

# Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations

(name redacted)

Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs

July 26, 2016

Congressional Research Service

7-....

[www.crs.gov](http://www.crs.gov)

RL33546

## Summary

This report provides an overview of Jordanian politics and current issues in U.S.-Jordanian relations. It provides a brief discussion of Jordan's government and economy and of its cooperation with U.S. policy objectives in the Middle East.

Several issues are likely to figure in decisions by Congress and the Administration on future aid to and cooperation with Jordan. These include Jordan's continued involvement in attempting to promote Israeli-Palestinian peace and the stability of the Jordanian regime, particularly in light of ongoing conflicts in neighboring Syria and Iraq. U.S. officials may also consider potential threats to Jordan from the Islamic State organization (also known as ISIS or ISIL).

Although the United States and Jordan have never been linked by a formal treaty, they have cooperated on a number of regional and international issues over the years. Jordan's small size and lack of major economic resources have made it dependent on aid from Western and various Arab sources. U.S. support, in particular, has helped Jordan address serious vulnerabilities, both internal and external. Jordan's geographic position, wedged between Israel, Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, has made it vulnerable to the strategic designs of more powerful neighbors, but has also given Jordan an important role as a buffer between these countries in their largely adversarial relations with one another.

The United States has provided economic and military aid to Jordan since 1951 and 1957, respectively. Total bilateral U.S. aid (overseen by State & USAID) to Jordan through FY2016 amounted to approximately \$17.108 billion. With more U.S. aid to Jordan being channeled through the Defense Department's security assistance accounts, Jordan has received \$774.6 million in additional military aid since FY2014.

For FY2017, H.R. 5912, the House version of the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations bill, would provide not less than \$1.275 billion in total aid to Jordan, of which not less than \$375 million shall be for budget support for the Government of Jordan. The Senate version (S. 3117) would provide not less than \$1 billion in total aid to Jordan.

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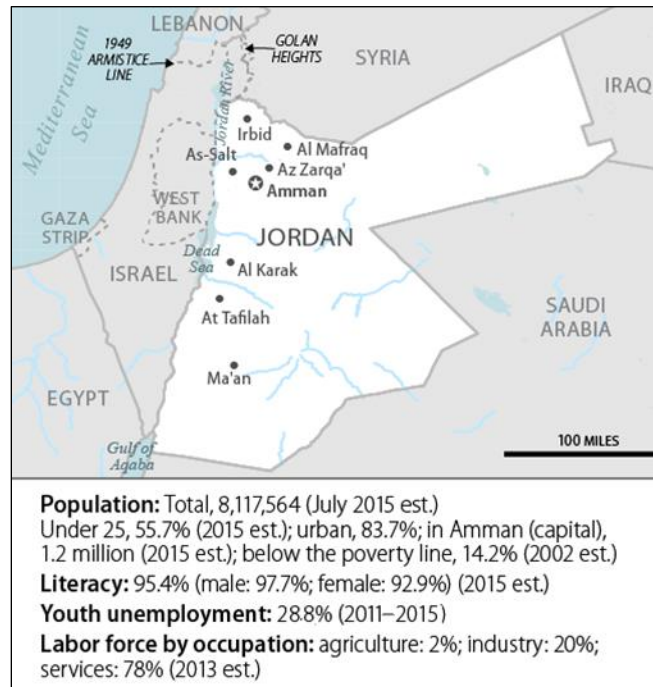
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## Overview

Jordan's small size, geographic location, and paucity of economic resources have opened it up to security threats and made it dependent on aid from Western and Arab sources to meet its defense needs. Jordan's vulnerabilities have become more apparent in recent years, with the large and continuing influx of Syrian refugees and the potential spillover of extremism and terrorism challenging both border security and internal stability.

**Figure 1. Jordan—Map and Basic Facts**



The professionalism of Jordan's military and security services, along with the policies of its leaders, have made Jordan an important partner for the United States on regional issues and helped maintain broad congressional support for assistance. Jordan is contributing to Operation Inherent Resolve against the Islamic State organization (IS, also known as ISIL, ISIS, or the Arabic acronym *Da'esh*) in Syria and Iraq by periodically conducting air strikes, allowing the use of its bases by foreign forces, and sharing intelligence with coalition partners.<sup>1</sup>

In order to bolster Jordan's economy and military capability, the Administration and Congress have provided significant amounts of foreign assistance to the kingdom. P.L. 114-113, the FY2016 Omnibus Appropriations Act, provides "not less than" \$1.275 billion in bilateral economic and military aid for Jordan. The act also authorizes the use of Defense Department-wide funding (Operations & Maintenance) for Jordan to increase or sustain security along its borders. Section 9012 of the act further specifies that "up to \$600 million from the Counterterrorism Partnerships Fund (CTPF) may be used to provide assistance to Jordan to enhance security along its borders."

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Remarks by Special Presidential Envoy to the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL Brett McGurk Before the Daily Press Briefing," January 5, 2015.

