Rantawi- *Jordan: A Time for Elections and Assessing Political Reforms*, in IE Med. Mediterranean Yearbook, 2011, page 190.

3. EU and Arab Spring

3.1. General Overview

Since the beginning of the Arab upheavals in Tunisia in December 2010, the EU has been quick to recognise the challenges of the political and economic transition faced by the region as a whole. It also recognized the need of a new approach to adopt with the States of Southern Mediterranean.

The EU has engaged politically with a wide range of civil society interlocutors, university professors, students, but also government, opposition, parliamentary. Its involvement was then confirmed through visits in the region from the President of the Commission, the President of Parliament, the High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy and several Commissioners. In the very first response of EU to Arab Spring it is stressed the need for EU to support wholeheartedly the demand for political participation, dignity, freedom and employment opportunities, and sets out an approach based on the respect of universal values and shared interests. It also proposes the "more for more" principle, under which increased support in terms of financial assistance, enhanced mobility, and access to the EU Single Market is to be made available, on the basis of mutual accountability, to those partner countries most advanced in the consolidation of reforms.¹⁴

The EU has also provided with many initiatives that provided support to the Southern Neighbourhood countries in the spheres of democratic transformation, institution building and economic growth.¹⁵ The importance of the respect of human right and the strong criticism on any form of violence and violation of human rights by any of the party involved remained permanent in all EU intervention.

The new partnership between EU and Mediterranean countries has been built on three main elements:

- Democratic reforms and institution-building with a focus on fundamental freedoms, constitutional reforms, reforms of the judiciary system and the fight against corruption.
- Partnership with people (support to CS, enhanced opportunities of exchanges and people-to-people contacts with a particular focus on youth)
- Sustainable and inclusive growth and economic development (support to SME's, vocational and educational training, improving health and education sys. and develop. of poorer regions).

Financial aspects of EU's economic aid will be introduced in the next chapter. The next paragraph briefly analyses the changes in the relations between EU and Jordan after the Arab Revolutions.

¹⁴ High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Mediterranean, Joint Communication to the European Council, the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Brussels, 8.3.2011 COM(2011) 200 final.

¹⁵ One of the most important is the Support for Partnership, Reforms and Inclusive Growth (SPRING) Programme.

3.2. EU-Jordan relations after the Arab Spring

The year 2011 was a politically and economically challenging year for Jordan: three successive governments in nine months, a worsening economic outlook, increasing unemployment, a deepening budget deficit, the decline of foreign investments and increasing energy supply costs all add up to a volatile picture. In contrast to other countries in the region, protesters in Jordan did not call for regime change but rather for reform of the existing political system. Demonstrations initially focused solely on economic claims but gradually developed a more political agenda. Calls for greater political participation, government accountability and transparency have featured as often in the protesters' declarations as calls for increased job opportunities.

Despite the difficult context, Jordan made an important quality leap in its political reforms' process through the adoption in September of far-reaching constitutional amendments. The latter address a number of priorities agreed in the framework of the new EU-Jordan ENP Action Plan negotiated in 2010, in particular the establishment of an independent electoral commission, greater accountability of the government, the empowerment of political parties through the revision of legislation and the prohibition of torture. In other cases, the amendments go beyond Jordan's ENP Action Plan commitments, i.e. the establishment of the Constitutional Court, limitation of the government's ability to enact provisional (temporary) law and new, more restrictive, rules on the dissolution of the Parliament.

Following a period of modest growth and gradual recovery from the global financial crisis throughout 2010, the Jordanian economy was affected by the Arab Spring events and the conflict in neighbouring Syria, notably through the external sector and the fiscal-policy response to domestic social pressures. The emergency fiscal measures adopted by the government in early 2011 could possibly interrupt progress towards fiscal consolidation, while delaying reforms in the public subsidy system. At the same time, the development and modernisation of the tax system remains a challenge and a major objective of the public finance management reform program supported by the EU.

An important shift towards a stronger cooperation was the first meeting of the Jordan-EU Task Force, which took place on 22 February in Jordan. The Task Force has been established to deepen the EU-Jordan relations, support and encourage the political and economic reforms and enhance effective coordination between the EU and its Member States, as well as other European and international bodies.

In recognition of the efforts already made by the government, Jordan will receive an additional financial envelope of EUR 70 million to be made available in 2012, of which EUR 30 million immediately, through the new Support for Partnership, Reform and Inclusive Growth (SPRING) programme, focusing on good governance and economic growth (notably support to small and medium-sized enterprises and vocational training).

