

AMERICAN JORDAN AIDS

1977-1998

¹Bushra Sukkar Khayoon, ²Haithem Abdlkhdher Maarch

ABSTRACT:

The review is a survey of American and Jordan aids. The review required in examination of Jordan and US two-sided exchange streams, and monetary streams. The review is a quantitative analysis. Administrations were not in the area analysis in light of the fact that the volume of U.S Jordan exchange administrations is too little to be in any way reflected. The review analysis the U.S and Jordan imports and exports connection between the nations. The analysis focus on the effect of levy evacuation and does not unequivocally represent the end or diminishment of nontariff hindrances, changes in different arrangements, or changes in help strategies between the U.S and Jordan.

Keywords: *American, bilateral trade flows, Economic relations, Jordan, quantitative analysis.*

INTRODUCTION:

The Jordanian Economy

Jordan is a ruled by monarch and covers around 89,213 square kilometers. It is found west of Iraq, north of Saudi Arabia, south of Syria, and east of Israel. As a little, creating nation, Jordan has a significant number of the financial issues related with creating economies, including high obligation, a little fare base, and a little assembling division. Besides, the nation confronts a large group of local issues, for example, exiles and territorial flimsiness that have unfavorably influenced its economy. Jordan had an expected per capital pay (GNP) of \$1,520 in 1998, and encountered a negative for every capita normal yearly development rate of - 2.7 in 1977 and - 1.8 in 1998.4 By correlation, the normal yearly development rate for per capita salary was 0.3 percent in

¹ University of Baghdad, College of Education\Ibn Rushd for Human Sciences

² University of Thi-Qar, College of Education for Humanities, Department of History

¹Bushraedu1971@yahoo.com, ²n.h94641133@gmail.com

the vicinity of 1988 and 1998, and 3.4 percent between 1977 to 1987. Jordan's obligation to-salary proportion was more than 120 percent in 1998.

Jordan has a local work drive of roughly 1.15 million, contrasted with the United States work compel of 137.7 million in 1998. Jordan has couple of common assets and encounters repeating dry spell which hampers the advancement of its horticultural segment. Administrations were the biggest supporter of total national output (GDP) in 1998, representing around 71 percent of the aggregate. Industry contributed 25.7 percent of GDP. Farming contributed just 3 percent, basically because of the nation's parched atmosphere. As to streams, Jordan has verifiably experienced stock exchange deficiencies with its exchange accomplices. In spite of the fact that the legislature has been reliant on import levies to create incomes, government approaches since the late 1980s have reflected development towards exchange progression.

Jordan has set up a few free zones and effectively consulted for passage into the World Trade Organization (WTO), successful April 11, 2000. The Jordanian economy has endured a few outer stuns all through its 80-year history from local clashes, unsteadiness, and a convergence of displaced people. A large portion of the present populace of Jordan are of Palestinian drop, with 33% formally enrolled as exiles, out of an expected aggregate populace in 1999 of just 4.6 million. The 1990-91 Iraqi intrusion of Kuwait and resulting monetary endorses on Iraq have effectsly affected the Jordanian economy by intruding on exchange streams with Iraq, which was verifiably Jordan's significant exchange accomplice. There was another inflow of outcasts after the 1990-91 intrusion and a repatriation of Jordanians working in some other Arab states, bringing about lost significant remote cash settlements.

The Jordanian government has depended on settlements from Jordanians working abroad and remote guide to maintain the economy. Jordan had routinely gotten remote guide since its introduction to the world as a state in 1921, including real commitments from the United Kingdom, Arab states, and the United States. Outside guide has been basically the aftereffect of political, instead of monetary contemplations, in light of Jordan's vital area. For instance, money related guide from Arab states was guaranteed to Jordan as support for Jordan's part in the Arab-Israeli wars. Jordan's political position amid the Iraqi intrusion of Kuwait distanced the nation from some of its advocates, decreasing money related inflows from Arab states instantly taking after the Persian Gulf conflict.

Lately, the United States has turned into a major money related benefactor to Jordan. Jordan got a U.S. help bundle of \$375 million in 1999, (\$95 million was military help). Jordan is booked to get \$475 million from the United States in 2000. The 1999-2000 guide is a piece of the Wye assention bundle, an exceptional program

consulted by the U.S. President after the December 1998 interval bargain amongst Israel and the Palestinians. Global nourishment help has mitigated a portion of the monetary weight on the Jordanian economy produced by local clashes, displaced people, and dry season.

