

# UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS JORDAN FROM THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY DIMENSIONS FROM 1990 TO 2017

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## Introduction

Foreign policy cannot be dissociated from what we call the theory of international relations (Holsti, 2015). Relations between Jordan and the United States go back to 1949 when diplomatic relations were first established. The United States contributed to providing economic and military assistance to Jordan for the first time since 1951 and 1957, respectively, and has continued until now. The United States and Jordan share the common goals of a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in the Middle East and to end violent extremism that threatens the security of Jordan, the region, and the world at large. The peace process and counterterrorism between the two countries aid American interests. The United States has helped Jordan maintain its stability and prosperity through military assistance and close political cooperation (Bush, 2009).

This study examines the United States foreign policy towards Jordan from 1990 to 2017. This period witnessed important regional and international political events that significantly impacted American foreign policy in the Arab region and the United States - Jordan in particular. The political events covered in the study have the greatest impact on the development or decline of relations between the two countries in terms of politically and security aspects.

Therefore, the study looks at four political events (Jordanian-American

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Relations during the Iraq War on Kuwait in 1990, Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty (Wadi Araba) on 26 October 1994, the events of September 11, 2001, and Trump's decision to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem in 2017).and explains them in great depth to clarify the relationship between the political event and its impact on Jordanian-American relations from the political and security aspects because every political event has its political and security implications (Sharp, 2019; Vatikiotis, 2017; Schuetze, 2017; Harders, 2016; Sharp, 2015; Sharp & Blanchard, 2012).

In addition to the political aspects, the United States also supported Jordan from the security side in the years 1990-2017 (Congressional Research Service, 2018). Security assistance includes Foreign Military Financing (FMF), provision of Military Equipment, International Military Education and Training (IMET), and De-Mining Operations (Vatikiotis, 2017).

This study will explore the US foreign policy towards Jordan from the political and security aspects and clarify the relationship between the political event and its impact on Jordanian-American relations politically and militarily.

## Research Questions

1. What is U.S. foreign policy towards Jordan from the political aspect?
2. What is U.S. foreign policy towards Jordan from the security aspect?

## Significance of the Study

This study is expected to be significant in three broad dimensions. First, it will provide some literature that contributes to the body of knowledge by looking at United States' foreign policy towards Jordan. The research will also shed light on the state of the relationship between the United States and Jordan from aspects (political and security) and knowing the role and importance of the distinguished geographical location of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in the Middle East for the benefit of the United States. Second, it will benefit policymakers in both the U.S. and Jordan in making appropriate and strategic foreign policy decisions of mutual gain for the two countries. Third, this research is expected to guide future studies in the area.

## Scope of the study

This study explores United States foreign policy towards Jordan from 1990 to 2017. The year 1990 was pivotal because it represented a radical change in the world order, as it shifted from bipolar to unipolar. The United States became the sole global power in the aftermath of the Cold War. The year 2017 marks the end of this study because it constituted an important event, the transfer of the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Therefore, the embassy move event is significant for Jordan because Jordan is the guardian of the holy places in Jerusalem according to the Wadi Araba agreement. The data covers the study period to analyze the impact of US foreign policy toward Jordan and identifies the determinants of international relations in line with the country's policy due to the importance of foreign policy as proven in the empirical literature.

## Literature Review

Saleh and Yassin (2020) explain in a study entitled *Jordanian-American Political Relations 1990-1993*, Jordan's regional and international role in its attempts to settle Arab issues in Palestine and Iraq. Since the United States viewed Jordan as a major party in its political vision, it strived to ensure its security and stability, which is directly reflected in ensuring the security of (Israel). From this standpoint, Jordan took advantage of its position with the United States to highlight its role towards peace and this approach made it within the circle of American interest and support on an ongoing basis. The study adopted a qualitative approach as a case study.

Furthermore, the study entitled *Political and Economic Relations between the United States and Jordan 1990-2019* explains that The Kingdom of Jordan is a major partner of the United States in the Middle East. The research is based on a main hypothesis that local, regional and international factors affected the Jordanian-American relations to shape the nature of cooperation between them. The main objective is to reveal the main aspects underpinning Jordanian-American relations. The study followed a qualitative approach to study the relationship between the two sides (Sheikh, 2020).

In addition, (Sheikh, 2020), in another study entitled (*Relationship between Jordan and United States in the context of Military Aid and Alliance*), explains that Jordan has attracted the attention of international powers for decades because of its unique characteristics as a country, furthermore Jordan's unique location in the heart of the Middle East.

Accordingly, in his work entitled *A History of the Modern Middle East*, William L. Cleveland examines the emergence of American relations in the Middle East and discusses the factors that led the United States to direct its political interests toward the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan as one of the Middle East countries. The study focused on the specificity of the Jordanian-American relationship, monitoring the repercussions of this relationship, its material feasibility, and its political consequences. (Cleveland, 2018).

Accordingly, in his study *A Comparative Analysis of Jordanian and United States Counterterrorism*, Cash explores that the study will provide a comprehensive examination of counterterrorism in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the United States. A multifaceted analysis of counterterrorism in Jordan (the social, economic, and political drivers of terrorism, historical counterterrorism efforts, and its contemporary successes and failures) will be supplemented by an overall report on US counterterrorism. Jordan's counterterrorism successes were analyzed to reveal whether certain practices could be applied in America (Cash, 2018).

According to (Kinne, 2018) in a study entitled *The Confluence of American and Jordanian Exceptionalism: An Enduring or Transactional Relationship*, explains that the confluence of shared security interests, King Abdullah II's leadership in the region, and the country's geographically strategic position make Jordan a vital US partner in the pursuit and protection of national security interests in the Middle East region. US legislators and military leaders must understand the dynamics of the security, economic, and social threats that endanger Jordan's stability and work to achieve balance in the region. US. policy toward the Hashemite Kingdom must recognize and promote "Jordanian exceptionalism."

According to his study entitled *(Simulating, marketing, and playing war: US-Jordanian military collaboration and the politics of commercial security)*, Schuetze reported the King Abdullah II Special Operations Training Centre (KASOTC) was financed and established by the US Department of Defence. The study adopted a qualitative approach through important empirical security studies based on interviews and observations made during a visit to KASOTC in early 2013 (Schuetze, 2017).

Furthermore, in *The Future of U.S.-Jordanian Counterterrorism Cooperation*, Hardin Lang, William Wechsler, and Alia Awadallah explored the political and economic relations between Jordan and the United States. These relations were influenced by the repercussions of the events of September 11, 2001 (Lang, Wechsler, & Awadallah, 2017). It adopted a qualitative, historical, and descriptive approach.

Al Sarhan (2017) examined the signing of The Jordan-Israel Peace

Treaty of October 26, 1994, which markedly enhanced US-Jordan bilateral relations to unprecedented levels. The United States' foreign aid from political, economic, and military aspects, Qualifying Industrial Zones, and the US-Jordan Free Trade Agreement have dramatically boosted the Jordanian economy and modernized its military weapon systems. The study adopted a qualitative approach to historical – descriptive.

Looking at Gutkowski's study, we are the very model of a moderate Muslim state: The Amman Messages and Jordan's foreign policy discussing moderation as its importance as one of the most problematic rhetorical dualities in the "War on Terror," moderation is largely a theoretical and empirical category in the field of international relations. This study examines "Islamic moderation" as part of the branding of Middle Eastern countries in the decade and a half since 9/11 and adopted a qualitative approach using Jordan as a case study (Gutkowski, 2016).

