



جامعة الموصل

كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية

## الحياة النيابية في الاردن

2001 – 1978

عمر ضياء الدين ذنون آل عمران

أطروحة دكتوراه

فلسفة في التاريخ الحديث والمعاصر

بإشراف

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## المستخلص بلغة الاطروحة

الحياة النيابية في الاردن 1978 - 2001 : تعد دراسة الحياة النيابية ومسيرة العملية الانتخابية في مختلف انحاء العالم عموماً ووطننا العربي خصوصاً امراً يشغل الباحثين ، وبدأت اغلب البلاد العربية بالتوجه الى تاسيس مجالس نيابية منتخبة لتلبية لمطامح شعوبها ، وتأتي اهمية موضوع الانتخابات النيابية الاردنية مجلس الامة بشقيه "" النواب - الاعيان "" ، كون هذا البلد الاقرب عربياً للعراق - حديث العهد بالانتخابات - ، فضلاً عن كون الاردن الاكثر استقراراً في المنطقة بظل التطورات الاخيرة التي عصفت في منطقة الشرق الاوسط ، كما تمتلك الاردن جذور عميقة في العملية الانتخابية والاحزاب السياسية منذ تاسيس مجلس المبعوثان العثماني ووصول الملك عبدالله الاول اليه .

يتمثل مجلس الامة الاردني بمجلسين النواب الذي يتشكل بالعملية الانتخابية ، والاعيان الذي يتشكل بمرسوم ملكي ، لقد حددت الدراسة ما بين عامي 1978 - 2001 ، اذ صدر عام 1978 قانون المجلس الوطني الاستشاري ، وعام 2001 على اثر حل المجلس النيابي الثالث عشر على عهد الملك عبد الله الثاني ، تحدث الفصل الأول من الدراسة عن نشوء امانة شرقي الاردن وتشكيل المجالس النيابية الاولى والمراحل الاولى للحياة النيابية وتناول الفصل الثاني ( تعطيل الحياة النيابية وتشكيل المجالس الوطنية الاستشارية 1978 - 1984 ) . ووضح الفصل الثالث ( عودة الحياة النيابية وانتخاب المجلس النيابي الحادي عشر 1984 - 1993 ) . وتخصص الفصل الرابع ( بالحياة النيابية 1993 - 2003 ) .

تأييد المشرف

أؤيد بان مستخلص الاستمارة مطابق للمستخلص في الاطروحة

أ . م . د . نعيم طه ياسين الصانع

مسؤول الدراسات العليا

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## Abstract

Parliaments and the process of elections in all over the world in general and in the Arab Homeland in particular are considered one of the most important things being discussed . Most Arab countries tried to form elective Parliaments for the need of their nations to be free from the pressures of dictatorship practiced by most Arab governments knowing that most Arab elections had been formal no more .

European states as well as United States of America played huge role in elections trying to reach the picture of the elects to increase the stability of countries and it seemed that this process is merely a try to create a political and intellectual control upon the Arab elect .

The importance of handling the topic of elections in Jordan being this country is the nearest Arab state for Iraq and the most stable one in the area . Jordan has deep roots in booth election process and political parties since its foundation after the world war I till nowadays , Also , Jordan has truth fullness for the rest of Arab countries in elections in spite of being defaults in the democratic process . Jordan is a kingdom and not a republic state has a nation council divided into Aÿyan council reaching this council by a royal order and a Parliament formed by elective process and political parties . people of Jordan holds democratic and educated feeling and sense giving a new picture for the Arabs , particularly when we had seen one of the demonstrations while we were in Amman in 2014 demanding the increase of workers' wages .

The study starts in the year 1978 in which the law of Parliamentary Life in Jordan concerning Palestine till the end of 2001 . The elections of the 13th Parliamentary council took place during the reign of King Hussein who died in 1999 to continue until 2001 until King Abdullah the 2nd closed that council and the kingdom of Jordan

stayed without council till July , 17th , 2003 and the elections of the 14th council had been held .

The study consists of four chapters and a number of resources , references and appendixes . The first chapter deals with the foundation of East Jordan Emirat and the beginning of the Parliamentary life of Jordan as well as the first legislative stage which witnessed the formation of four legislative councils reaching the Parliamentary life in Jordan during the period 1947 – 1967 and the establishment of the first Nation council in 1947 .

As for the second chapter entitled " The Absence of Parliamentary Life and forming the Consultative National Councils 1978 – 1984 " . It deals with the process of absence of Parliamentary life in the kingdom as well as A'ayan council explaining the consultative council , its works , duties and system till 1984 .

