

**The Soft Power of the United States Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East 2011-2021 a case study  
(Jordan & Egypt)**

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**Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to identify the soft power of US foreign policy toward the Middle East region through a study of the cases of Jordan and Egypt, as well as to analyze the tools used by the US to enhance its ability to preserve its vital interests in the Middle East. The study took an analytical-descriptive approach in gathering information about soft power, such as the foundations, components, and strategies employed by the United States of America in the Middle East region. The case study approach will focus on the soft power of US foreign policy in Jordan and Egypt as two special cases, and will then discuss, describe, and analyze the policy's goals and strategies. The researcher will also use a comparative approach to demonstrate the differences in soft power used in Jordan and Egypt, as well as the impact and outcomes of each on the two Middle Eastern countries. The study revealed numerous findings, the most notable of which was that the United States followed a policy of loans, aid, and grants, allowing it to impose its conditions on the country receiving the aid. The geopolitical burdens of both the Jordanian and Egyptian states were the primary factors in the two countries' orientation toward this aid and acceptance of the United States' cultural, technical, and other programs. The Jordanian and Egyptian economies' weaknesses, limitations, and heavy reliance on the service sector, as well as their limited domestic product and high rates of poverty and unemployment, drove the response to soft power tools such as financial aid, economic, technical, and cultural programs, and scientific exchange, implying that the two countries are closely linked with the United States and international and regional coordination.

**Keywords:** soft power, American foreign policy, the Middle East, Jordan, Egypt.

## **Introduction**

The use of military force had tragic repercussions for humanity, as it was an indispensable element and pillar for achieving political goals, represented by control and achieving a balance of power. This prompted human thought to seek out options and alternatives that would distance them from ruin and destruction while achieving similar results to what military force could achieve, albeit with different methods and equipment. In light of this, by the end of the 1970s, geostrategic thinking began to emphasize the suitability of means to ends in search of more rational and acceptable means and tools, by employing another type and form of power, called "soft power," which the major countries sought to follow, led by the United States of America, which used methods and techniques that would take over the joints of decision-making in some countries of the world to become affiliated. It should be noted that the Middle East is one of the most significant regions where vital and indispensable American interests are concentrated. In this regard, the United States has attempted to use military force, but this has resulted in many casualties, and its experience in the Iraq war has been painful and expensive on all levels.

This is what Robert Gates, the former secretary of defense of the United States, told Congress in 2007 when he discussed the need to strengthen soft power. President Donald Trump has also stated unequivocally that the United States will no longer fight proxy wars on behalf of other nations, citing the enormous losses that could result from the use of military force. And because Jordan and Egypt are among the most important countries in the Middle East and share the front lines with Israel, the United States' most important strategic ally, it has sought, through its soft policy, to preserve Israel's security and stability and prevent it from coming into direct conflict with its neighbors.

In light of the foregoing, the purpose of this study was to shed light on one of the most significant issues by focusing on the principle and concept of using soft power in American foreign policy as an option

and alternative to (hard) military power in the Middle East and by examining the cases of Jordan and Egypt.

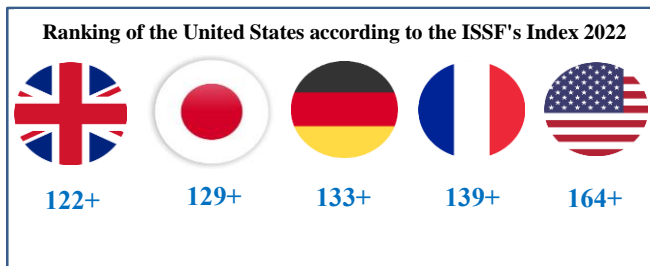
## **The soft-power nature of American foreign policy**

Soft power is a term that was coined in the 1990s by Joseph Nye, who defined it as: "the ability to get what one wants through attraction, rather than coercion or payment of money; it uses a different type of work, neither coercion nor payment of money, to generate cooperation, but rather an attraction to values and justice; the presence of a contribution to achieving those values; and the ability to influence the behavior of others to obtain results and goals without having to use excessive military force"<sup>(1)</sup>. Niall Ferguson defines soft power as "non-traditional power such as cultural and commercial goods, which depends on achieving influence through persuasion and attraction, providing the elements of progress and sophistication, and presenting an attractive model that entices others to follow suit and imitate it"<sup>(2)</sup>.

## **Indexes of soft power for the United States of America**

There is no doubt that the accumulation of "soft power" is difficult and time-consuming, and the old governments used the term "honor" extensively and imposed on it the political choices related to the behavior of individuals in relation to soft power. Through the use of soft power, the public (the people) is expected to conform to the image portrayed by the ruling regimes, for instance<sup>(3)</sup>. It turns out that many nations possess "soft power," but there is a disparity between them despite the fact that they all operate under identical conditions. These powers may be rivals (such as France and the United States) or allies, as demonstrated by the "Bush-Blair"

duo(4). In light of global Indexes that measure soft power, the United States can be ranked according to



*\*the researcher based on ISSF's index dat*

the following global Indexes:

### 1. Portland Soft Power Index 2019

This index presents the results of the surveyed countries for the year 2019, with the top 30 countries in the world according to the soft power scale. In this indicator, the researcher chose the following top five countries according to the Portland classification:

**Table1: Ranking of the United States according to the Portland Index 2019**

Country	Result	Rank
France	80.28	1
Britain	79.47	2
Germany	78.62	3
Sweden	77.41	4
USA	77.40	5

*prepared and designed by the researchers based on the 2019 Portland Index.*

The United States of America is ranked fifth in Table (1) for this indicator, which measures sensitivity or results based on a variety of factors including digitization, governance, culture, education, projects, and connections. This result is attributed to Trump's policies in the region and his management of security files, in which he attempted to erase or cancel the legacy of his predecessor Obama, particularly in regards to the Iran nuclear file, the Afghanistan war, US-Saudi relations, and other files in the Middle East.

### 2. The ISSF's 2022 Soft Power Index

This indicator, published by the Indian organization ISSF, illustrates the survey results for the countries surveyed in 2022. According to the results of the survey, the top 15 countries in the world are as follows: The top five nations according to this classification are as follows:

**Figure 1: Ranking of the United States according to the ISSF's Index 2022**

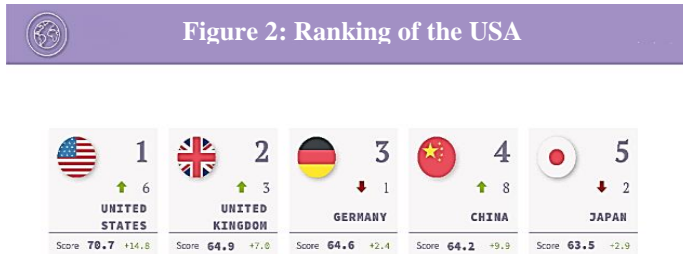
Figure No. 1 reveals that the United States of America ranked first with 164 out of 200 possible points. The researcher explains this result of the United States ranking first in this indicator, as it may be a result of the massive change in the degree of response to the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as the positive perceptions of President Biden's administration in this and other files, in contrast to President Trump's - alienating - approach to American foreign policy first, and the policies of internal division, which created a rift in societal structures second.

### 3. Brand Finance Soft Power Index 2022

This indicator, published by the British Brand Finance organization, presents the results of the surveyed nations for 2022. According to an annual survey, the survey results include the top 10 countries in the world, and the researcher for this indicator selected the top five countries within this classification.

**Figure 2: Ranking of the United States according to the brand-finance index**

In the previous figure, it is shown that the United States ranked first on the soft power index with a score of 70.7, as its soft power was much boosted



*\*the researcher based on the*

compared to the previous year of the survey, and President Trump's term has improved the country's reputation. In light of the previous and the three Indexes included in this study, the researcher explains the subsequent findings.

1. The United States dominated the rankings for soft power Indexes at the start of 2020, but its

perceptions among the general public around the world deteriorated significantly later, that is, before the conclusion of 2019.

2. The decrease of the United States in 2019 and its fifth-place ranking led to a record rife with discrepancies over the US administration's interpretation of the COVID pandemic and its political squabbles with China over the origin of the virus.
3. The United States' soft power Indexes increased by +14.8%, from 55.9/100 in 2021 to 70.7/100 in 2022, the highest score ever recorded by the Brand Finance index.
4. The decline of the United States' soft power Indexes can also be attributed to other factors, such as weapons crimes, violence, and police brutality, which had a negative impact on soft power Indexes at the international level and kept the United States of America in a constant state of challenge until these problems were addressed at their roots.
5. In addition to the continued high performance in many metrics, such as "familiarity and influence," the United States has returned to the top of the rankings due to the dramatic change in improvements in other measures, such as reputation, governance, and values, and this is in some way related to the administration of President Biden.

### Components and instruments of the United States' soft power

In light of the discussion around United States' soft power and how the United States uses it, it is vital to identify the components of this power that depend on it and eventually serve the United States of America, its interests, and its objectives.