On the basis of this year's report and with a view to sustained implementation of the ENP Action Plan in 2012, Jordan was invited to:

- Adopt the law creating an independent electoral commission, the electoral law, the political parties' law and the law on the establishment of the constitutional court, and ensure their effective implementation.
- Intensify the fight against corruption as it undermines the country's political, economic and

social development.

- Increase efforts to eradicate violence against women and to promote their integration in politics, socio-economic life through promoting women entrepreneurs, women's participation in the labour market and in education, in line with the recommendations listed in the preliminary report issued in October by the UN Special Rapporteur on discrimination against women.
- Strengthen the independence and impartiality of the judiciary as well as its administrative capacity, including strengthening the financial and administrative independence of the Judicial Council.
- In the light of the constitutional amendment outlawing torture, proceed with the ratification of the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.
- Prevent any kind of interference in mainstream and online news portals, to ensure the freedom of the press.
- Ratify the regional Convention on pan-Euro-Mediterranean Rules of Origin.
- Pursue regulatory convergence to support efforts to increase exports and to prepare an Agreement on Conformity Assessment and Acceptance of industrial products and, eventually, a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement.
- Implement the recently adopted plans for improved internal audit and control in the Audit Bureau and the Ministry of Finance.
- Protocol for the Dispute Settlement in bilateral trade that entered into force in July 2011
- Continue to develop renewable energy sources.¹⁶

Jordan's image in European eyes has been as a "moderate" pro-western monarchy with a privileged place in the region. When in 1994 Jordan signed a peace treaty with Israel, becoming the second Arab country after Egypt to do so, its strategic importance grew a lot. Now, with the Mubarak regime no longer in power and the "democratic" transitions post-Arab Spring, Europe and US are placing greater emphasis on Jordan's ability to maintain stable relations with Israel.

Europe looks at Jordan as an agent of reform in the region. Many scholars think that moderate monarchies in the Middle East can help secure both democratic values and western strategic concerns.

As shown, Jordan has been a key EU partner. Since 1977 Jordan enjoyed a privileged trade status with Europe, and currently EU is the Jordan's second trade partner behind Saudi Arabia. The EU also grants aid to Jordan through the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), with a budget around €12bn for 2007-2013.

By the way, domestically, Jordan is facing internal threats that have so far not been allayed by "top down" reforms whose eventual aim is to introduce a more representative political system.

Jordan nevertheless is continuing to benefit from much unconditional Western support. There has been surprisingly little mention in official EU statements of the popular protests that took place in Jordan since 2011, even though high-level figures like EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy Catherine Ashton visited the Kingdom during the height of June's 2011 unrest.¹⁷

¹⁶ European Commission, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Brussels, 15/05/2012 SWD(2012) 116 final, Joint Staff Working Document, Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in Jordan, Progress in 2011 and recommendations for action, *Accompanying the document, Joint Communication to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions*, Delivering on a new European Neighbourhood Policy, page 4.

¹⁷ Salman Shaikh- *Now the Pressure is Building on Jordan*, in *Europe's World* # 20, Spring 2012, page 118.

As said in the previous chapter, Jordan's internal divisions and the problem of corruption are elements that do not help the political reform, together with the neglected promises of greater democratic accountability by the Government and the Monarchy.

Europe, together with US, has the ability to push for such democratic reforms. Its trade and aid relations give it considerable leverage, as do its links with Jordan's military and security forces. In advocating reforms, Europe must no longer accept cosmetic and piecemeal efforts, because the experience of the Arab awakening so far, clearly shows that if democratic reform isn't forthcoming, Jordan risks the same chaos and instability as elsewhere in the region.¹⁸

Anyways, Jordan can't be isolated from the effects of the uprising in other countries of the Middle East. With the Syrian crisis, threats of spillover become all the more daunting.