Jordan has been a consistent beneficiary of nourishment help under the United Nations World Food Program, and also from individual nation donors. In the vicinity of 1970 and 1996, Jordan got nourishment help from 19 nations, and also the European Community.⁹ Food help incorporated an extensive variety of items, for example, bulgur, wheat and wheat flour, rice, beans (the consumable seeds of leguminous plants), oats, vegetable oils, sugar, dry organic product, skim milk, other dairy items, meat and meat items, angle items, mixed sustenances, and different sustenances. In 1999, Jordan got 109,000 tons of nourishment help, of which 8,000 tons was given under the World Food Program, and the rest of gotten from individual donors.

Jordan-US Relations Overview

Since the foundation of political relations over six decades back, Jordan and the United States have appreciated solid relations in light of shared objectives and common regard. The relationship has persevered through the complexities and volatilities of the Middle East and has exhibited that the two nations can depend on each other as partners and accomplices.

Jordan has delighted in a cozy association with U.S. Presidents since the Eisenhower organization. HM the late King Hussein and HM King Abdullah II have been immovable in fortifying this bond, which proceeds with today with President Trump and his organization. Individuals from both the House and Senate have much of the time went to Jordan as a demonstration of the significance of the connection between the two countries. His Majesty King Abdullah II is among the couple of outside pioneers that have tended to a joint session of Congress. Jordan and the U.S. have cooperated on Jordan's top remote arrangement need, the Middle East peace handle, and other regular outside approach objectives. Jordan will keep working with the Obama organization to re-dispatch the peace procedure amongst Israel and the Palestinians with the U.S. proceeding to assume the main part.

Taking after the September 11 psychological terrorist attacks, Jordan remained with the U.S. in its push to battle the basic risk of fear mongering and radical belief system. The two sides have cooperated and with the worldwide group to free the universe of the scourge of fear based oppression and end the risk postured to the national security of both nations. With the emergency in Syria proceeding to raise, the contention has turned into a major wellspring of gore and provincial shakiness. Jordan acknowledges the coordination and the help from the

U.S. in managing the repercussions of this contention; generally remarkably the flood of more than 440,000 Syrians into Jordan. Jordan keeps on working with the U.S. on restricting the impacts of the contention on the district. Jordan has gotten more than \$13 billion in help since the foundation of political relations between the two nations. This has helped Jordan manufacture its organizations, build up its framework and be a wellspring of control and strength in the Middle East. USAID and different projects, for example, the Millennium Challenge Account have conveyed noteworthy commitments to financial improvements in Jordan.

In 2000, Jordan consented to a facilitated commerce arrangement with the U.S. which, in the wake of being authorized in 2001, supported exchange to exceptional levels. In 2011 reciprocal exchange surpassed \$2 billion which means that the achievement of the FTA in inciting two-sided exchange. Jordan is focused on progressing changes that will progress political life in Jordan and convey success to the nation. Jordan, which held its first races taking after major established and authoritative changes, is proceeding in the move towards parliamentary vote based system. Jordan acknowledges the contribution of the U.S. government in such manner and its help with achieving such objectives.

U.S. Foreign Assistance to Jordan

The United States has given financial and military aid to Jordan since 1951 and 1957, individually. Add up to U.S. help to Jordan through FY2015 added up to roughly \$15.833 billion.

Three-Year MOU on U.S. Foreign Aid to Jordan

On February 3, 2015, the Obama Administration and the Jordanian government marked a nonbinding, three-year update of comprehension (MOU), in which the United States promises to furnish the kingdom with \$1 billion every year altogether U.S. outside help, subject to the endorsement of Congress, from FY2015 through FY2017. The new MOU took after a past five-year understanding in which the United States had swore to give a sum of \$660 million every year from FY2009 through FY2014.

Amid those five years, Congress really furnished Jordan with \$4.753 billion in all out guide, or \$1.453 billion (\$290.6 million every year) above what was consented to in the five-year MOU, including more than \$1 billion in FY2014. As indicated by the Department of State.

