

**Arab (Jordanian) National Union 1971-1974:  
Historical Analytical Study\***

الاتحاد الوطني العربي "الأردني" بين عامي (١٩٧١-١٩٧٤) "دراسة تاريخية تحليلية"

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**Abstract**

This study presents a picture of a civil society institution which was established in Jordan by the end of 1971 and continued till 1974 amidst an absence of parliamentary and partisan life as a result of the conditions the state was subject to after the June 1967 War, and the crisis between Jordan and the *fedayeen* organizations during the year 1970. Jordanian officials tried to strengthen national unity and eliminate the negative impact of the said events. The study shows the goals behind establishing the Arab (Jordanian) National Union, its general principles, domestic and foreign policies in addition to its activities, political, economic and social accomplishments. It also looks into its role in the national issues and the factors that led to its termination. The researcher depended on sources contemporary to the establishment of the union, particularly newspapers and narratives obtained from officials who witnessed the foundation of the union and contributed to its establishment.

**Key terms:** Jordan, Arab Union, National Union, Jordan politics, social organization, national unity.

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**ملخص**

تحاول هذه الدراسة تقديم تصور عن أحد مؤسسات المجتمع المدني، الذي نشأ في الأردن مع نهاية عام ١٩٧١ واستمر حتى نهاية عام ١٩٧٤، في ظل غياب الحياة الحزبية والحياة النيابية، وفي ظل الظروف التي عاشها الأردن بعد حرب حزيران عام ١٩٦٧، والأزمة التي حدثت بين الأردن والمنظمات الفدائية في عام ١٩٧٠؛ إذ حاول المسؤولون الأردنيون تقوية الوحدة الوطنية، ومحو الآثار التي نتجت عن الظروف السالفة الذكر. وقد حاولت الدراسة إبراز الأهداف التي نشأ من أجل تحقيقها الاتحاد الوطني العربي "الأردني"، ومبادئ الاتحاد العامة وسياسته الداخلية والخارجية؛ بالإضافة إلى نشاطات الاتحاد وإنجازاته: السياسية، والاقتصادية، والاجتماعية، ودوره في القضايا القومية، والعوامل التي أدت إلى إنهائه. معتمداً في هذه الدراسة على المصادر المعاصرة لقيام الاتحاد، وبالذات الصحف، والروايات الشفوية، التي تم الحصول عليها من خلال المعاصرين لقيام الاتحاد الوطني، والذين ساهموا في إنشائه.

**المصطلحات الأساسية:** الأردن، الاتحاد العربي، الاتحاد الوطني، تنظيم سياسي، تنظيم اجتماعي، الوحدة الوطنية.

**Introduction**

The study aims to illustrate the reasons that led to the establishment of the Arab (Jordanian) National Union between (1971-1974), and to evaluate its importance in enhancing the political life in the Kingdom during that period.

This study will also shed lights on whether a certain mechanisms had been adopted by the Arab Union bodies. It will also discuss the emergence of the Arab Union and whether it was created to fulfill the gap of the banned of political parties. The study, finally, will illustrate how the Arab Union emergence reflect on the different social economic life?

Concerning methodology, the present study also utilizes strategies of descriptive, analytical and historical framework. Such framework will enable us to understand the political life in Jordan in that period and the role of the Arab Union in the development of the Jordanian society in its different aspects, a thing over which most content of the study is based. The study also utilizes contemporary sources (i.e. documents, data base, interviews, newspapers, etc...).

It has to be made clear from the very beginning that as the study tackles a new issue that has never been yet discussed before, researcher depended immensely on contemporary historical resources.

The concept of political organizations appeared in Jordan in the second half of 1966 when Prime Minister Wasfi Al Tall invited a group of political figures to a meeting in which he discussed the Jordanian reality and the existing conflicts and differences between parties and political trends on one hand, and between parties, political trends and the state, on the other. Al Tall explained that it was necessary to consolidate efforts on the national level of Jordan, explaining: "it is necessary to unite efforts on the national Jordanian level as a start<sup>(1)</sup>."

The unified political organization was established under the name "the Jordanian National Union," following King Hussein bin Talal's announcement that stipulates establishing the organization beginning of September 1971 on the condition that all classes of Jordanians be involved in the union<sup>(2)</sup> to stand against the challenges that face Jordan. The purpose behind establishing the union was to unite the Jordanian people to work on restoring Arabs' right in Palestine<sup>(3)</sup>, by reuniting the two banks (the east and the west). The King saw it was important to harmonize citizens, which led to the establishment of the Jordanian National Union<sup>(4)</sup>. The meeting of the union's preparatory committee was chaired by the King and attended by the Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal (1965-1999), Prime Minister Wasfi al Tall, Minister of the Royal Court Ahmed Toukan, Chief of the Jordanian Royal Court Ahmed Tarawneh, and a number of advisors to the King and directors of other departments. It was also attended by representatives of the Jordanian society like heads of syndicates and senior figures of tribes and refugee camps<sup>(5)</sup>.

