The Experience of the National Consultative Council of Jordan (1978-1984)

Ibrahim Fa'our Al-Shraah and Khalid Hamad Abaalzamat*

ABSTRACT

The present study looks into the establishment of the National Consultative Council (NCC) of Jordan, which was established upon directions from late King Hussein in 1974. It aims at bridging the constitutional gap left by an obstruction in the parliamentary life, following the Rabat Summit in 1974, which declared the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Consequently, the Jordanian government decided to establish NCC to support the democratic life in the country and offer assistance in the process of endorsing laws.

Keywords: Consultative Council, Democracy, Political Opposition, Jordan.

INTRODUCTION

Jordan's parliamentary life witnessed a set back in the aftermath of the “June 1967 War”, which resulted in the occupation of the West Bank, Sinai and Golan Heights. Following the Rabat Summit1 (Ghazaw, 1979; Addustour, 1978), held in 1974 2 ( Al Sha’er, 1987), many suggestions centered around enhancing democracy in Jordan were proposed, including the establishment of the national union. Others were calling for amending the Constitution 3 (Masalha, 2000; Al Shraah, 2012), to pave the way for conducting parliamentary elections.

Despite all proposed suggestions, no single effective solution was introduced to deal with the various developments in the country. Therefore, there was a need to establish an entity in which the country that has the ability to discuss political matters and open the door before discussing temporary laws proposed by the government4 ( Al Sh’er, 1987), when the Parliament is not in session. The need has emerged from a foundation that helps the government consider and endorse laws and control domestic and foreign issues5 (Azmat Al Democratiyya, 1987). Hence, the Royal Decree was issued giving directions to establish the National Consultative Council (NCC).

On April, 11, 1978, the late King Hussein urged former Prime Minister Mudar Badran6 (Addustour, 1978), to enact a temporary law that would establish a National Consultative Council, and within a month a Royal decree was issued, stipulating the establishment of a council under the chairmanship of Ahmed Al Lawzi. This initial council included 60 members7 (Abu Soufe, 1995; Addustour, 1978), who were carefully chosen to represent all intellectual trends prevailing in Jordan at that time. The West Bank was represented with a restricted percentage of one-quarter, serving as a practical move to Jordan's commitment to the West Bank voiced in the Rabat Summit conference8 ( Al Sha’er, 1987). Jordan's9 ( Jordan Documents, 1993) approval of the Arab Summit resolutions necessitated a correction of the conditions of its political institutions to be capable of fulfilling this commitment and to prevent any constitutional faults in the state's responsibilities10 (Masalha, 2000). The Jordanian government reconsidered the memberships of the West Bank lawmakers in Jordan's Parliament and representation became restricted to citizens of the East Bank. It was necessary that the seats allocated for the West Bank be cancelled, resulting in the dissolution of Jordan's Parliament11 (Addustour, 1978).

The importance of the National Consultative Council emerged as a strong backup for Jordan's national message and a means to reclaim the Arab solidarity. King Hussein stressed "citizens' participation in shouldering responsibilities in this country." This council, however, is by no means a replacement of any of the institutions provided in the constitution nor was it an alternative for the elections12 (Al Rai, 1978) which will be back once conditions in Jordan have improved13 (Abu Soufe, 1995).

Based on the above, national consultative councils

* Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Qatar. Received on 10/10/2011 and Accepted for Publication on 20/2/2012.
were established to bridge the political gap and represent all segments of society that were approved for representation in the national council to accomplish the goal behind its establishment\textsuperscript{14} (Ghazaw, 1979).

The NCC was established to serve the interests of the state and the people; a realization of King Hussein's vision aspires involving citizens in state affairs. "The member of the council is a citizen; good citizenship is the core of selection. Each member represents individually the group and the society. He carries a message and performs a duty. He must be honest in conveying the true image\textsuperscript{15} (Al Rai, 1978) " The council enjoyed a number of authorities, such as practicing some activities associated with conducting the affairs of the state\textsuperscript{16} (Al Sharari, 2009), the Chairman of the council performed the duties of a specialized minister and he was given full authority with regards to the financial matters, supplies and travels relevant to the council\textsuperscript{17} (Al Rawabdeh, 2010). Following the chairman, the council was responsible for enacting laws, holding the government to account, and evaluating the political situation of the state, which makes it more like a parliament with some differences in authorities\textsuperscript{18} (Al Fayyad, 2009; Al Jam’ani, 2009). It was also charged with providing counsel to the executive authority, considering all the laws and regulations set by the government and discussing the public policy of the state in the frame of cooperation with the government in a way that serves the public's best interest\textsuperscript{19} (Abu Hdeib, 2009; Al Masri, 2009; Al Qar’an, 2009). The council was not entitled to hold the government or the ministers to account, and its resolutions were non-binding\textsuperscript{20} (Al Masri, 2009; Maraqa, 2009); furthermore, they were, legally speaking, merely "consultative authority that provides counsel" to the executive authority which is free to either accept or reject this council. The council's existence and practice is highly associated with the administration of the government\textsuperscript{21} (Masalha, 2000). In fact, Ahmad Al Lowzi, President of the council, addressed a letter to the King expressing his appreciation for the King's confidence, stressing at the same time their keenness to comply with principles of the King and articles of the Constitution\textsuperscript{22} (Al Rai, 1978).