"The United States and Jordan share a guarantee to advancing local security and stabilitys, encouraging Jordan's financial improvement, and propelling social, political, and monetary change in Jordan. The United States perceives Jordan's expanded prompt needs coming about because of provincial agitation, the endeavors Jordan is embraced at the front line of the battle against ISIL and other radical belief system and fear mongering, the

deluge of evacuees from Syria and Iraq, the interruption of outside vitality supplies, and other exceptional strains."

Table 1: U.S. Foreign Assistance to Jordan, FY2012-FY2016 Request\$ in millions

Account	FY2012	FY2013 (after sequestration)	FY2014	FY2015 Est.	FY2016 Request
ESF	360.0	347.961	360.0	700.0	360.0
ESF – OCO	100.0	216.443	340.0	—	277.350
FMF	300.0	284.829	300.0	300.0	300.0
FMF - OCO	—	—	—	—	50.0
IMET	3.7	3.608	3.58	3.8	3.8
1206/2282 (DoD)	—	—	—	28.2	—
CTPF (DoD)			76.93		
Total	763.7	852.841	1,003.58	1,108.93	991.15

Economic Assistance

The United States gives economic aid to Jordan both as a money exchange and for USAID programs in Jordan. The Jordanian government utilizes money exchanges to administration its outside obligation. Roughly 40% to 60% of Jordan's ESF distribution may go toward the money exchange. USAID programs in Jordan concentrate on an assortment of divisions including majority rule government help, water conservation, and instruction (especially constructing and redesigning state funded schools). In the popular government segment, U.S. help has upheld limit building programs for the parliament's bolster workplaces, the Jordanian Judicial Council, the Judicial Institute, and the Ministry of Justice. The International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute likewise have gotten U.S. stipends to prepare, among different gatherings, some Jordanian political gatherings and individuals from parliament. In the water part, the main part of U.S. financial help is committed to upgrading the administration of rare water assets, as Jordan is a standout amongst the most water-denied nations on the planet. USAID is at present sponsoring a few waste treatment and water dissemination extends in the Jordanian urban communities of Amman, Mafraq, Aqaba, and Irbid.

Millennium Challenge Account (MCA)

In FY2006, Jordan was recorded by the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) as a Threshold nation in the lower center level of pay. On September 12, 2006, the MCC's top managerial staff affirmed up to \$25 million in Threshold Program help for Jordan. In September 2010, the Millennium Challenge Corporation affirmed a five-year, \$275.1 million minimal with Jordan to build the supply of water accessible to family units and organizations in the urban areas of Amman and Zarqa. The minimized likewise is proposed to help enhance the productivity of water conveyance, wastewater accumulation, and wastewater treatment. On the off chance that evaluations remain constant, the perfect drinking water produced subsequently of the MCC minimal might be sufficient to supply very nearly 1 million Jordanian residents with freshwater.

Jordan and the United States never gone into arrangement responsibilities, however Washington's approach was to guarantee Jordan's proceeded with freedom and dependability. In this way, the United States helped Jordan in preparing and preparing its military powers. Amid the common war of 1970-71, the United States immovably upheld Hussein, despite the fact that it didn't turn out to be straightforwardly required in the contention. After Jordan's armed force had crushed the PLO guerrillas, Washington augmented significant budgetary and military aid to the Hashimite Kingdom. This aid contributed essentially toward Jordanian recuperation from the harms endured in the common war as well as in the June 1967 War and amid the concentrated Israeli shelling of the Jordan valley in the vicinity of 1968 and 1970. Hussein's nearby arrangement with the United States prior and then afterward the common war typically stirred solid hostile to American supposition among Palestinians in Jordan and somewhere else.

The October 1973 War, in which Jordan was not an immediate member, brought Jordan and the United States substantially nearer in the peace procedure that started after the contention. Jordan joined with the United States in support of UN Security Council Resolution 338. This determination approached the gatherings required in the October 1973 War to stop their threats and to actualize UN Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967 accommodating a peace in view of Israeli withdrawal from possessed domains. Hussein planned to acquire American sponsorship for an arrival of the West Bank to Jordanian control. His desires were floated by Washington's accomplishment in arranging separation and restricted withdrawal of powers understandings amongst Egypt and Israel and Syria and Israel.

