المجلة الأردنية في القانون والعلوم السياسية

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Geopolitical Rational of Jordan's Partnership with NATO: A Jordanian Perspective

Dr. Hasan Mohammad AlMomani *

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Abstrac

This study is an attempt to analyze different variables and aspects of Jordan's relationship with NATO particularly the geopolitical rational behind this partnership. The study argues that both parties have been motivated by their geopolitical interests to establish a working partnership since 1995.

The major bulk of this study is a discussion to motives of the parties to establish such cooperative partnership and the scopes of their mutual cooperation since 1995. Moreover, this paper has adopted three levels analyses approach that would analyze primary and secondary literature on this subject matter so to develop a comprehension of Jordan's partnership with NATO.

This study concludes that Jordan and NATO have been keen to establish a joint partnership on the bases of their mutual interests particularly security and political ones. Moreover, both parties have been engaging in an expanded security, military and political cooperation that is serving their aims and objectives.

Keywords: Jordan, NATO, Partnership, Mediterranean Dialogue,

*كلية الأمير حسين للدراسات الدولية، الجامعة الأردنية.

حقوق النشر محفوظة لجامعة مؤتة، الكرك، الأردن.

المنطق الجيوسياسي للشراكة الأردنية مع حلف الأطلسي: منظور أردني

د. حسن محمد المومني

ملخص

تحاول هذه الدراسة تحليل المتغيرات والنواحي المختلفة لعلاقة الأردن مع حلف الأطلسي وبخاصة المنطق الجيوسياسي خلف هذه العلاقة. وقد قامت الدراسة على فرضية أن كلا الطرفين يمتلك دوافع عالية تتعلق بمصالحها الجيوسياسية من أجل إقامة شراكة فعالة ومفيدة منذ عام 1995. ان معظم هذه الدراسة تتمحور حول دراسة وتحليل دوافع الأطراف المعنية من أجل تأسيس هذه الشراكة التعاونية إضافة إلى مناقشة مجالات تعاونهم المشترك.

لقد استخدمت هذه الدراسة منهج مستويات التحليل الثلاثة وذلك من أجل تحليل الأدبيات الرئيسية والثانوية المتعلقة بهذا الموضوع حتى يتم تطوير فهم للشراكة الأردنية مع حلف الأطلسي. ولقد توصلت هذه الدراسة لعدة نتائج أهمها أن الأطراف حريصة على تطوير شراكة قائمة على أساس المصالح المشتركة بالذات الأمنية والسياسية منها. كما أن كلا الطرفين مشتبكان بتعاون أمني وسياسي متسع يخدم مصالحهم وأهدافهم المشتركة.

الكلمات الدالة: الأردن، حلف الأطلسي، شراكة، حوار متوسطي،

1. Introduction

Middle East and North Africa has been of great importance to the global security as well as to the Western security. This is because of its geographical proximity mainly to Europe. However, the geopolitical developments and transitions that took place late 1980s and early 1990s like the collapse of the communist block and the initiation of the larger Arab-Israeli peace process in 1991; have made this region even more important to Europe. These developments had created opportunities to promote peace and development in MENA region as the 1990s witnessed a great progress in the larger Arab-Israeli peace process. The West mainly U.S. and Europe have invested much in supporting these peace efforts and took a number of initiatives to consolidate what had been achieved in terms of peace. Therefore and as part of these western efforts and NATO new strategic perception in terms of expanding its global agenda and cooperation with other non-NATO countries, the Atlantic Alliance initiated the Mediterranean Dialogue in 1994. Henceforth, the global alliance has forged and developed working political as well as security cooperation with countries in the MENA region.

Problem and Questions of the Study.

A mid of the ongoing global trend of change where competition is escalating between rising and established powers particularly Sino-American rivalry, and the continued instability in the Middle East, the 24th anniversary of Jordan's partnership with the NATO has arrived. In 1995 Jordan had joined the Mediterranean Dialogue initiative and since then, both Jordan and NATO have developed impressive and firm commitment towards mutual cooperation and friendly relationships based on their interests and shared values. Moreover, both parties have conducted several activities including training programs and joint military operations in different parts of the world as part of the Mediterranean Dialogue. This tremendous and beneficial partnership between a relatively small state like Jordan and a global defense structure like NATO, has generated many questions chief among them is Why Jordan has joined the MD in the first place? What made NATO to accept partnership with Jordan? And what are the levels of their mutual cooperation?

1.2. Hypothesis.

This paper argues that Jordan's geopolitical rational as a small state including its vulnerability has heavily influenced Jordan's decision to join MD partnership with NATO, and the latter acceptance of this relation can be attributed to the important role that Jordan has been playing in the international politics of the Middle East particularly in terms of security and peace.

Moreover, this study argues that both parties have developed and expanded different scopes of military and civil cooperation.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

To answer these questions as well as verifying the abovementioned arguments, this study aims at studying and analyzing different aspects of Jordan's partnership with NATO with emphasis on their geopolitical rational as well as their geostrategic interests.