Finally, a clarification has to be made. It is true that people of Jordan have their differences, but these are less divisive than in other Arab countries. Jordan is more resistant than other states to forces of social fragmentation. Jordanians are predominantly homogenous in their ethnicity as Arabs. Their diversity is limited to geographic origin or location and tribal affiliation, and not on ethnic origin or religious beliefs. As Research Professor Taher Kanaan of the Doha Institute's Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies has noticed "it is to be hoped that the Jordanian regime still has the wisdom to pursue the democratic approach of nation-building. It could strive to homogenise its various affiliations into one common identity, namely Arab-Jordanian citizenship. This citizenship, within a genuinely constitutional monarchy, would guarantee all Jordanians equality before the law and the right to participate in a functioning democracy in exchange for their allegiance to the national homeland."¹⁹

Nevertheless the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is with the devil and the deep blue sea. On the one hand there is the pressure of the European partner (and also the international community) of playing a decisive role in this situation, on the other there are the domestic problems that are now merging with the Syrian crisis management.

¹⁸ Salman Shaikh- *Now the Pressure is Building on Jordan*, in *Europe's World* # 20, Spring 2012, page 121.

¹⁹ Taher Kanaan- *It's an important message that the Western and Jordan should heed*, in *Europe's World* # 20, Spring 2012, page 123.

4. Funds: what kind of approach is EU having on funds after the Arab Spring?

4.1. A general overview of European Commission's Humanitarian Aid for 2013

In the beginning of 2013, the European Commission has adopted a plan for the allocation of over €661 million in humanitarian aid funding for 2013. This plan is called World Wide Decision on Humanitarian Aid, which is the financial backbone of the Commission's Humanitarian Aid Operational Strategy for 2013.²⁰

The Commission will fund humanitarian interventions run by more than 200 of its partner organisations in nearly 80 countries or regions.

The World-Wide Decision on Humanitarian Aid is allocated on the basis of an annual Global Needs Assessment (GNA), where the European Commission categorises 140 developing countries in terms of their vulnerability and the recent occurrence of a crisis.

In addition to the €661 million that the Commission has allocated to the most intractable humanitarian problems around the globe, reserve resources are available during the year for unpredictable crises and disasters. In 2012 the entire reserve was used due to major disasters in the Sahel region of West Africa, the escalation of the conflict in Syria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sudan, all of which caused renewed violence against civilians and displacement. These additional emergency responses brought the total amount of humanitarian funding from the Commission to nearly €1.3 billion in 2012, the Commission's highest ever annual spending on humanitarian aid.²¹

The European Union is the major donor between the international actors that are managing the Syrian crisis.²²

In January 2013 European Commission has allocated almost €150 million in humanitarian assistance for Syria and neighbouring states, with an additional €6 million allocated to Iraqi refugees based in Syria and €3.3 million to Palestinians in Lebanon. The total EU contribution (EU plus Member States) now reaches more than €358.5 million. Other funding instruments of the European Union have mobilised €85 million in response to the Syrian crisis.

At this stage, the breakdown of EU humanitarian funding is 45% inside Syria and the rest distributed between Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq.

²⁰ COMMISSION IMPLEMENTING DECISION, C(2012) 9883 final, On the financing of humanitarian aid operational priorities from the 2013 general budget of the European Union, (ECHO/WWD/BUD/2013/01000) Brussels, 4.1.2013.

²¹ Where the European Commission's humanitarian aid will go in 2013, Reference: IP/13/15 Event Date: 10/01/2013, Press release.

²² The EU's humanitarian assistance is based on the principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence. Every humanitarian aid decision taken must be in accordance with these four principles, which are at the heart of the European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid.

European Union Member States have also mobilised humanitarian funding of over €208 million.

Eight EU countries and Norway have also provided assistance through the EU Civil Protection Mechanism, after an appeal launched by the Commission's Monitoring and Information Centre for aid to Syrian refugees in Turkey and Jordan.²³

Because of the worsening of the situation, in the end of January 2013 the European Commission has pledged €100 million of humanitarian funding at the International Pledging Conference for Syria convened by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and hosted by Kuwait on 30 January 2013.

This funding, to be disbursed in 2013, will add to the €100 million already contracted for the crisis in 2011/2012, bringing the Commission's humanitarian funding for the crisis to €200 million.

In view of the catastrophic humanitarian situation and the growing needs both within Syria and in the neighbouring countries, such as Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey and Iraq, these vital funds will provide assistance to some of the 4 million people in need of aid in Syria, including two million displaced, as well as to 700,000 refugees to date.²⁴

4.2. EU-Jordan Economic Relations

4.2.1 Before the Arab Spring

From 1995 to 2006, the EU's co-operation with Jordan operated within the framework of the MEDA programme. The EU dedicated considerable financial resources to ensure the partnership with Jordan achieved its objectives. In fact, since 1995, the country received more than €500 million of EU assistance. The MEDA II programme (2000-2006) focused on implementing the Association Agreement and helped Jordan in a variety of social, economic and institutional challenges.