The disappointment of the United States amid 1974 to influence Israel to pull back its powers from some portion of the West Bank as an underlying stride toward a peace concurrence with Jordan frustrated Hussein concerning the capacity of the Americans to weight Israel on the issue of withdrawal from the possessed Palestinian domains. In spite of the fact that he kept on valueing Washington's reaffirmations of support for Jordan's security and economic advance, Hussein turned out to be progressively wary of American affirmations that the West Bank would be brought together with the East Bank. Thusly, he avoided support in the Camp David prepare, which he was persuaded would be utilized by Israel to sustain its control of the West Bank. After Egyptian and Israeli transactions on the self-sufficiency arrange had slowed down, Hussein attempted to revive United States enthusiasm for a global meeting to manage domain for the Palestinians.

All through the 1980s, the United States kept on relegating Jordan a key part in a determination of the status of the West Bank. Hussein accepted, notwithstanding, that Washington did not see how fundamental it was for the security of his administration to recapture full control over the majority of the West Bank and how politically risky it would be for him to consent to any fractional measures. For instance, Hussein did not openly censure President Reagan's September 1982 proposition for Middle East peace: however since this arrangement limited self-assurance for Palestinians on the West Bank to a "self-governing specialist" in relationship with Jordan, he respected American desire of his support as impossible. Hussein acknowledged that political advancements since 1974 made it difficult to disregard the PLO in any peace arrangements. Hence, one of his strategy points versus the United States moved toward becoming to persuade Washington to bargain - at any rate informally - with the PLO. From the finish of 1982 until the finish of 1988, Hussein filled in as a delegate between the United States and the PLO, endeavoring to get both sides to make the sort of political concessions that were fundamental before an exchange could be started.

Amid the mid 1980s, Hussein genuinely considered extending Jordan's military relations with the United States. He gave speculative endorsement for the formation of an unpublicized 8,000-in number Jordanian strike compel that would react to demands for help from Arab nations inside a 2,400-kilometer range of Jordan. The expected focus of this exceptional drive was to be the Persian Gulf, where the conventional partners of both Jordan and the United States dreaded the possibly destabilizing results of the Iran-Iraq War. The United States consented to give the extraordinary Jordanian unit with weapons and other military hardware. In an obvious push

to acquire endorsement of the United States Congress for the additional financing expected to arm the strike drive, in mid 1984 the Reagan organization revealed its arrangement. This startling divulgence brought on dismay in Amman, and news of the Jordanian strike drive incited unforgiving feedback from Syria and from Palestinian guerrilla bunches restricted to Hussein. So as to limit negative repercussions, Hussein attempted to separate his nation from the strike drive by depicting it as a United States activity in which Jordan had no genuine intrigue or substantive association. Congress did not affirm the asked for assets, and the arrangement was in this manner relinquished.

Hussein's failure with American approach expanded when Congress later declined to approve pitching weapons to Jordan and voted to lessen the measure of aid the organization asked for as discipline for its discernment that Amman had neglected to participate with Israel. Hussein disliked these measures since he trusted he had applied incredible endeavors in convincing Palestinian and other Arab pioneers to embrace more direct and adaptable positions and had himself consented to a few private gatherings with Peres. In 1989 Jordan's relations with the United States stayed neighborly and agreeable in economic and military matters however were blurred by Hussein's absence of trust in Washington's arrangement toward Israel and the possessed domains.

America's Relationship with Jordan:

While international news outlets are tying themselves up in tangles following an end of the week spent analyzing the Trump administration's brief migration limitations, official Washington is postured to welcome a remote dignitary and visitor. Despite the fact that there is no official meeting planned between the White House and Jordan's King Abdullah II when he visits Washington this week, administrators and government authorities would be astute to utilize the chance to fortify the reciprocal relationship and format the general terms of the Trump administration's vision for area. Keeping that in mind, the King will meet with senior administration authorities and legislators from both sides of the political passageway. On Thursday, he will convey comments at the National Prayer Breakfast, which President Trump is likewise booked to go to. It isn't difficult to envision a situation where the two may quickly meet, and assuming this is the case, he will be the primary Arab pioneer to meet with Mr. Trump as president.

While in Washington, the King will need to gage how included the U.S. plans to be in Middle East undertakings and comprehend the way of that association. He will likewise be occupied with securing an American

responsibility for further economic help with the substance of the provincial tempest that is struck his kingdom as of late. Jordan has additionally filled in as a basic base for U.S. air operations against ISIS (or the Islamic State) in Syria. The U.S. will probably need to see that part proceed as they examine various issues whereupon the interests of the two are adjusted.