His Majesty King Hussein was keen on establishing an effective socio-political organization which would represent the main public sectors and become a party that is capable of stopping calls for division, in order to lead the process of building Jordan and to present a formula that ensures its success and wins governmental support. His Majesty the King attended the preparatory discussions of this formula until a law and a charter for the Jordanian National Union was introduced by an elite of

Jordanian politicians and intellectuals<sup>(6)</sup>. The Union was rather a huge public party, mainly established to become a new source for the political life of Jordan and be responsible for the enforcement of the National Union and the elimination of the impacts of the Black September 1970.

The National Union was established following the clashes that happened between the Jordanian Army and the armed *Fedayeen* factions who were, according to their claims, moved by the motive to liberate the West Bank. Some national parties<sup>(7)</sup> actually interfered in the nature of *fedayeen* work like the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party which can be seen in the slogans raised by some factions; "Road to Jerusalem ran through Amman," which turned their primary alleged goal of liberating the West Bank into an attempt to seize the ruling system of Jordan<sup>(8)</sup>. The *fedayeen* or guerilla organizations tried to attack the members of the Jordanian Army in the cities and jeopardized the Jordanian sovereignty. They hijacked planes carrying international passengers, flew them to an old airport in the Eastern Desert of Jordan and blew up the empty airliners which risked Jordan's image before the international community<sup>(9)</sup>.

*Fedayeen* also raised the slogan "No power above the power of resistance." Outsider bodies started to join the *fedayeen* organizations with the sole purpose of sabotage. And although Jordan has always been a pro-*fedayeen*; both leadership and citizens, the acts of some *fedayeen* disrupted the security of the country and attempts to take over the rule even made it worse. Only then clashes broke out between the army and the *fedayeen* resulting in the tragic Black September. Despite all this, the clashes can by no means be described as a civil war, as it was merely a war against outlaws. The interference of the army was necessary to restore law and order, hence the need to establish the Jordanian National Union. A number of politicians and senior members of former parties like the socialist and the national parties- dissolved since 1957- suggested establishing a party in Jordan, Wasfi al Tall being among the prominent advocates for forming a party in the form of the union, as he was close to partisan leaders whether Ba'athists, Socialists, Nationalists or Muslim Brotherhood who all joined hands to establish the National Union. Among the figures who contributed to the establishment of the union,

side by side with Wasfi Al Tall, were Ibrahim Habashneh, Suleiman Arar, Fadel Al Dalqamouni, and Adnan Abu Oudeh. The union was based primarily on loyalty to Jordan, then to the Arab unity. The idea of the United Arab Kingdom evolved from the principles of the union<sup>(10)</sup>, basically called for by King Hussein who called on uniting both banks of Jordan. But this endeavor did not meet success due to a wide Arab refusal topped by Egypt. Also King Hussein saw that the majority of the population did not approve this project and that is why it was overlooked<sup>(11)</sup>.

The 1970 incidents influenced the Jordanian- Palestinian relations. And because a large number of Palestinians live on Jordanian soils, the King was concerned the incidents would affect the structure of the Jordanian community especially that whole world was divided between two polars; capitalist and socialist. This made it necessary to establish a national political party, a suggestion proposed by PM Wasfi Al Tall and approved by King Hussein to be later called the Jordanian National Union<sup>(12)</sup>.

### **Establishment and Goals of the National Union**

The idea of the National Union was being circulated with the belief that "all Jordanians have to support the union in all fields and embrace its goals<sup>(13)</sup>." Despite the variety in the origins of Jordanians, the people in charge of establishing the union held a number of awareness lectures and published articles in newspapers to explain that the union will be a state party<sup>(14)</sup>.

The union was confirmed to be more of a state party established with the aim of enforcing progress and change, especially with the large number of comprehensive political organizations that dominated the Arab region at that time. In addition to the fact that Jordan did not have any party that had the power to bring about progress, freedom and reform in political, social and economic areas<sup>(15)</sup>. The establishment of the National Union filled the constitutional gap that emerged due to the absence of the Parliament as it was difficult to hold parliamentary elections following the occupation of the West Bank in 1967<sup>(16)</sup>.

Consequently, the establishment of the Arab National Union<sup>(17)</sup> was merely a "public organization that joins people of the two river banks<sup>(18)</sup>".