# The Islamic State, Syria, and Jordan's Security Concerns

Jordan is a key contributor to the U.S.-led coalition to counter the Islamic State. Jordanian F-16s and other aircraft fly missions as part of Operation Inherent Resolve in Syria and Iraq, and Administration officials have testified that Jordan has shown no sign of decreasing the tempo of its air strikes.<sup>2</sup> In limited instances, Jordanian ground forces and special operators have retaken territory from Islamic State (IS) fighters along the kingdom's border with Syria and Iraq.<sup>3</sup>

Jordan is an attractive IS target because of the kingdom's strong ties to the West and close relations with Israel under a 1994 peace treaty. In recent months, there have been several possible IS-directed or inspired attacks inside Jordan, including the following:

- On March 2, IS-linked militants killed a Jordanian officer participating in a raid on the group's hideaway in the town of Irbid.
- On June 6, unidentified gunmen killed five people, including three security officers, at a Jordanian intelligence services office in the Baqaa refugee camp on the outskirts of Amman. No group has claimed responsibility for this attack.
- On June 21, a suicide bomb attack on the Jordanian-Syrian border killed 7 people at the remote Al Rukban refugee camp near the Syria-Iraq-Jordan tri-border area. The bombing wounded border guards, civil defense personnel and members of Jordan's Public Security Department.

**The War in Syria**—The war in Syria poses a number of problems for Jordan. Syrian refugees have fled to the kingdom; Jordan's borders have become less secure; and Russian jets have conducted air strikes against Syrian rebel groups operating close to the kingdom. Jordan has worked on multiple fronts to mitigate these challenges. On the military side, it has quietly supported moderate Syrian rebel groups (such as the Southern Front) operating in southwestern Syria in order to prevent more radical groups from taking hold.<sup>4</sup> On the diplomatic side, Jordan is a member of the International Syria Support Group (ISSG), a group of countries attempting to broker a negotiated settlement to the Syria conflict. On the humanitarian side, Jordan has hosted at least 657,433 UNHCR-registered Syrian refugees, who have increased the country's population by 10%. Thousands more unregistered refugees may be in Jordan.

In recent weeks, there have been several key developments with respect to Jordan's involvement in Syria, including:

- In late June, a joint *New York Times*/*Al Jazeera* investigation alleged that mid-level Jordanian intelligence officers had stolen U.S. and Saudi-supplied weapons intended for Syrian rebels and that some of these weapons were used in a

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<sup>2</sup> Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, Jordan: A Key U.S. Partner, Statement of Ambassador Gerald M. Feierstein, Principle Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs, February 11, 2016.

<sup>3</sup>“Jordan begins covert operations against IS in Syria,” *Middle East Eye*, March 25, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Officially, Jordan denies that it offers technical and logistical support to Syrian rebels. Instead, the government emphasizes its participation in the international coalition to counter Daesh and extremism broadly. See, Open Source Enterprise, *OSE Media Note: Jordan -- Officials Downplay Syria Intervention*, Regional Media Highlight Role, Document ID# LIR2016071375179053, July 13, 2016.

- November 2015 shooting that killed two Americans and three others at a police training facility in Amman.<sup>5</sup>
- In July, Russian airstrikes near the Jordanian-Syrian border killed at least eight people, many of whom were Syrian refugees. Russian aircraft may have been targeting rebel groups backed by the United States and Jordan. The strike was the closest Russian attack along the Jordanian border since Russia began military strikes in Syria in September 2015. The Kingdom has tried to coordinate with Moscow in order to keep their respective military forces apart.<sup>6</sup>

**Figure 2. Syria-Jordan Border**



Source: CRS Graphics.

### U.S. Troops in Jordan

According to the President's last War Powers Resolution Report to Congress, "at the request of the Government of Jordan, 2,200 U.S. military personnel are deployed to Jordan to support the security of Jordan and promote regional stability. These forces will remain in Jordan, in full coordination with the Government of Jordan, until the security situation becomes such that they are no longer needed."<sup>7</sup> Although precise details of the U.S. military presence in Jordan may be classified, American soldiers support the deployment of a contingent of U.S. F-16s and operate a Patriot missile battery near Jordan's northern border with Syria.

<sup>5</sup> "C.I.A. Arms for Syrian Rebels Supplied Black Market, Officials Say," *New York Times*, June 26, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> "Syrian rebels say Russian jets hit refugee camp along Jordan border," *Reuters*, July 13, 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Letter From The President-- War Powers Resolution, June 13, 2016.

## Country Background

Although the United States and Jordan have never been linked by a formal treaty, they have cooperated on a number of regional and international issues for decades. Jordan's small size and lack of major economic resources have made it dependent on aid from Western and various Arab sources. U.S. support, in particular, has helped Jordan deal with serious vulnerabilities, both internal and external. Jordan's geographic position, wedged between Israel, Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, has made it vulnerable to the strategic designs of its powerful neighbors, but has also given Jordan an important role as a buffer between these countries in their largely adversarial relations with one another.