Redefining America's Role in the Middle East

Two related inquiries will be vital in regards to the new Trump administration's approach: The first is will U.S. strategy keep on promoting an ascendant Russian-Iranian, Shi'a and not Sunni, local engineering that the Obama administration tried to bond? The second is will America work with, against, or self-rulingly from Russia in the mission to thrashing ISIS in Syria and Iraq? Ruler Abdullah II lands in Washington for what the Jordanian international safe haven has called "a working visit", on the heels of a week ago's gatherings with British Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson and Russian President Vladimir Putin. What he got notification from them will be integrated with what he hears on Capitol Hill and somewhere else in Washington.

Russian President Vladimir Putin, right, shakes hands with Jordan's King Abdullah II amid their meeting in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia on January 25, 2017. In the back is Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov. How the U.S. continues with its association with Russia has numerous ramifications. The current nonattendance of American authority in Middle East gave an alluring field to Putin to utilize his military and political muscles. Following a 40-year rest as powerbroker, Russia is presently punching far over its weight in the heart of the Middle East. Putin needs the world to realize that he is facilitating the main amusement around the local area where an answer for the Syrian emergency can be found. One result of America's nonappearance and consequent substitution by Russian military self-assuredness is the outcast emergency that has overpowered Syria's neighbors, as well as Europe also. It has additionally given an additional driving force to President Trump's current official request on briefly controlling migration to the U.S. from seven Muslim majority nations, including certain Middle Eastern states—in which Jordan is excluded.

On the off chance that the Trump administration tries to undermine Russia's interests in Syria, which many would contend is in America and the Syrian individuals' best advantage, Jordan should know. That presidential level choice would influence the level of outside approach outsourcing America's customary partners participate in amid their nonappearance. That answer could likewise serve to dissipate the thought among a few Jordanians

who trust Russia is "the linchpin to any provincial settlement" and who require a further recalibration of Jordan's Syria strategy towards the Russian position—far from what the Trump administration may have as a main priority.

The Refugee Issue and Jordan's Economy

The Hashemite Kingdom has been teetering under the heaviness of Syrian displaced people for a considerable length of time. While the United Nations says that Jordan has somewhere in the range of 650,000 enrolled exiles, the genuine number is significantly more like 1.4 million, speaking to near 15 percent of Jordan's aggregate populace or 46 percent of non-Jordanians living in the Kingdom. As Jordan expert, David Schenker clarifies, given the impacts of local tumult on the Jordanian economy, the unemployment rate achieved 15 percent with youth unemployment hitting 40 percent in 2016. Most by far of Syrian displaced people have settled in Jordan's urban communities and towns, leasing homes and taking an interest in the neighborhood economy. Talented Syrian tradesmen have tended to bring a superior cost than nearby experts, additionally adding to a pale Jordanian workforce interest rate that stands at a negligible 36 percent, as per the World Bank. That implies almost 60 percent of the working age populace is idle.

While the displaced person issue is just a single part of the numerous issues confronting the Jordanian economy, the territorial distress has positively exacerbated it. Given Jordan's little size and frail economy, it has for quite some time been dependent on international help. Perceiving the uncommonness of genius Western Middle East partners, Washington gave \$1.6 billion in economic help with 2016, incorporating about \$800 million in military aid. The expansion originated from the U.S. State Department in 2015, which accommodated an extra \$1 billion every year for each financial year in 2015, 2016, and 2017.

As indicated by the State Department, the expansion was to meet their prompt needs originating from the territorial agitation and the endeavors Jordan is embraced "at the cutting edge of the battle against [ISIS] and other fanatic philosophy and fear based oppression, the flood of outcasts from Syria and Iraq, the interruption of outside vitality supplies, and other uncommon strains."

The State Department's announcement included that the extra financing was "intended to address Jordan's fleeting, remarkable requirements, including those identified with local unsteadiness and rising vitality costs."

The expansion is set to end on September 30, yet the arrival on venture has guaranteed the survival of the Kingdom that is dubiously sandwiched between Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Israel.