Al-Rousan (2013) study adopted the historical analytical descriptive approach. This method was followed in order to deduce the consistent and persistent American bias towards Israel and build concepts and generalizations that explain it. The study considered the approach of the international system, which included external variables that enabled the formation of the external political decision biased towards Israel.

## Theoretical Framework

This study adopted the Realist theory (classical and neo). Classical realism is based on the following assumptions: power is the basis in international relations, the state is the basic unit of analysis, ethics is a secondary factor, and alliances are what determine the balance of power. In view of the neo- realism, it has modified its principles to conform to the new reality from the security, economic and political side (Milani, 2018, Cox, 2016).

The relations between the US and Jordan that are expressed in political and military initiatives ultimately serve the American interests in the Middle East. The anarchic nature of the world in general and the Middle East, in particular, made the United States maintain and appease strategic allies in the region to maximise power and enhance its security. The geographical position of Jordan in the Middle East made it very important to the interest of the United States. For instance, the border between Jordan and Israel made Jordan crucial for protecting American interests in Israel. Also, Jordan, as an ally of the US in the region, sharing the border with Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the West Bank, placed the US in a position of power, security and

hegemony dominance.

After analyzing the interviews and the results of the study, the closest theory adopted by the study is neo-realism.

## Research Methodology

Qualitative research may be considered as a more appropriate approach than quantitative research for studying and gaining an understanding of behaviour and a deeper understanding of the participants' personal experiences (Bryman, 2017; Yilmaz, 2013).

The researcher is the primary research tool in qualitative research. Since qualitative research is interpretive research, the researcher's biases, beliefs, and assumptions can interfere with data analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Social researchers should attempt to neutralize or bracket their biases through full disclosure (Noble & Smith, 2015; Chenail, 2011). Accordingly, no direct relationship of any participant with the researcher represented a conflict of interest, such as a reporting relationship, contract, or any relationship with the researcher that might have conveyed a bias in the research study. The researcher conducted interviews with many people to obtain saturated information to answer the research questions.

Samples in qualitative approaches are usually small and targeted. The goal of qualitative researchers is to achieve saturation (Boddy, 2016). The sample was taken from political, economic and security experts in Jordan and the United States as follows (people in decision-making in Jordan such as former Prime Ministers and former Foreign Ministers, officials of government and private study centres in Jordan, university lecturers at Jordanian public universities in international relations, Senior military retirees in the Jordanian army, American lecturers). English was not the mother tongue of the Jordanian participants.

The participants were recruited by accessing the phone numbers of the decision-making personnel from the relevant ministries, and they were contacted by phone to determine the appropriate date for the face-to-face interview. Coordination was made with university lecturers by going to universities and coordinating with them to set the interview date in the place that suits them and the exact date. As for the study centres and military experts, it was coordinated by phone to schedule the interviews.

In this regard, Creswell (1998) suggested five to 25 sample size as suitable for qualitative research to reach the saturation point. However, Morse (1994) proposed at least six. Thus, going by Creswell (1998), in this study, 16

people will be selected to conduct the semi-structured interviews.

The study adopted interviews as a data collection tool for the primary data. While the secondary data were obtained from books, journals, theses, newspapers, seminar papers, articles and other documents.

Hill et al. (2005) recommend an interview protocol of 8-10 questions with discussion to fit within one hour. It also recommends conducting at least two trial interviews to test the questions. Accordingly, two experimental interviews were conducted to test the questions. The first interview was on campus with a university lecturer with a specialization in international relations. The second interview was also with a university specialist in political affairs. The questions were developed after the experimental interviews to suit the desired goal: to obtain saturated information for the main study questions. The number of interview questions was eight.

**Table 1: Participant List**

Participant	Gender	State	Major
1	M	Jordan	Head of the Centre for Middle Eastern Studies
2	M	Jordan	Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs 2016
3	M	Jordan	University lecturer (international relations)
4	M	Jordan	University lecturer (international relations)
5	M	Jordan	University lecturer (international relations)
6	M	Jordan	Head of the University of Jordan Studies Centre
7	M	Jordan	University lecturer (international political economy)
8	M	Jordan	Prime Minister (June 1991 - November 1991)
9	M	Jordan	University lecturer (political science)
10	M	Jordan	Foreign Minister 2011
11	M	Jordan	Retired Major General (modern)
12	M	Jordan	Retired Major General (modern)
13	M	Jordan	Minister of Foreign Affairs (1991-1993)
14	M	USA	University lecturer (international relations)
15	M	USA	University lecturer (international relations)
16	M	USA	University lecturer (international relations)

Source: Own elaboration.

Participants were recruited by accessing the phone numbers of

decision-makers from the relevant ministries, and they were contacted by phone to determine the appropriate date for the face-to-face interview, and coordination was made with the university lecturers by going to universities and coordinating with them to set the interview date in the place that suits them and the exact date. As for the study centres and security experts, coordination was coordinated by phone to schedule the interviews due to the strict measures of the Corona epidemic.

All participants made an audio recording of their data after obtaining their consent and taking pictures with some of them, except for one person from Jordan who refused the audio recording and all communication with him was written.

Data saturation is reached when sufficient information is obtained for the study and when adding new information is obtained (Fusch and Ness, 2015). Saturation was reached in this study after the 16 interviews.

The trustworthiness and validity of qualitative research depend on what the researcher sees and hears (Noble and Smith, 2015). In addition, one way to ensure credibility and portability is to ensure that interviewees have the expertise to discuss the phenomenon that the researcher seeks to explore, and the researcher is not biased (Noble & Smith, 2015). Full and manually transcribed interviews in this section address credibility, portability, reliability, and compatibility. Their coding helped ensure a deep understanding of the interview content and the participant's intent.

According to Chenail (2011), clear rules be established and followed to help reduce bias in research. This researcher had a set of clear rules and many controls to help ensure that the rules were followed. Audio recordings of all interviews prevented the researcher from adding or excluding any data from participant interviews.

## Data Analysis

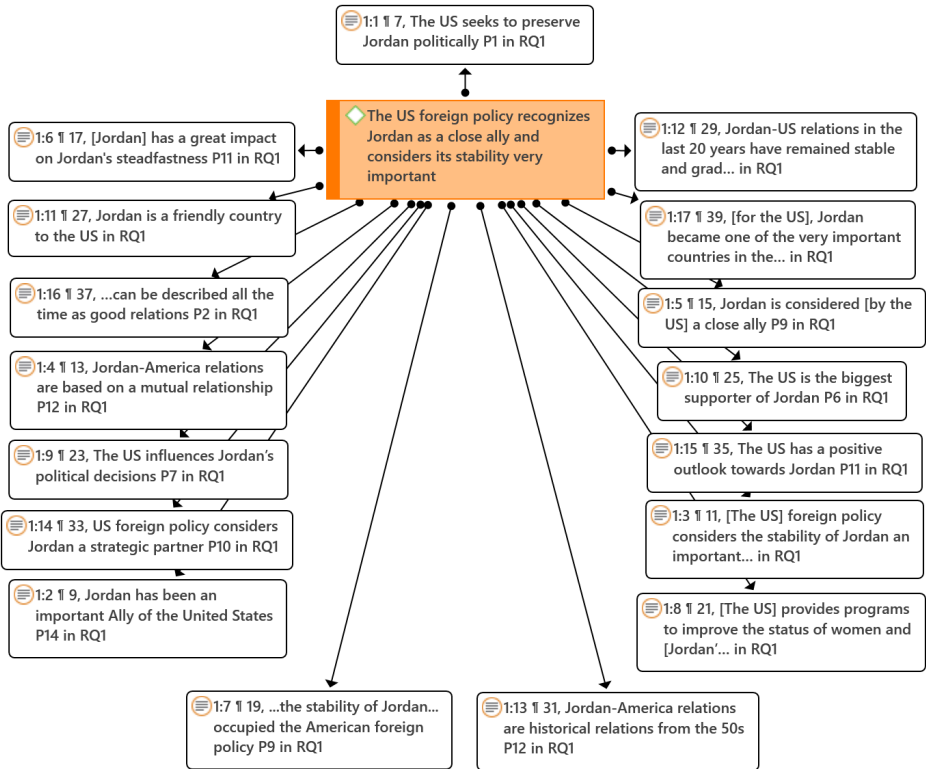
In this study, thematic analysis (TA) was used to analyze interview data. Thematic analysis is a popular method for analysing qualitative data in many disciplines and fields and can be applied in different ways, different datasets to answers research questions. The thematic analysis focuses on identifying patterns of meaning (themes) in qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis of interview data was conducted using Atlas.ti software for qualitative data analysis. The purpose of using Atlas.ti software was to help the researcher uncover and systematically analyze the interview data. The program provides tools that help researchers to locate, code, and annotate



