

## Jordan-United States Relations During the Reign of king Abdullah ii(1999-2013)

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### Abstract

This paper aims to analyze and overview the nature of the relationships between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the United States of America during the period of 1999-2013. The paper aims to provide also a brief discussion of the bilateral co-operation in the fields of economic, military, political, and of promoting the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. Although, the tow countries have never linked by formal treaty, but have cooperated on a number of domestic, regional and international issues.

Jordanian American relations is a historical relations extended and comprehensive strategy for the various aspects of political, economic and security relations, that are pillars on common interests exchanged between the tow friendly countries, which since it was founded in the second half of the last century increasingly growing and established and stable for the achievement of the interests of the tow peoples on the basis of a clear understanding between them.

Jordan's small size and lack of major natural resources have made it dependent on foreign assistance, mainly from the United States and friendly Arab states. In vulnerabilities, both internal as well as external. Meanwhile, the Kingdom is an aid-dependent state receiving annual loans and grants from the United states, Europe and the Arab Gulf States. The United States under President Barak Obama administration is seeking 663.7 million dollars in total aid to the Kingdom for the fiscal year 2013, due to the agreement signed in 2008.

The Jordanian- United States relations grew rapidly focusing on issues such as the stability of the Kingdom, particularly in the spread out of the Arab spring in neighbor countries, the Kingdom's role in the Arab-Israeli peace process, American concerns over their campaign against terrorism. Finally, Jordan extended help to the United States forces in Iraq, Afghanistan and also is helping train Iraqi police and military personnel in Jordan as well as in Iraq.

**Keywords:** Foreign Relations, Political, Economic and Military Cooperation, Cordial and Friendly Relations.

### Introduction

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a small state, with an area of 37,000 square miles, almost 80% of which is desert. it's population is 6,309,963 as of July 2012.<sup>1</sup>

Jordan is an almost land-locked state in Western Asia. It is bordered by Syria to the north, Saudi Arabia to the south, by Palestine to the west, and by Iraq to the east. the port of Aqaba in the far south, gives the Kingdom a narrow outlet to the red sea. Since it's creation in 1921 by the British imperialism, Jordan's foreign policy objectives were and still are the preservation of the monarchy system, the maintenance of the political independence of the state, the solving of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and finally the continuation of extensive foreign economic and military aid.<sup>2</sup> Jordan is a small, militarily and economically weak state, the indigenous resources of which are insufficient to permit an active foreign policy. To make up this deficiency, the Hashemite kings relied on close collaboration with the western powers and Arab Gulf states. The Kingdom's geographical location and the regional political dynamics which have prevented a coalition of potentially hostile neighbors have, with the backing Great Britain and the United States enabled Jordan to conduct a foreign policy in accordance with it's own national interest. Meanwhile, the Kingdom cultivates a strong out side protector as it's first principle of foreign policy. Therefore, and from Jordan's perspective, relations with the United States have not been entirely satisfactory because of strong American support for Israel. However, Jordan's basic foreign policy orientation remains pro-western.<sup>3</sup> America's replacement of Great Britain as the main protector of the Kingdom was described to keep the state a live by Americans instead of British guarantees. The two states share 60 years of cordial relations based largely on their mutual interest in the security and stability of the Middle East.<sup>4</sup> America's move to aid Jordan was a landmark in Washington policy. The United States acted as a great power in defense of her vital interst.<sup>5</sup>

The late King Hussein has laid a close relations between Jordan and the United States which were consolidated through sixty years. Through the years of his rule, a contemporary of a large number of American presidents who have led the White House, including President Harry Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Regan, George Bush the father, and President Bill Clinton, and the guidance of wider historical ground, enabled the political leaders of both countries to continue the process of cooperation and friendship and formed a solid framework between the tow

states to take care of security, prosperity and stability in the world. These relations characterized objectivity and credibility, mutual respect and understanding of each party to the privacy of the other party, politically and culturally.<sup>6</sup> Jordan United States relations have been close for decades. American policy seeks to reinforce the Kingdom's commitment to peace, stability and moderation. The peace process and Jordan's opposition to terrorism parallel and indirectly assist wider American interests. Henceforth, Washington has helped Amman through economic, military assistance, and close political cooperation to maintain Jordan's stability and prosperity.<sup>7</sup>

