

# The Impact of King Abdullah's the second liberal Ideology on Jordanian Policy from 2011-2021.

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## ABSTRACT:

This study discussed the impact of HM the King's liberal trends on Jordanian politics for the period from 2011 to 2021 by relying on the Supreme Throne Speeches as a primary source. The speeches are essential in several aspects, especially in monitoring Jordanian domestic & foreign policy trends, and defining its future milestones. The study aimed to determine the extent of the contribution of the Supreme Throne Speeches in shaping liberal trends in Jordanian politics, internally and externally. Shedding light on the nature of liberal trends, and the reflection of their impact on Jordanian politics introduces us to the mechanisms and methods indicated by His Majesty, which are pushing for the formulation and crystallization of the liberal trends of various Jordanian state institutions, in a manner that serves the orientations of Jordanian foreign policy. The study concluded that the Supreme Speeches of the Throne have the most important role in shaping the liberal orientations of the Jordanian domestic and foreign policy, and a step forward toward the economic reform and the acceleration of integrating into the liberal global economy, thanks to the royal directives that touched various liberal aspects, in a manner consistent with the constants and objectives of foreign policy, according to the vision His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein, may God preserve and protect him.

## Keywords:

Liberalism, Jordanian Politics, Jordanian Foreign Policy, Throne Speeches, Decision- Maker.

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## Introduction:

The state's policy is the true expression of its political will because it is the product of internal and external factors affecting the determination of the political orientation of its relations with other countries, and international organizations and their decisions according to changing circumstances, whether local, regional or international.

In Jordan, the Jordanian economy plays a pivotal role in shaping the liberal Jordanian foreign policy, as the absence of natural resources makes it difficult to overcome its economic weakness individually, which makes it its duty to strengthen ties with the international community and keep pace with changes in it because it depends directly on foreign aid and grants allocated to it in order to maintain its security, stability and continuity.

Thus, economic aid and foreign grants constitute the basic pillar of the Jordanian economy, and at the same time represent a challenge and a pressure on the Jordanian foreign policy maker.

However, Jordan, with its Hashemite leadership, succeeded to a large extent in coping with these challenges by being flexible and adapting in its foreign policy based on its internal data.

## Objectives of the study:

This study seeks to achieve a set of objectives, the most important of which are:

1. Recognizing the importance of liberal trends in the thought of His Majesty King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein through the Throne speeches delivered by HM The King at the opening of the National Assembly sessions from 2011 to 2021.
2. Shedding light on the liberal trends of Jordan and their impact on the Jordanian policy, in order to know the mechanisms and methods that His Majesty referred to and which are pushing toward the formulation and shaping of the liberal trends of the various institutions of the Jordanian state.
3. Identify the extent to which the speeches of the throne have contributed to the formulation of

Jordanian policy orientations toward liberalism and designing these trends to follow to the vision and directions of His Majesty the King, as he is the maker of Jordanian foreign policy.

### **The importance of the study:**

The importance of the study emerges from the attempt to achieve two important points: The first is scientific, which is accessing specialized scientific information about liberalism and its orientations, by analyzing the content of the throne speeches between 2011 and 2021, to identify the impact of the liberal trends of His Majesty the King and their reflection on Jordanian politics, whether on the internal or external level.

The second is a process that aims to identify the mechanisms and methods that His Majesty deems necessary to move toward liberalism in order to advance internal Jordanian politics.

This will contribute to drawing and formulating Jordanian foreign policy orientations, in order to find out the extent of response to the liberal royal trends in Jordanian politics, to suit the modern developments taking place in the world today.

### **The hypothesis of the study:**

Many factors interact together to formulate the Jordanian policy, whether internally or externally, and thus this study seeks to test the nature of the positive correlation relationship, between the liberal orientations of His Majesty the King Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein as an independent variable, and Jordanian politics as a dependent variable, as it assumes that the liberal orientations of His Majesty the King would be reflected in Jordanian politics, both internally and externally: in terms of formulation, attitude, and behavior.

### **The study problem:**

The problem of the study is that although Jordan has made many efforts toward reforming the economic situation, to enhance the trend toward liberalism, it is still facing many pressures that push toward increasing integration and more involvement in the global economy. The data of

the external environment impose the Jordanian political decision-maker to devise and shape his internal and external policy according to it, whether at the level of internal or foreign policy. Therefore, this study came to show the impact of liberal trends on Jordanian politics since 2011, that is, after the Arab Spring revolutions, and until 2021. It aims to find out the extent of the impact of the liberal trends of His Majesty the King and their reflection on Jordanian politics, whether internally or externally, in light of the changes that the world is witnessing today.

Accordingly, the following question could be formulated:

What is the nature of the role that liberalism plays in influencing the political decision-maker in formulating Jordanian policy, whether domestic or foreign?

The following sub-questions emerged from the main question:

1. What is the vision of His Majesty the King of liberal trends in Jordanian politics?
2. What are the most important methods that His Majesty referred to in order to push for crystallizing liberal trends in Jordan's domestic and foreign policy?
3. What is the impact of the liberal trends of His Majesty the King on Jordanian politics, both internally and externally? Were these policies consistent with liberal trends?