#### 1. political influence

Due to its status as a superpower and the fact that its foreign policy reflects the culture of the American people, the United States' foreign policy is very powerful on the international scene. In this sense, liberalism is considered one of the most fundamental pillars of modern culture, and it has its roots in the

Protestant literature that dates back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Christian reform attempts began to appear in Western Europe. These reform efforts contributed to the formation of a culture of austerity congruent with the capitalist concept of wealth accumulation. In this regard, the intellectual contribution of German thinker Max Weber has a significant impact, as it accords other variables, such as culture, religion, and the norms of the political game, greater central importance than the economy.(5)

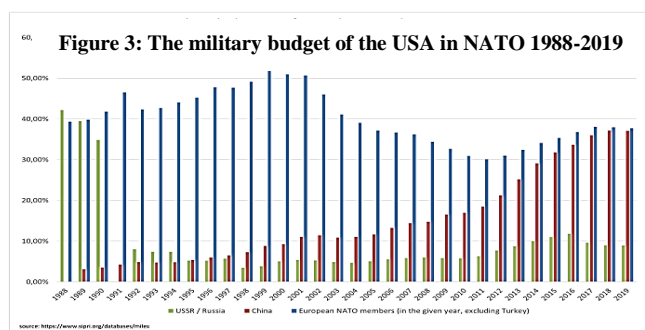
#### 2. Control over the world's decision-making institutions

The United States is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, commonly known as the Permanent Five, the Big Five, or the P5. These five sovereign states were granted a permanent place on the United Nations Security Council by the United Nations Charter of 1945(6). The permanent members were allies and winners in World War II, nuclear-weapon powers, and possessed veto power, allowing any one of them to block the approval of any "substantive" draft resolution of the Council(7), regardless of its international support.

**Table 2: Number of VETOS used by the permanent members of the Security Council, 1946 to date**

No	Country	Vetos	%
1	France	16	%6.0
2	China	17	%6.4
3	United kingdom	29	%10.9
4	United State	82	%30.8
5	Russia	122	%45.9
	total	<b>266</b>	<b>%100</b>

Since 1970, Ambassador Charles W. Yost has



exercised the first US veto over Rhodesia, and in

1972, the United States exercised its single veto power to stop a vote condemning Israel for going to war with Syria and Lebanon. Since then, the United States has been the nation most likely to veto resolutions that criticize and condemn Israel. Since 2002, the United States has utilized the Negroponte Doctrine to veto the vast majority of resolutions pertaining to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and this has been a continual source of contention between the General Assembly and the Security Council. The United States refrained from voting on a resolution calling for a halt to Israeli settlements(8), for the first time, on December 23, 2016, during the Obama administration. Under the Trump administration, however, the United States recovered its veto power(9).

In addition to being one of the most prominent of the five permanent members of the United Nations, it is also the most significant founding member of NATO, which, given its size and military capabilities, provides it considerable strength in the application of soft power. If the Soviet Union was willing to extend its influence through a client state in Asia, NATO members feared it might do the same in Europe. Since 1949, NATO has strengthened its collective military might, and it now consists of roughly 3.5 million soldiers and civilians from each of its members, each with varying contributions and strategic weight and impact(10). The United States spends more than twice as much on defense than all of the other NATO members combined(11). US President Donald Trump's allegation that several member states are not providing their fair share in compliance with the international agreement has elicited various responses from American and European political figures(12).

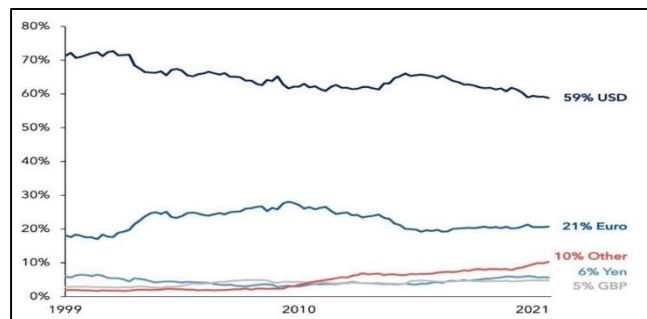
**Figure 3: The military budget of the United States of America in NATO, 1988–2019**

### 3. The currency's power and influence over international financial organizations

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are two of these institutions, and they symbolize and clarify the characteristics of global economic policy. These two international financial

institutions (IFI), which were established in 1944, are controlled by the United States and a few major powers allied with it, which are attempting to promote policies favorable to their interests by systematically providing loans to borrowing countries in order to influence their policies(13). In addition, the position of the dollar as the world's primary and official commercial currency and the global reserve currency for the majority of nations provides the United States a great deal of momentum, influence, and authority as the primary and only economic reference point. According to data from the International Monetary Fund, the US dollar remains the predominant currency in the world. The dollar fell somewhat as its proportion of global reserves reached 61.9% in June 2019, 59.4% in 2020, and 59% in 2021(14).

**Figure 4: The USD share of global reserves, 1999–2021.**



\*Figure from IMF data, available at: <https://2u.pw/6n3h1>

Despite a minor fall in its value throughout the years, the USD has retained its preeminence (2019, 2020, and 2021). As for the first quarter of 2022, the researcher hypothesizes that this minor decrease in the dollar's value may be a result of the West's freezing of Russian foreign exchange reserves following Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine. This measure sparked concerns that other nations would forsake the U.S. dollar to prevent future exposure to similar sanctions, but the Fed's interest rate hike in response to persistent inflation led to higher bond yields, making the dollar more appealing to investors(15).

### 4. Technological strength and brand

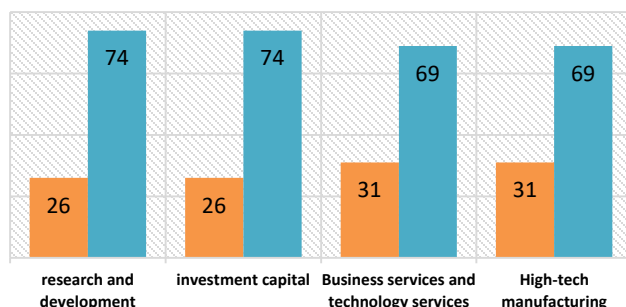
The United States is distinguished by its enormous and powerful economy; in addition, it dominates and



extends its commercial influence over the fundamental economic fields of the world through technological industries, and its power is represented by brands such as Apple, Microsoft, Facebook, Boeing, Coca-Cola, Google, and many others, which support the spread of the American model in the world and are a contributing factor in boosting its prestige(16).

According to the 2018 Science and Engineering Indexes Report published by the National Science Foundation (NSF), the United States is the world leader in the field of science and technology (S&T), as the report indicated that the United States continues to lead the technological fields, despite some decline due to China's emergence as a competitive force in gene editing and artificial intelligence. Research and development expenditures demonstrate the United States' dedication to advancing scientific and technological capabilities, which encourages innovation(17).

**Figure 5: Government expenditures on technological and technical sectors, 2018.**



\*US National Science Council, *Science and Engineering Indexes 2018*, Available: <https://2u.pw/kuVoy>.

The United States leads the world in research and development spending with \$496 billion (26% of the global total), while venture capital investments supporting the commercialization of innovative technology exceed \$130 billion. The United States has drawn the majority of these global investments with around (70) billion USD, which accounts for slightly more than half of the global share, or (26%), of the total projects. The United States is considered a pioneer in the provision of business services and technological financial services, as knowledge- and technology-intensive businesses constitute a

significant portion of the world economy and account for 31% of the global GDP. It also produces 31% of the world's high-tech manufacturing, including aircraft, spacecraft, connectors, computers, pharmaceuticals, instruments, and control systems(18).

### 5. Exporting American culture and models

Taking advantage of the prevalence of the English language, whether in the language of daily communication or even in the language of commerce, the United States possesses considerable power throughout the globe today. Hundreds of millions of people eat and dress in the "Western tradition" of the United States, listen to American music, watch American films, and speak English as the language of business and technology. Moreover, the United States derives a substantial amount of its soft power not only from its government but also from civil society and nongovernmental organizations.

### Initiatives and programs established by the United States

#### 1. Fulbright Program, 1946

1946 saw the establishment of this initiative by US Senator J. William Fulbright(19). It is among the most sought-after scholarships in the world. It seeks to promote cultural diplomacy and exchanges between the United States and other nations through the exchange of people and the expansion of knowledge and skills. The initiative provides training classes, scholarships, and other opportunities for research and talent development. The program is overseen by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the US State Department and is funded through annual legislation passed by the US Congress. Additionally, cooperating institutions such as the Institute of International Education administer the Fulbright Program(20).

#### Figure 6:

**The expansion of one of the United States' soft power instruments around the globe.**

As a result of the number of awards and participations Jordan and Egypt received from the Fulbright Program for Cultural and Scientific Exchange for Students in the realm of research and study, the following numbers can be observed(21):

**Table 3: Egypt and Jordan's Fulbright Program awards and participations for 2020–2022.**

Year	2020		2021		2022		Total	
Country	Requests	Awards	Requests	Awards	Requests	Awards	Requests	Awards
Jordan	41	14	29	0	24	9	23	
Egypt	6	1	6	2	9	3	6	

According to the previous data, Jordan received 23 prizes as a result of its participation in the Fulbright Program for the years 2020–2022. Egypt, on the other hand, received only six awards during this time period.

## 2. Smith-Mundt Act of 1948

The American Educational Exchange and Information Act, often known as the Smith-Mundt Bill (Public Law 80-402). Initiated by Congressman Carl E. Mundt during the 79th Congress in January 1945, it was passed by the 80th Congress and signed into law on January 27, 1948 by President Harry S. Truman(22). It was prepared, formulated, and then developed to organize the broadcasting of programs intended for foreign audiences under the supervision and direction of the US State Department, and as a result, the "Institute for International Cultural Exchange" was established as a cultural department within the US State Department(23).

The project intends to improve understanding between the United States and the rest of the world, build cooperative international relations, and enable the United States government to strengthen its ties with the people of other nations. Among the means utilized to achieve these objectives are(24):

1. To disseminate information overseas about the United States, its people, and the policies adopted by Congress, the President, the Secretary of State, and other government officials and officials concerned with foreign affairs.
2. Educational exchange service for international cooperation, including the interchange of people, knowledge, and skills.