findings.

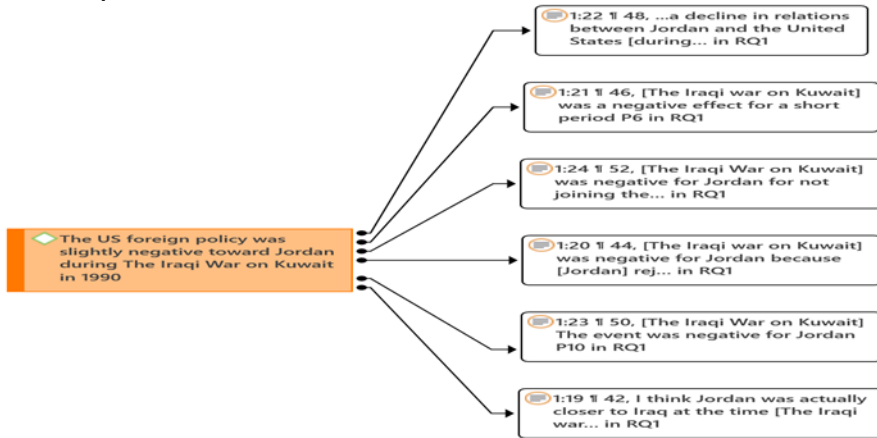
The data were collected using semi-structured interviews and analyzed using inductive thematic analysis. As stated earlier in the methodology part, Atlas.ti software for qualitative analysis was used to code and present the relevant information from the interview data. The interview questions were piloted to determine if there is a need to restructure the questions before the actual interview. Subsequently, the questions were refined and used for the actual study. The results of the analysis of the interviews related to the first question in the following figures:

**Figure 1: US foreign policy recognizes Jordan as a close ally and considers its stability very important**



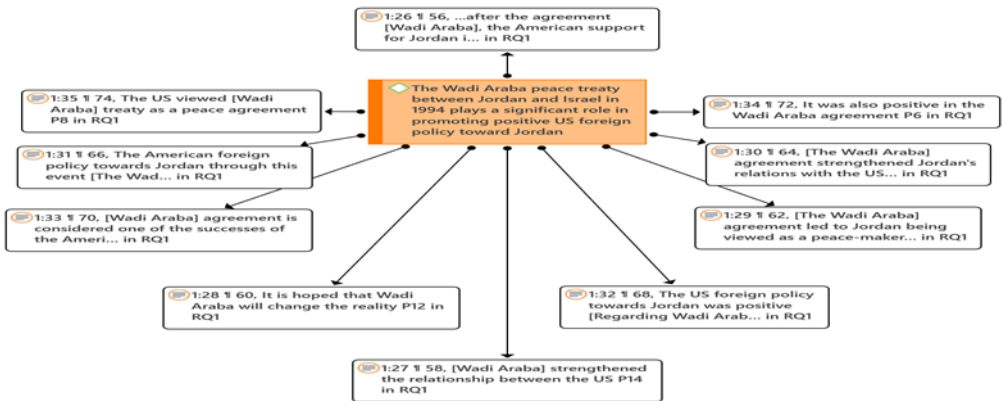
Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 2: US foreign policy was slightly negative toward Jordan during The Iraqi War on Kuwait in 1990



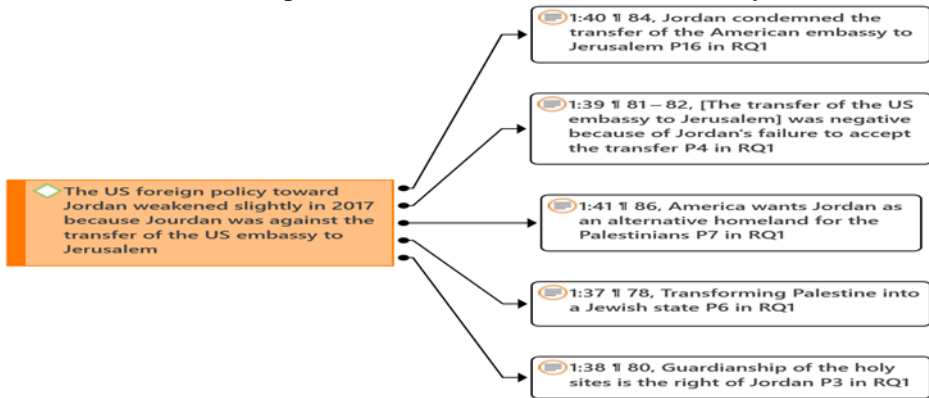
Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 3: The Wadi Araba peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in 1994 plays a significant role in promoting positive US foreign policy toward Jordan



Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 4: US foreign policy towards Jordan slightly weakened in 2017 because Jordan was against the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem



Source: Own elaboration.

The second research question explores US foreign policy towards Jordan from a security aspect. The findings related to the second research question are presented in the following table.

Table 2: US foreign policy towards Jordan from the security aspect

SN	Themes	Exemplary quotes	Source
1	US foreign policy supports Jordanian military in terms of security intelligence, army presence, and military equipment	The US seeks to preserve Jordan... militarily	P1
		The US support addresses Jordan's weaknesses militarily	P12
		The US views Jordan as a major ally in the fight against terrorism	P9
		[Wadi Araba] has decreased the likelihood of hostility between Jordan and Israel	P14
		Jordan receives aid on military equipment	P3
		[The US] is the main supporter of Jordan through its military	P3
		...the US aid is used to cover part of the armament side of equipment	P11
		The US has a military presence in Jordan	P7
		There is an exchange of confidential information between the two countries	P8

2	US foreign policy supports Jordan to fight terrorism	[There are US military bases] in Jordan in the areas of Safawi, Azraq, and Al-Jafr	P3
		[The US bases], in cooperation with Jordan, are tasked with combating terrorism	P3
		Jordan is a strong ally of the US in the fight against terrorism	P4
		Jordan also participates in terrorism and military operations against terrorism	P4
3	Certain political events play an important role in American foreign policy in terms of military aid towards Jordan	The military cooperation has been strong since the events of [9/11]	P16
		Jordan [supported] the US in its new war against terrorism [during 9/11]	P12
		[The 9/11] event contributed to Jordan's involvement in the war on terror	P11
		[After 9/11], the US launched the coalition against terrorism, and Jordan was an essential part of this alliance	P9
		The war on terror is the most influential component for Jordan to obtain aid from the US	P9
		The negative impact [of 9/11] was [negative because of] the emergence of other terrorist groups in the region towards Jordan	P6