### **Study Approach:**

In order to reach its results, the study relied on the case study approach, which is concerned with studying all aspects related to the phenomenon under study and the individual cases associated with it, in order to reach generalizations that apply to similar units (Vannoni, 2014, 331: 357).

This is done by examining the essence of the role played by liberalism and its various orientations according to the Jordanian case, to clarify the impact of the liberal tendencies of His Majesty the King and their reflection on the internal and external Jordanian politics according to its different dimensions.

The content analysis approach is used to describe the apparent or explicit content of the text and the communication material systematically, objectively and quantitatively in numbers (Krippendorff, 2019, 102:104).

Accordingly, the content of the throne speeches delivered by His Majesty the King at the opening of the Parliament sessions, ten speeches, will be analyzed. The vocabulary unit, frequently used in speech analysis, will be adopted by tracking the vocabulary on the subject of libertarian trends, and by repeating it we will explain His Majesty's interest in promoting liberal trends and emphasizing the need for economic reform in domestic and foreign policy.

### **Theoretical and procedural definition**

**a. Liberalism:** It is a Latin word meaning freedom and independence.

As an intellectual doctrine it focuses on individual freedom and respect for the independence of individuals.

It believes that the primary function of the state is to protect freedoms; personal freedom, private property and freedom of expression and thought.

It has political and economic manifestations, and is based primarily on the promotion of freedoms and freedom of the economy.

**b. Jordanian policy:** It refers to the total activities of the government or people who try to influence members of legislative organizations or political parties or the way of governing.

Referring to those holding positions of authority, (in the study it refers to the Jordanian government), and because His Majesty the King is the head of the executive authority, it is in this sense an expression of His Majesty's views on how to govern and manage domestic and foreign policy.

**c. The political decision-maker:** It is the center of the decision-making process, and the focus is on the official persons authorized by their countries and in accordance with the constitution.

The discussion here will be limited to the role of

the political leadership represented by His Majesty the King, the Jordanian policy maker in general and the Jordanian foreign policy in particular.

### **Methodology of answering the questions**

In order to answer the previous questions and to examine the assumptions, we will divide the research into two main parts:

a. The first part: the conceptual framework for both liberalism and the Jordanian foreign and domestic policy, and what it implies.

b. Part Two: The impact of the liberal trends of His Majesty the King and their reflection on Jordanian politics and what it includes.

### **Part One: The conceptual framework for both liberalism and Jordanian foreign & domestic policy.**

The economic factor plays its central role, as a motivation for successful cooperation and interdependence, in promoting economy and achieving high rates of growth. This leads states to form relations. The economy is the driving force and objective. Cooperation and interdependence are the result. International relations are based on the concepts of interdependence, cooperation and common interests, openness to the world economy, and globalization of the economy.

### **The first pivot: the theoretical framework of liberalism and what it includes**

#### **First: Introducing liberalism and its origins**

By increasing the effectiveness of the economic factor in various fields, the liberal vision has its importance in analyzing the reality and cooperation of international relations, and the foreign policies of countries. The term (Liberalism), is a Latin word meaning freedom and independence that denotes liberation and freedom. As an ideology it focuses on individual freedom and respect for the independence of individuals, and believes that the basic of role he state is to protect the freedoms; personal freedom, private property and freedom of

expression and thought (Al-Saqqaf, 2021). Liberalism focuses on the necessity of removing the government from the market, expanding civil liberties, and placing restrictions on power, to limit its role. It emerged as a political movement during the age of Enlightenment, and its founding dates back to John Locke in the 17<sup>th</sup> century who considered that human beings had the right to life, property and freedom, and that Governments should stop violating those rights, since they were supporters of a democratic government based on the representation of all segments of society, which had spread after the nineteenth century to become an important part of the existence of prosperous States. As an intellectual approach it has political and economic sides (Al-Bustani et al., 2020).

In its political side, it calls for a democratic system and a peaceful transfer of power, spreading public freedoms and basic rights (Bani Hamad, 2019). As for the economic side, it believes the availability of economic freedoms (freedom of ownership, work, movement and initiative) is a motive for every individual to achieve his/her own interest, thus achieving the public interest automatically. Individual social ties are based on economic links. The natural order within society is an economic system based on exchanging benefits between individuals, and as a result, emphasizing the necessity of submitting to this system (Press, 2015). Thus, liberalism is an academic school of thought that believes that things should be left to market forces, and governments should not interfere with these forces (Al-Rawashda, 2008).

Given this, liberalism is liberation from all kinds of external coercion, whether a state or an individual. It is a cognitive and theoretical model, as it is a school of thought. It studies relations between states by tracing the various influences that local and international actors have on the ability and performance of the state.

## **Second: the principles and indications of liberalism**

Principles & indicators of liberalism are numerous,

but the most important can be summarized as follows: (Zahra, 2013, 135:155).