Therefore, the National Consultative Council represented in its three editions the intellectual, political, social and ideological trends across the country. The council also included figures who have played important roles in community service, where some of them assumed ministerial posts while others were former members of Senate or parliamentarians. There were also lawyers and doctors among the members. Women worked side by side with men as well as members of parties and nationalists\textsuperscript{23} (Al Rawabdeh, 2010; Abu Hdeib, 2009; Al Abbadi, 2009; Al Masri, 2009, Doudine, 2009). They all had a favorable influence economic and political development\textsuperscript{24} (Al Abbadi, 2009).

The National Consultative Council consisted of a number of committees according to Article (11) of its bylaw\textsuperscript{25} (Addustour, 1978). Namely, the legal committee was formed to study drafts of laws assigned to the council, as well as to look into proposals submitted by members of the council. Additionally, they created a financial and administrative committee to study the state budget and other financial laws, and research private complaints related to public affairs relevant to the general administration. The foreign affairs committee was set to oversee political affairs, such as treaties and agreements. Lastly, the social committee was formed to investigate social, educational and health issues. To become a member, people who were chosen needed to fully represent the demographic construction of the state. For example, most of the original members are like the various heads of municipalities and other governmental and non-governmental organizations, and some members of the dissolved parliament. For this reason, the National Council represented all the segments of the society, and the political system was able to handle the emerging cases through defined (consultative) duties\textsuperscript{26} (Al Sha’er, 1987; Masalha, 2000).

In addition to these committees, the King, according to Article 31\textsuperscript{27} (The Constitution of Jordan, 1952) of the Constitution, approved the issuance and implementation of a temporary law for the National Consultative Council to be added to the state law. Most importantly, the law consisted of a few main articles. Article 4 stipulated that conditions members must meet to serve on the council, including nationality, age, financial and moral status\textsuperscript{28} (Addustour, 1978). Additionally, a member was not allowed to receive his/her salary if it is from the public money, nor were they to combine between the membership of the council and that of the Upper House of Parliament. Related to this is Article 17, which determines the members’ roles. The bureau of the council consists of the President, the first deputy of the President, who presides over sessions in case of absence of the President, or in case the latter joins the discussion of the
council, the second deputy who would take over in case of the absence of both the President and his first Deputy or in case they were both engaged in discussions of the council, and the secretariat\textsuperscript{29} (Addustour, 1978).

However, the representatives selection process to the parliament was conducted upon a Royal Decree, not through public elections, taking into consideration representation of all segments of the society - the reason why national consultative councils was up to the hopes and ambitions of Jordanians. Selections included a wide array of politicians, partisans, members of tribes, media personalities, retired and civilians\textsuperscript{30} (Al Masri, 2009; AlShareef, 2009; Al Fayyad, 2009; Al Rashdan, 2009).

There was "no specific number of Muslims or Christians"\textsuperscript{31} (Al Fayyad, 2009; Zreiqat, 2009). Following this, Article 5 determined the length of membership, allowing the King the right to dissolve the council, and decline memberships. Article 7 determined the responsibilities and authorities of the council - giving it the right to provide recommendations and responsibilities to the cabinet. Article 8 guarantees the right to of members to raise an issue, respond to any note and discuss all matters freely during council meetings. Article 9 defines the principles and protocols to be followed during sessions and Article 10 is probably the most important, as it focuses on the legality of sessions.

Aims and Methodology of the study:

The study aims at illustrating the direct drives behind the establishment of the Jordan's National Consultative Council (NCC) (1978-1984), and evaluating its importance in enhancing the political life in the Kingdom during that period.