1.4. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

To develop an understanding to the rational of the Jordanian partnership with NATO in terms of actors, issues and interests, a convenient analytical framework should be designed and employed. It is widely acknowledged that, studying the international politics of the Middle East is complex as many scholars consider the regional state system to be fragile, highly penetrated and unconsolidated(1). Moreover, there is a high degree of overlapping between state and political regime in the region where in many countries the continuation of the regime is the primary concern to the ruling elites. This places limitations on the ability of the international relations theories to explain decision making processes, particularly in the relevant Arab countries. Moreover, the research of states´ foreign policy has been dominated by studies of great and superpowers which was caused, above all, by the long-term predominance of realism paradigm in International Relations and its strong belief that only these powerful actors matter because they shape the international system. This resulted in the perception of small states as passive, weak vulnerable, and responsive to the constrains and pressure of external threats to their national security(2) . Therefore, it makes them more attentive to the characteristics of the regional and international context. This small state geopolitical rational in which the outer environment is the most detrimental factor that influence its decision-making process and national interests particularly security and survivability.

To overcome such a theoretical dilemma, and regardless of the abovementioned limitations, this study will use an analytical framework derived from realist-rationalist thinking focusing on the relations between small state interests, security and power struggles, as well as the regional and international system.

(1) F. Halliday, (2005), The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology, UK, Cambridge University Press, . 21-22.

(2) Ponizilova, Martina, (2013), The Regional Policy and Power Capabilities of Jordan As A Small State, Central European Journal of International and Security Studies, 2013.,1-2)

Therefore, the convenient approach that could explain Jordan's partnership with NATO as a foreign policy issue is the three levels approach. It is widely acknowledged that researchers use this approach as a framework for discussing independent variables that explains state policy behaviour and its regional and international outcomes(1) . This level suggest that state foreign policy actions can be analysed at the level of leadership, the nation-state-(socio-economic) and the regional international system including the regional context in which the state operates(2).

The individual level focuses on the human nature particularly on individual political leaders and their belief, personalities and psychological processes. Moreover, the nation-state level includes the structure of the political system, the nature of the decision making process, social, and economic, and the role of public opinion and interests groups(3). Furthermore, the international level includes the anarchic structure of the regional as well as the global system, the distribution of military and economic power among world powers, patterns of military alliances and international trade and other factors that forms the external context in which the state operates.

As for Jordan and speaking of the individual level, the King enjoys a centrality in the political system of the state and the decision making process particularly in terms of foreign policy formations and executions. Moreover, at the nation-state level, although the King role is significant in the Jordanian decision-making process, the socio-economic factors including those social and political groups and public opinion also plays an important role in influencing the foreign policy making and execution. Furthermore, it is widely acknowledged that, the international system level including regional context in which Amman operates is the factor that heavily influences Jordan's foreign policy most.

1.5. Literature Review.

The Jordanian partnership with NATO has attracted the attention of a few scholars and policy makers who have focused on this subject matter. Scheffer, Jaap de Hoop claimed that "Jordan has a key strategic position in the region to further the objectives of regional security, stability and peace, and that has been demonstrated in terms of the Middle East Peace Process. Another example of

(1) Levy, Jack S. (2003) Theories of Interstate and Intrastate War: A Levels-of-Analysis Aroach, in Crocker, Chester A., Hampson, Fen Osler and Aall, Pamella, eds, Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict (Washington D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press), p4.

(2) Ibid, 2003, 4-5.

(3) Ibid, 2003, p5.

the crucial role of Jordan is offered by its contribution to the training of Iraqi security forces, enabling the Iraqis to provide for their own security". He further claimed "Jordan has a key strategic position in the region to further the objectives of regional security, stability and peace, and that has been demonstrated in terms of the Middle East Peace Process. Another example of the crucial role of Jordan is offered by its contribution to the training of Iraqi security forces, enabling the Iraqis to provide for their own security" (12).

Rolf Schwarz argued that "With Jordan, one of NATO's most active Mediterranean Dialogue partner, NATO has already concluded two such projects. The second Trust Fund, which was concluded in 2013, contributed to the security and safety of the civilian population, educated local communities in the provinces of Ajloun, Jerash and Zarqa which had been affected by mines and explosive remnants of war"(3).

Curtis Ryan claimed that "The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan represents a key partner and reliable ally for NATO, playing vital roles on NATO's Southern flank, as a moderate force in a tumultuous region. But the kingdom also remains aid-dependent, resource-poor, and subject to crises from within and without. Yet, despite its longstanding partnership with NATO and with Western countries in general, the kingdom is too often neglected and under-valued."(Ryan,Curtis).