Jordan is an hereditary constitutional monarchy under the prestigious Hashemite family. King Abdullah ii has ascended the throne on 7th February 1999 upon the death of his father King Hussein, who ruled the kingdom for 47 years. The American administration policy agree to support the political independence and territorial integrity of Jordan.<sup>8</sup> Jordan's developing relationship with the United States helped her to stabilize the situation in domestic as well as regional issues. The United States declared that the political independence and integrity of Jordan is vital to American national interests and decided to aid Jordan financially.<sup>9</sup> The Kingdom has consistently followed a pro-western foreign policy and has been friendly to the united States. The relations between them have been close for more six decades. A primary objective of the United States policy has been to assist in securing a just and equitable settlement of the issues arising from the Arab-Israeli conflict. The continued independence and stability of moderate Kingdom is an essential element in the search for peace. Jordan must be strong and viable to make a positive contribution toward an enduring peace in the region. Accordingly, through economic and military assistance, and by diplomatic support, the United States has helped to maintain Jordan's independence.<sup>10</sup> Since 1999, the new King was much more committed to an uncompromising course of economic liberalization and the integration of his kingdom into a global economic system. The King eagerly pushed a pro-western political and economic agenda, combined with a social modernization campaign. He needs strong financial support from the west to keep his state going.<sup>11</sup> Amman and Washington have maintained a mutually supportive and positive relations for decades as a result of shared interests in a moderate, prosperous, and stable Middle East. This bilateral relationship has often been of considerable value to both countries despite obvious disparities between them in size, power, and of course democracy. The relationship has also been able to survive and overcome serious periods of disagreement and division such as occurred in 1990-1991 when late King Hussein was unwilling to join the American sponsored United Nations coalition to eject President Saddam Hussein of Iraq from Kuwait. In the turbulent post-Saddam era, the future of the Kingdom can be expected to relate directly to the future stability of that region as well as to the possibilities for meaningful American Arab collaboration. Henceforth, a prosperous and stable Jordan clearly remains strongly in United States national interests.<sup>12</sup>

This paper provides overview and an analysis of Jordan's relations with the United States, during the reign of King Abdullah ii, as the new King of Jordan pursue policies which are as closely aligned to the United States as possible and Jordan's basic foreign policy orientation remains pro-western particularly to the United States. The following study of Jordan's relations with the United States argues that the foremost objective of all policies of the Kingdom is regime survival, the subsistence of monarch rule and the security of an interrupted flow of capital transfers into the Kingdom, in which the state remains dependent. This has been a central characteristic of Jordanian foreign policy for decades and was a crucial factor in the Kingdom's decision to cope with the situation internally as well as externally.<sup>13</sup>

#### **The Paper Plan is as Follows:-**

- Introduction which I overview the importance of the relationship between the tow states.
- Stability of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in the light of ongoing change in neighboring states.
- The role of the kingdom in the Arab-Israeli peace process.
- Jordan's role in fighting terrorism side by side with the united states.
- American economic and military cooperation with Jordan
- Conclusion which I will mention what the paper has reached to.

#### **Stability of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in the Light of Ongoing Change in Neighboring States:-**

During the reign of King Hussein, Jordan's diplomacy has been dominated by a search for diplomatic support, military and economic aid, mostly from the United States. Despite Jordan's changing attitudes toward the west, it was the only active Arab belligerent in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war to maintain diplomatic relations with the United States. The importance of these ties is well illustrated by the continued economic aid which Washington provided Amman between 1946-1967 totaled 630 million dollars. During the 1960s and 1970s the United States reaffirmed it's support for the political independence and territorial integrity of Jordan.<sup>14</sup>

The United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower was concerned with a possible threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Jordan during 1957-58. The President stated on April 24, 1957:

"The preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East was vital to the

national interest of the United States and to world peace."<sup>15</sup>

During the crisis between the Jordanian forces and the Palestinian commandos in 1970-71, the United States became directly involved in the situation in Jordan. United States officials considered the situation in the Kingdom as a threat to world peace. Washington took a firm stand against Syrian intervention and warned the former Soviet Union of the serious consequences which could arise if Syrian forces did not withdraw. With Syrian withdrawal, the danger of a serious international confrontation dimmed. Due to the crisis, President Richard Nixon authorized 10 million dollars in emergency aid to Jordan. The President also stated:

"A stable and viable Jordan is essential if that nation is to make a positive contribution toward working out an ending peace settlement which would serve the interests of all nations in the Middle East. The Jordanian government has recently demonstrated its determination and capacity to resist aggression by forces which oppose peace settlement and threaten to weaken the stability of that country".<sup>16</sup>

On the political level, Jordan's relations with the United States was characterized by the vocabulary of political discourse effect the Kingdom with the Arab and Islamic nation in its quest to resolve the issues and to build strength and to ensure its self-defense against the Kingdom's dangers and challenges, and seeks in political and diplomatic moves to achieve a just and comprehensive peace to ensure justice and security for the peoples of the region on the principles of right and justice, and in accordance with the provisions of the resolutions of international legitimacy. Jordan's political role and dealing with the important issues in the region confirmed that Jordan's political, economic and social role was, and still more aware of the regional conditions and potentials, and more capable of maintaining stability and building sound foundations for balanced relations in this troubled region of the world. The true expression of Jordan's role since the start of friendly relations between Jordan and the United States seventy years ago, is what is stated in the message of the founder of Jordan King Abdullah I to President Truman in 1950 which read that Jordan:

'will continue to be a focal point and the balance in the present international situation, and we are confident that the United States will continue working and helping to provide physical and moral strength, and confidence is compounded by the free world.'<sup>17</sup>

The United States interest in Jordan aimed to advance the Arab-Israeli peace process. From the outset, the kingdom's geopolitical position, demographic composition, historical involvement in the Palestinian issue was seen by Washington as an essential part of the solution to the conflict. Meanwhile, the Kingdom is still desperately trying to obtain infusions of aid from the United States and the west. Such aid would contribute to regional stability. Considering Jordan's centrality and historical records, its stability will continue to be of paramount interest to the United States and western powers, both inside and outside the region. Jordan is still preferable to any of the alternatives, fundamentalist or otherwise. Therefore, the collapse of the Kingdom's regime, could have potentially horrendous consequences for the United States influence as well as for the entire region. But Jordan's role as regional stabilizer between the west Asian states as well as between Arabs and Israelis remains as crucial as ever. For instance, during the funeral of King Hussein in February 1999, one of the largest gatherings of world leaders ever seen, which was unprecedented demonstration of support by the international community for the Kingdom's stability and well-being. The United States was represented by President Bill Clinton, former Presidents Carter, Ford, and G.W. Bush which was described as a strong statement to the Kingdom that the United States stands with Jordan during this difficult period. Finally the United States pledged to increase its level of aid to the Kingdom.<sup>18</sup>

King Abdullah like his father King Hussein needs strong financial support from the United States, and the western powers to keep the kingdom going. To survive economically, the kingdom has to obey to the International Monetary Funds(IMF) economic reform programme and to secure the goodwill of the international donor community. The granting of such aid, is bonded to the existence of a moderate and totally pro-western regime in Jordan. therefore, any revolutionary change in the Kingdom would lead to immediately cutoff of this aid.<sup>19</sup>

International recognition of the kingdom's stabilizing role now exists in a way that it did not in the 1950s and 1960s. King Abdullah spent a considerable time abroad during his reign cementing his state's relations with the United States, Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East. Rulers worldwide received him with respect and finally the King was able to pave the way for Jordan's membership in the World Trade Organization. Therefore, the King has established his image in the United States as an emerging heavyweight among the new generation of the region's rulers. Jordan's friends worldwide want to see the King and his state succeed and will surely provide assistance in this regard. But the Kingdom's policies geared toward ameliorating domestic dissension, downsizing the bloated bureaucracy, revamping the economy, and curbing corruption are matters with which the Jordanian only can contend. Obviously the King has the relative advantage of having the deal with the challenges of globalization and domestic political uneasiness, which are less threatening to regime stability than was the threat of the Palestinians Commandos in the early 1970s or of Syrians in the beginning of 1980s. The solutions to the present challenges are more difficult to produce. It's easier to crush the opposition by force than to develop the human capital and information technology to secure a future in the global economy.<sup>20</sup>

The United States and Western interests in the Kingdom's continued stability and sovereignty, the cohesion of the state's ruling elite, and the loyalty of the internal security and the armed forces to the existing political order have been main factors ensuring historical longevity and stability of the Kingdom.<sup>21</sup>

Since assuming the throne, King Abdullah II has been unrelenting in search for stability and peace in the Middle East. The King's commitment to finding solutions to the Arab-Israelis conflict and to the region's many problems. Additionally, the King played a critical role in the launching Arab League peace initiatives. During his reign the King has put a solid foundation to make the Kingdom part of the global economy. The Kingdom entered the World Trade Organization and signed a free trade agreement with the United State sand an association agreement with the European Union. The King is making his Kingdom a model for those in the Arab world who wish to bring Jordan into the 21st century while preserving the traditions and values of Muslim heritage. In his speech before a joint meeting of the United States Congress on March 7, 2007, The King said: 'Allow me to say, we thank the Congress and the Administration for supporting Jordan's progress and development. I deeply value the partnership between our peoples, and the contributions of so many Americans to the future of our country'.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, the King preached to the converted continued to argue that his Kingdom was needed as a fulcrum for the future stability of Jordan as well as of the Middle East. The King had also obtaining further assurances of support for Jordan's stability from the United States Administration, the congress, as well as the Presidential commitment to continue supporting the Kingdom's stability. <sup>23</sup> But one can assume that is Jordan still threatened as an entity due to the widespread political violence in Syria and Iraq? King Abdullah stated that:

'Jordan is a secure and stable country. confidence and ability to enable us overcome any dilemma. The fear is not for Jordan. The concern is a bout the region's future in general if the Palestinian-Israeli conflict continues and tensions continue and this threatens the security and stability of the entire region of which Jordan is part'. <sup>24</sup>