Months after the establishment of the Arab National Union- mid 1972, the Jordanian government issued the union law which stipulated the purpose of its establishment, its measure and activities<sup>(19)</sup>. The reason behind the delay in the official issuance of the law was the government's wish to well-inform citizens of the goals and the importance of the union.

The supreme executive temporary committee of the Arab National Union held a meeting under the chairmanship of Mustafa Doudine, interim secretary general of the union, with the aim of organizing the elections scheduled on August 1972 according to the following guidelines:

1. 50% of the members should be from the East Bank while the other 50% from the West Bank.
2. 30 of the seats allocated for Palestinians are distributed according to the following:
  - a) 12 seats for Palestine Bedouins.
  - b) 12 seats for the Occupied Territories of 1948. Such representatives were encountered by opposition of Israeli government (i.e. difficulties in border passage to Jordan etc. ...).
  - c) 6 seats for Gaza Strip.
3. A member may delegate another in case he/she was appointed in absentia or became a member while being outside the country, on the condition that the delegation is accredited in one of the Arab National Union offices or any of the Jordanian embassies abroad.
4. Members must state the name of the province they live or work in whether they come from the East or West Bank.

The legal period of nomination was also determined and vote counting was assigned to Chief of the Court of First Instance, three judges and the capital governor<sup>(20)</sup>. Mustafa Doudine himself followed up on the elections in several areas<sup>(21)</sup>. Doudine explained the conditions set

for nomination, most important of which was that the candidate must be member of the union, above the age of 18 and has a Jordanian or Palestinian nationality<sup>(22)</sup>. Membership registration was kept open for anyone wishing to join the union where several offices were opened in different provinces for this purpose<sup>(23)</sup>.

The second Secretary General for the Arab National Union, Adnan Abu Oudeh who succeeded Doudine, held a meeting at the premises of the union's General Secretariat to discuss the union's covenant (law) listed on the agenda, to be prepared for transmission to the unions supreme committee for consideration, to be submitted afterwards to the cabinet which will, in turn, transmit it to the National Assembly for discussion and approval<sup>(24)</sup>.

According to Article (31) of the Jordanian Constitution<sup>(25)</sup>, King Hussein approved Law (35) for the year 1973, namely the Arab National Union Law which constituted of 11 articles where *Union* refers to the Arab National Union, *Charter* refers to the National Charter announced on September, 7<sup>th</sup>, 1971 and *Secretary General* means Secretary General of the Arab National Union<sup>(26)</sup>.

The National Union was met with opposition by forces that appeared on the Jordanian scene:

1. The powerful traditional politicians (the Conservatives) who found the Arab National Union a competitor to them. They were concerned about losing their privileges as the union promises to change.
2. The Leftists; Nationalists, Nasserites and Socialists who showed enmity to the union. The Jordanian Socialist Party actually issued a statement in response to the political and economic proposals of the Arab National Union<sup>(27)</sup>.
3. The Islamic forces mainly represented by the Muslim Brotherhood Society which had a rather conservative attitude towards the establishment of the union. Also, the Islamic Liberation Party which was used to strongly reject all the actions of the Jordanian authority<sup>(28)</sup>.

4. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) which considered itself the sole organizational body for all the areas of Palestine, banning any other body from taking this responsibility be they Jordanians or non-Jordanians<sup>(29)</sup>.

The government responded to the rejectionist attitudes of the opposition forces and accused them of operating according to foreign political and social agenda's (in reference to Socialists). They were also accused of trying to discourage the people's will and Jordan's special experience which was considered pioneer in the Arab world, considering the conditions lived by Jordan years ago<sup>(30)</sup>.

As to the goals and nature of the union, the events of the Black September 1970 caused a state of political and social tension on the Jordanian scene resulting in armed clashes between the Palestinian factions and the Jordanian Army. The factions were directly and overtly supported by neighboring Arab systems. And although the government was eventually capable of eliminating the *fedayeen* off the Jordanian soil, the events did leave a scar in the unity of Jordanians. Both the King and the national forces worked hard to bridge the gap, restore unity among Jordanians and eliminate the impacts of the crisis in order to reestablish the state's prestige<sup>(31)</sup> and prevent any form of dissidence following the September events<sup>(32)</sup> through establishing an organization elected by all Jordanians and representative of the society's different groups<sup>(33)</sup>.

The establishment of the National Union aimed at reuniting the population from both Jordanian and Palestinian origins, fighting division and putting an end to calls for regionality<sup>(34)</sup>. The National Union consisted of members with leftist ideologies (Socialists and Nationalists)<sup>(35)</sup>, which meant that some of the union's members who also contributed to its establishment had socialist, nationalist and communist ideologies, although parties had been banned since April, 1957.