1.6. Importance of the Study.

The importance of this study stems from the fact that it is one of the few studies on this subject matter that would provide an additional literature for those researches who are interested in the relations between NATO and Middle Eastern countries especially Jordan. Most of the studies have treated MD partnership in general and little attention has been given to Jordan's partnership with NATO at the individual level. Therefore, this study is an attempt to produce an additional literature that can help in filling the gap in the literature that is linked to this field of investigation.

1.7. Structure of the Study

(2)Scheffer, Jaap de Hoop, NATO Secretary General's Interview to Jordanian Newspaper Al Rai (2004).https://www.nato.int/med-dial/articles/english/2005/0502_en_jordan_alrai.pdf

(3)Schwarz, Rolf, (2013) NATO and the Middle East After the Arab Spring ,2/2013 Transatlanticke Listy, Centre for Security Studies. http://www.cenaa.org/data/cms/tal-2-2013-uprava-final1.pdf

This study is structured under five main sections; introduction, NATO and MD initiative, motives of the parties, scopes of mutual cooperation and conclusion.

2. NATO and the Mediterranean Dialogue Initiative in 1994

Geopolitical changes that took place in late 80s and early 90s of the last century particularly the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the former Soviet Union made NATO to rethink its strategic concept as well as its global role as a defense pact that was established in 1949(1). Since 1991 NATO has developed different strategic concepts in response to regional and international developments that transformed the alliance from being a Trans-Atlantic pact into a global one(2).. The successive strategic concepts have emphasized and envisaged dialogue and cooperation with non-NATO countries in different regions.

To the south of Europe, from the eastern Atlantic Ocean to the Middle East, is a region experiencing increasing instability from demographic pressures, increased commodity prices, interstate and intrastate conflict, piracy, tribal politics, competition over water and other natural resources, religious tension, revolutionary tendencies, terrorism, and nuclear proliferation(3). This region also has some of the world's most vital shipping lanes, energy resources, and trade choke points. Obviously, instability in this region can directly impact its immediate neighborhood mainly Europe Union stability and security interests. One of the consequences of the EU expansion is the advancement of the Middle East and Mediterranean region to constitute the southern borders of the EU. Thus, the strategic importance of these regions to the EU has increased. During the early 1990s, the EU, NATO, and The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) respectively initiated and subsequently enhanced the Mediterranean Dialogue processes (mainly Barcelona Process in 1994) as integral parts of their cooperative approaches to security(4) .

These processes are based on the recognition that security in Europe is closely linked with security and stability in the broader Mediterranean region as it belongs to the most important oil regions of the world. Industrial nations like

(1)Aybet, Gulnur,(2012) The Four Stages of NATO's Partnership Framework: Rethinking Regional Partnerships with the Middle East and North Africa, in ,p100)

(2) Ibid, 2012,100-102.

(3)Razoux, Pierre, The NATO Mediterranean Dialogue at a crossroads, Research Paper,No 35-April 2008, https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/55304/rp_35_eng.pdf, 5-7)

(4)Smith, Martin A and Davis, Ian, NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue in the wake of the Arab Sprin:partnership for peace succor for despots?, *NATO Watch, Briefing Paper* No.19.https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/37056883/briefing-paper-no19-natos-mediterranean-dialogue-nato-watch

Japan import ninety percent of their oil from this region. Egypt is the most relevant producer of gas which it also exports to Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Huge oil and gas fields that are exploited by international enterprises are located in Libya. Some 65 percent of the oil and gas consumed in Western Europe pass through the Mediterranean(1). In particular, Southern Mediterranean states are of geostrategic significance to Europe – with special reference to security, environment, natural resources and migration. A prosperous, democratic, stable and secure region, with an open perspective towards Europe, is in the best interests of the EU and Europe as a whole(2) . MENA region has been suffering from, terrorism, economic disparities, demographic imbalances, the potential for social and political instability, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The region also a home to many old conflicts; Arab-Israeli conflict particularly Israeli-Palestinian conflict, conflict over Cyprus and Western Sahara problems.

Therefore, since the 1990s of the last century, NATO has developed over many years close political relationships and security cooperation with countries in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The Alliance has developed two distinct partnership frameworks to establish friendly and mutually beneficial relations with countries from the region.

The Mediterranean Dialogue initiative that was launched in 1994 which is the basis of NATO's relations with its Mediterranean partners that include Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia(3). These talks are normally done on a bilateral basis ("NATO+1") and on occasion this forum meets as "NATO+7. However, the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative was launched in 2004, which is currently forms the basis of NATO relations with the Gulf States(4)

All six countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council were invited to join; only Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have become participants so far while Saudi Arabia and Oman have showed little interest in joining. However the initiative is open for others beyond the Gulf region. NATO has made it clear that as an Alliance expressed its readiness, to support ongoing transition and restructuring in the Middle East in the areas of defense institution building, defense modernization, building integrity and best

(1) Schwarz, Rolf, 2013, 2-7.
(2) Ibid, 2013,2-5.
(3) Kaim, Markus (2017), Reforming NATO's Partnership, SWP Research Paper, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, .January 2017, Berline-Germany. https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/research_papers/2017RP01_kim.pdf, p5)
(4) Aybet, Gulnur, 2012, p101.

practices in defense budgeting and the civilian control of armed forces(1).NATO has tools available that address security aspects and offer at the same time wider economic benefits, thereby addressing the key drivers of insecurity.