The National Indicative Programme (NIP) for 2002-2004, Jordan focused on trade enhancement and support for economic reforms, human resources development and strengthening pluralism, civil society and the rule of law.²⁵ The following one, NIP 2005-2006, placed additional emphasis on improving living conditions and developing infrastructures.²⁶

Relations between the EU and Jordan became legal with the endorsement of the Association Agreement between the European Union and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which came into force in May 2002. This agreement aims especially at fostering political dialogue, the

²³ Statement by Commissioner Kristalina Georgieva on the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Syria, Reference: MEMO/13/12 Event Date: 16/01/2013, Press release.

²⁴ Syrian crisis: EU pledges €100 million for humanitarian aid, Reference: IP/13/60 Event Date: 29/01/2013, Press release.

²⁵ Euro-Med Partnership, Jordan, Country Strategy Paper 2002-2006 & National Indicative Programme 2002-2004.

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/documents/csp_nip_2002_2004_jordan_en.pdf

²⁶ Euro-Med Partnership, Jordan, National Indicative Programme 2005-2006.

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/documents/nip_2005_2006_jordan_en.pdf

progressive liberalisation of trade and the promotion of co-operation in a wide spectrum of sectors.

Two years later, in 2005, the first EU-Jordan Action Plan was adopted, which contributed to developing bilateral relations by opening the doors to several EU initiatives.²⁷ In October 2010, the EU-Jordan Association Council agreed on an "advanced status" partnership and acknowledged the conclusion of the negotiations on a new EU-Jordan Action Plan with a five-year duration.

In 2009, the European Investment Bank lent EUR 166 million for the construction of a water pipeline from Disi to Amman in order to address the problem of water scarcity. Furthermore, to address the needs of Iraqi refugees in the Zarqa area, an EC programme of EUR 12 million aims at improving water distribution. Then, in 2011, the EU-Jordan Protocol for the Dispute Settlement in bilateral trade entered into force.

In 2012, EU and Jordan signed the Protocol to the Euro-Mediterranean Agreement on the general principles for the participation of Jordan in EU programmes.

Since 2007 the EU's financial assistance to Jordan has mainly been provided under the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). In addition to this instrument, Jordan is also eligible under a wide range of EU thematic envelopes.

The European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument is the main financial mechanism through which assistance is given to Jordan, either on bilateral or on regional bases. The multi-annual strategic framework for the EU co-operation with Jordan is established in the EU-Jordan Country Strategy Paper, which currently covers the period 2007-2013.²⁸ Within the framework of the CSP, two National Indicative Programmes (NIPs) define the priorities of EU-Jordan financial co-operation for the periods 2007-2010 and 2011-2013.

The EU's financial assistance to Jordan under the National Initiative Programme amounted to €265 million. It focused on four objectives:

- political reform and good governance (€17 million),
- trade and investment development (€63 million),
- sustainability of the growth process (€55 million) and
- institution building and financial stability (€130 million).

As an initiative of the European Commission, Jordan enjoyed also the twinning cooperation. Twinning is conceived as an instrument for targeted administrative co-operation to assist Beneficiary Countries to strengthen their administrative and judicial capacity to implement Community legislation as future Member States of the European Union.

In October 2002, the EU and Jordan signed the first Support to the Association Agreement Programme (€20 million). The agreement aimed at upgrading the Jordanian administration's institutional capacities so it could deal with all aspects of the Association Agreement. Six twinning projects were implemented covering the following domains: food safety, phytosanitary,

²⁷ EU-Jordan Action Plan. http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/action_plans/jordan_enp_ap_final_en.pdf

²⁸ European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, Strategy Paper 2007-2013 & National Indicative Programme 2007-2010.

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/documents/csp_nip_2007_2010_jordan_en.pdf

standards and metrology, customs and Audit Bureau.

A second support programme to the Association Agreement was concluded in October 2005 (€15 million). Four twinning projects were implemented in the following areas: capacity building for the National Energy Research Centre, security/combating terrorism, penitentiary reform and environment.