1. Spreading political and individual freedoms and rights (individual freedom & private property). Liberalism is based on freedom and equality; freedom of thought, religious beliefs, respect for human dignity, the right to live, and civil rights such as: freedom of expression, press, work, movement, ownership, competition and free market.
2. Democratic representation and peace, collective security and international integration through peaceful cooperation as a basis for achieving democracy, peace and prosperity.
3. Protecting the people's political and individual rights, by demanding the rights of citizens to share and enacting laws through representative institutions, constitutions to restrict the authority of rulers, equality between people, and affirming the natural with the sovereignty of the nation and the separation of powers.
4. Liberalism focuses on "freedom of the economy and the market" and limiting the state's role to interfering in managing economic affairs, being content with management and control, providing economic rights for individuals, and enacting laws and legislations to ensure these rights are not violated.

## **The second axis: the theoretical framework of the Jordanian policy and what it includes**

There is a mutual influence between domestic and foreign policy. The tremendous developments the world has witnessed due to globalization, the information and communication revolution, and what technology has caused e.g. reducing distances, increasing the media and information flow coming from outside, led to an increase in the depth of influence between what is external and what is internal (Chaudoin, et al., 2014, 275:276). The foreign policy is one of the means states adapt to their external surroundings, and a means to reduce internal pressures and external restrictions on them, especially for small geographically limited countries with limited

capabilities. Achieving states' goals in different methods differ, depending on their resources. This imposes calculating complex interactions at the internal and external levels when formulating its foreign policy, hence, poses a challenge to political decision-makers (Shalaby, 2008, 8).

### **First: Foreign Policy**

The complexity of foreign policy, the multiplicity of its definitions and the variation in its focus areas, made it difficult to arrive at the dimensions that fall within its framework and the relationship between them. "Rosenau" provides the most comprehensive definition of it; i.e. "a method that official representatives of the national community consciously follow to adopt or change a certain position in the international order in a manner consistent with the predetermined objectives (Rosenau, 1974, 6). Herman believes it is consistent with external behavior. It consists of the official behaviors carried out by official decision makers in the government or their representatives, through which they influence the behavior of external international units (Herman, 2020).

Foreign policy, in this regard, is the declared program of action, chosen by the official representatives of international units. They should be possible to perform, to achieve the goals set for them in the international environment.

### **Second: Foreign policy tools and objectives**

It consists of economic resources and human skills used to formulate and implement foreign policy. It is divided into main tools: the economic, military, diplomatic, symbolic, intelligence, scientific, technological, natural resources, and internal political tools (Selim, 2001, 82:83). The more the state possesses elements of power, the more capable it is to achieve its external objectives, and it is able to serve its national interests, protect itself and guarantee its security. Hence, states seek, through their foreign policy, to arrange their future conditions outside their borders and serve their interests (Al-Ramadhani, 1991, 320:323). Thus, the goals formed for the general framework

in the foreign policy of any country are represented by achieving security with the least amount of external threat, protecting its entity, its self, independence, the lives of its inhabitants, its social values and political systems, achieving the economic well-being of society, and achieving a distinguished position for it in the international order (Salim, 2001, 51:52).

### **Third: Jordanian foreign policy fundamentals and objectives:**

The Jordanian foreign policy is an interaction of internal and external variables and challenges that form the external behavior of the Jordanian state (Al-Nuaimi, 2009, 16:20). A set of fundamentals and principles have formed the general framework for Jordanian political behavior at the international level. They are outlined in respecting the sovereignty and independence of states, not interfering in their internal affairs, respecting and fulfilling international treaties and agreements, maintaining international peace and security, rejecting the use of military force, moving towards resolving disputes peacefully, and commitment to the Palestinian cause, considering it the first central issue, with the belief in the necessity of achieving Arab unity (Al-Hazaimeh, 2004, 120:137). The objectives of the Jordanian foreign policy were to preserve the independence of the Jordanian political entity, protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity, achieve its interests, take care of Islamic and Christian sanctities while maintaining the presence and participation of Jordan in the framework of Islamic and international work, commit to Jordanian's participation nationally in various fields, and to follow the positive neutrality and the Non-Aligned policy to reach a stable environment regionally (Al-Mashaqba, 2002, 11:21).

### **Fourth: The internal determinants of the Jordanian policy**

As a result of the continuous change and instability internationally, elements that are difficult to quantify have influenced the formation

of the external behavior of the international units. They are internal factors produced by the environment composing authority, and external factors produced by the international and regional dimensions affecting the exercise of power, and the following is an explanation:(Salim, 2001, 144:345).

1. Internal factors, which are formed in the internal environment of international unity, and include the national characteristics and capabilities, the size and level of the state's available capabilities, the available economic and military capabilities and its level of development, in addition to the permanence problems related to the social and economic stability of the state, which last for a long period of time, in addition to the level of national development, the degree of crystallizing common characteristics between individuals and society, individuals' awareness of those characteristics and how far they move towards the formation of an independent state. Also, the social formation represented by the political elite, social classes and political interest groups, and societal orientations that include the basic ideas most members of society espouse, which define their vision of the political world. Internal factors also include the ideological, cultural and political orientations, the nature of the political system, the nature of the formation of the executive authority and the resources available to it and control it. The economic factor and liberal tendencies of the internal and foreign policy movements of Jordan become evident.

2. External factors, which arise in interaction with other international units, or from the external environment of the international unit outside the scope of exercising its authority. The foreign policy maker should act in a certain way to interact with it.