4	US military support for Jordan decreased slightly during the Iraq war on Kuwait in 1990, and military support was maintained during the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem in 2017.	[During Iraqi War on Kuwait], the US considered Jordan's position against its foreign policies	P11
		Jordan took a different position at [Iraqi War on Kuwait] and did not agree with the American proposal to invade Iraq	P12
		[The Iraqi war] was negative for Jordan... greatly affected the Jordanian economy	P1
		[The Iraqi war on Kuwait in 1990] was negative because Jordan stood by Iraq and... this position affected the Jordan-US relations	P3
		[The Iraqi war on Kuwait] was negative on American foreign policy was negative towards Jordan	P4
		...the US foreign policy towards Jordan [during the Iraqi War on Kuwait] was negative	P9
		[During Iraqi War on Kuwait], relations between the US and Jordan were at their lowest levels	P8
		...closing the seaports between Jordan and Iraq [during the Iraqi War on Kuwait]	P9

5	US foreign policy provides military supports to Jordan to protect Israel	Maintaining Israel	P12
		...the Jordanian policy is in line with the American policy to preserve the security and existence of Israel	P13
		The stability of Jordan is important to protecting Israel	P2
		...aimed at protecting and preserving Israel	P13
		[For] the survival and protection of Israel's security in the Arab region	P3
		...protecting the stability of Jordan and Israel	P5
		...it has a relationship with the Palestinian issue. Any change in Jordan will affect Israel	P7
		The US is interested in the issue of stability in Jordan to help the stability of Israel	P8
		[to] preserve longer stability for Israel	P8
		...in support and protection of Israel	P8
		...for maintaining Israel's security and stability	P13
		... and on top of these interests is the protection of Israel	P8
		The US maintains Jordan's stability to preserve the stability of Israel	P13
		...the US support [Wadi Araba] agreement to ensure the stability and security of Israel	P10
		[The US tried] to use Jordan...to solve the Palestinian issue	P15

6	US foreign policy provides military supports to Jordan to spread American ideology and fight against its enemy	Providing a strategic ally in the region to confront any dangers threatening the United States	P1
		To benefit from the military improvement	P12
		The US fears that Jordan will cooperate with Russia	P4
		Jordan can be used to pressure the failure of the Russian-Chinese project	P7
		...to benefit from the expertise of the Jordanian army	P8
		...to Americanize the world...militarily	P9
		Had America not benefited from Jordan, it would not have supported Jordan	P11

Source: Own elaboration.

## Discussion of the results

This section presents a discussion of the analysis results related to the political and security aspects. Results are related to the first question which are four results. According to figures I-4, four different themes emerged from the interview data regarding the US foreign policy toward Jordan from the political aspect. First, the US foreign policy recognizes Jordan as a close ally and considers its stability very important. Second, the US foreign policy was slightly negative toward Jordan during The Iraqi War on Kuwait in 1990. Third, the Wadi Araba peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in 1994 plays a significant role in promoting positive US foreign policy toward Jordan. Fourth, the US foreign policy toward Jordan weakened slightly in 2017 because Jordan was against the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem.

As result 1 in figure 1. The US foreign policy recognizes Jordan as a close ally and considers its stability very important. For example, according to a participant, Jordanian-American relations have remained stable during the past twenty years and gradually increased (P12). Another participant added, "Jordanian-American cooperation is an important factor in Jordan's stability and assistance, given that Jordan is closest to the West, especially the United States" (B6).

This result is consistent with the study of Saleh (2020) that Jordanian policy tends to the West, as it is linked to historical relations with the United States. In the assessment of another participant, "The United States, in its relations with Jordan, makes the security of the regime higher than the

security of the society and the state, while the United States tries to influence the security of society and the security of the state together to achieve the security of the regime, and therefore the United States influences Jordan through financial aid and facilitates access to Jordan” referring to loans from the International Monetary Fund to achieve sufficient political stability in Jordan” (B9). The results showed that Jordan is an important ally of the United States. One of the participants said, “The stability that exists in Jordan in light of sectarian and ideological conflicts makes Jordan a magnet for the United States to maintain its stability, and therefore the United States can only deal with Jordan as an ally and friend” (B13). Explains (Sheikha, 2020), the United States helps to improve the design of Jordanian foreign policy to move and play a more significant role on the international arena, and is more effective, and works to change the means and tools that serve this policy and respond to the new international order.

These results are consistent with studies of Cleveland, (2018); Lang, Wechsler & Awadallah (2017); Al Sarhan, (2017). In terms of the following result, Jordan is a major partner and ally of the United States, and that its stability is important to the region. A difference lies in terms of the methodology used. This study used interviews, but previous studies did not use interviews but used the historical and descriptive method to collect data.

In addition, this result is consistent with the Neorealist theory that alliances are important in achieving political stability for countries and thus, Jordan is trying to achieve a coherent alliance with a superpower such as the United States to maintain its stability and security. Through neorealism, the theory attempts to reduce the chaotic nature of the international arena, and neo realists argue that states merely seek to maintain their existence. At the same time, the major powers provide guarantees to shape their security by forming balanced alliances. Also, by keeping pace with the new reality, neo-realism considers that the interdependence on the economic side will have a significant impact on countries by controlling their political decisions through economic support, which will discourage countries from using force against each other and increase their stability.

Accordingly, the study believes that Jordanian-American relations have historically crystallized and have grown stronger with the passage of time due to the importance of Jordan to the United States of America, as Jordan is the closest to the West, and that its stabilizing factor is important in the region to play an important role in peace. A better role on the outside arena.

As a result, in figure 2, US foreign policy was slightly negative toward Jordan during The Iraqi War on Kuwait in 1990. According to the participants, “This event was negative for Jordan because Jordan decided to



stand with the Jordanian people aligned with Iraq in that war and not to stand with the coalition led by the United States and the Gulf states against Iraq to preserve the regime in the Iraqi state. As a result of this decision, Jordan was subjected to many pressures, including the blockade of the port of Aqaba, the prevention of American aid, the return of thousands of expatriates from the Gulf countries and abroad to Jordan, and the cessation of pumping oil from Iraq, which Jordan was getting at symbolic prices.

These results greatly affected the Jordanian economy and lasted almost until mid-1995 when King Hussein bin Talal visited the United States. But the Jordanian position did not turn into political instability because of the harmony between the people and the regime but rather turned into economic instability” (p1, p12, p11, p10, p9, p6, p4, p3, p2). Another participant added, “The American intervention towards Iraq feared the Iranian Shiite extension to the Middle East (p8, 13)”. In a personal interview with CNN (26-7-2021), King Abdullah II of Jordan explained that Iran’s progress through its nuclear program affects Israel and the Persian Gulf and will impact Jordan. This danger has become apparent in Jordan through Iranian drones heading towards Jordan, so the United States fears Iran’s advances in the region. Another participant explains, “The interests of the United States are superior to the interests of its allies, and therefore it sacrificed the interests of Jordan to achieve its interests in that war” (p7).

According to Participant (p7) linking economic aid to political positions harms the Jordanian economy, such as the Iraq war. The United States also asked Jordan to stand with the Syrian opposition during the Syrian crisis, and this led to closing the borders with Jordan, which was considered an important economic resource.