This study will also shed light on whether certain mechanisms, adopted by the consultative bodies, were suitable entities to be adopted by the government instead of the experience of parliaments.

Concerning methodology, the present study also utilizes strategies of descriptive, analytical and historical framework. Such a framework will allow other researchers to make comparisons between the Arab country's consultative bodies in the future if they wish. In addition, the use of such framework is also attributed to the period of consultative bodies (1978-1984) which came after a very important incidents (i.e. the 1967 War and its political outcomes) in the history of Jordan. The study also utilizes contemporary sources (i.e. books, newspaper,... etc..). It has to be made clear from the very beginning that only a few studies have tackled this issue, and such studies, in this case, were depended immensely on historical documents.

The Experience of the First National Council (1978-1980)

The main role of the NCC was limited to enacting the laws submitted to the council. The parliament council, is conventionally temporary until endorsed by the Parliament upon its return to public life. Despite all that, we can estimate the importance of discussing regulations if approved by NCC in its final status, where a recommendation is submitted to the Cabinet which has the right to amend any legislation and then submit it to the King for final approval\textsuperscript{32} (Azmat Al Democratiyya, 1987). NCC temporary law was enacted when the Parliament was in session. At the time, lawmakers set the council's legislative duties. Its political duties were limited and relatively weak as compared with those monitoring duties of the Parliament\textsuperscript{33} (Masalha, 2000).

The first NCC included 60 members with a 2-year term (the defined term for all councils). Three seats were vacant, those of Ishaq Al Farhan, Jaafar Al Shami and Nayef Al Khreisha who submitted their resignations and were replaced by three other members. The sessions of the council were held in the building of the old parliament in Jabal Amman\textsuperscript{34} (Addustour, 1978). The King had, and continues to have, the right to exempt or approve the resignation of any of the members as he also has the right to dissolve the council\textsuperscript{35} (Masalha, 2000). The NCC did not enjoy the same authorities of the Parliament, although its presence did bridge the gap left by the latter's absence during the 1974-1978 period. In addition, it was not entitled to votes of confidence and non-confidence. NCC was limited, to a certain extent, to monitoring the executive authority's monopoly of public affairs, both on internal and external levels. It opened the door before a new approach, although limited, to take part in decision-making with regard to many issues\textsuperscript{36} (Addustour, 1978).


Upon the recommendation of former prime minister Abdul Hameed Sharaf\textsuperscript{37} (Jordan Minister, 1993), and after reviewing paragraph a of Article 3 of the 1978 Consultative Council Law, a Royal Decree was issued
stipulating the establishment of the second National Consultative Council whose members\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1980) were appointed in April 20, 1980\(^n\) (Jordan Documents, 1982; Addustour, 1980). The new council saw the introduction of 19 new members, including three ministers and two female members. The number of women increased to four instead of three\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1980). During its second round, several sad events took place in Jordan making it rather difficult to evaluate this round in light of the deteriorating Jordan-Syrian relations\(^n\) (Al Abdullat, 2001). The council could not establish a stand regarding this situation and the government afterwards occupied itself with preparing for the meeting of the Arab Foreign Ministers and Ministers of Economy, in addition to Jordan-Iraqi negotiations. The death of Abdul Hameed Sharaf came as a blow to the accomplishments of the National Consultative Council as he was considered the "engineer of this experience and the top official in charge of developing it and steering it to the right direction"\(^n\) (Al Sha’er, 1987).

The Third National Consultative Council of Jordan (1982-1984)

A Royal Decree was issued on April 19, 1982 upon reviewing Article 3/a of the National Consultative Council Law (17) 1978. Based on the recommendation of the Prime Minister\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1982) the third National Consultative Council of Jordan was launched by the late King Hussein in his speech during the opening session of the council on April, 27\(^n\), 1982. The King was accompanied by the Crown Prince, Mudar Badran and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs-of-Staff of the Armed Forces where members were sworn in before the King\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1982). The King’s speech addressed the members of the council “…stress[ing] the importance of the entity as a subject of interest which will remain at the forefront of the interests of the Jordanian family." The King warned against separatists groups in the Arab World. He, furthermore, emphasized the role of the council, expressing at the same time confidence in its capabilities\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1982)." As of April, 20, 1982, 75 members had been appointed\(^n\) (Addustour, 1982; Al Rai, 1982) in the National Consultative Council with Suleiman Arar as President,\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1982; Addustour, 1982), Kamal Al Dajani his first deputy, and Abdul Ra’of Al Rawabdeh as the second deputy\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1982).