The foreign policy is affected by mental perceptions of the nature of objective factors, intrinsic motives, and personal characteristics of those who make them, whether it is an individual or group of individuals. The decision maker plays the main role, and many official bodies(the head

of state, the executive authority, the relevant ministries, the legislative authority, and the specialized committees) participate, as well as the informal committees; public opinion, political parties, unions& associations, and interest groups(Mustafa, 2019). With reference to the Jordanian constitution, His Majesty the King was granted the prominent and influential role in political decision-making, according to Articles; 25, 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 40(The Jordanian constitution). His powers are broad and comprehensive and he has the right to act in the legislative and executive spheres at the domestic and external levels.

### **Part Two: The impact of the liberal trends of His Majesty the King and their reflection on Jordanian politics and what it includes.**

His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al-Hussein, the leader of the Jordanian foreign policy, seeks to achieve its goals by building balanced international relations based on moderation and global presence in international forums, respecting international obligations, preserving security and stability, harmonizing security and democracy, bypassing the Arab Spring, and being open to the world. Although Jordan faces economic challenges, it is consistent with the national constants and the Palestinian cause(Obeidat, 2019).

### **First pivot: His Majesty's vision for progress and prosperity, according to the changes the world is witnessing today.**

Jordan has adopted adjustment and structural correction policies to integrate into the world economy and open up to it. Jordan's general economic policy has taken many initiatives. Amongst these are: to implement the WTO Agreement, to seek free trade agreements with the Arab States, to reduce customs duties, to strengthen cooperation and partnership with the world and the Arab States, to strengthen its economy, and to benefit from grants, donations,

and assistance resulting from such relations (Al-Hawrani, 1996, 71:72).

### **First: reality and nature of the Jordanian economy**

The Jordanian economy has a limited size, scarce natural and financial resources, high population growth, and a large government role. Privatization has become important to its policy following economic reform programs, and as a result has a regional and international influence, leading to an economic policy that is open to its foreign relations to achieve economic objectives. The private sector has played an active role, per fiscal and monetary reform policies, privatization requirements, global policies, and the liberal world economic system imposed under globalization (Al-Wazani, 2001, 14:16).

### **Second: Liberal trends in Jordanian politics**

Liberal trends influence Jordanian politics strongly. Therefore, HM the King seeks to strengthen commercial and economic relations with the world to make Jordan an economic and investment center following comprehensive and strategic reform. His goal is to contribute to creating new job opportunities and improving individuals' standard of living, to focus on investment opportunities for major projects in various sectors, to attract investments and strengthen the partnership between the public and private sectors, to market Jordanian talent and products abroad (Obeidat, 2019). Progress and prosperity, according to HM, stem from reliance on an economic doctrine of a social character, and a neoliberal economic approach (Ezzat, 2016). This is done by adopting liberal orientations consistent with the national model and the social and political conditions (His Majesty King Abdullah II, 2004).

National liberalism aims for a comprehensive gradual reform (Abu Rumman, 2010). His Majesty, in his liberal trends, desire to integrate into globalization and freedom of trade, to promote foreign investments, to limit the economic and

social role of the state, and to carry out the reform necessary to enhance democracy, freedom, and political participation for all social and political forces (Hattar, 2009). There is a call to integrate the Jordanian economy into the global economy, implement an economic reform program based on privatization, empower the private sector, encourage investment, and abandon the economic role of the state (Abu Rumman, 2011).

### **Third: His Majesty the King's vision of the liberal trends in Jordanian politics:**

1. HM emphasizes the importance of economic growth according to a reform approach based on good governance and national development in democratic political life, political participation, freedom, women's participation in governance, and awareness of globalization. Real change is linked to a comprehensive change in more many paths, and therefore requires a partnership between various sectors and Local Community Leaders (His Majesty King Abdullah II, 2004).
2. Jordan can benefit from the strong relations with the Arab and Gulf states, by encouraging them to invest in Jordan, focusing on economic openness to achieve prosperity, integrating more into the global economy with a liberal character, and attracting foreign investment to strengthen the national economy, in light of globalization, investment strategies, and privatization (Al-Rawashda, 2008).
3. As Jordan is resorting to the free economy policy, it received revenues and grants from Arab and foreign countries to support its national economy and progress (Ezzat, 2016). HM believes it's necessary to open up to the world without fear to enhance the diversity of the Jordanian economy, to change and develop it as it possesses tradition, originality, and a strong national fabric. It is the heir of the Great Arab Revolution, and the Hashemite Arab and Islamic heritage. It is characterized by justice, equal opportunities, and it's a country of institutions that are protected by the constitution and security agencies (Rawashda, 2008).

4. HM's vision, concerning liberal trends in the Middle East, stems from carrying out the necessary reforms. Deepening political and human rights; in terms of elections, freedom of the press, the empowerment of women and youth, programs to build an effective political party system, and strengthen the independence of the judiciary. Economically, it is up to the private sector to create jobs, establish projects, encourage investment, integrate into the global economy, and focus on good governance and economic freedom side by side with reform (His Majesty King Abdullah II, 2004). Joint Arab action and partnership should be promoted through coordination between Arab countries. Integration and development in light of the common interest are necessary, as the support provided by the Gulf countries will contribute to the transfer of both their country and Jordan from one development stage to another, especially the support and assistance of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Al-Rawashda, 2008).