3. Providing technical and other services and exchanging advances in education, the arts, and the sciences.

## Entities covered by the Smith-Mundt Act

This law is based in its entirety on the media tool as one of the tools of soft power, given that the international media drives and alters many policies and systems on the international stage, as its influence on political, economic, and social relations between nations is typically proportional to the magnitude of its influence(25). According to the Smith-Mundt Law, the media departments contained in it are administered by the US State Broadcasting Corporation(26), and the following media instruments can be discussed in this context:

- VOA (Voice of America) 1942
- Al-Hurra Channel 2004
- Radio Farda 2002
- Radio Free Asia (RFA) 1994
- Radio Free Europe/Liberty RFE/RL 1995
- Radio Television Marti 1983:
- Radio SAWA 2002:

## 3. USAID

It is one of the agencies of the United States Federal Government directly responsible for the administration of foreign aid to civilians. It was established in 1961 by US President John F. Kennedy, and Congress moved to develop it by introducing the yearly financial appropriations statute. It is subject to the foreign policy directions of the President of the United States, his Secretary of State, and the National Security Council within the extent of its duties(27). The agency aims to assist individuals in various nations who are suffering to improve their living conditions, recover from natural disasters and other crises, or "struggle" for democratic change. Its geographical reach encompasses Africa, Asia, the Near East, Latin America and the Caribbean, Eurasia, and Europe, and one of its most important objectives is to offer developmental, economic, and humanitarian aid



around the world to implement and support United States foreign policy(28).

### **The nature and challenges of the United States' soft power**

In general, the United States' foreign policy can be defined as conventional and sluggish to change, as it is frequently centered on a traditional approach based on practical principles, with a particular emphasis on hard power in the Middle East and Arab region. Even the unit tasked with "soft power" initiatives, such as diplomacy and cultural exchanges, faces cultural issues within the institution. In light of this, the history of the old traditional ways has been increasingly brutal and strict over the past three decades(29). The policy of former US President Donald Trump towards the Arab region perpetuated the neoconservative inclination of the "George W. Bush" administration, which led to chaos in the Arab region after the Iraq War broke out in 2003. Different interpretations of the crisis in the Middle East by the Obama administration contributed to the instability of the Arab area. Human rights atrocities in the Middle East and North Africa have also contributed to international resistance to US actions in the region. Following the death toll from battles in Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen has become a focus of Arab and Western media, and there have been several arguments about the United States' overall policy, which has experienced severe fluctuations for nearly two decades. As a result of the Arab Spring uprisings and similar egregious breaches of human rights, as well as the inability of the United States to address the calamitous situation in the region, as well as its efforts to improve human security and implement political changes, the region is in a dire state(30). The following are some of the most significant obstacles American diplomats confront while dealing with Arabs(31):

#### **1. Diversity of attitudes and affiliations**

The variety of positions and connections impedes the deployment of soft power and the accomplishment of American foreign policy objectives. There are approximately 350 million individuals in the Middle East and North Africa whose native language is Arabic and hence qualify as Arabs. But their attitudes and loyalties vary widely, depending in part on whether they are Sunni, Shia, or Christian, wealthy or poor, or urban or rural. However, they share many similarities, and generalizations are conceivable, therefore it is typical for researchers to speak to "Arab attitude, Arab attitudes, or Arab perceptions" in their work(32).

#### **2. Scarcity of reliable opinion polls**

One of the difficulties of writing about Arab public opinion is the dearth of dependable opinion poll data. Due to government constraints, Arab opinion polls were nearly nonexistent twenty years ago. This is no longer the case, as Arab organizations and institutions are now conducting opinion polls and offering data and statistics services. Nonetheless, American diplomats and intelligence agents have amassed a vast amount of actual material, primarily non-statistical in nature, regarding Arab perspectives. Because they have served in the region for an extended period of time and interact with Arabs on a daily basis, they have a pretty accurate, if incomplete, understanding of how Arabs think(33).

#### **3. The mounting criticism of US policy towards the region**

Every American diplomat who has served in the Arab world is aware that the vast majority of Arabs are extremely skeptical of American foreign policy towards the region. Arab public opinion believes that U.S. foreign policy is a major factor in regional events, and there is a widespread belief that everything that occurs in Arab nations is the result of the administration's approach(34). A study done by the Arab Center in Washington (ACW) in collaboration with the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies in Qatar (ACRPS) revealed how Arab public opinion perceives the United States' political positions. The study comprised 3,200 respondents



from eight Arab nations, including Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, the Palestinian Territories (West Bank and Gaza Strip), Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia, with an average of 400 respondents from each nation. The majority of respondents (61%) have negative perceptions of the United States' foreign policy, with (36%) rating their impression as "extremely bad" and (25%) rating it as "somewhat negative"(35).

The survey also revealed that anti-American sentiment in the Arab world is directed against US foreign policies in the region, not the United States as a nation or its people. Morocco (37%), Saudi Arabia (36%), and Kuwait (34%), had the most favorable opinions of US policy toward the Arab world, while Lebanon (66%) and Palestine (73%) had the most unfavorable views. Jordanians and Lebanese have the most favorable attitudes toward Americans (71% and 70%, respectively). Regarding "resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," (71%) of the Arab respondents had generally negative perceptions of the US administration's policies, with the highest rates of disapproval in Tunisia (87%) and Palestine (75%), indicating that the overall perceptions of American policy were negative, which is a common sentiment among the Arab public opinion(36).

#### **4. The impact of digital age communications**

Before the advent of modern information technologies, the United States government had far more means of communicating with foreign audiences than it does today. Not only did the State Department have telegraphic contact with every US embassy abroad, but it also had radio contact with every US territory. US officials made great use of this information by making it accessible to local media editors and reporters. Additionally, embassy personnel translated official documents into local languages(37).

Due to the communications revolution, foreign newspaper editors and reporters now obtain knowledge on U.S. policy statements as soon as they are made, via the Internet, cell phones, and other

digital technology that did not exist several decades ago. Similarly, developments in the United States that potentially influence Arab opinions of America in some way are being disseminated to overseas audiences far more rapidly than in the past, using a variety of non-government-controlled private channels. As was once the case, the Arab public no longer requires information from the embassy. Consequently, they no longer see the full texts of official US policy statements or reports of US developments, nor do they typically see full explanations by US officials of what the policy means or an explanation of developments in American society;(38) in fact, if the means of delivery of these materials are biased or distorted, the local media will receive a biased or distorted version of US policy and society, and this bias often takes a negative turn. Therefore, the potential beneficial soft power effect of a US policy statement may be lost if it is supplied by a non-government source(39).

#### **5. Expectations and hopes of the Arab people**

Arabs are aware that the United States has enormous military capabilities and the strongest economy in the world, so they tend to believe that the United States can do almost anything it wants in any part of the world. They believe that the issue is the United States' desire, not its ability, and that the United States' presence in all parts of the world and its engagement with many countries in mutual relations can manipulate these countries to achieve results in its favor(40).

The Arab world believes that the United States has a "hidden hand" behind local events, such as the Arab Spring upheavals in Egypt, Libya, and Syria, due to this saying or belief and the accompanying exaggerated notions about the capabilities and activities of the U.S. government. They accuse the United States government of interfering unfairly in their domestic political issues. In 2011, when Hosni Mubarak resigned as president of Egypt, many Egyptians believed the United States played a covert role in his ouster. Then, after Mohamed Morsi was

elected president, many Egyptians believed that the United States was striving to keep him in power, and when Morsi was deposed, Egyptians once again realized that there was a hidden American hand(41).

#### **6. The difficulty of explaining the behavior of ordinary Americans**

Among the factors that may work to erode American soft power are the behavior and actions of some Americans who are producing crises in the Arab area, especially if they are communicated through digital media and social media. Previously, the Arab region did not respond to these practices. In the 1960s of the previous century, Life magazine had a drawing of the prophet Muhammad on its homepage cover. In the Muslim religion, this depiction or manifestation of the personality of the Holy Prophet is termed a red line. The Cultural Center at the American Embassy in Saudi Arabia displayed a copy of the magazine, which angered the Saudi government; consequently, the embassy hurriedly issued an apology. However, this episode was kept secret and its reverberations did not reach the Arab region, as neither the Internet nor social networks conveyed it(42).

Today, due to the proliferation of social networks, similar acts will be widely reported, further diminishing the United States of America's reputation. Rev. Terry Jones threatened to burn a copy of the Holy Quran at the Dove Center for Global Outreach Church in Gainesville, Florida, on September 9, 2010, the ninth anniversary of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, to demonstrate his hatred for Muslims. This episode circulated rapidly throughout the Arab region, prompting the then-president of the United States, Barack Obama, to attempt to refute the charge of anti-Muslim animus and explain the pastor's behavior as not intended to upset Muslims. However, the crime against Muslims and the Arab world has been repeated, and it is no longer feasible to excuse American behavior against Arabs and Muslims. Jones performed a mock trial of the Qur'an and burned a copy as "punishment" for "crimes against

humanity" on March 21, 2011. On April 28, 2012, Jones repeated his crime and burnt a second copy of the Holy Qur'an, prompting demonstrations around the Arab world over his aggressive actions.

American officials in the various embassies of the Arab world have made great efforts to hold meetings with Arab media professionals and other opinion leaders, claiming that such actions are personal and do not represent the state, and that senior American officials, including President Obama, criticize and condemn such actions(43). Europe and the United States still possess "soft power" instruments that can be employed or applied in a more tactical and strategic manner than they are currently. As a domestic and foreign policy response to the threat of escalating chaos in the Middle East, the West must direct its aid in a way that explicitly addresses its economic and political interests, as opposed to responding with large-scale financial donations and support for regional reform programs that meet resistance from elites.

#### **The soft power of the United States towards Jordan and Egypt**

Since the turn of the twentieth century, the Middle East has been a focal point of American foreign policy, and this concentration has continued after World War II and the Cold War. The United States has begun to build plans and tactics that promote its interests and achieve its goals by implementing its agenda and expanding its influence in the region via soft power instruments. Especially in both Jordan and Egypt, because of the strategic and economic location of the two countries that is open to the Arab and African markets, and the political and security position adjacent to the State of Israel, which the successive American administrations have pledged and still pledge to protect and defend their interests in all international forums.