A third programme was agreed in 2009 with a budgetary envelope of €10 million. Under this programme five twinning projects were established in the following areas: agriculture, telecommunication, conformity assessment and acceptance of industrial products, cadastral system and capacity building for the gendarmerie directorate.

A similar fourth programme worth €20 million was also agreed.

In addition to bilateral projects financed under the ENPI, Jordan is eligible for additional funds under the EU's thematic programmes and other instruments, notably the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights and the Non-State Actors and Local Authorities in Development Programme. Over 30 projects are currently being implemented in Jordan under these two thematic instruments. Jordan also benefits from the Erasmus Mundus programme, which enhances mobility and co-operation with the EU in the field of higher education, as well as the Tempus programme which supports the modernisation of higher education.

4.2.2. After the Arab Spring

For the National Indicative Programmes 2011-2013 the EU allocated an indicative budget of €223 million to support Jordan in the following fields:

- democracy, human rights, media and justice (€45 million),
- trade, enterprise and investment development (€40 million),
- sustainability of the growth process (€93 million)
- Implementation of the action plan (€45 million).²⁹

Even after the instability taken by the Arab Revolutions, the ENP remains the basis on which the EU works with its southern neighbours to achieve the closest possible political association and the greatest possible degree of economic integration. This goal builds on common interests and on values — democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights, and social cohesion.

The EU-Jordan cooperation continued to further expand in 2012. The political instability already experienced in 2011 continued, with three successive cabinets being appointed. The situation was further complicated by a worsening economic outlook, in a context of heightened regional tensions, notably by the civil unrest in Syria. Jordan has played a vital role in providing support and hospitality to the ever increasing number of Syrian refugees. Recognising the burden this places on the country, the EU provided support through humanitarian assistance and longer terms measures with an overall financial allocation of over EUR 43 million.³⁰

²⁹ European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, Jordan, National Indicative Programme 2011-2013. http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/documents/nip_2011_2013_jordan_en.pdf

³⁰ Joint Communication to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, *European Neighbourhood Policy: Working towards a Stronger*

In 2012 Jordan addressed a number of the key recommendations contained in the last year's ENP progress report, notably the establishment of the electoral commission, the Constitutional Court, the adoption of a political parties' law and an electoral law. Most of the other key recommendations made previously remain valid. In line with the commitments agreed in the ENP Action Plan, Jordan should pursue the reform process, enforce the laws adopted and acts accordingly. Jordan is particularly invited:³¹

To build an inclusive, participatory, and open political system where all Jordanians feel represented. Review the electoral law framework ensuring the universality of voter participation and equality of votes.

To strengthen the independence and impartiality of the judiciary and its administrative capacity, including completely ceasing to use military courts to judge civilians.

To enhance the fight against corruption which undermines the country's political, economic and social development, also through the adoption of the new draft National Anti-Corruption Strategy and related Action Plan.

To take concrete steps to eradicate violence against women and to promote women's integration in politics, economic life, education and employment.

To withdraw its reservations on Article 15(4) of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), in line with the recommendation of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women.

To proceed towards a *de jure* abolition of the death penalty.

To move forward with the ratification of the Optional Protocol to the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

To ensure freedom of the press and prevent any kind of interference in mainstream or online news portals. Discontinue the practice of referring civilians to the State Security Court for free speech offences.

Ratify the regional Convention on pan-Euro-Mediterranean preferential rules of origin.

Pursue regulatory convergence to support efforts to increase exports and to prepare for an Agreement on Conformity Assessment and Acceptance of industrial products, and step up efforts towards a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA).³²

Partnership, Brussels, 20.3.2013 JOIN(2013) 4 final.

³¹ Some of the issues reported deserve special attention. In regard to freedom of assembly, public protests in Jordan continued throughout 2012. Concerning freedom of expression, arrest of demonstrators and ill treatment in custody raised concerns. Media freedom has not been guaranteed: restrictive press and publications legislation met strong public criticism. Corruption remains a matter of serious concern. In the area of free movement of goods and technical regulations, Jordan made progress in the preparation for negotiations of the Agreement on Conformity Assessment and Acceptance of industrial products (ACAA) aimed at facilitating the access of Jordanian industrial products to the EU internal market (and vice-versa). The EU-Jordan Dialogue on Migration, Mobility and Security mobility was launched in 2012. With regard to the Middle East Peace Process, Jordan continued to be strong advocate of reviving of the negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis. An increasing number of Jordan students and researchers benefited from different European programmes in the education area.