**Table 3: US Economic Aid to Jordan (\$ in millions)**

FY	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
M\$	35	50	35	28	28.9	30.1	120.4	151.2	251.4	251.7
FY	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	*****
M\$	151.7	251.6	951	352.3	351.6	298.6	255.3	561.4	363.5	*****
FY	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	****	*****
M\$	413.5	463	362	460	564.4	700	615	812.3	****	*****

Source: Sharp, J. M. (2016). Jordan: Background and US relations. Congressional Research Service. Sharp, J. M. (2009). Jordan: Background and US relations. Diane Publishing. Sharp, J. M. (2006). Jordan: Background and US relations. Diane Publishing.

The previous table shows that US economic aid to Jordan is closely linked to Jordan's political position. This is evident in the low volume of aid in the years 1991-1994 during the Iraq war on Kuwait.

Based on the foregoing, this result is consistent with studies of Saleh (2020); Alsarhan (2017); (Kinne, 2018) In terms of the following result, that war was negative for Jordan politically and economically and differs in terms of the methodology used. In addition, this result is consistent with neorealist theory. As a result of the disparity in the balance of power, the United States used economic pressure on Jordan to achieve its political interests. The neorealist view is that the influence of politics is one of how the policies of the status quo and imperialist policies are used to achieve its goals. The aim of this policy is the influence by one country on other countries through the power that it already possesses, believes it possesses or wants others to believe. Also, this result is consistent with this theory that the interdependence between states should be based on relative and not absolute gains, meaning that the gains between the two parties depend on the balance of power and not the amount of interdependence.

Accordingly, the study believes that the political events and the interests of the United States that it wants to achieve with Jordan have a significant role in reducing and raising the relations between the two sides. The previous result shows that the relations have deteriorated due to the Jordanian support for Iraq against the American alliance, which led to the deterioration of the Jordanian economic situation as a result of linking the Iraqi event to cutting aid to Jordan. This indicates that the United States considers its interests to a greater degree than the interests of its allies.

The Wadi Araba peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in 1994 plays a significant role in promoting positive US foreign policy towards Jordan. According to the participant's responses, American foreign policy towards Jordan through this event was positive. For example, one of the participants believes that the United States supports any country that tries to get closer to Israel and Jordan. By signing the Wadi Araba Agreement, relations with the United States returned to their course. Jordan does not have the ability to confront Israel because it is not facing Israel alone, but rather the United States with Israel. The United States also knew that the Arab countries could not confront Israel because of internal disintegration. The United States policy was based on dismantling the Arab camp for ease of confrontation. Thus, it constitutes the third stage of peace and preserves many of Jordan's rights to peace with Israel (p4, p5, p6).

Another participant believes that since the Madrid International Peace

Conference will be led by the United States, there will be no peace conference without the presence of Jordan, and thus this conference is considered incomplete. From here, the United States began to restore its relations with Jordan on this basis. And Jordan could not refuse because of the bad economic situation. In the end, the effect was positive because it broke the barrier of mistrust in Jordan in the second Gulf War and showed Jordan's size in the political efforts seeking peace with Palestine. Therefore, Jordan had an added value to pressure the Palestinians as the strongest party to negotiate. The United States also sees its interest in Jordan, and Jordan sees its interest with the United States as "mutual interest" (p12). Other participants explained that the United States succeeded, through the peace agreement, in turning the Palestinian cause from an Arab-Israeli conflict to a Palestinian-Israeli conflict through peace agreements signed with Arab countries (p3, p10).

**Table 4: US Economic Aid to Jordan (\$ in millions)**

FY	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
M\$	35	50	35	28	28.9	30.1	120.4	151.2	251.4	251.7
FY	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	*****
M\$	151.7	251.6	951	352.3	351.6	298.6	255.3	561.4	363.5	*****
FY	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	****	*****
M\$	413.5	463	362	460	564.4	700	615	812.3	****	*****

Source: Sharp, J. M. (2016). *Jordan: Background and US relations*. Congressional Research Service. Sharp, J. M. (2009). *Jordan: Background and US relations*. Diane Publishing. Sharp, J. M. (2006). *Jordan: Background and US relations*. Diane Publishing.

The previous table 4 shows that US economic aid to Jordan is closely related to the Jordanian political position. After signing the peace agreement with Israel in 1994, economic relations and American economic support for Jordan increased.

This result is consistent with studies of Sheikha (2020); Lang Wechsler (2017); Alsarhan (2017). In terms of the following result, that agreement was positive and improved the Jordanian-American relations politically and economically, which had declined in the Iraq war on Kuwait. There is also a difference in terms of the approach used in data collection. Also, this result differs with the study of Al-Rousan (2013) in that Al-Rousan believes that the biggest winner from this agreement is Israel, not Jordan.

In addition, this result is consistent with the Neorealist theory

considering the interdependence and rationality of the State, where America used economic pressure on Jordan to achieve its political interests. This is because the effect of politics is one of how the politics of the status quo and imperialist policies are used to achieve their goals. The goal of this policy is the influence of one country on other countries through the power that it already possesses, believes it possesses or wants others to believe in. Also, the new realism that believes that the rationality of the state will push it to solve its problems in international cooperation with its partners, because it will maximize the relative gains over the absolute gains for all, which means excluding the idea of war for a certain period and maximizing power, the possibility of international cooperation and integration.

According to the previous result 3 in figure 3, the study believes that this political event was positive for strengthening relations with the United States because it corresponds to its interests and protects Israel and that the United States supports a positive stance with Israel.

As Jordan is an internally cohesive country with a good influence in the region, the United States sees it as the strongest party to achieve peace in the area. The United States succeeded, through the peace agreement, in transforming the Palestinian issue from an Arab-Israeli conflict into a Palestinian-Israeli conflict through peace agreements signed with Arab countries.

According to the previous result 4 in figure 4, The US foreign policy toward Jordan weakened slightly in 2017 because Jordan was against the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem. For example, the participants see (p7, p1) that the Jordanian position rejects the transfer of the American embassy to Jerusalem, and this contradicts what came in the Jordanian-Israeli peace agreement under American auspices regarding the Hashemite guardianship of the holy sites and Al-Aqsa Mosque. This decision is part of the American century deal. During the Trump era, moving the embassy is even greater than that, as it will lead to the liquidation of the Palestinian cause at Jordan's expense because Jordan has begun to feel threats such as the alternative homeland and the geographical and demographic threat. Considering that the Palestinian cause is the first issue for Jordan and thus will affect politically, economically and socially and this creates tension between the two parties and with the United States.

Another participant adds that Jordan is protesting, but in the end, the United States takes the appropriate decision in its interest and the interest of Israel. No matter how strong the partnership between Jordan and the United States is, the United States will not decide against Israel (p13).

Participant (p8) explains that the United States and Israel want to turn

Palestine into a Jewish state, and therefore this decision will make the city completely Jewish and this will be at the expense of Jordan. The solution to the Palestinian issue is through Jordan building itself from the inside politically, economically, and militarily to confront advanced Israel in these areas because the Zionist project is a comprehensive project for all Arab countries, not just Palestine.

Participant (p12) pointed out that the apathy in the relations was on the leadership side but remained in the political and economic aspects due to the value of Jordan in relation to American interests.

Another believes that the United States does not look at the region except the perspective of the Israeli interest, and thus the conditions came to realize the Israeli dream of Israel being the dominant politically, economically, and militarily. Also, the role of the Jewish lobby (AIPAC) was an important factor in the process of American foreign policy towards the Middle East and thus all decisions issued by the United States do not take into account international law, the Security Council, or political legitimacy (p3).