#### **The geopolitical burdens of both Jordan and Egypt**

Geopolitics is the study of states in their political and vital environment, through multiple entrances, such as regional, historical, functional, social, and human

sciences, so that it includes a set of concepts that define the form of a state's political existence and the limits of its relationship in its vital environment(44). In light of the relationship between Jordan and Egypt and the United States of America, it is crucial that we confront the geopolitical obligations of both Jordan and Egypt, which necessitate them in numerous ways to accomplish American foreign policy objectives. These difficulties include waves of refugees, a lack of economic resources, terrorism, living expenses, military support, and conflict with terrorists. This article analyzes the geopolitical obligations of Jordan and Egypt, which in many instances force countries to accept American foreign policy directives.

### **1. The geopolitical burdens of the Jordanian state**

Jordan is placed at the crossroads of regional and international collisions, which attracts terrorism and transnational terrorist organizations, from which Jordan has and continues to suffer significantly. Unquestionably, Jordan's geographical location had a significant impact on its political, economic, and social life. By virtue of its geographical proximity to Palestine, Iraq, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, Jordan is frequently profoundly impacted by the political or security situation in those nations(45). Jordan is affected by its geopolitical environment and international relations, as well as the factors and influences resulting from its demographic, geographical, and economic situation, including the reality of national wealth, foreign aid, and the ongoing social and economic transformations through the reform process and its repercussions on the composition and structure of Jordanian society(46).

#### **a. Border Threats**

Jordan shares 1,285 km of land borders with Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, in addition to 335 km with occupied Palestine. This is a form of engineered border, and it poses a significant challenge to Jordan due to its length and the difficulties of regulating it tightly. Terrorist groups exploit the borders and the vast desert areas to infiltrate and commit terrorist

actions. As was the case with the 2005 Jordanian hotel bombs and the 2016 Karak Castle events, where terrorist organizations targeted Jordanians and visitors, resulting in a number of fatalities and injuries(47).

The researchers believe that the events of the Arab Spring were among the negative effects on the Jordanian economy, which were permeated by the disruption of the Egyptian gas pipeline and the increase in the allocations of the army and security agencies to protect the borders, in order to establish any development projects that contribute to alleviating poverty and unemployment.

Jordanian-American military relations stand out as one of the alliances that have developed clearly and have solid foundations, based on the military aid program provided by the United States to Jordan and the joint exercises between the two sides to confront international developments in the Middle East region, in which the Syrian crisis emerged, the military cooperation between the two countries, in addition to the existence of a number of joint exercises and access to each other's military bases(48).

#### **b. The Economy and Unemployment Rates**

The Jordanian economy is one of the worst in the world; it is partially dependent on the remittances of Jordanians living abroad, and substantial portions of the population are impoverished and unemployed. This suggests a rise in birth rates and dependency ratios among those living in poverty. On the other hand, the illiteracy rate increases among the poorest segment of the population, while the higher education rate decreases, as the poverty rate in Jordan in 2021 reached approximately 24%(49), while unemployment in the third quarter of 2019 was approximately 20%, and the unemployment rate among males was approximately 17%, compared to 27% among females. This represents a significant portion of the unemployment rate among the labor force, particularly among those with scientific degrees. Unquestionably, poverty contributes to a number of impacts, whether economic or social, that

influence national security, lead to the growth of certain social disorders, and reduce the level of education and health, making this a conducive setting for extremism and terrorism(50).

The Jordanian economy is primarily reliant on external resources and grants, which makes it interconnected, dependent, and more susceptible to external situations. In addition, excessive reliance on loans, grants, and aid leads by nature to inflation, which results in substantial economic distortions such as a drop in the purchasing power and a decrease in the exchange rates of local currencies, as well as other negative consequences on the economy(51).

### **c. Strengths**

Despite these geopolitical responsibilities, Jordan possesses a "unique" location that allows access to Arab markets; it is a link between three continents, and its free trade agreements with other nations allow it to reach more than a billion consumers worldwide(52). And Jordan's geographical location provided real opportunities for the Jordanian state, particularly during the periods when Jordan was located on the axis of confrontation, rejection, and confrontation, so that Jordan's geography played a decisive role in investing its relationship with the United States of America to end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, owing to its global credibility. Jordan has attracted the attention of international powers for several decades due to its unique characteristics, including its location in the heart of the vital Middle East region, its abundance of natural resources, which placed it atop the world's energy throne, and its cultural, political, and strategic significance. As it has become a key corridor for land, air, and sea transportation as well as a hub for numerous global events.

This increased the aspirations of the great international powers, led by the United States of America, to be present in this region, which has become a center of its vital interests, particularly after the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli conflict, prompting successive American presidents to pay

close attention to this region(53). Due to the crucial relevance of the Middle East and the strategic importance of this region in the world, American interest in Jordan has intensified. Jordan's policy is based on preserving the unity of its territory and people, defending its sovereignty, ensuring political stability, and safeguarding internal security. The political decision-maker attempted to attain a set of national and strategic objectives in order for Jordan to maintain a moderate level of self-defense capabilities and achieve balanced economic and social development. These directions were of importance to the United States, which began to view Jordan as a strategic ally in light of these objectives(54).

As a result of Jordan's prominent position in the Middle East region, its adoption of a liberal policy congruent with Western intellectual ideals, its commitment to regional stability, and its rejection to communism, Jordanian-American ties remained positive. Jordan's adoption of a policy of moderation, its participation to numerous humanitarian, scientific, and medical initiatives, and its maintenance of peace and security in the Arab area and in warring countries were among the actions that garnered international notice and recognition. And if we follow Jordan's peaceful movements, we discover that it has, for instance, seven hospitals in conflict zones and over forty thousand peacekeeping forces(55).

## **2. The geopolitical burdens of the Egyptian state**

From an international perspective, Egypt faces numerous political, economic, and social challenges, in addition to a lack of transparency and elected political institutions that express the will of the people, which casts significant doubt on the credibility and legitimacy of the authority's decisions and laws, as well as the extent of the public's response to those decisions and laws.

### **a. The security burden and threats at the borders**

One of the security responsibilities of the Egyptian government is maintaining peace in the Middle East, fostering good ties with Israel, and safeguarding their shared boundaries through the Israeli-built border barrier. From the standpoint of the state, dealing with the challenges and risks posed by the situation in Sinai, as well as the question of battling terrorism there, imposes significant costs(56). Also inflamed are Egypt's borders with Sudan, which exacerbates the country's security crisis. Sudan's political and security instability poses a significant threat to Egypt's security since it is a source of violence, anarchy, and instability. Related to this are the threats posed by Ethiopia, which affect Egyptian national security when it insists on constructing the Renaissance Dam without signing a legally binding agreement with Egypt and Sudan, and there are numerous other threats posed by terrorist organizations and movements in Africa and the Arab region(57).

Never before in Egypt's modern history have all its borders with its neighbors been so perilous and difficult. In all strategic orientations, there are over twenty military and security concerns that cast a shadow over economic and political reality. In light of the collapse of the Libyan government, the ramifications on the eastern frontiers have imposed extra responsibilities and threats on the western borders. And the evolution of smuggling activities (weapons and terrorist elements) into organized crime with the entrance of ISIS in Libya and its posture in Derna, the Al-Murabitoun group, which is loyal to Al-Qaeda, and their attempts to provide supplies for their branches in Sinai. It was not anticipated that Libya would pose a problem because its borders (1,200 kilometers) and Egypt's strategic depth during the 1973 conflict were essentially secure until January 2011. Libya became inflamed and a target of terrorists, traffickers, arms dealers, and illegal immigrants after Muammar Gaddafi's dictatorship fell(58).

#### **b. The Economy and Unemployment Rates**

The Egyptian economy is historically one of the oldest. Despite relative growth, the living standards of Egyptians continued to deteriorate and fall. This resulted in popular unhappiness with the tough living conditions, and unrest occurred in January 2011, when the Egyptian government retreated from economic reforms and expanded government social expenditures dramatically to combat the unrest(59). Due to the failure of negotiations with the International Monetary Fund regarding a loan for the remaining \$4.8 billion, the lack of external financial aid exacerbated the financial and balance of payments issues in 2013(60). In 2016, the Egyptian economy suffered considerably as a result of the loss in tourism income caused by the crash of the Russian airliner, prompting the Central Bank to float the pound as it fell from 8.8 pounds to 13 pounds per dollar. And it resulted in banks gaining dollar liquidity as a result of their release of 13.5 billion USD through February 2017. Additionally, the Egyptian government requested a \$12 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund for three years in 2016, and Egypt obtained a first tranche of \$2.750 billion; the government's foreign debt until 2018 reached \$55.7 billion, compared to \$33 billion before the January revolution; and Egypt attracted \$6.5 billion in foreign investment in 2017(61).

And according to a report published by the World Bank at the end of April 2019, around 60% of the Egyptian population is either poor or at risk of poverty, inequality is growing, and the proportion of the poor is reaching 30%(62).

Similar to the scenario in most countries at the start of 2020, the COVID-19 outbreak posed a problem for the Egyptian economy. Before the pandemic, the tourism industry contributed approximately 12% of the gross domestic product, offered 10% of employment opportunities, and amounted for 4% of the gross domestic product in foreign currencies. Moreover, the cautious steps taken by the Egyptian government caused a temporary reduction in local operations. While the government's budget is under pressure due to a decline in tax collections caused by



a sluggish economy, Similarly, Egypt experienced massive capital inflows of over \$15 billion between March and April 2020, as investors fled emerging countries in search of secure investments(63).