The Kingdom today at least remains stable despite widespread political violence and crisis in Syria, Iraq, and elsewhere in the region. From the American view point, maintaining this stability is a key political priority, as the political change make the area less predictable. The United States agree that close relations with the kingdom are important. Both States cooperate closely on military and intelligence issues, such as the peace process, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. Meanwhile, some critics charge that the partnership between the tow states on mostly security related issues has restrained the United States Administrations from pressuring the King to undertake serious political reforms. The Americans are supporting undemocratic Kingdom and what they need from the King is a political and economic reform in order to stave off the type of political violence and unrest widespread in the region. The Administration provided the Kingdom with a large annual loans and grants totaled 663.7 million dollars for the fiscal year 2013. additionally, a specific funds should be used to support the influx of Syrian refugees. <sup>25</sup>

In order to strengthen the bilateral relations between the tow countries, the caucus was lunched on march 6, 2009 to support a strong ties and to facilitate the exchange of ideas between Members of the House Representatives and the Jordanian officials.<sup>26</sup>

On March 22,2013, United States President Barak Obama visited Jordan. He and King Abdullah II emphasized their strong alliance and commitment to security and peace in the region. The tow leaders also highlights the situation in Syria and the growing refugee problem in the Kingdom. The influx of refugees the King Abdullah said, Jordan would not close it's borders to future refugees, has created social, economic and security concerns in the Kingdom. The King added: 'We have opened our arms to many throughout our history'.<sup>27</sup> At the press conference, President Obama declared that there should be a political solution to the Syrian crisis. Additionally, the President announce his intentions to work with the Congress in order to provide an additional 200 million dollars to the Kingdom to assist in rising coasts regarding ever-increasing numbers of refugees. <sup>28</sup> The crisis in Syria takes center stage in the Kingdom as well as in the region and the Kingdom is affected by the repercussions of this crisis. regarding the situation in Syria, the King stated that:

'We have long warned of the danger of continued violence in sisterly Syria. Jordan is closely watching developments and the course of things there. We will work to protect our national interests and the security and stability of our country and people, Syria, and to end the suffering of its people, which is deepening day after day'.<sup>29</sup>

Last but not least, the Arab Spring that spread in neighboring states, with the intentions of changing political systems or forcing them to do political reforms. The Kingdom took steps to engage in a national dialogue to build consensus on solid actions. new constitutional amendments were done to protect civil rights and freedoms and ensure separation of the three branches of the government. the Kingdom also is working with determination to develop national parties and political life. Concerning the economic policies of the Kingdom, Jordan's national investment in infrastructure and education are continuing. also free-trade agreements have helped the Kingdom find good markets. These measures can be clearly seen in the King's words: 'Only we, all Jordanians, can build Jordan's future. And we must do so in such away that our country remains a secure, safe

haven--in spite of a region getting more turbulent around us, in spite of economic threats, in spite of neighboring crises. This path demands consensus-based reform, based on structural, comprehensive change-political, legal, economic, and social-respecting the rights and freedoms of our citizens. In the process, Jordan can set a regional model of peaceful political evolution and democratisation'.<sup>30</sup>

### **The Role of the kingdom in the Arab-Israeli Peace Process:**

Jordan was strategically and economically beleaguered in the aftermath of the Gulf-War of 1990. Jordan's strategic and economic hinterland had been crashed. The Kingdom refused to join the United States led coalition against Iraq resulted in strained relations with the United States and the Gulf States. To cope with the situation, the Kingdom had to pursue the Arab-Israeli peace process.<sup>31</sup> Meanwhile, Jordan was enlisted actively in the American sponsored peace process at Madrid. From the United States view point, the Kingdom was facing critical politically and geographically and that the Kingdom's stability was important to Israel, and to the region as a whole, and of course to the advancement of the peace process. From a Jordanian Official view point Jordan's entire future depended on the Middle East peace process.<sup>32</sup> The Jordan-Israel peace treaty signed on October 26, 1994. In September 1993 the Palestine Liberation Organization signed with Israel the Oslo Accords.<sup>33</sup> By signing the Oslo Accords, the Kingdom was being excluded and marginalized on political and economic issues of major interest to Jordan in the West Bank. There was no real Jordanian-Palestinian coordination. This led King Hussein concluded that 'enough was enough and that the time had come for Jordan to take control of its own destiny'.<sup>34</sup>

The Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty was intended to provide the Kingdom with greater leverage, over the determination of the future of the West Bank.<sup>35</sup> The Kingdom had vital interests in the Palestinian issue and in Israeli-Palestinian final status negotiations. Jordan had sacrificed more for Palestine, and its recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization representative status in 1974 did not spare the Kingdom of the moral and national responsibility for dealing with the Palestinian question. Moreover, Jordan's pure national interest was tied up in the final status issues between Palestinians and Israelis such as refugees, borders, settlements, water security, and sovereignty. From the Jordanian perspective, the overlapping of the interests between them made coordination imperative. Meanwhile, the Kingdom would not compete with the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, nor with the Palestine Authority. Therefore, the Kingdom would fully support the Palestine Authority and the Palestinians until the capital.<sup>36</sup> It was clear to the Kingdom that debt relief and further economic and military assistance from the United States would be commensurate with the progress that Jordan would make toward peace with Israel.<sup>37</sup> In his speech before the Jordanian Parliament on October 1994, the America President Bill Clinton reaffirmed that the United States would meet Jordan's legitimate defense requirements by providing the security that the Kingdom required. The United States continued to view Jordan as a stable ally of Middle Eastern Security and Stability. In November 1996, the Kingdom was accorded the status of a major U.S. non-NATO ally. Cordial and friendly relations between the two countries were rock solid, and economic and military aid increased accordingly.<sup>38</sup>