Based on the foregoing, the United States wants to realize the Israeli dream through the Jewish state in Palestine, and this will have catastrophic consequences for Jordan as an alternative homeland for the Palestinians and a solution to the Palestinian issue at Jordan's expense. Also, based on the political event, the United States did not attempt to bring relations with Jordan to an ambiguous aspect. In 2017, the United States provided at least \$1.279 billion in bilateral aid to Jordan from state accounts and foreign operations to aid the Jordanian economy (Sharp, 2019).

This result is consistent with the theory of classical realism in that the stronger party imposes its conditions. It is also in line with neorealism for countries to consider relative gains rather than absolute gains. Also, from the point of view of neorealism, international cooperation is not related to a period because friends may turn into enemies at any time, so countries should use collaboration as much as possible to enhance their strength in all aspects. This applies to some previous events between Jordan and America; for example, relations were strained during the first event, then returned to increase relations through the second and third event of the study.

The study believes that this political event was negative for Jordan because it would lead to the liquidation of the Palestinian cause at the expense of Jordan because Jordan began to feel threats such as the alternative homeland and the geographical and demographic threat, considering that the Palestinian cause is the first issue for Jordan. Therefore, will affect politically, economically and socially, creating tensions between the two parties and the United States.

In addition, America and Israel are attempting to transform Palestine into a Jewish state, and this decision will make the city completely Jewish, and this will be at Jordan's expense.

A discussion of the analysis results related to US foreign policy toward Jordan from the security perspective of the second question. As shown in Table 2, six different themes emerged from the interview data regarding to the US foreign policy toward Jordan from the security perspective. First, US foreign policy supports the Jordanian military in terms of security intelligence, army presence, and military equipment. Second, US foreign policy supports Jordan to fight terrorism. Third, US military support toward Jordan in the fight against terrorism increased after the 9/11 attacks. Fourth, US military support toward Jordan decreased slightly during The Iraqi War on Kuwait in 1990 and the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem in 2016. Fifth, US foreign policy provides military supports to Jordan to protect Israel. Sixth, US foreign policy provides military support to Jordan to spread American ideology and fight against its enemy.

As result 1 in table 3 shows, US foreign policy supports the Jordanian military in terms of security intelligence, army presence, and military equipment. According to the participants' responses, participants (p10, p12) believe that the United States supports Jordan with military equipment for the Jordanian armed forces to develop its defence system to obtain advanced technology and defend Jordan and Israel's security.

Concerning American military support, the participant (p7, p5) believes that the United States has a military presence in Jordan through military advisors and American military bases in Jordan. Therefore, any instability in Jordan will threaten the United States. It will try to find a solution to the instability due to Jordan's link with Israel and the Gulf States Allies with America located on the Jordanian border.

The United States also fears that Jordan will become a centre for terrorist organizations. The same participant (p7) adds that US military support to Jordan does not constitute 25 per cent of the US budget, as the total US military spending is about one billion eight hundred million dollars. Participant (p1) believes that the support is disproportionate compared to the size of the alliance. The US military assistance to Jordan is limited to not affect Israel in terms of the balance of power. Participant (p3) confirms what Participant (p1) addressed that the weapons provided to Jordan are not from the new and advanced generations but the old generations. These weapons are of a defensive type, not offensive so that there is a difference in the balance of power with Israel, which possesses advanced defensive and offensive weapons.

Participant (p4) indicated that the United States is aware of any mistake with Jordan that will reflect the cause of its reality, its political presence and America's fears after the emergence of the new Russian role from Jordan's tendency to cooperate with Russia instead of the United States.

This result is consistent with studies of Saleh (2020); Sheikha (2020); Cash (2018); Schuetze (2017); Alsarhan(2017); Sharp (2015) in terms of the result and differs in terms of the approach used in data collection.

This result is consistent with neorealist theory through alliances and common interests. The new reality of states is a fundamental interest in power and knowledge of military and economic capabilities - not as an end but as an important tool for achieving security in this cause. It attaches importance to the intentions of its peaceful neighbours or international norms (institutions that renounce violence and encourage international cooperation), but always realize that it cannot rely on the sustainability and effectiveness of such favourable conditions. Security is not the only goal of states, but it is the primary goal, as it seeks to achieve other goals related to their ability to achieve adequate levels of security.

According to the result, the study believes that the United States supports Jordan in security to develop its defence system to obtain advanced technology, defend the security of Jordan and Israel, and achieve a military presence in Jordan through military advisors and American military bases in Jordan. Therefore, any instability in Jordan would threaten the United States. And it will try to find a solution to the instability due to Jordan's association with Israel and the Gulf States allied with America on the Jordanian border.

Also, the American fear that Jordan will become a centre for terrorist organizations, and this, in turn, threatens Israel. In addition, the study believes that the American security support for Jordan is low compared to the size of the alliance and gives that the volume of spending is limited so as not to become a disparity in the balance of power between Jordan and Israel.

The participants believe that in result 2 in table 3, US foreign policy provides military support towards Jordan to fight terrorism. Participant (p3) indicated that Jordan has suffered from terrorism. The Amman Message is a great international bell to talk about extremism and terrorism and the events of the Arab Spring and the fall of the Syrian state captive to terrorism in 2011. Also, the presence of ISIS in 2014 is a danger reflected in local, regional, and international security. Hence, the United States formed the Thirty Coalition led by the United States and Jordan to combat terrorism after the September events. Jordan has a powerful intelligence apparatus that makes the United States turn its attention to Jordan to combat terrorism. Given the limited capabilities of Jordan, it cannot achieve this without the help of the United



States.

Participants (p3, p1, p6) explain US military bases in Jordan in the areas of Safawi, Azraq and Jafr. Their main mission is to combat terrorist organizations such as ISIS to maintain Jordan's stability. Jordan is also more interested in stopping extremist groups than in Western countries from removing Islam from suspicion.

Participant (p8) stated that the United States supports its allies to fight terrorism on its behalf by proxy instead of going to their regions. Participant (p2) supports that Jordan's position is in line with the United States in combating extremist Islam and America's fear of an increase in the number of Arab youth and that young people have emotional and romantic tendencies. Bypassing the stage of the Arab Spring, the United States supported Jordan in its war against terrorism.

The United States is the cause of terrorism in the Middle East due to its blockade of Iraq in 1991, the war in Afghanistan, and then the Iraq war in 2003, which made those countries vulnerable to extremist ideology as a result of poverty and unemployment in those countries. Since the nineties, Western countries have linked the idea of terrorism to Islam, and this link is rejected by King Abdullah II, to prove to the world and the United States that Jordan represents moderate Islam far from extremism, so it fights terrorism (p9, p3, p10, p7).

Participant (p9) explains that Jordan's access to US aid is linked to its war on terrorism through the Americans' recognition that Jordan is a major ally in the fight against terrorism.

These results are consistent with studies by Sheikh (2020); Cash (2018); Gutkowski (2016) in terms of the result regarding the issue of combating terrorism between Jordan and the United States, considering terrorism as a global phenomenon and differs with it in terms of the methodology used. This study used interviews, but previous studies did not use interviews but used the historical and descriptive method to collect data. It is also consistent with the theories related to the study. This result also is consistent with neo-realism theory through alliances and common interests. The new reality of states is a fundamental interest in power and knowledge of military and economic capabilities - not as an end in itself but as an important tool for achieving security in this cause. It attaches importance to the intentions of its peaceful neighbours or international norms (institutions that renounce violence and encourage international cooperation), but always realize that it cannot rely on the sustainability and effectiveness of such favourable conditions. Security is not the only goal of states, but it is the primary goal, as it seeks to achieve other goals related to their ability to achieve adequate levels of security.