As reported by the Central Bank, emigrants' remittances in foreign currency amounted to approximately \$27 billion in fiscal year 2019-2020, making them the country's primary source of foreign currency income. Noting that the number of Egyptians working overseas was approximately 13 million, or approximately 13 percent of the entire population. By analogy with the situation of the Egyptian economy, it cannot meet its fundamental needs for agricultural and industrial items, resulting in an increase in imports and a rise in unemployment(64). According to the Peterson Institute for International Economics, the primary issue in Egypt is the high unemployment rate, which is a result of the country's predominantly young demographic pyramid. It is anticipated that approximately 4% of the population enters the work force yearly, and unemployment in Egypt climbs among university graduates, especially among educated urban young(65).

### **c. Strengths**

Egypt has long been a geostrategic ally of the United States for a variety of reasons, including its strategic location, the Suez Canal, and economic and cultural issues, and it has received political and diplomatic support as a result. In addition to highlighting Egypt's significance as a stable country in an unstable region, it serves as the primary mediator in resolving regional problems. Egypt's role in brokering a ceasefire between Hamas and Israel in May and its strategic approach to resolving tensions in neighboring Libya are two examples. Secretary Blinken lauded Egypt for these reasons at bilateral discussions in November 2021 in Washington, D.C., when he emphasized Egypt's essential role in maintaining regional peace in the Middle East(66). And by framing Egypt as "an area of security and stability in the region," according to President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, the current Egyptian dictatorship is

able to strengthen its national legitimacy and international authority. This also helps Egypt to strengthen its coordination with major nations in the fight against terrorism and extremism(67). The other key concern is Egypt's relationship with Israel, which is deemed to be of crucial importance to the national security of the United States. This connection has taken different forms in the past, including Israel's admission that it is examining the extension of natural gas pipes in North Sinai to allow the flow of gas to Egypt and an increase in military coordination in Sinai for counterterrorism purposes. And the first visit by an Israeli prime minister to Egypt since the beginning of the Egyptian revolution in 2011, as well as the inaugural direct flight of Egypt Air to Tel Aviv. This portrays an image of a strengthening bilateral partnership, as highlighted by Sisi in his January 2019 interview with CBS's 60 Minutes(68).

### **American's soft power Pressure factors toward Jordan and Egypt**

American strategy relies on regional and local friends to protect its interests, as it is necessary for the United States of America to achieve its regional and local objectives. However, it is unaffected by the loss of an ally, regardless of the length of the alliance or the nature of the services offered, and it also deposits its forces in the lands of the allies as a reserve force to be utilized when the present system in other countries falls(69).

#### **1. pressure factors on the economic and nutritional aspects**

The policy of relying on loans, aid, and grants subjugates the state to the directives of other states and donors. As borrowing and requesting grants represent an explicit acknowledgment by the state that it is no longer able to manage its economic affairs and is willing to fully accept the conditions imposed by donor institutions, agencies, and countries on the state, its government, and its people, borrowing leads to the dependence of the borrowing country, determines a portion of its foreign policy, and weakens its administration and its ability to

make political decisions that serve the nation's best interests. The majority of research on the topic of aid have concluded that aid-donor nations boost their power to influence recipient nations, with the effect reaching its peak when recipient nations possess the following criteria(70):

- The receiving countries should not have access to alternative sources of help, so that they cannot pay large sums to redress economic imbalances.
- That the state exists in the international arena independently, unaffiliated with any international alliances.
- The destination nation should not occupy a geographically separate location.
- It should not be able to produce and manufacture weapons.

Regarding help, these qualities apply to the majority of Middle Eastern nations. The United States takes this into account in order to attain its goals by tying this aid to the foreign policy of the countries receiving it. What the United States strives to provide is to protect the security of the western camp, which it leads in the face of the Russian Federation, "the leader of the eastern camp"(71) From this approach, it can be claimed that the bad economic position in Jordan is one of the elements affecting Jordanian-American ties. Jordan has received American help since 1951, and the United States has donated more than \$20 billion in aid to Jordan. Since its entrance to the World Trade Organization and the signing of the Free Trade Agreement between Jordan and the United States in 2000, trade between the two nations has expanded by 800%.

It supplied Jordan with roughly 75 billion USD as a guarantee for loans that will save Jordan more than 600 million USD in interest rates for the years 2021–2026. It also arranged loans totaling over 110 million dollars for over 432 small and medium-sized businesses. This help was often conditional on the Jordanian side's agreement of some American decisions that were not in Jordan's interest, the most important of which was the American vision to

terminate the Palestinian cause and the threat to cut off economic aid if Jordan rejected those decisions.<sup>72</sup> The researchers believe that the issue of American aid to Jordan is tied to the future of the United States, its role and global standing, and the extent of its capacity to deal with the developments of the new world order, whose signs are visible on the horizon following the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian conflict. In addition to the growth of new economic forces, there are people and organizations that have the power to make them more dominant in some nation-states. Although the United States is the world's largest economic power, now it is faltering significantly in its economies and is weak in front of the heavy competition it is subjected to from the economies of other growing countries. The United States gave economic aid as one of its soft power instruments to both Jordan and Egypt in order to satisfy critical development requirements and to continue the political and economic reform process. It aims to use this to minimize the severity of high unemployment and poverty rates in the context of scarce natural resources, as well as to reduce the budget deficit.<sup>73</sup>

The United States has allocated grants to support the Jordanian general budget, and these grants came in light of the delicate circumstances that Jordan went through due to the continuing repercussions of the regional demonstrations since the beginning of the Arab Spring revolutions, through the Gulf crisis, the repercussions of the Corona pandemic, the Russian-Ukrainian war, and other regional repercussions(74) In accordance with the policy of semi-constant annual US aid to Jordan, the United States inked a deal with Jordan in 2012 for the provision of fifty thousand tons of wheat worth seventeen million dollars as part of the food aid program. In 2017, it also struck an arrangement for one hundred thousand tons of wheat. The food aid offered to Jordan is one of the United States' soft power instruments. Announcing that aid to Jordan would be contingent on meeting a set of criteria to be addressed with the US Agency for International Development, as the

United States attempted to develop these conditions in accordance with accomplishing business environment improvements and boosting investment(75).

**Table 4: Total US Aid to Jordan (2011–2016)**

Domains	Amount/USD
Economic Aid	812 M/USD
Military Aid	463 M/USD
Public Budget	1.5 B/USD
Loans	1.25 B/USD
Sanitation Aid	275 M/USD
Wheat Grants	60 M/USD

*\*Based on the Office of the United States Trade Representative.*

The above table depicts overall help in 2016 with a total value of \$1.275 billion, of which 64% is economic aid valued at \$812 million and the remaining \$463 million is military aid. This is part of the United States' comprehension of the enormous challenges faced by the Jordanian economy in all of its sectors as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis from 2011 to 2015, when approximately 2.7 billion USD were spent, of which approximately 1.5 billion USD were designated as direct support for the public budget. In addition to loan guarantees worth 1.25 billion USD supplied to Jordan, 275 million USD were provided for the implementation of essential and vital water and sanitation projects in Zarqa Governorate, the implementation of which is still underway. In addition, Jordan has received (200) thousand tons of wheat from the United States government, with a total worth of approximately USD 61 million. In addition, the previous memorandum of understanding covering the years 2010–2014 stipulated yearly help to Jordan in the amount of 660 million US dollars, including economic aid in the amount of 360 million US dollars(76).

It must be highlighted that the United States has been committed to Jordan's stability for the past seven decades, providing more than \$20 billion in aid and pledging over \$6.5 billion over the next five years. Additionally, the United States has supplied Jordan with \$3.75 billion in loan guarantees, which will cut Jordan's interest rate by more than \$600 million and support economic growth by providing more than

\$110 million in loans to more than 432 small and medium-sized businesses. On the basis of this assistance, 5,000 new work possibilities were established, tens of thousands of other occupations were supported, and more than 750 house projects owned by women to increase quality and productivity received assistance(77).

As for the economic aspect, there is a decline in the economic revenues in Jordan linked to soft power resources, the failure or failure of programs to promote the state and its products and market them, or to host sporting, tourism, and entertainment events, and the intensification of the official opposition to concluding economic agreements that achieve the objectives of the soft power-using state. In addition, the volume of economic, commercial, and investment relations has clearly decreased, with the freezing or dissolution of agreements and businessmen's networks, as well as the threat of deprivation of economic benefits or punitive economic measures or their actual implementation, despite the Jordanian Foreign Ministry's denial that the aid provided is subject to dictates and conditions(78). From a different perspective, and getting to the heart of the problem, the United States imposed its hegemony on Egypt through the economy using one of the tactics of soft power. Due to American support, this resulted in the establishment of the Egyptian dictatorship and the consolidation of its regional authority. where America helps Middle Eastern regions for its own interest and governments must continue to secure this assistance(79) Under President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, Egypt is regarded as a peculiar nation since its economy is now more dependent than ever on foreign aid, particularly loans. The financial system has a voracious appetite, yet the majority of the state's income are spent on luxury rather than the essential needs of a growing population, as Sisi has undertaken vast programs to purchase weapons products to bolster his legitimacy. To compensate for this extravagance, governments have increased the cost of public services, increased regressive taxes,

and reduced consumer subsidies. With stagnating wages, high prices, and high unemployment rates among Egyptians, and in an effort to increase income, the dictatorship has exerted pressure on the private sector, via the military, to acquire a large number of profitable private firms(80).

**Table 5: Total US Aid to Egypt (2017–2021).**

Financial year	Amount / USD
2017	1.353.5
2018	1.413.7
2019	1.419.3
2020	1.432.3
2021	1.381.9

*\*Based on: <https://cutt.us/Smlbn>.*

Egypt is one of the greatest receivers of US foreign aid, ranking third behind Israel and Jordan in 2020, having received more than \$81 billion in bilateral foreign aid from 1946 to 2020. Egypt got \$1.43 billion in foreign aid in fiscal year 2020, primarily from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Other assistance for fiscal year 2021 comes from the Department of Agriculture and the US Trade and Development Agency (USTDA). More than 90% of the \$1.38 billion in foreign assistance requested by the Trump administration for Egypt is foreign military finance (FMF). Additionally, the Biden administration sought \$1.43 billion in foreign aid for Egypt for fiscal year 2022(81).