Since assuming the throne in 1999, King Abdullah II has been unrelenting in his search for peace and stability in the region. His commitment to finding solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Finally, the King played a critical role in the launching the Arab League as well as the international peace initiatives. Jordan and the Palestine National Authority are disappointed by the lack of progress in the peace negotiations with Israel. Israel had has a role in embarrassing the Palestinians, so that the negotiations would not be launched where the Palestinians would find themselves in a position to halt the talk with Israel. In an interview with Al-Hayat on November 10, 2009 King Abdullah said: 'I have warned more than once that if we do not move towards a solution and if there is no clear and convincing movement, the region will be susceptible to many dangers. The status quo can not continue because it will lead the region towards the abyss. And if this opportunity is lost and no peace is achieved, then I do not think our generation will have peace'.<sup>39</sup>

Continued settlements by Israel is viewed by the Palestinians and Arabs as well as an obstacle to peace. What the Palestinians demand is to stop settlements. One can assume that if Israel is really committed to end the conflict by a two-state solution, then why still Israel build settlements on the land of the future Palestine State?. From the Palestinian perspective, any future negotiations with Israel should address all final status issues such as borders, Jerusalem, and refugees and must lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. The American Administration consider the establishment of a Palestinian state a strategic interest. But unfortunately, the United States was unsuccessful to put an end to the conflict, by exercise pressure on Israel in getting to commit to the establishment of a Palestinian state. From the Kingdom's viewpoint, if Israel really wants to end the conflict and wants peace, then it has to end the occupation and be willing to the establishment of a Palestinian state. This indeed will ensure Israel's security and build normal relations with all states in the region. Concerning the Israeli continued settlements in the West Bank, the King stated that:

'Stopping all settlements construction and unilateral measures and policies that hamper peace efforts, Israel should enter into effective negotiations that build on what has been achieved and address all final status

issues within a specific time frame and in accordance with adopted references in order to reach the two-state solution'.<sup>40</sup>

Unsolved the conflict caused a great frustration and disappointment for the Palestinians, the Arabs and the region. They keep discussing the issue and finally nothing seems to change. The Palestinian-Israeli issue is the core issue in the Middle East and the conflict had been going on for more than sixty five years, with so much suffering, killing, and so much frustration. As King Abdullah pointed out: 'The core issue is the Israel-Palestinian problem, because all roads in our part of the world -all conflicts-lead to Jerusalem'.<sup>41</sup> The status quo is also pulling the region towards greater danger. As Palestinians public confidence in particular and the Arabs in general in the peace process has reached it is lowest. Sixty five years of Palestinians dispossession and under occupation, a stop and go peace process has just left a bitter legacy of disappointment and only despair, and as the King stated: 'The security of all nations and the stability of our global economy are directly affected by the Middle East conflict. Jordan is committed to playing a positive role in the peace process. It is part of our large commitment to global co-existence and progress. Ours is an Islamic country with a proud record of diversity, moderation, and shared respect'.<sup>42</sup>

Today Jordan, Palestine, and the region are searching for peace and prosperity. The danger and destruction of violence, hatred, and injustice. Peace can be a global beginning, creating new possibilities for the peoples of the region. The Palestinians and the Arabs can wait no longer. The parties concerned must work together to restore peace, hope, hope for a future of prosperity for all. By doing so a process of building peace will begin throughout the region. A two-state solution with a sovereign, independent, and viable Palestine state. This is the core of all major international proposals, including the Arab peace initiatives. As the King said: 'We will continue to strongly support the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to statehood in the fulfillment of their aspirations in accordance with the United Nations resolutions, and within a comprehensive and just settlement and the resolution of all final status issues'.<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, the collapse of the negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis was due to the Israeli policies of continued settlements in the West bank and the Holy city of Jerusalem. In order to proceed in negotiations the Palestinians were demanding that Israel freeze all settlement construction, release prisoners and agree to the pre-1967 lines as the baseline of future talks in order to continue negotiating. However, Jordan reaffirmed its commitment to remain involved in the process in view of the dramatic change taking place in the region. Regarding this issue the King said: 'Israel's unilateral policies, including measures to change the identity of Jerusalem and threaten its holy sites, constitute a major obstacle to resumption of peace efforts'.<sup>44</sup> Additionally, the King also stressed on the important role of the United States in the efforts in order to achieve a comprehensive peace and failure to obtain that goal 'would exacerbate tension in a region where some countries have been witnessing unprecedented political transformations'.<sup>45</sup>