Jordan, created by colonial powers after World War I, initially consisted of desert or semi-desert territory east of the Jordan River, inhabited largely by people of Bedouin tribal background. The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 brought large numbers of Palestinian refugees to Jordan, which subsequently unilaterally annexed a small Palestinian enclave west of the Jordan River known as the West Bank.<sup>8</sup> The original "East Bank" Jordanians, though probably no longer a majority in Jordan, remain predominant in the country's political and military establishments and form the bedrock of support for the Jordanian monarchy. Jordanians of Palestinian origin comprise an estimated 55% to 70% of the population and generally tend to gravitate toward the private sector due to their general exclusion from certain public sector and military positions.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Though there was very little international recognition of Jordan's annexation of the West Bank, Jordan maintained control of it (including East Jerusalem) until Israel took military control of it during the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War, and maintained its claim to it until relinquishing the claim to the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1988.

<sup>9</sup> Speculation over the ratio of East Bankers to Palestinians (those who arrived as refugees and immigrants since 1948) in Jordanian society tends to be a sensitive domestic issue. Jordan last conducted a national census in 2004, and it is unclear whether or not the government maintains such statistics. Over time, intermarriage has made it more difficult to discern distinct differences between the two communities, though divisions do persist.

## The Hashemite Royal Family

Jordan is a hereditary constitutional monarchy under the prestigious Hashemite family, which claims descent from the Prophet Muhammad. King Abdullah II (age 54) has ruled the country since 1999, when he succeeded to the throne upon the death of his father, the late King Hussein, after a 47-year reign. Educated largely in Britain and the United States, King Abdullah II had earlier pursued a military career, ultimately serving as commander of Jordan's Special Operations Forces with the rank of Major General. The king's son, Prince Hussein bin Abdullah (born in 1994), is the designated crown prince.<sup>10</sup>

The king appoints a prime minister to head the government and the Council of Ministers (Cabinet).<sup>11</sup> On average, Jordanian governments last no more than 15 months before they are dissolved by royal decree. This seems to be done in order to bolster the king's reform credentials and to distribute patronage among a wide range of elites. The king also appoints all judges and is commander of the armed forces.

### Jordan in Brief

**Population:** 6.4-7.0 million est.

**Area:** 89,213 sq. km. (34,445 sq. mi., slightly smaller than Indiana)

**Ethnic Groups:** Arabs 98%; Circassians 1%; Armenians 1%

**Religion:** Sunni Muslim 97.2%; Christian 2%

**Literacy:** 95.9% (male 97%, female 94%)

**GDP:** Per Capita \$6,100 (2013 est.), country comparison to the world: 151

**Foreign Exchange Reserves:** \$15 billion (est. 2015)

**Youth Unemployment (ages 15-24):** 33%

**External Debt:** \$11 billion (2015)

**Sources:** CIA World Factbook, World Bank, IMF.

## Political System and Key Institutions

The Jordanian constitution, most recently amended in 2016, empowers the king with broad executive powers. The king appoints the prime minister and may dismiss him or accept his resignation. He also has the sole power to appoint the crown prince, senior military leaders, justices of the constitutional court, and all 75 members of the senate. The king appoints cabinet ministers. The constitution enables the king to dissolve both houses of parliament and postpone lower house elections for two years.<sup>12</sup> The king can circumvent parliament through a constitutional mechanism that allows provisional legislation to be issued by the Cabinet when parliament is not sitting or has been dissolved.<sup>13</sup> The king also can issue royal decrees, which are not subject to parliamentary scrutiny. The king commands the armed forces, declares war, and

<sup>10</sup> In July 2009, King Abdullah II named Prince Hussein (then 15 years old), as crown prince. The position had been vacant since 2004, when King Abdullah II removed the title from his half-brother, Prince Hamzah.

<sup>11</sup> In March 2013, King Abdullah II consulted with members of the 17<sup>th</sup> parliament before choosing a prime minister. Although the King retains the constitutional authority to appoint and dismiss the prime minister, he has pledged to reach a consensus with lawmakers before choosing a premier. The Muslim Brotherhood, which boycotted the election leading to the formation of the current parliament, seeks a parliamentary system of government in which the prime minister would be chosen by the largest bloc in parliament.

<sup>12</sup> The king also may declare martial law. According to Article 125, "In the event of an emergency of such a serious nature that action under the preceding Article of the present Constitution will be considered insufficient for the defense of the Kingdom, the King may by a Royal Decree, based on a decision of the Council of Ministers, declare martial law in the whole or any part of the Kingdom."

<sup>13</sup> New amendments to Article 94 in 2011 have put some restrictions on when the executive is allowed to issue temporary laws.



ratifies treaties. Finally, Article 195 of the Jordanian Penal Code prohibits insulting the dignity of the king (*lèse-majesté*) with criminal penalties of one to three years in prison.

The Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood (JMB) is the strongest opposition group, but it is divided between reformists and conservatives, and pro- and anti-monarchical factions. Youth protestors remain active in opposition political circles, but they tend to act in small groups and appear divided along secular/Islamist and regional/tribal lines. Political parties in Jordan are extremely weak, as the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Islamic Action Front (IAF) is the only well-organized movement. Most parties represent narrow parochial interests and are composed of prominent individuals representing a particular family or tribe.