## 2. pressure factors on the security and political aspects

After the events of September 11, 2001, American foreign policy underwent significant changes, shifting from a strategy of containment towards the Middle East to a policy of intervention, declaring war on terrorism, and destroying "rogue regimes." New words have emerged, such as "axis of evil," which consists of Cuba, North Korea, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. The term "preemptive strike" was coined, which authorized the United States to strike any country in the globe militarily under the excuse of battling terrorism, and was included in the United States' 2002 "National Security Strategy" paper. Whereas this approach was based on chasing

terrorist organizations by all military and intelligence means, removing weapons of mass destruction, and overthrowing the political governments that manufacture them, this strategy was predicated on the elimination of weapons of mass destruction(82). The 2004 Rebuilding American Defense Force Document is founded on the premise of keeping a unipolar system in which the United States dominates and enjoys a hegemonic position(83). Then the US National Intelligence Strategy document 2009, which defines mechanisms for combating extremism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the recognition of the inability to face challenges individually and the need to coordinate action in facing issues of common concern, and to abandon the terminology associated with the war on terrorism and its relationship to Islam and replace it with terms that are not linked to a specific religion, such as "countering violent extremism"(84) The 2010 Defense Review Document then established the following objectives(85):

- Rebalancing the capabilities of the United States military.
- Enhance capacity to tackle future conflicts.
- Rebuilding economic capacities as the foundation of American strength and bolstering democracy.
- Adopting a policy of global engagement with countries and organizations throughout the world based on mutual dependency and shared interests, and promoting collective action to address shared concerns.
- Disrupting terrorist networks, Al Qaeda in particular.
- Deterring global wars that endanger U.S. interests.

The researchers feel that the two preceding documents cover the administration of former US President George W. Bush's inability to address the accumulating crises caused by the excessive use of hard power. And to confirm the shift in US foreign policy toward the use of soft power, while keeping

the option of hard power open in the event that diplomatic means fail. In order to serve the national interest, US foreign policy combines soft power, represented by diplomatic instruments and means, with the deployment of armed action as a last resort. Former President Barack Obama created the groundwork for the partnership between the United States and Middle Eastern countries. It was represented by combatting religious extremism, resolving the Palestinian-Israeli problem, addressing the question of nuclear weapons, helping to the spread of democracy, highlighting religious freedom, empowering women, and promoting economic growth(86).

Former US President Barack Obama thought that the fight against extremism must begin at home. Muslims must initially reject extremism and work with the United States of America to remove extremist organizations. Due to the fact that the existence of such groups poses a threat not only to Arab and Islamic nations, but also to Western nations, combating these extremist groups cannot be limited to military operations alone; there must also be a space for democracy in which mutual understanding can be achieved and an environment conducive to economic development(87) In its legal framework for countering terrorism, Jordan has taken a number of steps, including the issue of a bill modifying the Penal Code that imposes harsh penalties for any conduct deemed by the law to be terrorist crimes. The legislation also included clauses criminalizing the formation of criminal or terrorist groups. The government of Jordan took a number of executive actions. As it issued instructions to all Jordanian banks to comply with examining their customers' accounts and ensuring that their balances are frozen at the government's request in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution No. 1373 pertaining to terrorism, the government also issued instructions to issue personal identification cards and passports in accordance with international standards to prevent their counterfeiting(88).

On the security level, the Jordanian security services exchange intelligence information with friendly countries and the international police agency "Interpol" in the context of security cooperation agreements. The security services also monitor the sale and acquisition of hazardous chemicals' raw materials to guarantee that they are not used for terrorist purposes(89).

The American pressure played a significant role in steering Jordan towards a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which was an important foreign policy alternative for Jordan. In addition to the United States' view of the advantages of Jordan's strategic location, which serves as a buffer zone between Iraq and the Israeli entity, the United States sought to exert pressure on Jordan to request the desperately needed American aid and obtain economic and military gains that contribute to achieving political stability in Jordan, allowing it to play a regional role in the region with the rest of the conflict parties(90).

In exchange, the United States gave aid to Jordan in an endeavor to reach an agreement between American and Jordanian policies regarding the maintenance of stability and security in the Middle East region, namely the continuation of the peace process with Israel. Concerning the Syrian crisis, the Jordanian side came under pressure following the admission of Syrian Air Force defectors into Jordanian territory. And Jordan is in a precarious position and is being subjected to an attempt to forcibly remove it from the state of neutrality that Jordan has preferred to maintain since the outbreak of the crisis, especially since Jordan did not agree with the Gulf (Saudi-Qatari) and U.S.-Western international positions during the preceding period(91).

These threats were from Salafi-jihadi and Shiite militias connected with the Iranian Revolutionary Guards and emanated from the borders of Syria. Economic burdens and security concerns overlap with it, and intersect to form the political starting points on which the Jordanian policy towards the



Syrian crisis was founded. In order to accomplish its security goals, Jordan complied with American directives about the Syrian conflict in a flexible fashion(92).

There is another perspective on the US national policy to combat terrorism. Whereas the United States is at war with transnational terrorist movements inspired by a radical ideology of hatred, oppression, and murder, the European Union is at peace. The National Counterterrorism Strategy, released for the first time in February 2003, acknowledges that the United States is at war and that the security and defense of the nation, the American people, and their way of life remain the highest priority. The approach also recognizes that the war on terrorism is a different and unique sort of conflict; it has been a battle of weaponry and a combat of ideas and beliefs from the outset, and it promotes freedom and human dignity as alternatives to the terrorists' pernicious ideology. The counterterrorism model employs all elements: "Our national strength and influence; we do not rely solely on military force, but also on diplomatic, financial, intelligence, and law enforcement activities to protect the homeland, expand our defenses, disrupt terrorist operations, and deny our enemies the means to operate and survive"(93). In accordance with this strategy to win the war on terrorism, the United States developed multiple strategies to combat global threats and "terrorist movements" as well as "extremist ideology" that justifies the use of violence and force against innocent people in the name of religion, including the following(94):

- Consolidation of successful democracies as a long-term countermeasure against terrorist ideology.
- Interdiction of terrorist network attacks.
- Dissuading terrorists from supporting terrorist nations and their safe havens.
- Stopping terrorists from seizing control of any country that serves as a terrorist base and launch pad.

- Laying the groundwork and constructing the institutions and infrastructure necessary to advance the fight against terrorism and assure our ultimate success.

In Egypt, successive military regimes have been rewarded by US administrations that have continuously ignored their autocratic rule and brutal practices. The 2013 military coup in Egypt, which ousted the country's first democratically elected president, Mohamed Morsi, is one such instance. But the United States did not identify it as a coup, which was in stark contrast to Washington's response to the recent military takeover in Sudan, which Washington labeled as a coup, provoking criticism of the United States' inconsistency and double standards in foreign policy(95).

As part of its strategic calculations, the United States has supplied Egypt with substantial quantities of armaments and assisted it in combating Sinai-based terrorists. Due to this backing and other military assistance, Egypt was able to mediate a cease-fire between Hamas and Israel in Gaza, enhancing its credibility and strategic significance in the eyes of the United States(96).

In the same setting, the terrorist threat and heavy repression typically result in increased conflict and terrorist acts in Egypt, and the situation is unquestionably exacerbated. Since 2013, state and non-state parties have been responsible for the murders of hundreds, if not thousands, of Egyptians, including civilians, members of armed groups, and police and military personnel. Nonetheless, the United States, the United Kingdom, and numerous other European states have supported the Egyptian leadership(97).

The American and Egyptian governments have attempted to overcome the tensions that have defined their bilateral relations since the July 2013 coup by refocusing and solidifying the partnership between the United States and Egypt on their major shared objectives, such as defeating terrorism. Although this is reasonable and realistic, hostility endures because both sides define "terrorism" differently; hence, even

as the United States works with Egypt to combat grave threats in Sinai and its other border regions, public relations will remain tense and aid is doubtful. Egypt faces a real, realistic, and dangerous terrorist threat in the Sinai Peninsula, and addressing this threat is indeed a security and military priority. The Egyptian military launched its offensive in the Sinai while US aid was suspended between October and April due to the crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood and other political activists. Additionally, American and Egyptian authorities converse frequently regarding the Sinai issue(98).

The Egyptian terrorist activities in Sinai are also of concern to the United States, which has taken note of the escalation of Egyptian efforts by expanding its "war on terror" into a "war on political dissent." Thus, Egypt loses American help in the fight against terrorism. In exchange, the American administration is hesitant to supply anti-terrorism capabilities out of concern that they would be used to attack political opponents. The conclusion is that Egypt and the United States can continue their counterterrorism collaboration in Sinai regardless of whether Egypt progresses in a democratic direction or not, because security in the peninsula is a shared concern. In spite of this, American help to Egypt in the fight against terrorism would be significantly increased if the Egyptian government moderated political opposition(99).

