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## The United States of America's Foreign Policy towards Jordan during (George W. Bush) Administration (2001-2009) (Case Study of the Events of September 11, 2001)

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### Abstract

This paper examines the foreign policy of the United States of America towards Jordan during the administration of (George W. Bush) (2001-2009); during the administration of George W. Bush, this period witnessed an important event, which is the events of September 11, 2001. This event changed United States foreign policy features towards many countries, to be their goal in that period, are fighting terrorism and looking for partners to fight terrorism in many countries of the world. Due to the difficulty of eliminating terrorism by the United States of America alone at that stage, especially in the Middle East, Jordanian-American relations increased during that period because Jordan represents the acceptable moderate Arab model for the United States of America war against terrorism. The study is conducted as a qualitative research. The study results reveal that after September 11, 2001, United States foreign policy's features towards many countries changed to become the ultimate goal of the war on terror and to find allies to cooperate with them in their war against terrorism, especially in the Middle East region. Jordan is the moderate Arab model accepted by the United States of America in its war against terrorism. There is also an increase in security and intelligence cooperation between the two countries in combating terrorist organizations. Because the United States of America considers the war on terror and political stability in Jordan will ensure Israel's security in the region. On the economic side: After September 11, relations between the United States and Jordan increased in cooperation, agreements, and assistance between the two countries have increased in the economic aspect. Including the Free Trade Agreement, where the agreement entered into force on September 28, 2001, during President George W. Bush's administration. In 2007, trade relations between the United States and Jordan increased to an unprecedented level of seventy-eighth in overall trade volume compared to others with whom the United States trades.

**Keywords:** Foreign policy, Jordan, United States, the Events of September, Economic Aid

## **Introduction**

Following the attacks of the United States of America targeting its vital centres on September 11, 2001, the event, through its repercussions, led to the emergence of many transformations and developments in the form and content of international politics, and most of these transformations were marked by a watershed and constitutive. It has worked to establish new global rules, concepts, relationships and centres of power. It also contributed to the consolidation of American hegemony in many vital and sensitive areas in the world in general and in the Arab and Middle Eastern regions in particular (Ghalab, 2016).

The characteristics of the new American foreign policy were described by former President George W. Bush Jr.'s speech on September 20, 2001, in which he announced that every nation in the world should adopt a clear stance on terrorism, either with the terrorists or with the United States and thus the world was divided according to Seeing him into two classes has no third, either with good and therefore with the United States of America and its allies or with evil, i.e. with the terrorists, and dedicating the base of those who are not with the United States is against United States (Ghalab, 2016).

So that the events of the eleventh of September 2001 introduced the American foreign policy in a historical turning point, which reflected on its external political behaviour towards the international community in general and the Middle East region in particular, which prompted it to adopt defensive and preventive strategies and to adopt the policy of intervention in many countries under the pretext of combating Terrorism, and dealing with issues of international terrorism became one of its most important priorities. The approach to this was to spread the concepts of democracy, human rights and public freedoms, and to blacklist the names of countries that are alleged to be incubators and sponsors of terrorism by mobilizing International public opinion or direct intervention, as happened in Afghanistan 2001 and Iraq 2003 (Ghalab, 2016; Dalacoura, 2005).

This study will focus on the United States of America's foreign policy towards Jordan from 2001 to 2008. The study will focus on the political and economic aspects and the peculiarity of the Jordanian-American relationship and monitor the repercussions of this relationship and its material benefit to the Kingdom.

## **Research Methodology**

The study is conducted as qualitative research

The study combines both primary and secondary sources of data to achieve its purpose. Secondary data, which involves journals, thesis, books. Primary data involves a structured interview question of three targeted respondents using purposive random sampling.

## **Significance of the Study**

This study is expected to be significant in broad dimensions. First, it will provide some literature that contributes to the body of knowledge by looking at United States foreign policy toward Jordan. The research will also shed light on the state of the connection between the United States and Jordan from aspects (political, economic). This research is expected to be a guide to future studies in the area. Lastly, the novelty of this study is its attempt to uncover United States foreign policy toward Jordan from more aspects Dig deeper into all aspects to get the right results.