Jordan's constitution provides for an independent judiciary. According to Article 97, "Judges are independent, and in the exercise of their judicial functions they are subject to no authority other than that of the law." Jordan has three main types of courts: Civil courts, special courts (some of which are military/state security courts), and religious courts. In Jordan, state security courts administered by military (and civilian) judges handle criminal cases involving espionage, bribery of public officials, trafficking in narcotics or weapons, black marketeering, and "security offenses." Overall, the king may appoint and dismiss judges by decree, though in practice a palace-appointed Higher Judicial Council manages court appointments, promotions, transfers, and retirements.

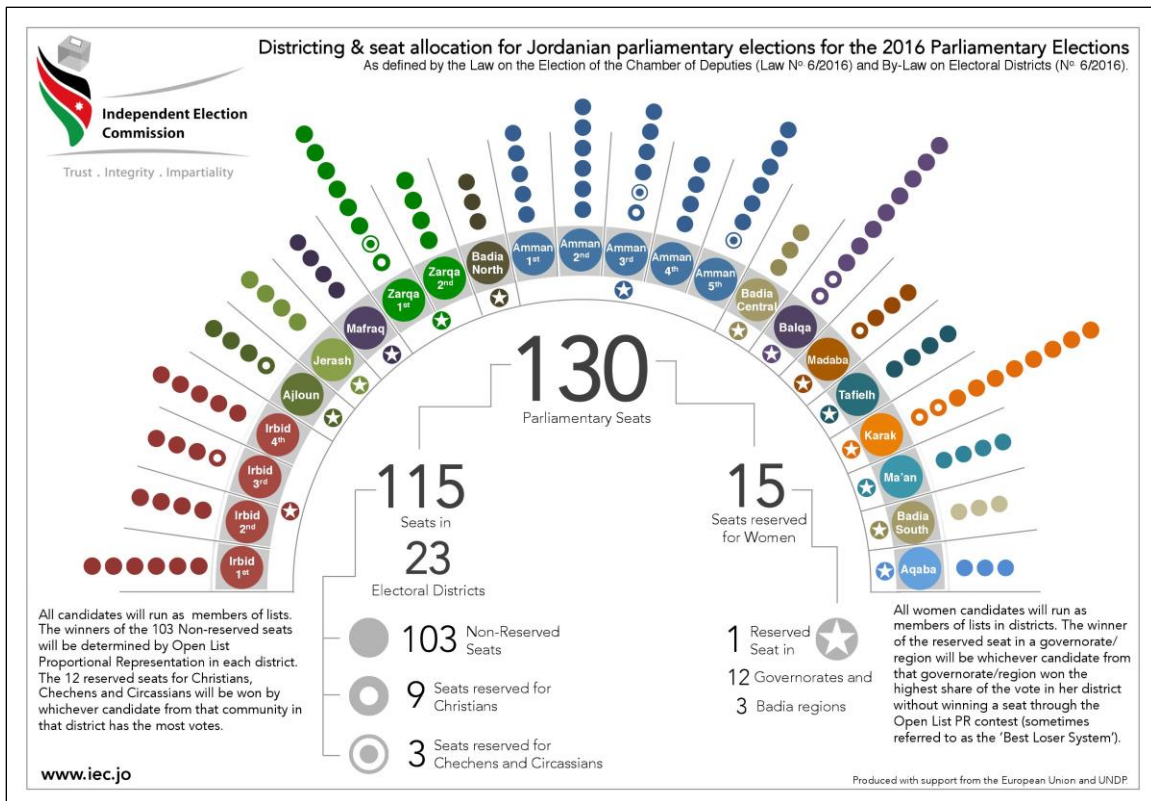
**Figure 3. Select Members of the Jordanian Royal Family**

	<p><b>King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein</b> (born 1962)  King Abdullah II has been King of Jordan since February 7, 1999, when he succeeded his father King Hussein. Since his ascent to the throne, King Abdullah II has maintained a relatively stable country and a favorable international reputation. The king is a major general in the Jordanian military and has studied at Oxford, Georgetown, and the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. King Abdullah II is married to Queen Rania, and they have four children.</p>
	<p><b>Prince Feisal ibn Al Hussein</b> (born 1963)  <i>Brother to the king</i>  Prince Feisal is Deputy Supreme Commander of the Jordan Armed Forces and has served as regent during Abdullah II's absences abroad. He is president of the Jordan Olympics Committee and a member of the International Olympic Committee, and he founded the non-profit organization Generations for Peace. He is married to Alia Tabba, and they have four children.</p>
	<p><b>Princess Aisha bint Al Hussein</b> (born 1968)  <i>Sister to the king</i>  Princess Aisha is the defense attaché with Jordan's embassy in Washington. She is a major general in the Jordanian military and a member of NATO's Women Mediterranean Dialogue. Princess Aisha studied at Oxford, the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, and the National Defense University in Washington. She is married to Zeid Saadedine Juma, and they have two children.</p>
	<p><b>Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al Hussein</b> (born 1964)  <i>Son of Prince Ra'ad bin Zeid of Jordan; distant relation to the king</i>  Prince Zeid has been the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights since September 2014. Before that, he was Jordan's ambassador to the US and non-resident ambassador to Mexico (2007-2010). He played an important role in establishing the International Criminal Court and was elected first president of the Assembly of State Parties of the International Criminal Court in 2002. From 1994-1996, he was a political affairs officer in UNPROFOR in former Yugoslavia. He is married to Sarah Butler, and they have three children.</p>
	<p><b>Crown Prince Hussein ibn Abdullah</b> (born 1994)  <i>Son of the king and heir apparent</i>  Hussein was named Crown Prince in 2009 and has occasionally served as regent since coming of age in 2012. He is currently a student at Georgetown University, majoring in Political Science. He holds the title first lieutenant in the Jordanian military. His "Haqeq" (achieve) initiative is a civic-minded youth organization.</p>