The Trump administration defends the delivery of hundreds of millions of dollars in new military aid to Egypt by emphasizing the country's progress in its fight against terrorism and modest improvements in its human rights record. According to a State Department official, the United States has worked closely with the Egyptian administration to further deepen bilateral cooperation in support of shared security and counterterrorism objectives. The Secretary authorized an additional \$195 million in foreign military financing (FMF) for Egypt in fiscal year 2017 by signing the National Security Waiver. In addition to the certification that permits a \$1 billion FMF contribution to Egypt in fiscal year

2018, the State Department official stated, "We continue to support Egypt in its fight against terrorism and in its efforts to promote inclusive economic growth and good governance"(100). From this perspective, American officials explain the giving of such assistance and aid as an effort to preserve the Camp David peace pact with Israel, assist Egypt in eradicating terrorism, and strengthen American-Egyptian relations. And the development of interoperability between the armed forces of the two nations, as well as securing concessions across Egyptian territory for the American army, such as overflight rights and rapid access through the Suez Canal. Egyptian law stipulates a 30-day grace period before ratifying the passage of the Suez Canal, but Egypt permits the passage of American ships within 24 to 48 hours of being notified of the request to cross(101).

#### **Pressure factors in the political and democratic aspects**

Concerning democracy and political development, former US President Barack Obama underlined that democracy is not imposed from the outside and advocated tying political change in Middle Eastern nations to US aid as a more effective means of promoting democracy. The United States of America would promote economic development in the Middle East through the investments it makes in the region, he asserted, calling for Middle Eastern countries to achieve economic integration(102) to revive the values associated with democracy and human rights, such as freedom of expression and opinion, the freedom to choose representatives of the people, the adoption of the rule of law in the societies of the Middle Eastern countries, and freedom of religion, as the Middle Eastern countries must ensure the protection of religious minorities and provide a safe environment for them to practice their religious rites in complete freedom. In addition, he emphasized the importance of respecting women's rights and removing any restrictions that hinder their freedom(103).

The United States of America's financial support to Jordan in 2011 was contingent upon the Jordanian government implementing legislative reforms. Within the aid agreements negotiated between the United States and Jordan in 2008 for the following five years, the United States has outlined a number of provisions for its assistance to Jordan, the most significant of which relates to the democratic transition. Under the terms of the agreement, the United States will provide Jordan with a total of (660) million USD over the period of (2010-2014) to cover Jordan's foreign debt, with about (53%) of the funds designated for education and educational reforms in Jordan. The monetary transfers support the Jordanian Parliament, the Jordanian Judicial Council, the Judicial Institute, and the Ministry of Justice through the capacity-building initiative administered by the Democracy Sector(104).

The Jordanian government has collaborated with the United States Agency for International Development to achieve the Jordanian government's goal of a more stable, secure, and democratic future. This was accomplished by fostering the collaboration between governmental institutions and citizens, bolstering the role of civil society, and bolstering local governance in order to offer services that contribute to the prosperity of Jordanian society(105).

This aid, which is one of the instruments of soft power, falls within the scope of the United States' influence over other nations in order to achieve its foreign policy objectives. So that it is based on countries of strategic importance, which deprives many countries in severe need of aid to advance their growing economies and simple projects, aid has become a political tool used by donor nations to exert their control and influence(106).

The United States launched the USAID (Jordan) program, which is a bilateral program that implements an agreed-upon plan using a variety of methods and means of assistance, including contracts, grants, and cooperative agreements(107).

The United States viewed its assistance to Jordan as a fundamental pillar of its international relations and

an important instrument for implementing its foreign policies, which necessitated the development of a number of agencies to advance the aid policy, the most important of which were the United States Agency for International Development and the American Information Agency, and placed them under the management of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the White House as the presiding authorities(108).

Through its policy of employing soft power toward Jordan and Egypt, the United States seeks to achieve multiple goals, including making the provision of aid a primary objective in order to maintain its global influence, as well as confirming the United States' status as a great power and maintaining its leadership position in the Middle East region(109).

Both Jordan and Egypt felt that the US funds, initiatives, and agreements signed as an instrument of soft power were tied to their perspectives on political solutions to the Palestinian question, as well as their political, economic, and social systems. It exerted pressure or influence on the political environment of Jordan. That the American declaration imposing conditions on the provision of aid to Jordan occurred at the same time as a social and political movement whose parties demanded specific constitutional reforms related to the processes of political development in the country, such as the electoral law and others, resulting in a number of political demands and burdens on Jordan(110).

#### **Pressure factors in human rights aspects**

U.S. foreign policy, international relations, and the terms of economic aid to the Middle East are based on the concepts of democracy and human rights, and they are used to intervene in or isolate countries that oppose U.S. interests and values in the world. In this way, the United States seeks to dominate the global community(111).

All of this occurred at the same time as the United States moved toward democratic regimes seeking justice in human rights and protection of public freedoms, and a trend emerged within the United

States calling for the development of American relations with the covering countries to be tied to democratic transformation processes. This prompted US administration until the era of Barack Obama and then the current administration of Joe Biden 2020, with the exception of Trump's term, to allocate part of the financial aid to support democracy within the US national budget project in order to advance democracy in the world and to link that aid to the degree to which progress has been made in the transition to democratic systems, as well as to support the ruling regimes in countries that follow the democratic path(112).

The United States is devoted to the promotion of human rights, fundamental freedoms, and human dignity and well-being, which are among the soft tools it employs to spread its influence at the worldwide level, which includes Jordan(113).

- The United States is committed to continuing to assist Jordan in meeting its human rights obligations through discourse on fundamental human rights, the exchange of experts, technical and interregional collaboration, and continuous support for the NGO Business Program.
- The United States is dedicated to continue its efforts to allow international systems to promote women's rights, protect them, and elevate their status. By supporting UN Women and implementing resolutions related to women, peace, and security, as well as all Human Rights Council and General Assembly resolutions pertinent to eradicating all forms of violence against women in Jordan and enabling their participation in politics.
- The United States is dedicated to strengthening the human rights of people with disabilities via measures that promote non-discrimination, dignity, individual autonomy, and, finally, equitable treatment.
- The United States consolidates its efforts to combat all overt and covert forms of racism and racial and ethnic discrimination at the local and international levels, and America is a party to the

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as it adheres to the goals and objectives of this agreement and the fully implemented obligations of state parties. Particular emphasis must be placed on removing any remaining legal barriers to equal rights and opportunities for individuals, as well as addressing the reality of persistent discrimination and inequality within institutions and societies, and the United States must be committed to providing support for anti-discrimination efforts.

- The United States abides by international conventions that prohibit torture and cruel, inhuman, or humiliating treatment or punishment. In addition, the United States supports the work of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture and the Committee Against Torture. In 2015, the United States participated in the initiative of the Group of Friends of the Convention Against Torture and the application of these laws and treaties to Jordan.
- The United States pledges to continue cooperating with other governments and the International Labor Organization to promote respect for workers' rights worldwide. Fund technical support efforts to combat forced labor and other types of human trafficking.

The United States Agency for International Development in Jordan, which is a component of the United States' soft power, has centered its efforts on modifying regulations pertaining to "promoting gender equality." And strive to create awareness of social trends and beliefs that impede the economic, political, and civic involvement of women and youth via social media conversations, youth initiatives, awareness-raising events, and training. According to the statistics compiled by the American Agency, less than one-fifth of Jordanian women are employed. Although women's political engagement is still limited and the phenomena of violence against women persists, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) strives in everything it does to promote awareness of gender

issues and improve women-specific support services(114).

In this context, USAID assisted the Jordanian government in adopting and implementing a flexible working system to boost women's economic involvement, and assisted the Jordanian Ministry of Health in launching the country's first national monitoring and response system for maternal fatalities. In addition, it gave campaign leadership training to a number of female candidates, which led to the highest proportion of women obtaining seats in the 2016 parliamentary and 2017 local elections(115).

In this regard, USAID has been successful in repealing a Penal Code article that exempts perpetrators of sexual assault from punishment if they marry their victims, adopting and implementing a flexible work system to encourage women's economic participation, and launching a guide on combating violence against women in public life to assist women in Jordan in addressing the obstacles they face when seeking leadership roles(116).

As for Egypt, successive Egyptian regimes, including the present regime, have covertly used stability as a bargaining chip in their dealings with the United States, both domestically and abroad. Thus, on the domestic level, the preservation of stability is used as a justification for imposing repressive measures and stifling freedoms, and on the international level, it is used to emphasize Egypt's importance in protecting the strategic interests of major nations, primarily the United States, in the Middle East. The United States, which holds observer status on the United Nations Human Rights Council, was one of the 31 signatories to the joint statement on Egypt, its first since 2014, which demanded that Cairo eliminate limitations on freedom of expression and assembly.

The Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs voiced "great astonishment and displeasure" in reaction to the statement, which it claimed contained unsubstantiated false information(117).

The United States and Egypt are strong allies, but the Biden administration has committed to speak out against violations of human rights and the rule of law in Egypt. In the weeks preceding up to and concurrent with the bilateral strategic conversation in Washington, the Egyptian leadership was eager to take a number of cosmetic measures to appease the American side, knowing that the matter of human rights would undoubtedly be a central topic of discussion. This was especially true in view of Secretary Blinken's statement before to the dialogue that Egypt had "more important challenges" regarding human rights(118).

The United States and Egypt announced, for the first time in years, that they would put human rights on the agenda in Egypt, a country notorious for imprisoning activists, persecuting journalists, and suppressing free speech. The situation in which the State Department and Congress delayed \$130 million in military aid unless Egypt fulfilled its commitments to adhere to specified human rights criteria. It was the first occasion, according to Biden administration officials, that the secretary of state refused to provide a formal national security waiver to provide assistance. In response to international criticism, a new strategy for human rights was revealed and a plan for human rights protection was drafted for the first time during his seven-year power, and it was stated that Egypt does not want to be a rogue or influential state in the end. In the future years, the government rights plan asks for legislation reforms to protect civil and political rights, as well as training for state employees, in order to ensure adherence to human rights within state institutions(119).