### Political Side

The events of September 11, 2001, coincided with the President of the Republican Party (George W. Bush). And the cooperation between Jordan and America continued during the administration of Barack Obama in 2009. On the morning of September 11, 2001, four commercial aircraft were destroyed by al-Qaeda terrorist elements in the World Trade Center towers in New York, the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. and rural Pennsylvania. This attack was a surprise to the United States as an attack on Pearl Harbor (Hamash, 2018).

After the events of September 11, the decision-making departments in the United States of America raised many political, security and even intellectual issues and issues, trying to explain and analyze what happened on September 11, 2001.

Immediately after these events, and to confront the threat of terrorism, the Security Council issued Resolution 1368 on September 12, 2001, which is considered the primary reference for the legitimacy of the military response that the United States was preparing for, so that the resolution stated that the Council considers terrorist operations that took place on September 11, 2001, is like any operation of international terrorism, it is a threat to international peace and security (Belarbi, 2018).

### **The Jordanian and international efforts have crystallized in the fight against terrorism since the events of September 11, 2001.**

**First:** Jordan sided with international efforts to combat terrorism led by the United States of America. In the context of combating terrorism, Jordan has taken strict measures to reduce the phenomenon of terrorism. The Jordanian government issued on 8/10/2001 a law amending the Jordanian Penal Code, according to which it imposed severe penalties for any act or action that is considered in the law to be considered terrorist activities, and the law included On the provisions that criminalize and punish persons who constitute gangs and groups with criminal or terrorist intent, the Jordanian government also in 2006 approved the Prevention of Terrorism Law No. 55, which was considered in itself a preventive law, and issued instructions to all banks operating in the Kingdom to adhere to an examination of accounts its customers and ensuring that assets are frozen upon government request in line with Security Council Resolution 1373 related to combating terrorism, and Jordanian personal cards and passports have been issued following international standards to prevent Forgery (Al-Amoush, 2017).

**Second:** Besides, the Jordanian security services share intelligence information in the fight against terrorism with many friendly countries and with INTERPOL, as part of bilateral security cooperation agreements, and the security services monitor the sale and procurement of raw materials used in the production of hazardous materials to ensure that they are not used for terrorist purposes. The Jordanian government joined the international treaties and agreements related to the topic of combating terrorism as well as the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism, the most important of which are (Roth,2004).

**Third:** Jordan cooperated with the United States of America in combating terrorism in Afghanistan. Since NATO major operations began in Afghanistan in 2001, the Jordanian government had openly acknowledged a partial humanitarian presence; Jordan has not recognized its intelligence position in Afghanistan. Jordan's long-standing has been Demonstrated by several joint CIA-GID cooperation reports but unrecognized cooperation with U.S. global counterterrorism. According to an unnamed United States source, we have a near counter-terrorism relationship with Jordanians. They are acutely conscious of

extremists' danger, having suffered significant casualties due to terrorist attacks on their own land. (Sharp, 2011).

**Fourthly:** On the other hand, in 2003, Jordan publicly opposed the American invasion of Iraq, denying United States Personnel's presence in the Kingdom. Quietly, Amman denounced the invasion, fearing that a civil war could impact Iraq, but given its financial dependence on the United States and its neutrality in the Gulf War of 1991, felt forced to cooperate with the United States' war effort. Reportedly, several thousand American special operations forces operated out of western Jordan. Initially, Iraq also stopped exporting oil to Jordan, but Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states supplied Jordan for several years.

Politically, Jordan maintained its position against Iraq's military action; however, it covertly supported the United States-led campaign against Saddam Hussein. Besides, Jordan continued providing valuable intelligence about Al-Qaeda and other insurgent groups in both Iraq and Afghanistan to the United States (Al Sarhan, 2016).