³² ENP Country Progress Report 2012 – Jordan, Reference: MEMO/13/248 Event Date: 20/03/2013, Press

4.2.3. Fiche covering EU assistance for Jordan (2007-2013)³³

1) ENPI allocations

Under the National Indicative Programme 2007-2010 for Jordan, EUR 265 million was programmed for the following priorities.

Priority	Planned
Political reform, human rights, justice and cooperation on security and fight against extremism	6.5%
Trade and investment development	29.5%
Sustainability of the growth process	24.0%
Institution building, finance and public administration reform	40.0%

(EUR Million)

Jordan	2007	2008	2009	2010
Programmed	62.0	65.0	68.0	70.0
Committed	62.0	65.0	68.0	70.0
Disbursed	46.1	63.6	49.0	92.0

Release.

³³ JOINT STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT, Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2012 Statistical Annex, Accompanying the document European Neighbourhood Policy: Working towards a Stronger Partnership.

(EUR Million)

Jordan	2011	2012	2013
Programmed	71	75	77
Committed*	116	110	
Disbursed	76.3	91.6	

*not including measures to support Syrian refugees in Jordan (€20.848M) committed in 2012, as those are included in the fiche for Syria.

Under the National Indicative Programme 2011-2013 for Jordan, EUR 223 million has been programmed for the following priorities.

Supporting Jordan's reform in democracy, human rights, media, justice	20.2%
Trade enterprise and investment development	17.9%
Sustainability of the growth process	41.7%
Support in the implementation of the Action Plan	20.2%

Additional €70 million was allocated to Jordan from the **SPRING programme**:

Education reform	14.3%
Support to electoral system	10.0%
Justice preparatory project	4.3%

Support to enterprise and export development	14.3%
Good governance and development contract	57.1%

2) Support to civil society / Support under thematic instruments:

(EUR)

	2011	2012	Forecast 2013
Civil Society Facility	300,000	n/a	500,000
Instrument for Nuclear Safety Cooperation	n/a	n/a	n/a
European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights	900,000	900,000	900,000
Neighbourhood Investment Facility	n/a	n/a	n/a
Non-state Actors and Local Authorities (NSA/LA)	200,000	450,000	n/a

As shown by the data, the economic relations between the European Union and Jordan has reshaped after the Arab Spring. Obviously, the support of the Union to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is always present, but it is possible to perceive a change in the relations.

The Arab Revolutions has brought positive, but also negative consequences, such as revolts, violence, instability, unreliability, and many other problems. Jordan, as other Arab countries, has passed through difficult moments, but the situation did not collapse as, for example, in Egypt or Yemen. So, what is clear by data, is that the EU has addressed a large amount of money in fields such as institution building, finance and public administration reform, civil society facility, together with the constant funds addressed to democracy, rule of law, human rights and justice.

This has been made, in the forward-looking perspective of helping Jordan to satisfy the call of its population of a better representation and with respect of their rights.

With the last elections and the constitutional reform, the Kingdom seems to be on the right way to implement those aims, but it is too early to make clear assumptions.

Nevertheless, EU-Jordan relations remain strong and there are high expectations that this cooperation will grow long in the tooth.

5. The main future challenges: refugees, water and energy

5.1. Refugees

The worse consequence of the Arab Spring is undoubtedly the Syrian crisis. Since two years this country is suffering because of its bloody civil war, which is forcing its citizens to flee from their country.

Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt are the main countries in which Syrians escape. All these governments has to deal with the refugees issue that is becoming more and more a problem of concern, as the increase of the number of people needing help.

Jordan is one of the countries with the high number of refugees. The camp of Za'atri has now over than 130,000 houses, which let it become the fourth largest province in Jordan.³⁴

The huge leap in the numbers of Syrian refugees arriving in Jordan is putting a considerable strain on its resources. Up to 3,000 are arriving every day and at least 50,000 wait to cross.

According to the UN refugee council (UNHCR) more than 26,500 Syrian refugees had crossed into Jordan since 1 January. That compared with 16,413 arriving in December, 13,000 in November and 10,000 in October.

Nowadays there are around 401,610 refugees registered and awaiting registration.³⁵ All these numbers are rising daily as hostilities continue.

Currently there are two refugees' camps, the biggest one, the Zaatari Camp and second camp, built 20 kilometres east of Zarqa in the Marjeeb Al Fahood plains. Another camp is going to be opened soon.