Jordan has pursued its internal as well as external goals despite regional conflict. Peace must come if the region is to be secure and safe. The Arab peace initiative has been recognized world wide including the European Union. The initiative is based on a two-state solution while offering Israel peace and normal relations with all its neighbors. The Kingdom sees an effective peace negotiations as a moral duty and strategic interest. The King added: 'Now the process needs a quantum leap forward and EU partnership is vital. The EU has taken a principled stand for a just two-state solution, and against the illegal settlement building that is obstructing progress'.<sup>46</sup>

Meanwhile, Jordan warned Israel's build settlements in Jerusalem which will hinder peace efforts and just increase tension and instability in the region.<sup>47</sup>

### **Jordan's Role in Fighting Terrorism Side by Side With the United States:-**

Jordan has governed traditionally by balancing alternative interests and perspectives, including those of Islamists who are willing to work within the political system. Mainstream Islamists who oppose terrorism are an important force in the Kingdom.

Al-Qaeda and its radical allies had engaged in operations against the Kingdom. Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian citizen whose early forays into terrorism occurred in the Kingdom in 1993. Zarqawi's organization was suspected of the assassination of a United States diplomat in Jordan, in October 2002.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the Jordanian government suspected Zarqawi to be responsible for the a 2004 plot to attack a Jordanian offices and the United States Embassy in Jordan.<sup>49</sup> From Jordan point of view unsolved the Palestinian issue and the Iraqi instability could harm the political legitimacy of the Kingdom, if progress failed on these issues.<sup>50</sup> The Jordanian government had taken various steps to support the American campaign against terrorism. After the terrorist attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, the Kingdom issued an amendment to terrorism laws banning any banking operations linked to terrorism activities.<sup>51</sup> Additionally, the Kingdom sent military medical personnel to Afghanistan to set up a field hospital over there in December 2001. The Jordanian army mine-unit was also deployed to Afghanistan to clear territory of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines. Meanwhile, the Kingdom continued its strong support for the global war on terrorism. The immediate

impact of these events led to closer Jordanian-American relations, such as the United States-Jordanian Free Trade Agreement was signed, and the Kingdom managed to secure a doubling of its foreign aid package.<sup>52</sup> On August 19, 2005 two American warfare ships were hit by rockets at Aqaba port. But the rockets missed their targets. In the attack a Jordanian soldier was killed and another was injured. Zarqawi organization was responsible to the attack and also was an indication to expand the operations to target Arab regimes with close relations to the United States.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, on November 9, 2005 three bombs were set off in hotels in Amman killed 60 people and over 100 wounded. Al-Zarqawi claimed his responsibility for the act. After the attack, Jordanian authority arrested an Iraqi woman called Ms. Sajida Mubarak al-Rishawi, who survived when her explosive belt failed to detonate. Rishawi confession was broadcast on Jordan TV on November 13.<sup>54</sup> Al-Zarqawi was seeking to expand the range of his operations beyond Iraq to target regional governments that support the American led campaign in Iraq and mount attacks on Israel as well. However, the Jordanians condemned the hotel bombings and have denounced Al-Zarqawi's action. In the words of King Abdullah II: 'We had our own 9/11, the 9th of November 2005, where three bombs were set off in hotels. We lost 60 people and over 100 wounded. I made my mind up then that we were not going to be defensive. If we felt that people were going to target Jordan, we would target them. And my message is clear: as long as you continue to try and hurt the citizens of my country, we have the right to protect ourselves.'<sup>55</sup>

The United States has supported and financed the Kingdom of establishing the King Abdullah II Center for Special Operations Training in order to serve as a regional headquarters for counter-terrorism training. In 2003, the Kingdom built a special operation command and the anti-terrorism center in order to boost counter-terrorism capabilities within the Jordanian Army. Additionally, the Kingdom has deployed two hospitals to Iraq and Afghanistan to provide health care facilities to numerous patients, including civilians. In Iraq, the Jordanian Army helped to train the Iraqi policemen on one hand, and to assist the United States reach out to Sunni community and politicians in order to facilitate reconciliation. In December 30, 2009, terrorist attack against the American forces in Afghanistan, in which a Jordanian intelligence agent and royal family member was killed in the attack, shed the light on the Kingdom's deeper cooperation with the United States against Al-Qaeda organization. The United States has a close partnership with the Kingdom on counter-terrorism matters. The Kingdom itself has suffered serious losses from terrorist attacks on its own soil and the Jordanians are aware of the significant threat posed by extremists. Regarding this issue, the Kingdom's Prime Minister, Samir Al-Refai said that: 'Being part of this world, we have to coordinate with other countries and exchange information about the location of terrorist groups. We will be everywhere as long as this is necessary for our national security.'<sup>56</sup>