Promoting Jordanian-Israeli Cooperation

The Trump administration ought to effectively energize encourage Jordanian-Israeli collaboration on a large group of undertakings that additionally advantage the United States. The two Middle East neighbors have discreetly kept up personal security and economic relations since marking their 1994 peace bargain, weathering numerous political and conciliatory tempests en route. In an indication of developing military collaboration, in 2015 there were various reports proposing an anonymous Arab nation (other than Egypt) partaken in "Warning" preparing practices with U.S. what's more, Israeli pilots. U.S. authorities recommended that Jordanian warplanes partaken in these drills as well as that their planes even refueled from an Israeli tanker over the Atlantic Ocean.

The U.S. ought to likewise advance further collaboration on the water issue, for example, the 2013 and 2015 multi-billion dollar provincial water assention between Jordan, Israel, and the Palestinian Authority that could clear the way for the Red-Dead Canal. The 2016 Omnibus Appropriations Act determines that \$100 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF) be put aside for water division bolster for Jordan, planned to bolster the Red Sea Dead Sea water extend.

Another side effect of the local tumult has been Jordan's have to buy petroleum gas on the open market since 2011 in view of rehashed psychological militant assaults against Egyptian gas pipelines in the Sinai Peninsula. In 2016, Jordan's state-run control organization made a \$10 billion gaseous petrol import manage a consortium of U.S. Honorable Energy and Israeli Delek Drilling and different organizations. The arrangement will supply Jordan with 1.6 trillion cubic feet of petroleum gas, meeting an expected 40 percent of the Kingdom's power needs. Israel's seaward Leviathan field is set to give shipments to Jordan beginning in 2019 through a pipeline as of now under development, sparing the Jordanian government \$600 million every year and staying away from sharp climbs in vitality costs to an as of now destitute populace.

Relocating the U.S. Embassy in Israel

The U.S. would do well to talk about another economic bundle for Jordan with regards to some different issues important to the Trump administration, for example, moving the U.S. government office from Tel

Aviv to West Jerusalem, and its general arrangement to either restart Palestinian-Israeli changeless status transactions or successfully deal with the contention. Both themes will be of unique enthusiasm to the King.

Jordan has since a long time ago kept up unique binds to the Muslim blessed locales in the Old City of Jerusalem. Since Israel came into control of East Jerusalem in 1967 and the one square kilometer of what is known as the Old City or Holy City, a Jordanian Waqf or Islamic custodial trust has directed the Temple Mount and its heavenly locales by concurrence with Israel. Guaranteeing their ancestry from the Prophet Muhammad gives the premise to the Hashemite's authenticity as Jordan's imperial family and rulers. Issues that include an adjustment in the Old City's status make residential issues for King Abdullah II. In that capacity, moving the U.S. consulate is not an issue to spring upon Jordan at last, without setting the famous table up ahead of time.

To be sure, a Jordanian government representative, Mohammad Momani, as of late cautioned of "calamitous" repercussions if the Trump administration finishes on its vow to move the consulate. He said such a move would be a "red line" for Jordan and "kindle the Islamic and Arab roads" in a way that would "certainly influence the two-sided relationship" amongst Jordan and the United States and would additionally constitute a "blessing to radicals" over the locale. Such is the power of feeling encompassing Jerusalem that his remarks preceded the Trump administration divulged any operable arrangement to migrate the international safe haven, or clarify where and why they would do as such.

President Trump will require King Abdullah's support, if not quiet submission, for the move to calmly occur. As the Trump administration considers such a move, it ought to worry to the King that any site for another government office building would be in West Jerusalem ashore Israel has held since its 1948 autonomy and before the June 1967 war. That is to make clear that it would be ashore not guaranteed by either Jordan or the Palestinians and that such a move would not prejudge or change America's view that a definitive status of East Jerusalem is to be characterized through direct Palestinian-Israeli transactions that will consider certain Jordanian values on the matter. Such a think and precisely arranged exercise in American statecraft would go far toward relieving an ascent from the Arab road contrary to such a move.

CONCLUSION:

The review finishes up Jordanian legislative issues and current issues in U.S.- Jordanian relations. It gives a concise discourse of Jordan's administration and economy and of its participation with U.S. approaches in the

Middle East. Despite the fact that the United States and Jordan have never been connected by a formal settlement, they have coordinated on various territorial and international issues throughout the years. Jordan's little size and absence of major economic assets have made it reliant on aid from Western and different Arab sources. U.S. bolster, specifically, has helped Jordan address genuine vulnerabilities, both interior and outside.

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