3. Understanding Motives behind Jordan's Partnership with NATO.

It is important to investigate Amman's vulnerabilities and its potentials as this analysis would help to develop a comprehension of what made a small state like Jordan to forge a partnership with a global alliance like NATO.

Jordan is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system. The constitution, which was adopted in 1951, provides a central role for the King in the activities of the state(2). Moreover; he is the head of the executive, legislative and the judiciary branches as well as the supreme commander of the security forces including the armed forces. Furthermore, he is not accountable in that he enjoyed supremacy over the law. The decision-making process has been dominated by the King often in conjunction with a number of key advisers. On issues related to foreign policy, the King, the Prime Minister, Chief of the Royal Court as well as leaders of the security forces are the decision making circle(3) In addition to that, the King has certain advisers and confidants within and outside government whose closeness to him give them the opportunity to participate and influence the decision-making process.

Simultaneously, the constitution guaranteed a considerable degree of democratic participation for the public. This is in the form of the parliament whose members are directly elected by the people and reflected largely religious, tribal, or regional interests(4) .

Jordan is situated at the heart of the Middle East with a land mass of 89,342 km2 and surrounded by larger, more populous and economically stronger states involved in mutual political and ideological conflicts(5) . This rough context placed Amman into a position of buffer state between rivals that always generated serious challenges to its national interests particularly its existence. However, despite these challenges, many consider Jordan

(1) De Hoop Scheffer, Jaap de Hoop, 2004.
(2) Uriel Dann, (1994) "The Hashemite Monarchy 1948-88: The Constant and the Changing-An Integration," in Nevo and Pae, eds., Jordan In the Middle East: The Making of a Pivotal State 1948-1988, London: Routledge Publications, 15-18
(3) Laurie A. Brand (1994), Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations: The Political Economy of Alliance Making (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994)., p. 65.
(4) Rayan R, Curtis, (2010), Jordan, In Angrist, Michele Penner, ed, Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers)., p110)
(5) Fisher, W.B "Jordan: Physical and Social Geography", The Middle East and North Africa, 1996, Forth-Second Edition, London: Europe, 1995.

geographical location as an element of strength that provided Jordan with a strategic and comparative advantage(1) .

The lack of economic resources has been one of the elements that has greatly affected Jordan's foreign policy making and implementation(2) . Unlike some of its neighbouring countries, Jordan is a small country with limited natural resources. In terms of mineral resources; it is a relatively poor country except in phosphates and potash. As for agriculture, Jordan is a semi-desert country which depends mainly on rainfall as the source of irrigation. This situation has caused fluctuations in its economy, which became highly vulnerable to developments in the external environment. Therefore, Amman has relied heavily on external financial aid for its survival.

The generosity of the aid providers mainly the Gulf countries, USA and the European Union, was due to Jordan's strategic location which gave her high value in their eyes.[22] As a result of this strategic importance, Amman managed over the years, to extract various kinds of aid from these concerned countries. However, Jordan's traditional reliance on foreign aid to meet her economic needs made Amman highly susceptible to external pressure and has limited its objectives. It has had to follow certain policies towards its conventional economic backers to ensure the continuous flow of such aid. In early 1990s of the last century, the World Bank estimated Jordan's gross domestic product per capita at U.S. $4,220(3). Jordan's economy was in its worst-ever condition, heavily burdened with an estimated $6 billion of foreign debt. It had lost her traditional Arab and western financial backers such as Gulf States, Saudi Arabia and United States. This was because of Jordan position towards Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1991 which was perceived as a pro-Iraqi. Therefore, Jordan's economic weakness played a vital role in influencing its foreign policy and decision making process. However, speaking of current state of Amman's economy, the World Bank has estimated its GDP with 42.4 US$ billion and GDP per capita is 4278(4). Moreover, Jordan's real GDP has registered a growth

(1) Ryan, Curtis, What Jordan Means for NATO (and vice versa), Istituto Per Gli Studi Di Politica Internazionale. https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/what-jordan-means-nato-and-vice-versa-20934.

(2) Schwarz, Rolf (2012), War and State Building in The Middle East (Miami: University of Florida Press, 67-72

(3) Fisher, W.B, 1996, 589-590.

(4)World Bank, Jordan Economic Outlook-April 2018. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/559531523636706267/pdf/125254-MEM-April2018-Jordan-EN.pdf

of 2 percent in 2018, marginally lower than growth in 2017 and constrained by structural impediments and rough regional context(1).