The third chapter entitled " The Return of Parliamentary Life and Electing the 11th Parliamentary Council 1984 – 1993 " . This chapter talks about A'ayan Councils , the Parliament and the constitutional reforms naming the 10th Parliament . Also , it talks about the 11th Parliamentary Council and Reforming the law of publications and issuing the law of political parties for the year 1992 .

The fourth and the last chapter deals with the Parliamentary life 1993 – 2003 showing A'ayan Council and the 12th Parliament . The elections of this council are being made in accordance with the law of one vote in which woman entered the Parliament for the first time in Jordan as well as the signing of peace treaty with " Israel " .

Also this chapter handles the legislations of the 13th Parliament and the law of publications till the death of King Hussein . Then , it

speaks about the period between the absence of the council in 2001 and the elections of the 14th Parliament in 2003 .

The study included a huge number of references in the limits of the study's period like the documents of the Arab world file , the Jordanian documents of the ministry of Information , the Jordanian constitution which formed an important reference for a number of topics , files of consultative National Council , files of Jordanian Parliament , issues of journal of Jordanian Nation Council published by the General Office of the Nation Council which is considered the official tongue of the Nation Council .

As for the Arab books used in this study , we have the writings of booth Kings Abdullah bin Hussein bin Talal as well as the publications of the writer Hani Hurani entitled , " Political Parties of Jordan " , books of the historian Ali Mahaftha , " Limited Democracy : A State of Jordan " , the writer Sulyaman Musa in his book , " History of Jordan in 20th Century " . As for the foreign books , they were scarce with regard to the Arab references and the most important one is the writing of Quein Noor .

Also , we depended upon desirtations and theses such as the thesis written by Fawaz Muwafk Thanoon entitled , " Palestinian Issue in Jordan \_ U.S.A. \_ Relations 1967 – 1999 " , the desirtation written by Abdul–Amair Muhsin Jabar entitled , " Internal Political Developments in Jordan 1946 – 1958 " , the desirtation of Salah Abdul-Razak Falih Al-Khawalda deals with the elective system and the participation of Jordanian woman in Parliament 1989- 2003 , Faiz Hassan Shakhatra with tackles the political parties in the constitutional system of Jordan .

As for the papers and studies , we depended upon Hussein Abu Orabi , " Political Parties and Parliamentary Life in Jordan " , the study written by Dr.Ibrahim Khalil Al-Allaf , " Jordan – Israel Relations , Its Rise and Development " . Also , we used the official

newspaper and Al-Dustour Newspaper being a basic reference in the study .

Personal interviews were rare in this study due to the known situation except one interviews with the President of the Parliament Abdul-Lateef Oraybat , Electronic locations played an important role in this study being the government of Jordan is an electronic one and most locations are Nation Council of Jordan – Aÿyan – Deputies and others .

Jordan is a country which had been affected by international events Sorrowing it as being located in the Middle East Area and near by countries full of events like Iraq , Palestine , " Israel " and Arab Gulf Area . Surely , Jordan is being affected by wars taken place in the region especially Jordan is in lack of economic resources depending upon international helps .

All this affects negatively upon internal situations being a stable country politically and neighboring States lacking quiet and democracy which affect Jordan causing it continuous crises .

Throughout this study , we concluded the following : When Britain founded East of Jordan , it was aiming at building a state based on elections , being the Prince Abdullah was a member of Ottoman Mabuthan Council . The process of democracy had been made gradually and it did not come into being at once through the first legislative council which based the practical foundations to reach the stage of nation council " Aÿyan and Deputies " . Joining the west Bank to Jordan made the democratic process in half between both people of Jordan and Palestine and this had its results upon the electoral process in future due to the Arab atmosphere towards the Palestinian issue . The process of democracy in Jordan is made by the government and people of Jordan is familiar with the existence of legislative establishment governing the country , and this made King Hussein obliged to make the law of Consultative National council

lasted for six years during the period when the parliament was absent . Reforming the electoral law is repeated to be in accordance with the government ambitions in both its internal and foreign projects like the law of one vote . Society of Jordan is based on tribal principle and this made the woman reaching the parliament be difficult . The proceedings of the parliament showed the duty of the Jordanians to be present and they were with the people against the government for the sake of general office and the stability of the state . The council of A'ayan represents a special class named by the governing class and names of members are always repeated between a council and another . Also , members of A'ayan council have immunity even form criticism in Jordan and people always avoid mentioning their names . Finally , Jordan is one of the states which apply democratic laws and rising the parliamentary councils and legislative establishments . But in reality , democracy in Jordan is merely apolitical front and democracy itself is limited in this country till present time and practiced for the sublime benefit of the state .

# Parliamentary Life in Jordan

1978 - 2001

A Thesis Presented

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