With an estimated number of people affected by the crisis in the need of humanitarian assistance of 6,500,000 and an estimated number of internally displaced persons of 4,250,000³⁶, and such a huge leap in numbers of Syrian refugees fleeing to Jordan, it is expected that in September Jordan will host around one million refugees.

As it will be explained in the next paragraph, the Kingdom does not have the natural resources to deal with such a big increase of the population. If the Jordanian authorities decide to close the borders with Syria, there will be terrible consequences in the international management of the crisis.

Therefore the situation is of big concern, there is the need to increase the number of humanitarian organizations authorized to provide assistance inside Syria to cope with increasing needs, and donors urgently need to provide and expand assistance to neighbouring countries hosting refugees.

³⁴ European Commission, Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, ECHO Factsheet on Syria, 5 April 2013.

³⁵ Data from UNHCR & GOT, 3 April 2013

³⁶ Data from Syrian Ministry of Local Administration (MoLA), SARC, UN

As shown in the previous chapter, the EU is the largest donor by far. With the pledges delivered on January 30 at donors' conference in Kuwait, total EU humanitarian assistance will be over € 600 million: ECHO € 200 million / Member States over € 400 million. At this stage, the total committed humanitarian assistance stands at € 461 (€ 261 million from Member States [this amount only partially includes the funding pledged by MS in Kuwait] and € 200 million from the Commission). In-kind assistance has also been provided to Turkey and Jordan through the activation of the Monitoring and Information Centre, which led to the delivery of ambulances, blankets, heaters and other items for a total value € 1 million.³⁷

Obviously, this is not enough. The crisis in Syria is giving any sign of ending. Even if there will be a military intervention by a foreign country, the situation of the refugees will not end, it would rather increase.

The hills, valleys and ancient cities of Syria have little in common with the empty deserts of Libya, where the limited use of U.S. air power in support of allied forces was enough to tip the scales against Moammar Gaddafi. Syria lies at the heart of the Arab world. Its heavily armed and deeply entrenched government has long had the support of such powers as Russia and Iran — and is still backed by a substantial minority of the population. The Assad regime is weakened but far from defeated. Official U.S. policy is that Assad must go. But if the Arab Spring has taught the world anything, it is that when despots are toppled, it matters who takes their place. In the case of Syria, which lies at a strategic crossroads in an exceedingly dangerous part of the world, it matters a great deal.

The United Nations is powerless because Russia using its veto, will forbid any meaningful action by the Security Council. This means that if the United States were to intervene, it would be perhaps under NATO or as part of some “coalition of the willing.” But while there’s lots of gnashing of teeth in Western capitals, there is little stepping up to the plate.³⁸

The EU, on the other hand, is truly searching for a political solution, whether that is possible or not remains to be seen. The problem with the European Union is that even if all the foreign ministers from the EU Member States have united to speak against military intervention in Syria, saying sanctions appear to be working, EU Member States in UN Security country call for a military intervention in Syria. This is unfortunately an issue that often happens concerning EU Foreign Policy.

Jordan as well is against a military intervention in Syria. In the meeting with US President Barack Obama His Majesty King Abdullah’s said Jordan will not play a military role in Syria and will continue its efforts to find a political solution to the conflict in its northern neighbour. Jordan stands for starting a political dialogue at various levels, including a US-Russian understanding related to stopping bloodshed in Syria and moving towards a new political era that would preserve the interests of all. The Syrian crisis should not be allowed to turn into a cause for another Cold War, and should be a reason for all, including the Americans, the Europeans and the

³⁷ European Commission, Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, ECHO Factsheet on Syria, 5 April 2013.

³⁸ http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/eugene-robinson-in-syria-us-inaction-is-better-than-intervention/2013/04/29/2dd8eco6-b103-11e2-bbf2-a6f9e9d79e19_story.html?tid=pm_opinions_pop

Russians to come together.³⁹

Jordan plays host to around half-a-million Syrian refugees who constitute a great strain on the Kingdom's limited resources, mainly water and energy, education and health.

UN officials expect the number of refugees to rise to over one million by the end of the year at the current rate of arrivals, to reach 20 per cent of Jordan's population. They also believe the number would rise to some two or three million if the conflict remains unresolved next year. Hosting this number would be beyond Jordan's capability, calling for efforts to stop the conflict, or create buffer zones for refugees inside Syria.