**Source:** Created by CRS. Images derived from various media sources.

## 2016 Parliamentary Elections

Parliamentary elections for the 130-member lower house of parliament (Chamber of Deputies) are scheduled for September 20, 2016. According to the 2015 electoral law, Jordanian voters cast ballots both for individual representatives allotted to their districts (the kingdom is divided into 23 electoral districts) and for party lists. There are quotas for women (15 seats), Christians (9), and Circassians and Chechens (3). Members serve a four-year term, and the voting process is overseen by the Independent Elections Commission (IEC).

**Figure 4. 2016 Parliamentary Elections**

**Source:** Independent Election Commission

Due to divisions within the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood over the trajectory of its political approach toward the government (accommodating versus confrontational), Islamists have splintered into smaller factions, leading to the possible fragmentation of the opposition in the upcoming elections. The IAF had boycotted the previous two parliamentary elections in 2013 and 2010. In order to legitimize the election in the eyes of the West, Jordan is eager to have opposition participation.

## The Economy

In Jordan, there is widespread dissatisfaction with the state of the economy. With few natural resources and a small industrial base, Jordan has an economy which is heavily dependent on external aid from abroad, tourism, expatriate worker remittances, and the service sector. In 2016, the economy has grown modestly at around 2.3%. Among the long-standing problems Jordan faces are poverty, corruption, slow economic growth, and high levels of unemployment (including female unemployment). Each year, thousands of Jordanians go abroad in search of better jobs and opportunities. Like many poor countries, Jordan suffers from a “brain drain” of its most talented workers, and the government has struggled to develop incentives to keep its well-educated, highly skilled workers from leaving. The government is by far the largest employer, with between one-third and two-thirds of all workers on the state's payroll.

Due to perennially slow economic growth, high energy/food subsidies, and its large public sector workforce, Jordan usually runs annual budget deficits (total public debt is \$35.4 billion, net public debt is 93% of projected 2016 GDP), which it partially offsets by appealing to the

international community for direct budget support. In order to keep Jordan fiscally stable, the IMF agreed to a three-year, \$2 billion loan in August 2012. Formal negotiations on a new extended fund facility (EFF) with the IMF, which will likely provide approximately \$1.5 billion in loans, began in May 2016. Recent media reports indicate that the IMF is calling on the Jordanian government to take a more active role in structural reforms to improve the business environment and encourage investment. The IMF and World Bank also are encouraging the Jordanian government to permit Syrian refugees to work legally in Jordan, by providing grants and a new \$300 million loan to jumpstart the economy.

## U.S. Foreign Assistance to Jordan

The United States has provided economic and military aid to Jordan since 1951 and 1957, respectively. Total bilateral U.S. aid (overseen by State & USAID) to Jordan through FY2016 amounted to approximately \$17.108 billion. With more U.S. aid to Jordan being channeled through the Defense Department's security assistance accounts, Jordan has received \$774.6 million in additional military aid since FY2014.

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

On February 3, 2015, the Obama Administration and the Jordanian government signed a nonbinding, three-year memorandum of understanding (MOU), in which the United States pledges to provide the kingdom with \$1 billion annually in total U.S. foreign assistance, subject to the approval of Congress, from FY2015 through FY2017. The new MOU followed a previous five-year agreement in which the United States had pledged to provide a total of \$660 million annually from FY2009 through FY2014. During those five years, Congress actually provided Jordan with \$4.753 billion in total aid, or \$1.453 billion (\$290.6 million annually) above what was agreed to in the five-year MOU, including more than \$1 billion in FY2014. According to the Department of State, "The United States and Jordan share a commitment to promoting regional security and stability, furthering Jordan's economic development, and advancing social, political, and economic reform in Jordan. The United States recognizes Jordan's increased immediate needs resulting from regional unrest, the efforts Jordan is undertaking at the forefront of the fight against ISIL and other extremist ideology and terrorism, the influx of refugees from Syria and Iraq, the disruption of foreign energy supplies, and other unprecedented strains."<sup>14</sup>

**Table 1. U.S. Foreign Assistance to Jordan, FY2014-FY2017 Request**

\$ in millions

Account	FY2014	FY2015 est.	FY2016 est.	FY2017 Request
State Dept.—ESF (+OCO)	700.0	615.0	812.350	632.4
State Dept.—FMF (+OCO)	300.0	385.0	450.0	350.0
State Dept.—NADR	6.70	7.20	8.850	13.6
IMET	3.5	3.8	3.8	4.0

<sup>14</sup> U.S. Department of State, "The United States and Jordan Sign a Memorandum of Understanding on U.S. Assistance," Office of the Spokesperson, February 3, 2015.