A close look at the formation of the third NCC will however reveal that there were 41 new members, 34 remaining members, and 26 resigning, seven of the whom assumed governmental posts. Many sustained their memberships along the three editions of the council such as Suleiman Arar, Abdul Wahhab Al Majali, Kamal Al Dajani, and Dr. Khalil Salem. Nearly all found the NCC experience to be an experience for Jordan as well. "It is a pride for it has laid the foundations for many great values and added a prominent achievement in that period for the state." The council enhanced the spirit of democracy and joined in shouldering responsibility very efficiently. "It faithfully conveyed the hopes and aspirations of people\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1982).” Furthermore, the experience of the NCC was met with positive reactions from the Gulf states where a delegate was sent to Bahrain to explain the concept of the council\(^n\) (Al Khresha, 2009). Politically, members of the council had the right to control and issue pieces of legislation, although non-binding to the government, because it was appointed. The council was also entitled to discuss laws with the government. The third edition of the council was the first to enter the Dome of the current parliament\(^n\) (Al Khresha, 2009).

Women’s Role in the Three National Consultative Councils

Women’s participation in the National Consultative Council came in line with the vital role they play in Jordan generally\(^n\) (Al Sha’er, 1987). They assumed political posts in the three editions of the council, occupying three seats out of sixty as a start, increasing to four out of 75 afterwards\(^n\) (Al Rashdan, 2009). Rawabdeh described the role of women during their participation in the council as "effective, as they make up half of the society\(^n\) (Al Rawabdeh, 2010).” Among the women who participated in the national councils were: Laila Sharaf, member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, who was also member of the Cultural and Educational Committee, Haifa Melhe’s Al Basheer, member of Services and Public Facilities Committee and Nae’la Al Rashdan\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1982; Addustour, 1982). Princess Basma sent cables of congratulations to Inaam Al Mafni, Widad Boules and Nae’la Al Rashdan on the occasion of their election for the membership of the first National Consultative Council\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1982; Addustour, 1982). Princess Basma sent cables of congratulations to Inaam Al Mafni, Widad Boules and Nae’la Al Rashdan on the occasion of their election for the membership of the first National Consultative Council\(^n\) (Al Rai, 1978) as it was an unprecedented event in the Kingdom’s parliamentary history. The council welcomed the women activists, a sign that was obviously a step towards the advancement of women’s role and status in the Jordanian society\(^n\) (Moussa, 1996).
Prominent Achievements of the National Consultative Council

The council succeeded in recommended several laws, with a fully-fledged political discourse marking the discussions and deliberations over laws and resolutions during meetings. Through its sessions, it showed the pros and cons of the different departments of government, touching upon important local issues such as: health services, social security, education and media. Members of the council were keen on demanding the independence of the judiciary (Al Sha’er, 1987), which acquired a good share of the NCC discussions as judiciary relates to public freedoms. Members of the council insisted on improving the living standards of judges, eliminating the government interference in judicial issues, and cancelling the right of the Minister of justice to appoint judges. They also called for non-immunization of any administrative resolutions against appeal before the Supreme Court of Justice, limiting the authorities of private courts at the expense of regular courts, considering the conditions of the judges of military courts, stressing the need for them to enjoy independence and immunity similar to civil judges of regular courts. Council members also demanded the establishment of an exceptional military council that "opens the door before cassation of provisions it issues before the Court of Cassation," in addition to demanding that administrative arrests for citizens do not exceed three months without trial (Al Sha’er, 1987).

During its first session, the council discussed the 1979 and 1980 state budgets. This paved the way for researching political issues; both foreign and domestic. Many issues varying from political to economic to social were also tackled (Al Sha’er, 1987). Law of NCC was keen on setting sufficient guarantees that would ensure the independence of the council and provide its members with protection so that they can perform their duties according to expectations. Guarantees are as follows (Masalha, 2000).

1. Inviolability: Article 8/a: Every member has the right to speak and express his opinion. This is among the important guarantees as "holding the member responsible over his opinions would limit his freedom and prevent him from doing his duty in a manner that satisfies his conscience."

2. Immunity: The purpose of immunity is protection of the members for fear that the executive authority may take measures that might be malicious against them. Immunity, it should be noted, does not involve violations. Article 8/b stipulates that "no member of the parliament is to be arrested unless a resolution is issued by absolute majority of the council with sufficient reason for the arrest, or unless the member is arrested Flagrante delicto in a criminal offense or misdemeanor, in case of the council must be informed." The same article/ states that "In case a member was arrested for any reason during the holiday of the council, the Prime Minister has to inform the council once it convenes" (Addustour, 1978).