In March 2010, NATO Secretary General Anders Rasmussen stated that the Kingdom has played a significant role in training the Afghan Army at the King Abdullah II Special Operations Training Center.<sup>57</sup>

#### **American Economic and Military Cooperation With Jordan:-**

Jordan's relations with the United States dating back to 1949 when both states established diplomatic relations. In 1951 the United States began providing assistance, and in 1957 an agreement of economic and technical assistance was signed between the two countries. Cooperation between them covers all fields from economic cooperation, political dialogue to social interaction. The continued assistance in these areas has solidified bilateral relations and transformed them into a concrete partnership. Jordan was thought to have little economic future. It had few natural resources, and despite these handicaps Jordan's economy grew rapidly in the last years, through effective use of foreign assistance primarily grant aid and loans from the United States. Moreover, the foreign assistance plays a vital role and will continue to do so in the future. However, in development efforts, the United States has been joined by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the United Nations Development Program, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Relief and Work Agency, which provides direct support for the Palestinian refugees which enjoys heavy financial participation by the United States.<sup>58</sup>

Under King Abdullah, the Kingdom has undertaken a program of economic reform and liberalized trade, joining the World Trade Organization in 2000, signing an association Agreement with the European Union in 2001, and signing the first bilateral free trade agreement with the United States in 2001. The agreement provides open markets in communications, construction, finance, health, transportation, and services. In 1996 the United States created a Qualifying Industrial Zone to support the peace process. The Kingdom exported 6.9 million dollars in goods to the United States in 1997, when two-way trade was 395 million dollars, according to the American International Trade Commission, it exported 796.2 million dollars in 2009, with United States exports to the Kingdom valued at 976.9 million dollars and two-way trade reaching 1.77 billion dollars. In 2009 the Kingdom's economy continued to grow slightly, but was hurt due to lower revenues and slower growth of the global financial crisis.<sup>59</sup>

The United States has helped to maintain the independence and integrity of the Kingdom through economic, military and diplomatic support. Between 1952-1975 the United States provided Jordan with more than 500 Million Dollars in economic and military assistance. Both countries are parties to 16 agreements and treaties, covering agricultural commodities, aviation, defense, economic and technical cooperation, investment

guaranties, relief supplies and packages, taxation and telecommunications.<sup>60</sup> The United States provided Jordan with economic aid as both a cash transfer to service its foreign debt. Approximately 53% of the Kingdom's economic support funds allotment goes toward the cash transfer. USAID programs in the Kingdom focus on a variety of sectors such as democracy assistance, water preservation, and education. Meanwhile, in the democracy sector, Washington assistance supports capacity building programs for the parliament's support offices, the Jordanian judicial council, judicial institute, and the ministry of justice. The American grants also aimed to train some Jordanian political parties and members of parliament. Additionally, USAID provided 26 Million Dollars in fiscal year 2010 to support political development in the Kingdom as well as in the water sector, as the Kingdom is one of the most water-deprived countries in the world. In regards of the political violence in neighboring states, USAID has programmed 45 Million Dollars in Economic Support Funds.<sup>61</sup> Between fiscal years 1998-2003, United States provided economic aid to the Kingdom were 525 million dollars, and the military assistance were 273 million dollars. Between fiscal years 2004 to 2007 the Kingdom received economic support funds from the United States approximately 1 billion and 95 millions dollars and 928 million dollars in military assistance.<sup>62</sup> Additionally, between fiscal years 2007 to 2013 the United States provided the Kingdom were 13,360 billion dollars in economic aid and 1,395 billion dollars in military assistance. <sup>63</sup> The United States provided the Kingdom during the fiscal years 2005-2010 as Foreign Military Funds with the amount valued 1748,532 Billion Dollars and for International Military Education and Training Program with the amount valued 18,783 Million Dollars.<sup>64</sup> Regarding the continued economic and military cooperation between the two countries, the Kingdom's Minister of Planning and International Collaboration Dr. Jafa'ar Hassan reaffirmed that the American assistance in economic and military fields would not change in the future. In an interview with Al-Ra'i news paper, the Minister said that his government signed an agreement with the United States government in order to increase the American assistance between the fiscal years 2010-2014 to reach 360 Million Dollars as economic assistance and 300 Million Dollars as military assistance to enable the Kingdom to treat the socio-economic and security challenges. Meanwhile, the American Ambassador to Jordan Steven Baucroft, confirmed that the amount of the American assistance to the Kingdom would be the same as before due to the important role that the Kingdom is playing in the region and which resemble a security and stability factor in the region. The American assistance program to Jordan is the largest in the world which is based on close cooperation between the two countries, to enable the Kingdom to achieve a better living and create more economic opportunities. Finally, since 1952, the American assistance to the Kingdom reached over 6 Billion Dollars. <sup>65</sup>