Account	FY2014	FY2015 est.	FY2016 est.	FY2017 Request
DOD O&M (Coalition Support Funds)	—	147.0 (allocated over 2014-2015)	105.000	TBD
DOD—1206/2282 (CTPF)	—	276.930	162.930	TBD
DOD—2282	—	27.762	55.0	TBD
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,010.200</b>	<b>1,462.692</b>	<b>1,597.93</b>	<b>1,000.0</b>

Source: U.S. State and Defense Departments

## Economic Assistance

The United States provides economic aid to Jordan both as a cash transfer and for USAID programs in Jordan. The Jordanian government uses cash transfers to service its foreign debt. Approximately 40% to 60% of Jordan's ESF allotment may go toward the cash transfer. USAID programs in Jordan focus on a variety of sectors including democracy assistance, water preservation, and education (particularly building and renovating public schools). In the democracy sector, U.S. assistance has supported capacity-building programs for the parliament's support offices, the Jordanian Judicial Council, the Judicial Institute, and the Ministry of Justice. The International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute also have received U.S. grants to train, among other groups, some Jordanian political parties and members of parliament. In the water sector, the bulk of U.S. economic assistance is devoted to optimizing the management of scarce water resources, as Jordan is one of the most water-deprived countries in the world. USAID is currently subsidizing several waste treatment and water distribution projects in the Jordanian cities of Amman, Mafrq, Aqaba, and Irbid.

## Humanitarian Assistance for Syrian Refugees in Jordan

The U.S. State Department estimates that, since large-scale U.S. aid to Syrian refugees began in FY2012, it has allocated more than \$795 million in humanitarian assistance from global accounts to help Jordan cope with the Syrian refugee crisis. U.S. aid supports refugees living in camps (20% of all refugees) and those living in towns and cities (80%). According to the State Department, U.S. humanitarian assistance is provided both as cash assistance and through programs to meet basic needs, such as child health care, water, and sanitation.

## Millennium Challenge Account (MCA)

In FY2006, Jordan was listed by the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) as a Threshold country in the lower middle-income bracket. On September 12, 2006, the MCC's board of directors approved up to \$25 million in Threshold Program assistance for Jordan. In September 2010, the Millennium Challenge Corporation approved a five-year, \$275.1 million compact with Jordan to increase the supply of water available to households and businesses in the cities of Amman and Zarqa. The compact also is intended to help improve the efficiency of water delivery, wastewater collection, and wastewater treatment. If estimates hold true, the clean drinking water generated as a result of the MCC compact may be enough to supply almost 1 million Jordanian citizens with freshwater.



## Loan Guarantees

Since 2013, the Obama Administration has provided three loan guarantees to Jordan, totaling \$3.75 billion.<sup>15</sup> These include the following:

- In September 2013, the United States announced that it was providing its first-ever loan guarantee to the Kingdom of Jordan. USAID notified Congress of its intent to obligate up to \$120 million in FY2013 ESF-OCO to support a \$1.25 billion, seven-year sovereign loan guarantee for Jordan.
- In February 2014, during a visit to the United States by King Abdullah II, the Obama Administration announced that it would offer Jordan an additional five-year, \$1 billion loan guarantee. USAID notified Congress of its intent to obligate \$72 million out of the \$340 million of FY2014ESF-OCO for Jordan to support the subsidy costs for the second loan guarantee.
- In June 2015, the Administration provided its third loan guarantee to Jordan of \$1.5 billion. USAID notified Congress of its intent to obligate \$221 million in FY2015 ESF to support the subsidy costs of the third loan guarantee to Jordan.<sup>16</sup>

## Military Assistance

### Foreign Military Financing

U.S.-Jordanian military cooperation is a key component in bilateral relations. U.S. military assistance is primarily directed toward enabling the Jordanian military to procure and maintain conventional weapons systems. On February 18, 2016, President Obama signed the United States-Jordan Defense Cooperation Act of 2015 (P.L. 114-123), which authorizes expedited review and an increased value threshold for proposed arms sales to Jordan for a period of three years. Foreign Military Financing (FMF) grants to Jordan enable its Air Force to maintain a modest fleet of F-16 fighters and purchase Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM). FMF grants also provide financing for Jordan's purchase of U.S. Blackhawk helicopters in order to enhance Jordan's border monitoring and counter-terror capability. In recent years, Jordan also has acquired Javelin missiles, Hellfire missiles, High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems, and night-vision devices.<sup>17</sup> Recent proposed arms sales notified to Congress include 35 Meter Coastal Patrol Boats; M31 Unitary Guided Multiple Launch Rocket Systems (GMLRS) Rocket Pods; UH-60M VIP Blackhawk helicopter; and repair and return of F-16 Engines.<sup>18</sup>

### Excess Defense Articles

In 1996, the United States granted Jordan Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA) status, a designation that, among other things, makes Jordan eligible to receive excess U.S. defense articles, training,

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<sup>15</sup> Congress initially authorized additional economic assistance to Jordan in Section 7041 of P.L. 112-74, the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2012. P.L. 113-6, the Consolidated and Further Continuing Appropriations Act, 2013 specified that such assistance should take the form of a loan guarantee. Section 1706 (j) of the same Act also appropriated \$30 million (from FY2011) for the initial cost of sovereign loan guarantees. Congress reauthorized loan guarantees for Jordan in section 7034(r)(1) of P.L. 113-235 (Consolidated and Further Continuing Appropriations Act, 2015). P.L. 114-113, the FY2016 Omnibus Appropriations Act, once again reauthorized loan guarantees to Jordan.