In the early 1990s Jordan's population was 4,212,200 and currently it is estimated by 9.9 million where the majority of them are under the age 30 years(2). This suggests that Jordanian society is a youthful one which many perceive this as a strong element in Amman's national power. Moreover, despite its strained economy, Jordan has one of the most effective and advanced educational system in the region. Furthermore, Jordanians are well educated and highly trained as education is considered to be a core value in their culture. In addition to that, Jordan has one of the highest literacy rates in the world (about 98.01%) and it is ranked 80 out of 188 in the Human Development Index published by the UNDP in 2018(3).

On the military side, although Jordan's army is a relatively small one, it is known to be as one of the most professional armies in the region(4) . Moreover, the Jordanian armed forces are estimated at 101,300(5). However, Jordan's lack of economic resources denied Amman the financial ability to arm itself with modern weapons systems. In 1990 Jordan's military expenditure was estimated at 280 million Jordanian Dinar (U.S. $522 million) which formed 11.0 % of her gross domestic product (GDP) (6). However, between 1995 to 2017 Jordan's military expenditures had fluctuated between 4.5% and 6.6% of its GDP and in 2018 it was 4.7% of its GDP which amount to 1958 US$ million(7). Jordan's foreign policy is therefore overshadowed by the above-mentioned military inferiority. Amman had to follow a moderate line towards her neighbours based on appeasement and accommodation and on occasion it had to depend on a regional ally.

Within the Middle East regional system, Jordan enjoys considerable status that exceeds its size as his position was gained mainly due to its geographical proximity to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the role it played in this and Amman's

(1) Ibid, 2018.
(2) Ibid, 2018.
(3) Human Development Indices and Indicators (2018), Statistical Update Human Development Index published by the UNDP in 2018./hdr.undp.org/sites/default/.
(4) Schwarz, Rolf, 2012, 60-61.
(5) SIPRI Year Book (2019), Military expenditure by country, in constant (2017) US$m.,1988-2018. https://www.sipri.org/databases/milex
(6) Saadet, Deger, "World Military Expenditure," *World Armaments and Disarmament, SIPRI Yearbook 1991* (Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1991.
(7) SIPRI Year Book, 2019.

moderate policies(1). Moreover, the Arab countries have also considered Jordan as a major actor within their system and that Inter-Arab rivalry enhanced Jordan's position in which it adhered to the conservative camp against the radical states, mainly during the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s(2). However, since mid-90's of the last century Jordan's regional position has been consolidated and enhanced due to its active role in the larger Arab-Peace process that was initiated early 1990'. Jordan had concluded a peace treaty with Israel in October 1994. Actually, Amman's engagement in this process had ended its isolation and led to the restoration of its cordial relations with most of the Arab countries particularly with Egypt, Gulf countries including Saudi Arabia. The latter has been a key aid provider to Jordan that provides Amman with economic aid and political support along with other Gulf countries(3) .

Since its inception as a political entity in 1921, Jordan has been traditionally perceived as a pro-western country(4). It established stable relations with Britain, mainly in terms of military and economic aid. However, since the 1950s, Jordan developed cordial relations with the U.S. who replaced Britain as its main economic and military international backer(5) . Amman is considered to be a key U.S. ally in the region as both countries have cooperated on a number of regional and international issues motivated by their common and mutual interests. American interest in Jordan has been due to the latter's strategic importance and the role Amman has been playing in the Arab-Israeli peace process mainly its peace with Israel since 1994. Jordan is also a long term ally to the U.S. in fighting global terrorism, joint military training, intelligence sharing, and diplomatic cooperation. Moreover, since 1946 Washington has provided Jordan with a $20,432,800 as an economic and military aid(6).

Jordan also has maintained good relations with most of the Muslim and Third World countries, as Amman has been an active member of the UN,

(1)Gabriel Ben-Dor, (1994) "Jordan and Inter-Arab Relations: An Overview," in Nevo and Pae, eds., Jordan in the Middle East: The Making of a Pivotal State 1948-1988(London: Routledge Publications ,189-200.

(2) Lukacs, Yehuda (1999), Jordan, Israel and the Peace Process (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, p12.

(3) Neil Patrick, Saudi Arabia and Jordan: Friends in Adversity, Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States, The London School of Economics and Political Science- July 2013, Number 31./eprints.lse.ac.uk/55661/1/__lse.ac.uk_storage_LIBRARY_Secondary_libfile_shared_repository.

(4) Rayan, R, Curtis, 2010, 318-319.

(5) Ibid, 2010,318-319.

(6) Jordan: Back Ground and U.S. Relations, April 9,2019, Congressional Research Services Report. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33546.pdf.

Organization of the Islamic Conference and many regional and international agencies. In addition to that, Amman has forged a close and strategic partnership with many European countries and the European Union. Amman is a key partner for EU at the bilateral, regional and international level since the EU considers Jordan as a key player in promoting, peace, stability, moderation and inter-faith tolerance in the Middle East(1). Moreover, both parties have a strong partnership in many areas and have been linked through an association agreement since 2002 and "Advanced Status" in 2010. Furthermore, EU is one of the largest financial aid provider to Jordan as it is estimated that EU financial allocation to Amman for period 2014-2020 would be between 587and 693 million Euros(2).