5. HM also refers to the necessity of a just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian issue, to achieve regional development and global stability. Effective reform in the Middle East must be based on peace and comprehensive reform. On the basis that HM believes that the solution should be from within the Arab world, to achieve a stable and prosperous Middle East supported by liberalism, with the support and assistance of international liberalism. Reform in Jordan and the Arab region must start from the foundations of successful development, directed from within, and rooted in the Arab-Islamic heritage, with openness to global ideas and global partners, this approach will contribute to strengthening security, peace, and stability (His Majesty King Abdullah II, 2004).

### **The second pivot: the reflection of liberal trends in Jordanian domestic and foreign policy**

#### **First: Indicators of liberal trends in the speeches of the throne from 2011 to 2021**

This pivot will be tracking the indicators of

liberalism according to the procedural definition of the study; by analyzing the content of the speeches of the throne of HM, he clearly and explicitly referred to these vocabularies as follows:

#### **a. Liberal trends in the political aspect in the speeches of the throne**

1. The term "focus on the progressive, cumulative and steady approach to political reform" in its various contents was mentioned 36 times, and this indicates its importance. According to HM's vision, it emphasizes political reform to build Jordan and to achieve equality, freedom, human rights, the rule of law, and justice. Comprehensive political reform is the representative governments' way to pursue an advancement that is based on the accumulation in a detailed and gradual manner, within the framework of parliamentary pluralism and political diversity, for democratic transition (Supreme Throne Speech, 2011).

2. The terms "popular participation, development of political work, the election law, and political parties" and their various contents were mentioned 24 times. This is evidence of their importance, as deepening popular participation in decision-making leads to the development of the representative side of the political system based on the constitution, in light of the amendment and development of political legislation, establishing democratic rules for political action at the legislative and executive levels, political parties, and consolidating effective citizenship practices (Supreme Throne Speech, 2013).

3. The term "Anchoring and developing the democratic approach within the democratic transformation" and its various contents was mentioned 21 times, which indicates its importance. It emphasizes popular participation in political life and decision-making, consolidating participation through the decentralization law, and laying down the necessary plans to develop and strengthen The Rule of Law (Supreme Throne Speech, 2016). Jordan is a country with a lofty message, a state of institutions based on freedom



and democracy with the human being in its core, a state of law, and of production. Justice is a right for all, and based on three pivots; being firm and just, providing basic services to Jordanians, and an economy in constant growth characterized by openness and flexibility (Supreme Throne Speech, 2018).

4. The term "peaceful transfer of power and cooperation between the authorities" and its various contents, was mentioned 11 times. This confirms the nation's position as a source of authority and a partner in decision-making. It denotes the continuation of reform to enhance democracy and commitment to integrity and transparency, to affirm the principles of justice, equality, and accountability, to promote human rights, and the role of the parliament as a basis in the hereditary, monarchical parliamentary system of government, based on the constitution, with full cooperation between the government and the House of Representatives, to raise levels of responsibility (Supreme Throne Speech, 2015).

5. The term "the constitutional amendments to protect the political and individual rights of the people from tyranny" and its various contents was mentioned 10 times. This indicates protecting the values of justice, the rights of others, equal opportunities with the power of law, spreading justice, and focusing on the independence of the judicial authority in achieving justice and the rule of law through the necessary constitutional amendments (Supreme Throne Speech, 2011).

6. The term "freedom of opinion, expression, media, and pluralism" and its various contents, was mentioned 7 times for stressing the need to provide an appropriate environment for democratic interaction, and to ensure freedom of expression and peaceful protest according to a free national media (Supreme Throne Speech, 2011).

Therefore, it is clear that the liberal orientations agree in their political aspect with Jordanian politics, according to the vision of His Majesty the King.

#### **b. Liberal trends in the economic aspect**

##### **according to the speeches of the throne**

1. The terms "reform of the economic approach, and stimulating continuous growth to create an impenetrable economy" were mentioned 26 times. This indicates their importance. HM's vision focuses on the need to reconsider wages and salaries, stimulate the economy, stimulate investment, improve the quality of services provided to citizens, and the need for administrative and financial reform (Supreme Throne Speech, 2019). The interdependence between political and economic reform is based on: democracy and prosperity, translating economic reform efforts into reality, full cooperation between the government and the House of Representatives to overcome challenges, formulate economic policies to stimulate the national economy, improve competitiveness, and attract investment to create jobs. In light of the global and regional crises affecting Jordan's economics, there's a need to improve living conditions, enhance consumer protection efforts, encourage competition and prevent monopolization, direct support to those who deserve it, and support productive and entrepreneurial projects and small and medium-sized enterprises. In addition to accelerating the diversification of energy sources, depending on renewable sources, and implementing major projects in the water, transport, and energy sectors to enhance national and economic security and to commit to implementing the action plan for developing provinces, and supporting municipalities to carry out their responsibilities efficiently and effectively, side by side with working to increase growth rates, and implementing a National Employment Strategy, addressing the challenges of poverty and unemployment (Supreme Throne Speech, 2013).