According to the existent law of the council, "a member is not allowed to combine between the membership of the council and that of the Upper House of Parliament," – a notion that was suggested with the aim of realizing the principle of separation of authorities. The rationale behind this condition is the fact that the presence of members of the council, if they are Senate members too, weakens its monitoring role and it contradicts the nature of the council's work in monitoring the executive authority (Masalha, 2000).

Political Forces Stand towards the National Consultative Councils

Upon establishment, the NCC was received by hostile reactions, sparking controversy due to different motives (Al Sha’er, 1987), including the classical rejection of any idea proposed by the King, intense competition between a number of politicians and former premier Abdul Hameed Sharaf, an ardent supporter of the council establishment. Some opponents who were excluded from chairmanship of the council for many reasons viewed the council as a new incident that "provides them with the opportunity to meet, unite and criticize the council." While, some citizens who failed to obtain a membership in the National Council, criticized its establishment. Moreover, a group of senates redeemed the council as unconstitutional. In fact, Laith Shbeilat (Shbeilat, 2010), a member of the National Council, refused the membership of the council on claims that it is unconstitutional. He explains that the rule system of Jordan is parliamentary monarchy where a parliament must not be absent. Sulaiman Arar, however, convinced him to change his mind. During his job as chairman of the Financial Committee in the council, Shbeilat demanded an investigation of the former minister of finance. He disagreed with the prime minister at the time Zaid Al Rifa'i over issuing budget supplements without
referring to the council.

All of these incidents indicate that the members of the National Consultative Council had some power to question the government on cases open for discussion and expressed their opinions openly. Though there were several attempts to get closer to the government with the purpose of achieving personal interests, the third edition of the council, saw a tangible improvement in terms of performance, becoming more mature with time 66 (Azmat Al Democratiyya, 1987).

Evaluation of National Consultative Councils

In its three editions, the National Consultative Council can be said to have represented to a great extent the intellectual, political social and ideological trends prevailing the Kingdom. It encompassed a number of national figures who played an important role in serving the Jordanian community. Women's addition to the council was a positive move,. The council maintained good relationships with the political parties in the country. Having made up by a mosaic of members of different intellectual and political background, feelings of comfort and satisfaction prevailed which helped the council bridged the constitutional gap left by the Parliament67 (Moussa, 1996). A number of political figures who have been members of the council gave their opinions about the the three editions of the consultative council. Dr. Ishaq Maraqa, ex- health minister, claims that "it was a successful experience. Its goals were non-personal and served the growth and prosperity of the state. It was a bright experience. Else, it wouldn't have been repeated three times68 (Maraqa, 2009)," while Hisham Al Sharari, ex-member of the NCC, said it was a successful experience conducted in a democratic atmosphere although the members of the council were appointed not elected" 69 (Al Sharari, 2009).

According to Dr. Issa Al Qsous, ex-member of the NCC, the country witnessed its best times with the existence of these councils. Qsous said "it was among the best councils that have been formed although it enjoyed temporary authority until parliamentary life was back in 1984"70 (Al Qsous, 2009). Saif Al Sharîf, ex-member of the NCC, however, said: "I believe the experience was successful at the time, but it lacked constitutional mechanism that would help bridging the gap properly. National Consultative Councils reinforced the concept of elections and helped glorifying parliamentary life"71 (Al Shareef, 2009). Since it was established, the national council acted as a platform for expression of opinion. Newspaper and magazines published the opinions that were proposed in the council. After discussing five state budgets, a large number of citizens were given the opportunity to talk about internal and external issues of concern to the state, review the events and achievements of the year before, and discuss the prospects of the year to come with a degree of freedom72 (Azmat Al Democratiyya, 1987). At the end, the careful handling of the National Consultative Council by its chairpersons and the government was the reason behind the quiet momentum it caused. The internal and external crises witnessed by the country led to further cautiousness, let alone officials' commitment to their achievements as a result of the vulnerability of the political situation in general73 (Al Sha’er, 1987).