As mentioned, the US is seen as a root cause for terrorism in the region. Since the 1990s, Western countries have linked the idea of terrorism to Islam. King Abdullah II rejects this link to prove to the world and the United States that Jordan represents moderate Islam far from extremism, so it is fighting terrorism.

According to result 3 in table 3, certain political events play an important role in American foreign policy in terms of military aid towards Jordan. According to the participants' responses, the September event had a positive impact by strengthening their relations in the face of terrorism. Participant (p3) indicated that Jordan has suffered from terrorism. The Amman Message is a great international bell to talk about extremism and terrorism and the events of the Arab Spring and the fall of the Syrian state captive to terrorism in 2011. Also, the presence of ISIS in 2014 is a danger reflected on local, regional, and international security. Hence, the United States formed the Thirty Coalition led by the United States and Jordan to combat terrorism after the September events. Jordan has a powerful intelligence apparatus that makes the United States turn its attention to Jordan to combat terrorism. Given the limited capabilities of Jordan, it cannot achieve this without the help of the United States.

Participant (p9) stated the impact of US foreign policy on Jordan and expressed that Jordanians began to witness something of the new security doctrine adopted by Jordan, which was previously before the signing of the Wadi Araba agreement characterized between defence and attack. Still, after the signing of the Wadi Araba agreement, some of the military power has been restructuring. Israel is no longer in the direction of this strategy. Jordan's security and military strategy is also linked to the American strategy, which is clearly and explicitly studied through support, aid, arming, and joint manoeuvres among them. This happens despite the positive state of adaptation between Jordan and America, but there is a kind of negative aspect at the intellectual, ideological and security level in Jordan. For example, the war against terrorism, the coalition against terrorism, and the establishment of US military bases in the region, consequently has internal security implications through the people's dissatisfaction with the existence of such military bases.

Participant (p7) also explains that with the signing of the Wadi Araba agreement and peace with Israel, the volume of Jordanian military spending increased, which is the opposite of what was expected from the peace agreement with Israel that Jordan would not remain threatened by Israel. The following table shows the volume of US military aid to Jordan.

**Table 5: US Military Aid to Jordan (\$ in millions)**

FY	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
M\$	35	50	35	28	28.9	30.1	120.4	151.2	251.4	251.7
FY	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	*****
M\$	151.7	251.6	951	352.3	351.6	298.6	255.3	561.4	363.5	*****
FY	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	****	*****
M\$	413.5	463	362	460	564.4	700	615	812.3	****	*****

Source: Sharp, J. M. (2016). *Jordan: Background and US relations*. Congressional Research Service. Sharp, J. M. (2009). *Jordan: Background and US relations*. Diane Publishing. Sharp, J. M. (2006). *Jordan: Background and US relations*. Diane Publishing.

It is clear from the previous table that the amount of US aid to Jordan increased during the Wadi Araba agreement and the September events because these events are consistent with US interests in the region and the protection of Israel.

These results are consistent with studies of Sheikh (2020); Cash, (2018); Yom & Samour (2017) in terms of the result and differ from it in terms of the methodology used. This study used interviews, but previous studies did not use interviews but used the historical and descriptive method and comparative study.

This result is consistent with Neorealist theory due to the gains obtained and the belief that alliances are important in the state's political stability. Also, the vital factor of the Neorealist interpretation of foreign policy focuses on the societal interests prevailing in the country. These interests are always determined according to the issue or issues facing the country.

The study believes that some political events play an important role in US foreign policy regarding military aid to Jordan. The September 11 event was positive regarding relations and the increase in US military aid to Jordan. But it poses a threat through the presence of new US military bases in Jordan, and the volume of Jordanian military spending increased after the signing of the peace treaty; thus, Jordan, with the signing of the agreement with Israel, is still greatly concerned about the Israeli threat to Jordan.

As presented in table 3 in result 4, the participants considered that US military support towards Jordan decreased slightly during The Iraqi War on Kuwait in 1990 and the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem in 2017. According to the participants' responses, most of the participants emphasized that the Iraq event was negative for Jordan, as it was previously explained,

due to not joining the allied coalition led by the United States. The embassy move was also negative for Jordan from a political point of view (P9, P12), as previous results showed that the United States links political events with the size of aid, be it economic or military. The following table shows the volume of US military aid to Jordan.

**Table 6: US Military Aid to Jordan (\$ in millions)**

FY	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
M\$	35	50	35	28	28.9	30.1	120.4	151.2	251.4	251.7
FY	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	*****
M\$	151.7	251.6	951	352.3	351.6	298.6	255.3	561.4	363.5	*****
FY	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	****	*****
M\$	413.5	463	362	460	564.4	700	615	812.3	****	*****

**Source: Sharp, J. M. (2016). Jordan: Background and US relations. Congressional Research Service. Sharp, J. M. (2009). Jordan: Background and US relations. Diane Publishing. Sharp, J. M. (2006). Jordan: Background and US relations. Diane Publishing.**

It is clear from the previous table 6 that the volume of US aid to Jordan decreased during the Iraq war due to political incompatibility because this event is not in line with US interests in the region and the protection of Israel. Trump advised Congress that the administration is seeking \$1 billion in total U.S. assistance to Jordan, which “consists with the previous 2015-2017 fiscal year memorandum of understanding amounting to \$1 billion annually.” It will also continue to request the FY18 budget to fund foreign military financing grants to Jordan, instead of converting the first microfinance grants into loans (Sharp, 2017).

This result is consistent with Neorealism as cooperation between states is linked to the strength of the state and the nature of alliances, and that economic support is linked to the nature of the state’s political position, and that cooperation is determined through negotiations and their gains from those agreements.

As depicted in table 3 in result 5, US foreign policy provides military support to Jordan for the protection of Israel. According to the participants’ responses, most agreed that part of the US interests in the Middle East and support for Jordan is linked to the protection of Israel.

Participant (p9) stated that the United States links security, political and economic issues with each other to form a pressure card on Jordan by not

interfering directly with Israel's existential and expansionist side in Palestine.

Participant (p11, p9) explained that the United States sponsored the peace agreement between Jordan and Israel to reduce the state of hostility and direct military participation between the two parties and to reach peace with the exchange of bilateral agreements. After the peace agreement, the American intervention in the Jordanian affairs became more intense after the expansion of the influence of the Zionist lobby in many of the components and borders of the Jordanian state, such as many waterways and their borders (the Yarmouk River, Lake Tiberias, and the diversion of the Jordan River). Also, the American military and economic aid to Jordan is linked to peace and security with Israel.

Participant (p1) adds that Jordan and Israel are bound by mutual agreements, such as the qualified industrial zones resulting from the peace agreement between the two parties so that the two parties maintain common interests to reduce the state of hostility.

The same participant adds that the US military support for Jordan is limited compared to the US support for Israel so that the balance of power remains in favour of Israel over Jordan. Participant (p5) clarifies that the joint cooperation between Jordan and the United States towards terrorism in the region is to combat terrorism and to prevent the infiltration of terrorists into Israel, and to keep it safe.

This study demonstrates that the United States has long cared about the security of the State of Israel because it is the only country that practices Western democracy and is biased towards strange interests in the Middle East. This is why the United States is working to stabilize this state and create conditions with Arabs and Muslims to end the Arab-Israeli conflict and establish lasting peace.

The United States considered Israel the first strategic means that it depended on in the Middle East, and Israel obtained American support because it is the only democratic country in the region and that the evangelical creed of the Americans made them stick to the support of Israel because God's chosen people must prevail in the Holy Land. In their opinion, even Christ descends, and from another angle, Israeli installations and airports gave the United States a safe starting point for its forces when conditions required military attacks to the east, and Israel is an effective military restraint that prevented the expansion of the former Soviet Union in the Middle East. Also, billions of dollars were marked annually for a country that only gained from it, getting involved in crises and undermining the American reputation and its place in the world (al-Akhdari, 2016).