2. The terms "focus on freedom, the state of institutions, the rule of law, achieving justice, safeguarding freedoms, and not violating human rights" and their various contents, were mentioned 17 times, which indicates their importance. They indicate respect of public freedoms following the

principles of democracy and freedom of ownership, the principles of justice, equality and fair judiciary, monitoring the constitutionality of laws and regulations, updating Political legislation to increase political participation, entrenching party practice, freedom of expression and opinion, and establishing an independent election commission that guarantees the integrity and transparency of elections (Supreme Throne Speech, 2013).

3. The term "the necessity to provide services and achieve the well-being of individuals" and its various contents, was mentioned 17 times, and this is evidence of its importance. They are achieved through strengthening partnerships with the private sector to combat poverty and unemployment, attracting investments to create job opportunities, and improving the levels and quality of services provided, whether in the areas of health care or education. It is essential to reform and develop the fields of agriculture, energy, transportation, tourism, administrative and financial reform, based on the national agenda to bring about comprehensive development, to be reflected in the citizen's standard of living and well-being (Supreme Throne Speech, 2011).

4. The terms "emphasis on equal opportunities, freedom, justice, and equality under a fair judiciary before the law" and their various contents were mentioned 14 times. Jordan is a state of institutions based on freedom and democracy, centered on the human being, the state of law, production, and justice is a right for all (Supreme Throne Speech, 2018).

5. The term "attracting investments" with its various implications was mentioned 11 times. National economy is based on encouraging private investment in different economic sectors to achieve sustainable economic growth (Supreme Throne Speech, 2015). HM emphasizes the importance of production, economic independence, attracting investment, and social solidarity, because the traditional model is unable to face economic challenges and meet the growing needs of individuals. A realistic economic

approach that stimulates growth, addresses the exacerbation of debt, enhances financial and monetary stability, keeps pace with change, attracts investments, and provides job opportunities is needed. The global economy is changing rapidly, and this requires doubling efforts to keep pace with this change (Supreme Throne Speech, 2018).

6. The terms "strengthening cooperation, integration, and partnership with the private sector" and their various contents were mentioned 11 times. They refer to strengthening and developing the economic and social approach through partnership and integration between the public and private sectors and civil society institutions. The public sector is the catalyst, regulator, and observer, which protects the citizen, ensures providing basic services and stimulates the business environment. As for the private sector, it is the main initiator in investment and job creation, in addition to civil society institutions and local cooperatives incubating leadership, according to complementary work and mutual and balanced responsibilities between the sectors, to overcome the challenges, with the need for a fair distribution of development gains to different regions (Supreme Throne Speech, 2013).

It becomes clear, from the previous proposal that the liberal trends, in their economic aspect, agree with the Jordanian policy, according to the vision of HM.

### **Second: The reflection of liberal trends in the legal aspect of Jordanian politics according to His Majesty's Vision.**

The influence of the liberal trends of HM on domestic and foreign policy is evident through a set of legislations approved by him after the approval of the Senate and Parliament (the National Assembly) and issued by the Council of Ministers, as follows:

7. HM approved "Cabinet Resolution No.(80)" issued on 15 May 2012 amending the agreement to establish the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The bank aims to promote the

transformation toward open market economies, and to encourage entrepreneurship initiative in Central and Eastern European countries. These countries are committed to implementing the principles of the multiplicity of democratic parties, pluralism and the market economy, and implementing the objectives of the bank in the southern and eastern Mediterranean, Jordan is among these countries(The Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5170), 1/8/2012).

8. HM approved the system for organizing customs procedures for free zones. The system allowed foreign goods to enter into the Jordanian free zone without import and deposit licenses, or to be taken out without an export license to the local market, and without being subject to customs duties and other taxes. This is to facilitate trade exchange with countries of the world(Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5450),16/3/2017).

9. HM approved the system of partnership projects between the public and private sectors for the year 2015, to increase cooperation between the two sectors, and to provide public opportunities with an economic, social or partisan impact to improve public service. This includes sharing and distributing risks and opportunities between the two sectors, which helps their commitment to the sustainability and continuity of project opportunities in the Jordanian society(The Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5364), 1/11/2015).

10. HM also approved the Cabinet's decision on 22 June 2016 which includes approval of the Arab-Mediterranean Free Trade(Agadir) Agreement, to develop cooperation and create a regulatory framework between customs administrations, by establishing consultations on customs issues, improving economic efficiency, and enhancing competitiveness in transport goods between trading partners(The Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5413), 1/8/2016).

11. HM approved the Memorandum of Cooperation between Jordan and the Eurasian Economic Commission in 2017, aimed at strengthening comprehensive cooperation between Jordan and the member states of the Eurasian

Economic Union, to advance it towards higher levels of close commercial and investment cooperation(The Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5485), 1/11/2017).

12. HM approved the amendments to the Jordanian Customs Law No.33 of 2018, which was approved by the National Assembly. The law granted free zones and development zones administrative and legal facilities concerning the customs declaration of goods imported to and from, facilities in customs procedures, and protection to the rights of those dealing with these areas, to ease Domestic and foreign trade exchange(The Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5520), 14/6/2018).