Amin Mashaqaba (Personal Interview, April 17, 2020) indicated that ... on February 7, 1999, His Majesty, King Abdullah II, exercised his legislative authority. In 2001, the international battle began under the United States of America's leadership against political Islam and Islamic movements from the occupation of Afghanistan and the Iraq war in 2003. Jordan is part of the international coalition to fight terrorism. There are Jordanian-American security, intelligence and intelligence cooperation concerning combating terrorist organizations.

In 2005 (Amman bombings) adopted by al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia and targeted three hotels in the centre of the Jordanian capital, Amman, which resulted in the death of nearly 60 people and the wounding of hundreds, but after this incident and until 2013, there were no significant terrorist incidents on the Jordanian scene due to The security services arrested dozens of those who planned operations inside Jordanian territory, thwarted many terrorist plans, and transferred people to the State Security Court (Al-Amoush, 2017).

**Fifth:** In 2006, with the help of Jordanian intelligence, Jordanian terrorist mastermind Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was killed in June 2006 by United States and Iraqi forces (Sharp, 2009).

Walid Abdel-Hayy, an academic at Yarmouk University (Personal Interview, 26 / April / 2020), confirms that...After the events of September, the trend of extremist political Islam increased, which led to the turmoil of the entire region. The turmoil began to be reflected in Jordan through the presence of Mujahideen fighting in Afghanistan and entering into political organizations. The events did not have a direct impact on Jordan. Still, they were indirectly impacted by extremist religious movements' growth, which prompted Jordan to further cooperate with the United States of America in combating terrorism.

Accordingly, America has an important role in advancing political reform in Jordan. Through economic and military assistance to Jordan, demands are made to accelerate political reform, as Jordan's importance does not stem from the political system's democratisation as much as it relies on it as a strategic ally in the region. Also, for the United States of America, the war on terrorism and ensuring Israel's security are among Jordan's political stability goals. (Dunne & Reform, 2006).

### **Economic Side**

After the events of September 11, relations between the United States and Jordan increased. In the fight against terrorism after it has become a global phenomenon, and cooperation, agreements and assistance between the two countries have increased in the economic aspect. After the signing of the Free Trade Agreement on October 24, 2000, between

President Bill Clinton and King Abdullah II, where the agreement entered into force on September 28, 2001, during the administration of President George W. Bush (Ruebner, 2001). In 2007, trade relations between the United States and Jordan increased to an unprecedented level of seventy-eighth in overall trade volume compared to others with whom the United States trades. According to the United States Census Bureau, Jordan's imports from the United States grew from \$339 million to \$1,191.8 billion between 2001 and 2009, and Jordan's exports to the United States increased even more from \$229.2 million to \$924.1 million over the same time. (Al Sarhan, 2016). After the events of September 11, the United States economic aid increased to Jordan, the following table shows that:

**Table 1. Annual U.S. Aid to Jordan (\$ in millions)**

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

\*Sharp, J. M. (2009). Jordan: Background and US relations. Diane Publishing.

The previous table shows the volume of economic assistance to Jordan during the administration of George Bush Jr. It was as follows: In the fiscal year 2001, Jordan received \$ 151.7 million. In the fiscal year 2002, it received \$ 251.6 million. In addition to \$ 951 million in the fiscal year 2003. 2004 amounted to \$ 352.3 million. Economic aid in the fiscal year 2005 amounted to \$ 351.6 million. In 2006, it amounted to \$ 298.6 million. In 2007, it amounted to \$ 255.3 million. In 2008, Jordan received about \$ 561.4 million. Jordan received in the following year 2009 increase by \$ 363.5 million.