This result is consistent with Sheikha's study (2020) and differs with Kinne's study (2018) in that the United States does not support Jordan for the sake of Israel, nor will it because it is a democratic state that sponsors peace in the Middle East and religious tolerance.

This result is consistent with Neorealist theory as the interdependence of countries to achieve relative gains and the use of the economic card to achieve the desired interests. The new reality of states is a fundamental interest in the authority and knowledge of military and economic capabilities is not an end in itself, but an important tool to achieve security in this issue. When discussing Israel, the United States tries to keep Jordan militarily in an excellent defensive and not offensive state to accomplish the waning of power in favour of Israel. This theory attaches the importance of on the intentions of its peaceful neighbours or international norms (institutions that renounce violence and encourage international cooperation), but always realize that it cannot rely on the sustainability and effectiveness of such favourable conditions. Security is not the only goal of states, but it is the primary goal, as it seeks to achieve other purposes related to their ability to achieve adequate levels of security.

According to the result 6 in table 3, the study believes that the United States links security, political, and economic issues to form a pressure card on Jordan by not interfering directly in the existential and expansionist side of Israel in Palestine.

US foreign policy provides military support to Jordan in order to spread American ideology and fight against its enemy. For example, the participant (9) believes that the Jordanian military strategy is linked to the American strategy and the American military thought. This is clearly and explicitly studied through joint military aid and exercises that gain the two parties the necessary skill. Despite the positive tone between them on the intellectual level, there is a kind of negativity by entering Jordan with jobs such as the war on terrorism and the establishment of US military bases. Consequently, this has internal security implications through the people's dissatisfaction with the existence of such bases. Also, all purchases are consistent with Israeli approval.

Participant (8) believes that Jordan will turn Western in everything in the strategic concept of NATO, and there will be cooperation, export and import between Jordan and the United States through the Mediterranean with Israel.

According to the neorealist theory, this result is consistent through self-help is not incompatible with cooperation. Still, states are reluctant to engage in relationships that undermine its strength or its capacity for self-help, for the

new reality of States is a fundamental interest in force the first knowledge of military and economic capabilities - not as an end in itself but as an important tool to achieve security in this case. It attaches importance to the intentions of its peaceful neighbours or international standards (Institutions that renounce violence and encourage international cooperation), but are always aware that they cannot rely on the sustainability and effectiveness of such favourable conditions. Security is not the sole goal of States, but the essential one, as it pursues other goals linked to their ability to achieve adequate levels of security. From a new realistic point of view, States cannot enjoy full security under an essentially chaotic international system of assistance. States are always struggling to maintain or enhance their security, and even in periods when friends can surround states, it does not include a warranty for them. In other words, friends can turn into rivals and even enemies. Realism, the new view, states that States should consider this possibility even under the most harmonious periods and consensus.

The study believes that the US foreign policy provides military support to Jordan in order to spread the American Western thought because of the convergence in the strategy and the Jordanian-American military thought and that over time Jordan will turn to the American Western in everything in the strategic concept of NATO, and there will be cooperation, export and import between Jordan and the United States across the Mediterranean with Israel.

## Recommendation and Limitations

Based on the results, the Jordanian state needs to increase international and regional cooperation concerning influential economic alliances at the international level, such as approaching the European Common Market like the most important economic and political grouping, and the clear and effective force in directing European policy in particular and global politics in general.

In addition, the Jordanian policy must be redrawn in line with the international reality to put pressure on the U.S. of America to have Jordan play an active role in the region and the international arena by responding to the new international structures, systems and situations.

In addition, through the embassy move, it is clear that the United States prioritises its interests in the region and its first partner, Israel. Therefore, in light of the political, economic and military progress of the neighbouring country, Israel, Jordan must rely on building itself politically, economically and militarily to defend itself and to be able to compete with the

Israeli progress.

According to the results, US security aid and equipment are provided to Jordan to the extent that it does not affect the balance of power with Israel. Therefore, the security orientation with America should be redrawn in proportion to the Jordanian-American strategic alliance and security cooperation among them through the war on terrorism and others, and not linking it to Israel.

Continuing the policy of moderation, centrism, non-extremism, and cooperation with everyone, to serve Jordan's national and national interests will bring more cooperation in view of Jordan as a stable and moderate country.

By studying the results drawn from the developments accompanying the so-called Arab Spring by reconsidering internal and external policies and re-evaluating them at intervals in proportion to the changes.

Adhering to the characteristics of flexible dynamics far from stagnation, and based on fixed foundations, namely non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, belief in the policy of dialogue to solve problems, continuous cooperation with Arab brothers and brothers in Islamic countries and friends, respect for international laws and norms, and rejection of foreign interference and the seizure of the lands of others by force.

Adherence to Jordan's first issue, which is the Palestinian issue, and that the Jordanian-American partnership does not lead to pressure on Jordan through aid and the International Monetary Fund to solve the Palestinian issue at Jordan's expense, and that Jordan becomes an alternative homeland.

The study was influenced by some limitations that other researchers should consider and improve upon in their research. One of the main shortcomings of this study is the Corona pandemic and the restrictions imposed by countries within them due to the pandemic to protect their citizens. Jordan imposed the same restrictions at home.

Since the data collection tool in this study was based on interviews, it faced difficulty in scheduling interviews and accepting the parties to conduct interviews due to their fear of the spread of the epidemic, so the interview dates were repeatedly postponed in proportion to the epidemiological situation.

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## ABSTRACT

Foreign policy is an integral part of international relations. This study examines United States (US) foreign policy towards Jordan from 1990 to 2017 since the period witnessed important regional and international political events that significantly impacted US foreign policy. These events have the greatest impact on the development of relations between the two countries in terms of political and security aspects. The study looks at four political events and their impacts on Jordanian-American relations from the political and security aspects. Therefore, the objectives of this study are to examine US foreign policy towards Jordan from the political and security aspects. This study adopted the qualitative approach. The primary data were collected from interviews while the secondary data were obtained from books, journals, theses, newspapers, seminar papers, articles, and other documents. In this study, 16 respondents from political, economic and security experts in Jordan and the US were selected for semi-structured interviews. The study employed Thematic Analysis in analysing the data obtained. This study adopted the neo-realism theory as a theoretical framework. This study found that US foreign policy recognizes Jordan as a close ally and considers its stability very important. The US foreign policy was seen as slightly negative towards Jordan during the Iraqi War on Kuwait in 1990. However, the Wadi Araba peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in 1994 had promoted positive US foreign policy towards Jordan. This policy was slightly weakened in 2017 due to the transfer of the US Embassy to Jerusalem. Certain political events had played an important role in US foreign policy regarding security aid towards Jordan. The study found that US foreign policy provides security support to Jordan to protect Israel, spread American ideology and fight against its enemy. This research also found that Jordan has a suitable location to defend Israel because the country is surrounded by important Arab countries. The US links its aids to Jordan due to political events. Accordingly, the study recommends the necessity for the Jordanian state to increase its influential economic alliances at the international level. In addition, Jordanian policy must be redrawn in line with international realities to pressure the US to make Jordan play an active role in the region and international arena. Jordan should better use its geographical location to achieve international cooperation and enhance Arab security as a barrier against Israel.

## KEYWORDS

Foreign Policy; Jordan; Security.

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