Amman also has developed cordial relations with other regional and global powers including Turkey, Canada, Russia, China, Japan, Pakistan and India in addition to many countries in Africa and Latin America. This U.S., EU and Gulf support, in particular, has helped Jordan deal with serious vulnerabilities, both internal and external. Theref ore and despite its limited resources and vulnerability, Jordan is known to have achieved regional and international status that exceeded its resources which boosted its role.

The preceding analysis suggests that Jordan's geopolitics is a liability as much as an asset. Moreover, it also illustrates common efforts of a small state to play an active role in the regional and international politics despite its power limitations. Furthermore, the analysis indicates also that despite its material capabilities deficiency, Amman has been trying to compensated these weaknesses through expanding its soft power elements like geographical proximity to many conflicts particularly the larger Arab-Israeli conflict, the moderate policies, the reputation and skills of its leadership and its diplomatic experience that have been accumulated throughout the years and the relative domestic coherence. In addition to that Jordan has been keen to join international and regional strictures as this would enable Amman to compensate its weaknesses and achieve some objectives particularly security interests. Therefore, the motives of Amman's partnership with NATO through the MD can be understood within the abovementioned analysis.

Apart from their mutual values, the geopolitical rational of their interests and Jordan's vulnerabilities and potentials have dictated such relationship. Therefore, institutional and cooperative relations with NATO would enhance Jordan's security, particularly the enhancement of its military forces as well

(1) Jordan and the EU:EU Relations with Jordan, European External Action Services (EEAS), 12 May,2016. https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/jordan_en/1357/Jordan%20and%20the%20EU

(2) Ibid, 2016 .

security apparatus capabilities. NATO is the largest global military alliance (28 member states) with massive military, scientific, financial and training capabilities. Therefore, this partnership would be an enticing opportunity for the Jordanian Armed forces to consolidate and alleviate its training abilities up to NATO standards through joint training programs, gaining combat and warfare experience and transferring of military and war knowledge. Although Amman enjoys cordial and strategic relations with most of the NATO members at the bilateral level, a partnership with this alliance would help in boosting these bilateral relations, provide Jordan with further political support and enhance its regional and international status. Moreover, the MD initiative has provided Jordan with a platfourm where its decision makers as well as politicians can engage and participate in high level meetings and exchange of mutual visits. In addition to that, Jordan probably believed that the dialogue formulates a good opportunity to reinforce security and stability in the Middle East and North Africa region. Moreover, although the alliance is not an economic entity, its assitance and military aid would help, to a certain extent Amman to meet its economic challenges.

In regards to NATO motives, the atlantic alliance has recognized the fact that, Jordan enjoys an important strategic geographical position in the region which is of great importance to the alliance interests' [(1)].Furthermore, Jordan developed a reputation of being a rational, moderate actor and a credible partner that believes firmly in peace. Amman has been contributing to world peace and security as it is considered to be one of the largest contributors to the UN peacekeeping operations since the 1990s. Moreover, Although Jordan is a small state with limited resources, over years it has established a highly professional security apparatus that have been playing an active role in helping many countries in the region to build effective security forces. Since 1960s of the last century, the Jordanian armed forces, intelligence services and police services have been cooperating with their counter parts in the region mainly with the armies of the Gulf countries. Jordanian military and intelligence expertise have had contributed in the establishment of many these armies. NATO's goal is to establish stable links with non-members that have substantial military capabilities and are willing to deploy them within the alliance operations. Moreover, NATO is keen to preserve and harness for the future deployments any experience already made in the area of what is known as interoperability[(2)]. Therefore, Jordan is a country with many comparative advantages in terms of security and military expertise that NATO can work with to promote military-to

(1) Scheffer, Jaap de Hoop, 2004.

(2) Kaim, Markus, 2017,13.

military cooperation, peace keeping missions and operations, and intelligence sharing particularly when it comes to the stability of the MEANA region.

4. Scopes of Mutual Cooperation.

Since 1995 Jordan and NATO have forged a close and fruitful cooperation at the political, military and civil level. At the political level Jordan have developed and maintained cordial relations with members of the alliance particularly with U.S. and UK. The MD has provided Amman with an additional global platform where Jordanians can deliberate and exchange views with NATO official over regional and global issues related to their common interests. Jordanian official and their NATO counter parts have exchanged visits and participated in all the political meetings and conferences particularly activities related to the MD. Moreover, Jordanian officials specially King Abdullah II has attended and participated actively in most of NATO summits like Istanbul in 2004, Lisbon 2010, Chicago in 2012, Wales in 2014 and other subsequent meetings. Furthermore, both parties have jointly conducted a number of workshops and political conferences related to public diplomacy in particular like the one that was conducted in Amman in June2012 and the other one that was also conducted in Amman in 2014(1).