US support to Jordan to offset logistical expenditures to support United States military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Bush administration's recognition of Jordan's role in fighting terrorism and restoring Iraq is expressed in the increase in United States funding. It may also be a recognition of Jordan's vulnerabilities in a region that has become more complex due to Iraqi turmoil and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Jordan receives economic aid from the United States in the form of cash transfers and USAID services. Jordanian USAID initiatives are focused on a range of fields, including democracy support, water conservation, and education. Funding for the capacity construction project for the parliament's support offices, the Jordanian Judicial Council, Judicial Institute, and the Ministry of Justice is supported by the United States. The International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute are both sponsored by the United States to prepare, among other groups, Jordanian political parties. Since Jordan is one of the world's most water-scarce countries, most United States economic support is focused on improving the management of scarce water supplies. In Jordan's Amman, Aqaba, and Irbid cities, USAID is financing a range of waste treatment and water-sharing program. Jordan can receive other forms of implicit economic assistance from the US government regularly. For example, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation signed a \$250 million loan agreement with three Jordanian banks in July 2008 to expand long-term mortgage lending to low-income Jordanians. These loans were made in support of the king's proposal to construct 100,000 houses in Jordan over the next five years to benefit the country's cash-strapped people (Sharp, 2015).

The previous table shows: The volume of United States economic aid to Jordan from 2001 to 2009 totaled \$ 2,588,951 billion.

Taher Al-Masry, Jordanian Prime Minister in 1991 (Personal Interview, 26/01/2020), explains that... The United States of America provides several types of economic aid first: Community support provides programs to improve the status of women and democracy to another.

Second: Direct support and this type It is paid for the treasury, and this American aid has become necessary for Jordan, and any defect in this aid work for the treasury problem, but at the same time, this economic concept will not solve the problems that the Jordanian economy suffers due to the presence of a distorted structure and the presence of d high unemployment rate in addition to the high education rate and the going rate The bay is very high. Consequently, Jordan must rely on the West for its handling of the economy. The United States of America supported Jordan economically, but the face of things is somewhat restricted to society, but not economical.

### **Findings and Conclusion**

This article provides a historical perspective of United States foreign policy toward Jordan during the George W. Bush administration. It contains an analysis of how the important political and economic problems of that period affected relations between the United States and Jordan. Meanwhile, the September events led to an increase in Jordanian-American relations to confront terrorism in the world.

The study results reveal that After the events of September 11, 2001, United States foreign policy's features towards many countries changed to become the ultimate goal of the war on terror and to find allies to cooperate with them in their war against terrorism, especially in the Middle East region. Jordan is the moderate Arab model accepted by the United States of America in its war against terrorism. There is also an increase in security and intelligence cooperation between the two countries in combating terrorist organizations. Because the United States of America considers the war on terror and political stability in Jordan will ensure Israel's security in the region. On the economic side: After September 11, relations between the USA and Jordan increased in cooperation, agreements, and assistance between the two countries have increased in the economic aspect. Including the Free Trade Agreement, where the agreement entered into force on September 28, 2001, during President George W. Bush's administration. In 2007, trade relations between the United States and Jordan increased to an unprecedented level of seventy-eighth in overall trade volume compared to others with whom the United States trades. According to the United States Census Bureau, Jordan's imports from the United States grew from \$339 million to \$1,191.8 billion between 2001 and 2009, and Jordan's exports to the US increased even more from \$229.2 million to \$924.1 million over the same time. The volume of United States economic aid to Jordan from 2001 to 2009 totalled \$ 2,588,951 billion.

Theoretically, according to the important theories in foreign policy (neo-realism and neoliberalism), the relations between the United States and Jordan that are expressed in terms of economic, 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 achieve the maximization of power and enhanced its security. Jordan's geographical position in the Middle East made it very important to the United States' interest. For instance, the border that exists between Jordan and Israel made Jordan is crucial for the protection of American interest in Israel. Also, as an ally of the United States in the region, Jordan is sharing the border with Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the West Bank, placed the US in a position of power, security, and hegemony dominance.

It is expected that this study will be important in providing some of the literature that contributes to the structure of knowledge by looking at the foreign policy of the United States

towards Jordan. In addition to the relationship between the United States and Jordan (political, economic). This research is expected to be a guide for future studies in the region.

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