13. HM approved a law amending the Income "Tax Law No.38" of 2018 that was approved by the National Assembly. It achieves justice in tax collection, dealing with tax evasion methods of concealment and forgery and providing fake data, and introducing exemptions for people who engage in agricultural activities represented in the production of crops, grains, fruits, vegetables, flowers, and trees, to promote individual initiatives, contribute to national production and support individual and national income(The Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5547), 2/12/2018).

14. HM approved the Cabinet Resolution for the year 2019, which includes the Council of Europe Convention on Crimes Related to Cultural Property(Nicosia Agreement) of 2017. The convention aims to consider the diverse cultural property of peoples as their cultural heritage since they constitute its unique character of culture and identity. Besides, it imposes sanctions on terrorist groups that seek the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage, and resort to illicit trafficking in cultural property to finance their terrorist activities(The Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5578), 2/6/2019).

15. HM approved the government's plan, which includes supporting political parties financially for the year 2019. The contribution will cover the media, propaganda, and cultural activities of political parties, and encourage them to hold

public seminars and conferences to elect administrative bodies for them, in addition to providing financial assistance for them in return for nominating a number of their members for the parliamentary elections(The Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5647), 1/7/2020).

16. HM also approved the tax incentives system for the industrial sector No.18 for the year 2020. It was approved by the Council of Ministers and aims to encourage national industry in the areas of the food industry, leather products, textile and clothing related industries, paper and printing, pharmaceuticals, electrical and electronics industry. The law supports the role of the industrial sector, especially the private sector to strengthen the national effort to support Jordan's industry(The Jordanian Official Gazette, No.(5619), 3/2/2020).

Thus, the liberal trends in their legal aspect were consistent with the Jordanian policy and the vision of His Majesty.

### **Third: Liberal trends within the framework of Jordanian foreign policy and their constants following the supreme Throne speeches**

1. The terms "focus on nationalism and the Arab nation in the context of the Arab revolution, historical trends, and the protection of Islamic sanctities" and their various contents were mentioned 26 times, and this indicates their importance and centrality. Based on the principles of the Arab Revolution, Jordan renews its commitment to its role, historical positions and mission in defending the issues of the Arab and Islamic nation, while focusing on the Palestinian issue, and the Hashemite guardianship of Islamic holy sites as a supreme national interest(Supreme Throne Speech, 2016).

2. The term "centrality of the Palestinian cause" and its various contents was mentioned 16 times to indicate its stability and importance. Jordan's historical role in defending the Palestinian cause stems from the necessity to establish an independent Palestinian state on the Palestinian national soil with its capital "Al-Quds Al-Sharif",

and to protect the Islamic and Christian sanctities therein(Throne speech High, 2017). With no acceptance of any settlement of the Palestinian issue at the expense of Jordan, or national reconciliation under any circumstances(Supreme Throne Speech, 2011).

3. The terms "respecting international treaties and agreements, international partnership to achieve international peace and security, and promoting humanitarian trends" and their various contents were mentioned 13 times which indicate their importance. HM's emphasis on Jordan's moral and humanitarian responsibilities toward issues that threaten regional and international security stems from defending the Arab and Islamic nation's issues for the sake of achieving international peace and security(Supreme Throne Speech, 2014).

4. The terms "combating terrorism, extremism and sectarian conflict, and focusing on moderation" and their various contents were mentioned 12 times. This indicates their importance in defending the true image of the Islamic religion based on moderation, peace, tolerance, acceptance of others, and respect for the human right to live in security and dignity, regardless of color, gender, race, religion or belief. It rejects all forms of violence, extremism and terrorism that distort the image of Islam and Muslims. HM emphasizes the need for the international community to confront extremism in other sects and religions(Supreme Throne Speech, 2014). considering terrorism and terrorist gangs as a direct threat to many countries in the region and the world. So, confronting extremism is a joint regional and international responsibility against those who seek to hijack societies and generations toward intolerance and atonement(Supreme Throne Speech, 2015).

5. The terms "strengthen cooperation, integration, common interests and Arab action with brotherly Arab countries regionally and internationally" according to their various contents were mentioned 11 times. This is evidence of strengthening Jordan's regional and global role in light of its affiliation with the Arab and Islamic nation, and working on developing institutions

working on that, foremost among which is The Arab League(Supreme Throne Speech, 2011). Emphasizing on the Arab army's commitment to defending the issues of the Arab nation, soil and security from any danger threatening it, HM believes that Jordan's security is part of the security of its Arab brothers, and the Arab army and the other security services will remain ready to confront what threatens its national security, or the security of its brothers in the neighborhood. Arab security is an indivisible whole, and Jordan will remain a model of solidarity and coexistence, a haven for those who seek help from our Arab brothers, defenders of truth and will not hesitate to confront extremism, intolerance and blind terrorism(Super Throne Speech, 2014).