Military to Military cooperation, both parties have agreed over number principles that would govern their mutual cooperation. Chief among them were: to cooperate in crises management and lay down plans to deal with emergencies, borders security, counter terrorism and to cooperate in the prevention of weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, Jordan and NATO have agreed to conduct consultations related to defense sector reforms, inviting Jordan in to participate in some of NATO military drills, to conduct training courses in Jordan and to allow NATO official to visit Jordanian Armed forces formations(2) . Since 1990s Jordan has participated actively along with NATO in many peace keeping operations in different parts of the world such as in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Libya to the point where Jordan has developed the reputation of being one of NATO's most active Mediterranean Dialogue partner). Since 1995, Jordan has participated actively in all MD Interoperability and Capacity Building Programs. These programs and initiatives were: Operational capabilities, concept evaluation and feedback, planning and review process, partnership interoperability initiative, defense and related security capacity building and trust funds.

(1) Jordan Times Newspaper, Dec 09,2014, NATO holds Dialogue seminar in Jordan. http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/nato-holds-dialogue-seminar-jordan.

(2) Schwarz, Rolf, 2013.

NATO and Jordan have also concluded many cooperative projects like the second Trust Fund, which was concluded in 2013, contributed to the security and safety of the civilian population, educated local communities in the provinces of Ajloun, Jerash and Zarqa which had been affected by mines and explosive remnants of war. Through publications and educational material, the Alliance reached some 100,000 individuals(1). Moreover, NATO transmitted technical expertise to the Jordan Armed Forces and politically assisted Jordan in its obligations under the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, and the celebration of the "Jordan Free of Mines" Event in April 2012 is an illustration to this cooperation. Moreover, the III Trust Fund was a capacity building project to develop service women in Jordanian Armed Forces. The project was initiated in 2014 to support JAF through 3 initiatives over 3 years in order to attain a 3% female officers representation and provide women with wider carrier opportunities(2).Furthermore, NATO and the Jordanian Armed Forces inaugurated the newly established Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) in Amman on 19 July 2017(3)). The CERT was set up as part of a NATO Science for Peace and Security (SPS) project to enhance Jordanian cyber defense capabilities. However, Jordan's cooperation with NATO has not been restricted to military-political areas but it has extended to many civic projects like Transboundary Water Governance and Climate Change in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan which was approved in 2011 and lasted three and half years(4).

Another area where Jordan and NATO have worked together actively is the peacekeeping operations in many crises and conflicts in different regions. In 1996 Jordan had participated along with NATO in the peace keeping mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the signing of Dayton agreement that put an end to the conflict there(5). Moreover, in 1999 Amman also actively participated in NATO mission in KOSOVO as this force was established in accordance with the UN Security Council resolution no 1244 to stabilize and bring peace to this war torn region(6). Furthermore, Jordan along with other countries participated in NATO mission in Afghanistan after the 11 of September atrocities were

(1) Ibid, 2013.

(2)Factsheet, Jordan III, NATO PfP Trust Fund, November 2018. https://www.nspa.nato.int/PDF/Log/ntfp/20181120%20Factsheet%20Jordan%20III_en.pdf.

(3) SpaceWatch.Globa, 2017.

(4)Tayle ,El-Hasan(2015),Transboundary Water Governance and Climate Change in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Science for Peace and Security Programme. https://www.academia.edu/22418925/Jordan_NATO_Final_Report_Nov2015

(5) Smith and Davis, 2011.

(6) Ibid, 2011.

committed when US and its allies invaded Kabul in 2001 as part of war on terror campaign. The mission known as the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) were established under the UN Security Council resolution no 1386. ISAF key task was to protect the Afghani capital and the surrounding areas from Talban and other terrorist groups attacks and to prepare the ground for the establishment of Afghani transitional administration(1) .

Another major operation that Jordan had participated along with NATO and other countries was in 2011 when the international community intervened in Libya to protect civilians. This intervention was in response to the UN Security Council resolution no 1973 which was issued in March 2011(2). Although NATO was not officially part of the international collation that was established in 2014 after the emergence of ISIS (Daesh), Jordan has been actively participating in this alliance along with so many international and regional powers.

Another area were Jordan has been partnering with NATO is the conducting of joint military drills like Anatolian-Eagle which was started in 2004 and Eager Lion that was initiated in 2011(3). All these military drills have involved many NATO member states as well as countries who have been in partnership with the transatlantic alliance.

The aforementioned discussion of the multi-dimensional cooperation between Jordan and NATO, suggest that both parties have been engaging in an extensive mutual cooperation over issues of common concerns. This mutual cooperation was intensified after 1999 and developed over time and reflected a strong desire from both parties to further enhance their collaborative activities in order to achieve their mutual geostrategic interests. Moreover, extensive training programs, joint military drills, peace keeping operations and mutual political coordination are considered to be of additional value to Jordan's security services and enabled the latter to enhance their combat and credibility as a reliable partner. Moreover, working with a credible and reliable regional partner like Jordan, has enabled NATO to advance its interests in the MEANA region and beyond. In addition to that, the abovementioned diverse cooperation has fulfilled much of both parties' motives that made them to forge a close partnership.