They also warn that the conflict might spread and impact on other countries of the region, affecting the security of all.

Jordan is keen to contain the conflict, which has turned into a sectarian feud, and to ensure that the forces of moderation would prevail to save the region from prolonged strife.

5.2. Water and energy

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has always had to face with water resources' problem. Recent times have registered a massive demand for natural resources on Jordan. Although it is difficult to foresee with total certainty when these resources will reach a level of severe scarcity, it is quite clear that the Jordan reserves of some of the most basic resources for the existence are diminishing at a fast rate.

The Middle East, together with Northern Africa, is inhabited by 5% of the world's population but only has 1% of renewable water sources. The MENA region suffers the greatest scarcity of water in the world: its aquifers are overexploited, the quality of the water is steadily decreasing and the supply water for drinking and irrigation is often rationed – with consequences on human health, agricultural production and the environment. Water disputes lead to conflicts between communities – or in many cases, aggravate conflicts that already exist – and access to unreliable sources forces populations to migrate in search of better opportunities. International organisations establish a threshold of 1,700 m³ of renewable water/inhabitant/ year as the minimum necessary for the sustainable development of a country; if this amount is not attained, the country is considered to be in a situation of water stress; below 1,000 m³, the country is in a situation of water scarcity. According to this data, the population of the Middle East and North Africa lives below the water stress threshold; the extreme situation is even clearer if we consider that the worldwide average amount of water available per person is 7,000 m³, as per the same international organisations, and that the inhabitants of the region have access to only 1,200 m³/person/year.

While the population of the region continues to grow, it is estimated that percapita water availability will sink by 50% by 2050; in addition, if climate change affects the temperatures and rainfall as expected, the region may suffer severe droughts and periodical flooding.⁴⁰

³⁹ <http://jordantimes.com/jordan-remains-against-military-intervention-in-syria----official>

⁴⁰ Mariona Rico, *Water in the Middle East: The Need for Cooperation*, in IEMed. Mediterranean Yearbook, 2010, page 190.

In this context of increasing scarcity, the risk of conflicts for access to natural resources is of growing concern. This is due particularly to the Syrian crisis. The Za'tari camp is now the fourth biggest city of Jordan with a very high number of refugees, which is a real threat for water stability. Jordan already faces many difficulties in managing water resources for its own population, which keeps growing. How will this country deal with one million people more in few months? This is not an easy question. Jordan, concerning water and natural resources, is in a very difficult position, as this problem is not only a nature one. A good example is the Jordan River Basin, which is shared by Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Palestine without any clear agreement about its use. In consequence, the control, administration and management of water has become a geostrategic issue with national security dimensions for Jordan and in the Middle East.

Jordan knows well about the importance of energy as it imports more than 96% of its energy needs from abroad. The Royal Commission on Energy has developed a national energy strategy and set a clear goal that renewable energy should constitute 10% of the total energy generated in Jordan by 2020, including 600 megawatts of wind power and another 600 megawatts of solar energy in order to reduce the reliance on fossil fuel, which is drying up day after day, causing large fluctuations in energy price, as shown by the Euro-Jordanian Renewable Energy Conference and Expo (EJREC), which was held on 1-2 April 2009 in Amman.⁴¹

Consequently, to face this challenge, Jordan is investing in the renewable energy sector, as it can also contribute to the distribution of the benefits of sustainable development in all regions of the Kingdom, but with the constant growing of refugees number and the development of these techniques that is just started, it will be difficult to fulfil the supply of resources by the state in the short run.

To sum up, water and energy are essential to the requirements and the safety of the population. In the meantime, Jordan has to guarantee the safety of Syrian refugees on its territory without closing its borders. This is not easy at all because the country has not the natural resources required to face the expected number of people.

As seen from the previous chapters of this paper, the EU has always been a good partner for Jordan, and it seems difficult that the EU will leave Jordan alone facing those challenges. Even so, there is the need of the cooperation of other international actors as well as the European Union.

Anyways, it is too early now to give clear assumption. Undoubtedly Jordan is going to tackle with a very difficult challenge and hopefully, it won't be alone to deal with it.

In conclusion, the paper has shown that EU-Jordan relations did not reshape because of Arab Spring, indeed they became stronger and it is possible to maintain that EU and Jordan partnership will positively grow, year by year.

⁴¹ <http://www.ameinfo.com/184388.html>