## Conclusion

Jordan was established as an entity by a British-supported administrative and mandate system in 1923. Since its creation, the Kingdom's foreign policy remained consistently friendly to the west, involving special relationship with England which after 1957 was overshadowed by close relations to the United States. Since accession to power in 1999, King Abdullah focused on more vital economic goals. This policy was unavoidable choice because of the obstacles to economic and social development. The Kingdom's pro-western attitude has been reinforced by the poor state of its economy, its vulnerability to the Jewish state as well as to Jordan's powerful neighbors. These factors have made the tiny state dependent on external financial and military support. Because the Arab states has never been able to provide and meet Jordan's needs, made Jordan's kings associate with the west and particularly the United States for aid. Diplomacy is a central instrument used by the Kingdom to implement its foreign policy. It is particularly important to the Kingdom, because the nation's impoverished state means that it has few alternative instrument of foreign policy implementation. For example, when Jordan seeking financial aid, diplomacy has been the only instrument available to it. For this reason, the Kingdom has always laid great emphasis on diplomacy, because of the constraints upon the Kingdom and geographical position, the relative weakness of the state compared to most of its neighbors, therefore, the state depend mostly on diplomacy and this of course is done through the Kingdom's Kings. The Kingdom has always followed a pro-western policy, and this approach has frequently served the state well at times of crisis. Nevertheless, King Abdullah II often appears closer to the United States than his father King Hussein was in his last years in power. King Abdullah also aligned so closely to the United States at a time when it's deeply unpopular to do so in the Arab world, and the alignment with west in general and the United states in particular may threaten his rule at some point. For Americans, helping the Kingdom survive, prosper, and modernize has become an urgent priority in its quest for a stable and prosperous Middle East. For instance, when the United States withdraws from Iraq in 2011, American policymakers need to ensure that it maintains strong security relations with the Kingdom to cope with the Iraqi factions if they choose to escalate fighting among themselves. However, the Kingdom's security and stability can't be purchased through external alliance alone, or through foreign financial support and investment. To achieve real security in the Kingdom, a revitalization of the political liberalization process is absolutely essential.

The United States continues to maintain close and friendly relations with the Kingdom, which it regards as a key factor in ongoing efforts to achieve a peaceful negotiated settlement of Arab-Israeli conflict.



United States and Jordanian policymakers have consulted frequently throughout the course of the negotiation process from Madrid up to present. The Palestinians as well as the Arab states are too divided and of course too weak to be able to make a durable peace. Israel is secure as long as it continues to receive the full American support from the political, economic and military viewpoint. The United States probably can't do much about the Middle East. Because the American support for Israel is taken for granted in Jordan as well as in the Arab world. Certainly Arab State would expect to receive justice from the America where Israel is involved. This perhaps due to the Jewish media and influence which is so strong that no American Administration can be expected to adopt a line that is in any way antagonistic to Israel. American foreign policy on the Arab-Israeli dispute and other major regional issues, should be guided by conflict management rather than comprehensive peace initiatives. One can argue that these so called moderate Arab regimes are absolutely too dependent on the United States for their security against internal unrest as well as regional enemies to abandon their American connection, therefore, it is unimportant that these regimes complain about American support for Israel. Why the United States is still supporting undemocratic countries in the Middle East, and not pressing them for increased democracy. The answer to that is a more democratic government in Jordan as well as in the rest of the Arab states, will be less willing to cooperate with the United States. The Jordanian opposition parties have limited pragmatism regarding the United States and Israel and they often call for the abrogation of the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty and also an end to United States-Jordanian cooperation on Iraq and else where.

Jordan reiterate it's commitment to fight terrorism and to bilateral cooperation with the United States and with countries around the world. The Kingdom has signed agreements with the United States to provide security and stability in Jordan as well as in the region. The Kingdom has warned against the ganger of terrorism on global security and stability, and will fight it in all it's forms and will work on countering it by all means.

The United States needs to continue it's involvement in economic assistance and military cooperation with Jordan. This include financial grants, arms sales, joint and multilateral exercises, and other forms of military cooperation, in order to help the Kingdom strengthen it's economy, and to maintain domestic stability. Over 60 years, the two states also have strengthened their cultural, academic, professional and business ties, forging institutions, partnership and personal relationships that enhance the relations between the two states. Successive American presidents have appreciated the special role that the kingdom has played in Middle Eastern politics. For the United States, Jordan has been a stable ally in a region facing uncertainty and many challenges. The U.S has provided substantial economic and military aid to the kingdom over the years, both in gratitude for Jordan's cooperation and to demonstrate it's commitments to Jordan's development and security. Last but not least, the two states advance with friendship and goodwill into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and they will continue to cooperate on issues of global importance, such as regional security and the quest for a comprehensive solution to the Palestinian problem. Jordan and the United States will continue to forge closer bilateral relations, working together to improve the daily lives of ordinary people and engaging their citizen in building a better world.

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