Conclusion

Though the National Consultative Council (NCC) saw opposition on the part of some politicians who claimed it was unconstitutional, the establishment of the NCC in 1978 came to bridge the constitutional gap left by the absence of a parliament following. In commitment with the resolution of the Arab League in the Rabat Summit, which stated the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, a Royal decree was issued, dissolving the Parliament. The NCC also endorsed a number of draft laws referred from the government although they were temporary laws. The members of the council, many of them were re-elected, were carefully chosen to represent all the segments of the Jordanian society, including women, where members included people from professional associations, municipalities and chambers of commerce and industry. The NCC, succeeded to some extent, in accomplishing the goal, it was achieved for through adopting a number of laws and controlling the performance of the government. Finally, the experiment of the NCC laid the foundation for the rules of democracy despite its relatively short life.
Endnotes

(1) Rabat Summit Conference, the seventh Arab Summit, was held in October, 26th, 1974 in the Moroccan capital of Rabat. Leaders of Arab of nations at the summit acknowledged the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. See, Ghazawi, Muhammad Salem. Natharat Hawl Al Majlis Al Watani Al Estishari [Views of the National Consultative Council of Jordan]. 1st ed. Amman, 1979. (Pages 9-10). Source is later referred to as: Ghazawi. Natharat: Addustour Newspaper (2965), April, 20th, 1987.


(6) In his letter, King Hussein stressed that Jordan focused on enhancing constitutional rule, democratic life, the rule of the law, separation of authorities, and the independence of judiciary. Furthermore, he said that the occupation of the West Bank and the following developments on the Arab and Palestinian arena caused a halt in the parliamentarian activity in Jordan. See the full text of the letter in Addustour Newspaper (2777), April, 17th, 1978.


(9) The Jordanian government was at the time headed by Zaid Al Rifai’l who served for a second term (October, 23rd, 1974- February, 8th, 1976). During his term, a number of laws were ratified most prominent of which was the Yarmouk University Law, military service, back-up service, opening Aqaba railway to transport phosphates from Al Hassa area. See, Jordan Documents- Jordan Ministries 1921-1993. Amman: Department of Press and Publications, 1993. Later referred to as Jordan Documents.


(16) Personal interview, Hisham Al Sharari. December, 15th, 2009. Also, please look at the internal constitution that govern the NCC council.

(17) Personal interview, Abdul Ra'of Al Rawabdeh. March, 21st, 2010. Also, please look at the internal constitution that govern the NCC council.

(18) Personal interview, Khalid Abdullah Al Fayyad.
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(22) Al Rai Newspaper (2946), April, 22nd, 1978. (Page 1).


(28) Addustour Newspaper (2777), April, 17th, 1978.

(29) Addustour Newspaper (2777), April, 17th, 1978.


(32) Azmat al Democratiyya. (Pages 709-710).


(34) Addustour Newspaper (2965), April, 20th, 1978.


(37) King Hussein entrusted Abdul Hameed Sharaf with formulating the ministry in December, 19th, 1979. The government encompassed the Ministry of Social Development for the first time. In’am Mulfi was appointed as minister, becoming the first woman to enter the Jordanian Government. Sharaf’s rule term saw the establishment of the second National Consultative Council. Jordan Ministries (Pages 117-118).


(39) Jordan Documents- 1982 (Pages 81-84). See also, Addustour Newspaper (2926), April, 21st, 1980.

(40) Al Rai Newspaper (3645), April, 21st, 1980. (Page 2).


(42) Al Sha’er. Siyasi Yatatthakkar. (Page 304).


(44) Al Rai Newspaper (4354), April, 28th, 1982. (Page 8).

(45) Al Rai Newspaper (4354), April, 28th, 1982. (Page 9).

(46) Abdul Wahhab Al Majali, Kamal Al Dajani, Dr. Khalil Al Salem, Dr. Ahmad Abu Qura, Eng. Yahya Al Khateeb, Abdul Majeed Jijazi, Ya’qoub Abu Ghosh, Adnan Abu Odeh, Abdul Majeed Al Shraideh, Omar Al Nabulsi, Omar Abdullah, Anees Al Ma’sher, Marwan Al Hmoud, Dr, Muhammad Adoub Al Ziben, Eng. Sa’eed
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Ibid (Pages 296-297).

Ibid (Pages 296-297).


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Azmatt al Democraitiyya. (Page 710).

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Personal Interview, Ishaq Maraqa. December, 14th, 2009.


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Personal Interview, Saif Al Shareef. December, 14th, 2009.

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Personal Interview, Ishaq Maraqa. December, 14th, 2009.


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Personal interview, Muhammad Abdullah Abu Hdeib, December, 17th, 2009.

Personal interview, Muhammad Oudeh Al Qar'an, December, 11th, 2009.


Personal interview, Abdul Ra'of Al Rawabdeh. April, 14th, 2010.