<sup>16</sup> op.cit., Congressional Notification #74.

<sup>17</sup> Information provided by the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, January 2014.

<sup>18</sup> Information provided by the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, May 2016.

and loans of equipment for cooperative research and development.<sup>19</sup> In the last five years, Jordan has received excess U.S. defense articles, including two C-130 aircraft, HAWK MEI-23E missiles, and cargo trucks.

## **Defense Department Assistance**

As a result of the Syrian civil war and Operation Inherent Resolve against ISIS, the United States has increased military aid to Jordan and channeled these increases through Defense Department-managed accounts. Although Jordan still receives the bulk of U.S. military aid from the FMF account, Congress has authorized defense appropriations to strengthen Jordan's border security. Currently, Congress has authorized Jordan to receive funding from three primary accounts: (1) Section 1206/10 U.S.C. 2282 Authority to Build Partner Capacity,<sup>20</sup> (2) the Counterterrorism Partnerships Fund (CTPF),<sup>21</sup> and (3) Department of Defense Operations & Maintenance Funds (O&M).<sup>22</sup> Military aid provided by these accounts is generally coordinated through a joint Defense Department (DOD)-State Department (DOS) review and approved by the Secretary of Defense, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State.

Among congressional notifications of 10 U.S.C. 2282 activities between FY2015 and FY2016, Defense Department assistance to Jordan includes:

- Operational equipment (body armor/ammunition) for counter-terrorism (\$45.76 million);
- Special Operations equipment (night vision devices) for counter-terrorism (\$22.73 million);

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<sup>19</sup> See, Designation Of Jordan As Major Non-Nato Ally, Determination of President of the United States, No. 97-4, November 12, 1996, 61 F.R. 59809.

<sup>20</sup> Section 1205 of P.L. 113-291, the FY2015 National Defense Authorization Act, permits the transfer of other appropriated funds (such as CTPF monies) to conduct programs under 10 U.S.C. 2282 authority.

<sup>21</sup> Section 9012 of P.L. 114-113, the FY2016 Omnibus Appropriations Act, specifies that "up to \$600,000,000 of funds appropriated by this Act for the Counterterrorism Partnerships Fund may be used to provide assistance to the Government of Jordan to support the armed forces of Jordan and to enhance security along its borders." Section 1226 of P.L. 114-92, the National Defense Authorization Act FY2016, authorized FY2016 CTPF funds "pursuant to section 1534 of the Carl Levin and Howard P. "Buck" McKeon National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2015 (P.L. 113-291; 128 Stat. 3616)."

<sup>22</sup> Section 1207 of P.L. 113-66, the FY2014 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), originally authorized the Secretary of Defense to provide up to \$150 million in "assistance on a reimbursement basis to the Government of Jordan for purposes of supporting and maintaining efforts of the armed forces of Jordan to increase security and sustain increased security along the border between Jordan and Syria." The FY2015 Omnibus, P.L. 113-235, permits the Secretary of Defense to provide Jordan with Defense Department Operation and Maintenance (O&M) OCO funds to "reimburse the government of Jordan in such amounts as the Secretary of Defense may determine to maintain the ability of the Jordanian armed forces to maintain security along the border between Jordan and Syria." Section 1226 of P.L. 114-92, the National Defense Authorization Act FY2016, authorized funds available for reimbursement of certain coalition nations for support provided to United States military operations pursuant to section 1233 of the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2008 (P.L. 110-181; 122 Stat. 393). P.L. 114-113, the FY2016 Omnibus Appropriations Act, specifies that funds from Operation and Maintenance, Defense-Wide "may be used to support the Governments of Jordan and Lebanon, in such amounts as the Secretary of Defense may determine, to enhance the ability of the armed forces of Jordan to increase or sustain security along its borders and the ability of the armed forces of Lebanon to increase or sustain security along its borders, upon 15 days prior written notification to the congressional defense committees outlining the amounts intended to be provided and the nature of the expenses incurred."

- Weapons, communication and electronics equipment, and military training for the Jordanian Armed Forces (JAF) to conduct counterterrorism operations (\$11.2 million);<sup>23</sup>
- Vehicles, equipment, weapons, munitions, and training for the Jordanian Border Guard to respond to border incursions by terrorist elements (\$60.1 million);
- Weapons, ammunition, night-vision devices, other equipment, and training for the Jordanian Quick Reaction Force (QRF) to disrupt terrorist groups attempting to operate within Jordan's borders (\$16.8 million);
- Fixed-wing ISR aircraft and related support for the Jordanian Air Force to support operations against regional terrorist organizations (\$16.6 million);
- 8 UH-60 Helicopters to provide the Jordanian QRF with lift capabilities (\$200 million);
- Four additional UH-60 helicopters to provide Jordanian QRF with lift capabilities (\$117.2 million); and
- Defense Institute International Legal Studies (DILS) seminar to promote human rights and civilian control of the military (\$40,000).