(1) Kaim, Markus, 2017,11.

(2)Daalder, Ivo H and Stavridis, James G, NATO's Victory in Libya: The Right Way to Run an Intervention, Foreign Affairs, March/April 2012 Issue

(3)Sahar,Haluk, Anatolian Eagle Air Warfare Training: A Valuable Turkish Contribution to NATO, the United States, and the World, The Washington Institute, Policywatch1019,26 July, 2005. https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/anatolian-eagle-air-warfare-training-a-valuable-turkish-contribution-to-nat.

5. **Conclusion**.

This study has attempted to investigate and analyze different variables, dynamics and aspects of Jordan's partnership with NATO since 1995 particularly their geopolitical rational. To achieve this end, the study has adopted a three levels analyses approach to support the examination of primary and secondary literature on this subject matter in order to understand the different variables and dynamics of this partnership.

This study concludes that Amman's geopolitical rational as a small state including its vulnerability has impacted its decision to forge a fruitful partnership with NATO since 1995, and the latter acceptance of this relation can be attributed to the important role that Jordan has been playing in the international politics of the Middle East particularly in terms of security and peace.

The preceding analysis suggests that Jordan's geopolitics is a liability as much as an asset. Moreover, it also illustrates common efforts of a small state to play an active role in the regional and international politics despite limited resources. Furthermore, the analysis indicates also that despite its material capabilities deficiency, Amman has been trying to compensate these weaknesses through expanding its soft power elements like geographical proximity to many conflicts particularly the Arab-Israeli conflict, the moderate policies, the reputation and skills of its leadership and its diplomatic experience and the relative domestic coherence. In addition to that Jordan has been keen to join international and regional strictures as this would enable Amman to compensate its weaknesses and achieve some objectives particularly security interests. Therefore, the motives of Amman's partnership with NATO through the MD can be understood within the abovementioned analysis.

This study concludes also that apart from their mutual values, the geopolitical rational of their interests and Jordan's vulnerabilities and potentials have dictated such relationship. Institutional and cooperative relations with NATO would enhance Jordan's security, particularly the enhancement of its military forces as well security apparatus capabilities. Therefore, this partnership has been an enticing opportunity for the Jordanian Armed forces to consolidate and alleviate its training abilities up to NATO standards through joint training programs, gaining combat and warfare experience and transferring of military and war knowledge. Although Amman enjoys cordial and strategic relations with most of the NATO members at the bilateral level, this a partnership with this alliance has helped in boosting these bilateral relations, provided Jordan with further political support and enhanced its regional and international status. Moreover, the MD initiative has provided Jordan with a platfourm where its decision makers as well as politicians have engaged and

participated in high level meetings and exchange of mutual visits. Moreover, although the alliance is not an economic entity, its assitance and military aid has helped, to a certain extent Amman to meet its economic challenges.

In regards to NATO motives, this study has concluded that the atlantic alliance has recognized the fact that, Jordan enjoys an important strategic geographical position in the region which is of great importance to the alliance interests. Moreover, Jordan has developed a reputation of being a rational, moderate actor and a credible partner that believes firmly in peace. Furthermore, although Jordan is a small state with limited resources, over years it has established a highly professional security apparatus that have been playing an active role in helping many countries in the region to build effective security forces. This has resonated with NATO's goal to establish stable links with non-members that have substantial military capabilities and are willing to deploy them within the alliance operations. Moreover, NATO is keen to preserve and harness for the future deployments any experience already made in the area of what is known as interoperability (1) Therefore, Jordan has proved that it is a country with many comparative advantages in terms of security and military expertise that NATO can work with to promote military-to military cooperation, peace keeping missions and operations, and intelligence sharing particularly when it comes to the stability of the MEANA region.

This study also concludes that the aforementioned discussion of the multi-dimensional cooperation between Jordan and NATO, suggest that both have been engaging in an extensive mutual cooperation over issues of common concerns. This mutual cooperation was intensified after 1999 and gradually expanded that reflected a strong desire from both parties to further enhance their collaborative activities in order to achieve their mutual geostrategic interests. Moreover, extensive training programs, joint military drills, peace keeping operations and mutual political coordination are considered to be of additional value to Jordan's security services and enabled the latter to enhance their combat and credibility as a reliable partner. Furthermore, working with a credible and reliable regional partner like Jordan, has enabled NATO to advance its interests in the MEANA region and beyond. In addition to that, the abovementioned diverse cooperation has fulfilled much of both parties' motives that made them to forge a close partnership.

(1) Kaim, Markus, 2017, p13.

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