One of these initiatives was the repeal of the emergency law that has been in effect in Egypt since April 2017, and another was the announcement of the first Egyptian National Strategy for Human Rights on November 9, 2021, during the Strategic Dialogue in Washington, D.C. Unsurprisingly, Egypt's state-controlled mainstream media praised the action, with many seeing it as a significant step



toward improving the country's human rights record. However, Secretary Blinken cautiously acknowledged the remark during the Strategic Dialogue and noted that such a policy can only be fully evaluated by examining its actual and concrete consequences(120).

Despite the rhetorical emphasis of the United States on the significance of improving Egypt's human rights record, the present administration has taken only minimal and insufficient action in this area by withholding a symbolic \$130 million of the \$1.3 billion in yearly US military funding to Egypt. Some human rights groups considered this action as a betrayal of the United States' commitment to human rights. There have been recent adjustments in the United States' political rhetoric regarding Egypt, with the present administration emphasizing the need to safeguard democracy and human rights. However, it did not result in tangible outcomes or significant policy changes(121).

The researchers believe that the Biden administration's approach to dealing with Arab dictatorships, particularly the present Egyptian leadership, clearly reflects this issue. It might be claimed that the Sisi government is utilizing this strategic discussion in Washington to polish its image and enhance its worldwide reputation as a crucial and strategic partner of the United States.

### **Pressure factors in the social and educational aspects**

The United States' programs aim to improve health and education services, create knowledge about family planning, and enhance the quality of health care. Through these programs, the education sectors of both Jordan and Egypt are supported, particularly educational development projects. Among the projects financed by these programs are the following:

- An initiative to advance education toward a knowledge-based economy.
- an initiative to enhance primary health services.
- Judicial education and the computerization of the Ministry of Justice.

Regarding the education sector, 27,000 male and female students have been trained to develop their scientific skills through the INJAZ program in order to qualify them for employment; the launch of the initiative to support educational development towards a knowledge economy, which aims to restructure the methods of education; and the establishment of new academies as part of the Cisco and UNIFEMM/CISCO initiative to develop the technical skills of young women(122). USAID has helped with(123):

- In 2016, it created educational and teaching materials for the reading and arithmetic program for the basic classes and helped train over 8,000 male and female teachers, or nearly 10 percent of the teachers in Jordan, as well as 120 supervisors from the Ministry of Education and contracted schools.
- Between 2002 and 2021, American aid built 28 modern schools and expanded 120 schools, benefiting over 200,000 students.
- From 2007 until January 2020, USAID worked to increase equal access to education by constructing, renovating, and expanding over 370 schools. These activities, which are performed in conjunction with teacher training, contribute to the reduction of classroom overcrowding, the improvement of accessibility for students with disabilities, and the provision of safe, conducive-to-learning classroom environments throughout Jordan.
- Since 2015, approximately 700 young men and women have graduated from 43 non-formal education centers affiliated with the United States Agency for International Development, allowing them to re-enroll in formal schools and continue their secondary education, launch their own projects, or seek employment.
- With the assistance of USAID, the Ministry of Education is now educating early grade teachers to improve numeracy and reading skills in their classes, which is crucial for the sustained academic achievement of kids. A 2019 national

examination of early grades undertaken by the ministry indicated a 10% rise in arithmetic comprehension by grade level and a 5% increase in reading comprehension among second and third graders over the previous five years.

- In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, USAID initiated a series of workshops for 12,000 early grade teachers at the beginning of the 2020–2021 school year to improve their capacity to provide distance learning to their pupils. It has trained over 9,000 male and female teachers in 52 locations around Jordan on how to implement a remedial reading and mathematics curriculum for pupils in kindergarten through third grade.
- USAID designed and distributed study workbooks to 3,600 students who entered first grade without having attended kindergarten, and provided remote assistance to parents in preparing students for the new school year.

In order to enhance education in Egypt, the United States Agency for International Development has funded the Egyptian education sector. The overall amount of aid is roughly \$1.14 billion, which will be used to develop education, provide equitable access to education, and improve school administration in basic education in the governorates. In addition, the educational process has been improved through the training of teachers, the provision of school libraries in Egypt's primary schools, and the use of information technology. The United States Agency for International Development provides access to educational opportunities through the building of schools in densely populated developing rural areas, as well as adult literacy and early childhood development activities. The United States Agency for International Development strives to strengthen school administrations through the training of school principals, the development of a nationwide information management system, and the training of school boards of trustees. Lastly, support for higher education includes assisting undergraduate and master's degree students with scholarships and

participation in community college programs(124). USAID has supported(125):

- Long decades of consistent support for girls' education have increased girls' attendance in primary schools, notably through the establishment of non-traditional schools and the provision of scholarships for more than 185,000 girls, as well as the alteration of society's mental image. Today, girls are more likely than boys to complete their secondary education.
- Since 2016, USAID has supported technical secondary schools in Egypt, providing technical support and vocational training to more than 58,000 teachers, students, principals, and staff. During that time, USAID assisted more than 5,400 female graduates of technical and vocational schools in finding employment.
- USAID has provided 519 STEM undergraduate scholarships to girls during the past seven years.
- Since 2017, USAID has offered 14,000 rural women leaders with training in leadership skills so they can participate in teaching and developing community awareness and assume leadership responsibilities.
- Since 2017, the organization has educated 4,490 adult literacy facilitators who have engaged 58,049 women in intergenerational literacy activities.
- Since 2017, USAID has provided access to education for 38,290 rural girls utilizing a high-quality learning environment and attending community schools.

From this perspective, and with the assistance of the United States to Jordan and Egypt, this resulted in a series of cultural and educational transformations in the two countries. Culture and education are, without a doubt, essential components for supporting the soft power of the state and preserving its internal integrity, particularly when they include the formation of mental perceptions. It has influential values on the political level, such as openness, social mobility, individual ambition, collective and voluntary spirit, freedom, and adventure, as it

reflects the values of democracy and human rights, and these are regarded as strong sources of attraction that increase the state's persuasion and influence through international relations.

### **Conclusion**

This study examines the state and methods of operation of soft power instruments in US foreign policy in the Middle East region in general and Jordan and Egypt in particular as case studies, and examines the tools employed by the United States to maintain its vital interests in the Middle East. Based on the study's problem, objectives, and questions, the study answered its questions and met its objectives by collecting data on soft power and the foundations, components, and strategies used by the United States of America to maintain its position as the world's preeminent power, particularly in the Middle East region of "Jordan and Egypt." The study is predicated on the central hypothesis that there is a direct correlation between the independent variable (the soft power of American foreign policy) and the dependent variable (the number of terrorist attacks) (towards the Middle East, "protecting its interests," a study of the cases of Jordan and Egypt). In other words, "whenever the United States employs the instruments and mechanisms of soft power in its foreign policy, it will be able to preserve its important interests in the Middle East region, particularly in Jordan and Egypt."

The study demonstrated the veracity of this hypothesis, as the United States, through its policy of employing soft power towards Jordan and Egypt, sought to achieve multiple goals, including the provision of assistance in the political, economic, military, educational, cultural, and human rights spheres. A fundamental objective is to bolster US national security so as to preserve its worldwide influence, confirm its status as a superpower, and preserve its leadership position in the Middle East region. Both Jordan and Egypt felt that US aid, programs, and agreements reached as part of soft power were tied to their perspectives on political solutions to the Palestinian question, as well as their

own political, economic, and social systems. From the preceding information, it was feasible to draw the following conclusions and recommendations:

### **Results**

1. The study clarified the idea of soft power and its most essential components: that diplomacy is shaped by a state's weight and how it impacts it regionally and internationally, as well as its relationship to the amount of its power in US foreign policy.
2. The United States of America used programs, grants, and aid, as well as media and diplomatic means in the Middle East region with the power of attaining its political objectives and imposing its dominance as a soft superpower.
3. The United States followed a program of loans, aid, and grants that caused the recipient countries to bow to the dictates of states or donors, as borrowing and requesting handouts are an express acknowledgment by the state that it can no longer control its economic affairs. It is prepared to accept many of the conditions imposed by institutions, organizations, and donor nations on the state, its administration, and its citizens.
4. The geopolitical obligations of both the Jordanian and Egyptian governments were the primary cause in their orientation toward American aid and acceptance of cultural, technical, and other programs provided by the United States.
5. The weakness of the Jordanian and Egyptian economies, their limitations, and their reliance on the services sector—the limited GDP and the high rates of poverty and unemployment—pushed them to rely more on or respond to soft power instruments such as financial aid, economic, technical, and cultural programs, and scientific exchange, which means that the two countries are closely linked with the United States and the international and regional arrangement that requires it.
6. The policies of successive US administrations, particularly the policy of former US President Donald Trump towards the Arab region, the "Middle East," including the policy of dealing with duplication of security and existential files between

the Arabs and Israel, led to the weakness and fragility of the use of soft power instruments.

7. Changes in the US State Department's policy positions towards the Iraqi war, the Arab Gulf, and the Palestinian issue led to the erosion of the United States' moral commitment, and this was one of the primary reasons for the decline in American influence in recent years.
8. The rising human rights breaches in the Middle East and North Africa region have galvanized the international community against US activities in the region, and monitoring the death toll from the conflicts in Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen has become a top priority for Arab and Western media.
9. The diversity of attitudes and affiliations in the Middle East region, the scarcity of reliable opinion polls, the escalating criticism of American policy towards the region, the impact of digital age communications, and the difficulty of explaining the behavior of ordinary Americans are among the most significant obstacles to the use of American soft power in the Arab world.

## Recommendations

1. Improving the effectiveness of Jordanian foreign policy on the international stage by modifying the means and instruments that support this policy and adapting to the new international structure, regulations, and circumstances.
2. Develop international and regional collaboration through engaging with influential economic groupings and avoiding reliance on certain parties to secure foreign help.
3. Adopting an economic program that enables Jordan and Egypt to repay their debts and end their need on foreign help.
4. Apply pressure on the United States to reevaluate its approach towards the Middle East and its backing for Israel.

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