**Table 2. Annual U.S. Aid to Jordan Since the 1991 Gulf Crisis**

(\$ in millions)

Fiscal Year (FY)	Economic Assistance				Military Assistance		Totals
	EconSpt	Food	Devel	PeaceCp	FMF	IMET	
1991	35.0 <sup>a</sup>	0	0	0	20.0 <sup>a</sup>	1.3	56.30
1992	30.0 <sup>b</sup>	20.0	0	0	20.0 <sup>b</sup>	.6	70.60
1993 <sup>c</sup>	5.0	30.0	0	0	9.0	.5	44.50
1994 <sup>d</sup>	9.0	15.0	4.0	0	9.0	.8	37.80
1995	7.2	15.0	6.7	0	7.3	1.0	37.20
1996	7.2	21.0	7.9	0	200.0 <sup>e</sup>	1.2	237.30
1997 <sup>f</sup>	112.2	2.6	4.5	1.1	30.0	1.7	152.10
1998 <sup>f</sup>	150.0	0	0	1.2	75.0 <sup>g</sup>	1.6	227.80
1999	150.0	0	0	1.4	70.0 <sup>g</sup>	1.6	223.00
1999 (Wye)	50.0	0	0	0	50.0	0	100.00
2000	150.0	0	0	1.7	75.0	1.6	228.30
2000 (Wye)	50.0	0	0	0	150.0	0	200.00 <sup>h</sup>
2001	150.0	0	0	1.7	75.0	1.7	228.40
2002	150.0	0	0	1.6	75.0	2.0	228.60
2002 (Suppl.)	100.0	0	0	0	25.0	0	125.00
2003	250.0	0	0	1.0	198.0	2.4	451.40
2003 (Suppl.)	700.0	0	0	0	406.0	0	1,106.00

<sup>23</sup> \$1 million originally notified for this program was subsequently reprogrammed to a Kenya security cooperation activity.



Fiscal Year (FY)	Economic Assistance				Military Assistance		Totals
	EconSpt	Food	Devel	PeaceCp	FMF	IMET	
2004	250.0	0	0	2.3	206.0	2.9	461.20
2004 (Suppl.)	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	100.00
2005	250.0	0	0	1.6	206.0	3.0	460.60
2005 (Suppl.)	100.0	0	0	0	100.0	0	200.00
2006	247.5	0	0	1.6	207.9	3.0	460.00
2006 (Suppl.)	50.0	0	0	0	0	0	50.00
2007	245.0	0	0	0	206.0	3.1	454.10
2007 (Suppl.)	10.3	0	0	0	45.0	0	55.30 <sup>i</sup>
2008	361.4	0	0	0	298.3	2.9	662.60
2008 (Suppl.)	200.0	0	0	0	50.0	0	250.00
2009	263.5	0	0	0	235.0	3.1	501.60
2009 (Suppl.)	150.0	0	0	0	(150.0 in FY2010 Advanced funding)	0	150.00
2010	363.0	0	0	0	300.0	3.8	666.8
2010 (Suppl.)	100.0	0	0	0	50.0	0	150.0
2011	362.0	0	0	0	299.4	3.7	665.1
2012	460.0	0	0	0	300.0	3.7	763.7
2013	564.404	0	0	0	284.829	3.608	852.841
2014	700.0 <sup>j</sup>	0	0	0	300.0	3.588	1,003.588
2015	615.0	0	0	0	385.0	3.888	1,003.888
2016 est.	812.350	0	0	0	450.0	3.8	1,266.15

**Notes:** These figures do not include debt relief subsidy appropriations, food aid between 1999-2006, or amounts for de-mining assistance and counter-terrorism assistance. They also do not include appropriations from Defense Department-managed accounts.

- a. Suspended in April 1991 under P.L. 102-27; released in early 1993.
- b. Released in late July 1993.
- c. Restrictions on FY1993 funds waived by Presidential Determination (PD) 93-39, September 17, 1993.
- d. FY1994 funds released by PD 94-11, January 13, 1994, waiving restrictions under P.L. 103-87.
- e. Three components: \$30 million (Administration's original request); \$70 million in additional FMF under FY1996 appropriation (P.L. 104-134) to cover balance of F-16 aircraft package; and \$100 million in special drawdown authority (P.L. 104-107).
- f. These figures include \$100 million in economic assistance under the President's Middle East Peace and Stability Fund (\$100 million in FY1997, \$116 million in FY1998).
- g. For each of these two years, FMF figure includes \$25 million in drawdown authority.
- h. Some of these funds were obligated in later years (FY2001 or FY2002).
- i. Total FY2007 supplemental aid to Jordan was \$85.3 million. The above chart does not include \$25 million in NADR funds.
- j. The total \$700 million FY2014 ESF appropriation to Jordan was split between enduring (\$360 million) and OCO (\$340 million) funds.

## **Author Contact Information**

(name redacted)  
Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs  
[redacted#@crs.loc.gov...]

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