6. The terms "Syrian crisis and its repercussions, and the need for the international community to help Jordan" and its various contents, were mentioned 8 times. This is consistent with Jordan's commitment to the national and humanitarian stance, its affirmation of the need for a comprehensive political solution to the Syrian crisis to ensure the unity and stability of Syrian people and land. HM emphasized the necessity of a peaceful, democratic solution to the crisis with participation of all political, economic, ethnic and religious groups and spectrums, to ensure the success of any strategic plan for a solution, in a way that protects the security of the region(Supreme Throne Speech, 2013). HM refers to the international community's responsibility to minimize the consequences of hosting refugees, by providing aid and support to Jordan and the host communities(Supreme Throne Speech, 2014). From the above, it becomes clear that the liberal orientations of HM in the domestic and foreign Jordanian policy were consistent with the basic principles following the vision of HM in achieving the national interest and the objectives of the Jordanian foreign policy.

### Conclusion:

This study aimed to find out the impact of the liberal trends of HM on Jordanian politics from

2011 to 2021. The first part dealt with the conceptual framework of both liberalism and Jordanian politics, discussing the theoretical framework of liberalism, its definition, its origins and its most important principles and indicators, and then presenting the theoretical framework of the domestic and foreign Jordanian policy, by promoting it, its tools, constants and goals.

The second part discussed the impact of the liberal trends of HM and their reflection on Jordanian politics, by explaining their reality and nature, and focusing on HM's vision of liberal trends according to appropriate mechanisms and methods. Then, the study presented the indicators of liberal trends according to the Supreme throne speeches, focusing on domestic politics according to the political, economic and legal aspect, while explaining the nature of liberal trends within the framework of the objectives and constants of Jordanian foreign policy.

### General results

From the above presentation, the interaction of several factors, to formulate Jordanian policy at the domestic and foreign levels has been highlighted, and it has been proven that there is a clear impact and a direct, positive relationship between liberal trends according to HM's vision. This was reflected in Jordanian politics, whether domestic or foreign; in terms of formulation, direction, or behavior. The indicators that were presented showed harmony between the independent variable represented by the liberal orientations of HM, and the dependent variable represented by the domestic and foreign Jordanian policy according to its objectives and constants. This has been discussed in detail in the second part of the study under the title The Impact of the Liberal trends of HM and their Reflection on Jordanian Politics.

In the question: What is the vision of HM of liberal orientations in Jordanian politics? His vision stems from his desire for progress and prosperity, based on an economic doctrine of a social nature, and a neoliberal economic approach

corresponding to the principles and objectives of Jordanian politics. This has been answered in the second pivot of the first part and the first pivot of the second part of the study. As for the question: What are the most important mechanisms and methods that HM referred to for pushing for crystallizing liberal trends in Jordan's domestic and foreign policy? HM stated it is a reform approach based on rational governance and national development. It aims to achieve the desired growth by resorting to a free economy policy and integrating into the global economy, in an effective, gradual and accumulated reform. This was clarified in the second part of the study in its first pivot. and In the questions: What is the impact of the liberal trends of HM on Jordanian politics, both domestic and foreign? Were these policies consistent with liberal trends? Clear harmony became evident. Liberal trends, according to HM's vision, found their reflection on Jordanian domestic and foreign policy, in both the political, economic and legal aspects. This was discussed in detail in the second part of the study in the second pivot.

***The study arrived at the following results:***

1. Economic challenges have been one of the underlying realities of Jordanian policy and its interactions in the regional and international system. It affects its orientation, behavior and interaction, in a foreign policy based on association and interdependence between Jordan and neighboring countries, particularly Arab States. There is no doubt that Jordan's foreign behavior and movements for foreign investment and assistance are designed to strengthen economic capacities and enhance and develop the Jordanian economy, since the Jordanian economy is dependent.
2. HM is working to overcome domestic and foreign economic challenge, by emphasizing economic reform as part of comprehensive reform. HM has worked to create a state of balance in Jordan's foreign, regional and international relations, to facilitate its further integration into the global economy, and to achieve economic

development and evolution. Aid is linked to progress in promoting liberal trends, restriction of adjustment policies and structural adjustment, in addition to pluralism, democracy, and respect for human rights within the framework of cooperation and economic integration.

3. The Jordanian liberal trends and policy are consistent with the global system and the free economy, and with the Jordanian policy's objectives and constants. This is due to HM's awareness of the necessity of economic reform, and his priority for transformation of economic structures by making the necessary adjustments. Economic reforms have been characterized by a gradual and balanced approach, through Jordan's complementary foreign relations, which are cooperative in economic and political terms. The aim is to achieve the objectives of its foreign policy and its mutual interests, in coordination with Arab and neighboring States.

4. Various institutions should adhere to the policies and directions of HM to advance the national economy, to promote liberal trends, and to open wide areas of cooperation with Arab and international economies. It is necessary to increase further integration into the global economy, and to double foreign movements to obtain more economic support that is not dependent on conditions or political orientations, to enhance development plans, support the economy and ensure its stability and prosperity.

5. Jordanian foreign policy has succeeded to some extent. Despite HM's interest in all aspects related to reform, especially political and economic reforms, the economic factor remains the main challenge for the political decision-maker and Jordanian domestic and foreign policy. A successful way must be found to overcome this.

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