The union promoted the exact slogan of the Great Arab Revolt of 1916 which fought for Arab's unity, freedom and preservation of human dignity<sup>(36)</sup>. This has also been the same slogan of Wasfi Al Tall's first government, formed in January 1962 to confirm that Jordan was on the



verge of a new stage<sup>(37)</sup>, especially with the emergence of new political concepts, most important of which was *Non-Alliance*. The union was an "embodiment of a political concept close to central planning and an inevitable organized political work through a ruling party<sup>(38)</sup>".

The National Union Charter aimed at consolidating public unity in accordance with clear social and economic plans by means of a public organization that practices its activities through hard work and organized relations with the ruling authority<sup>(39)</sup>. In this regard, King Hussein said: "The National Union will be the melting pot that will encompass all our capacities and bring about the Jordanian miracle<sup>(40)</sup>". Accordingly, the main goal behind establishing the National Union was to underscore the notion: "Jordanians shall be equal before the law. There shall be no discrimination between them with regards and origin to their rights and duties on grounds of race, language or religion"<sup>(41)</sup>.

On October, 1971, Mustafa Doudine was appointed as interim Secretary General for the National Union's committee, which completed all measures necessary for electing the union's council members. The public conference of the union, composed of delegates from provinces, was entrusted with electing the council's members where there should be "four representatives for each section; or a representative for each 100. The conference will elect 240 members and elections will be held according to geographical basis. The King shall elect 120 members of the union's council, in his capacity as the Supreme President of the council, to be equally divided between the two banks of Jordan River, in addition to a supreme executive committee of 18 members<sup>(42)</sup>. The council will offer 28 seats for the Palestinians from the occupied territories<sup>(43)</sup>." The National Union's committee elected the members of the leadership bureau which was composed of the Secretary General of the union and heads of the financial, political, economic and social, media as well as research and studies bureaus<sup>(44)</sup>.

The union's council was entrusted with forming several committees similar to the Parliament committees<sup>(45)</sup>. Muhye Addine Al Masri said Wasfi Al Tall was the first Secretary General of the National Union, who was succeeded by Mustafa Doudine after he passed away in Cairo on

November 28<sup>th</sup>, 1971<sup>(46)</sup>. Following the end of Doudine's term, the King appointed Adnan Abu Oudeh who became chief of the National Union's board of trustees. During his presidency which continued for several months, he established the executive committee of the union which consisted of 36 members and established a political bureau encompassing 12 members<sup>(47)</sup>. He also launched the official daily newspaper Al Rai, which is still published up till the present time<sup>(48)</sup>.

Citizens voiced their support of the National Union through their participation in the elections that have been held in mid 1972 to elect the foundational council<sup>(49)</sup>. During a public meeting held in Jebel Al Taj, Amman, Senator Suleiman Artime said "all the citizens have agreed to the national step announced by King Hussein which aims at reorganizing Jordanians and Palestinians on the basis of proper democracy<sup>(50)</sup>".

The supreme executive committee of the union included 35 personalities, considering its important role in implementing provisions of the temporary basic system. The list includes<sup>(51)</sup>:

<b>Mustafa Doudine</b>	<b>Taher Hikmat</b>	<b>Ghaleb Barakat</b>
Fadel Al Dalqamouni	Mudar Badran	Ameel Al Ghouri
Naji Abdul Aziz	Abdul Aziz Al Khayyat	Ibrahim Al Habashneh
Abdul Majid Hijazi	Juma'a Hammad	Mahmoud Sa'ad
Ahmed Al Khalil	Ahmed Al Tarawneh	Ishaq Al Farhan
Suleiman Arar	Michel Marto	Adnan Abu Oudeh
Khalid Al Fayyad	Faisal Kan'an	Issam Bdeir
Mahmoud Younis Al Azze	Sa'eed Al Tall	Muhye Addine Al Hussein
Fayez Fahd Jaber	Muhammad Al Dabbas	Salah Juma'a
Kamel Abu Jaber	Muhammad Al Bashir	Ahmed Dafqan
Khalil Al Salem	Fawwaz Sharaf	Sa'adeyye Al Tall
Widad Boules	Najah Al Khayyat	

In October, 1972, King Hussein appointed Adnan Abu Oudeh as the new Secretary General of the National Union and explained the responsibilities of the coming phase. He also appointed members of the supreme executive committee. The King said he was "optimistic that the members will succeed in accomplishing the goals of the National Union<sup>(52)</sup>". On October, 17<sup>th</sup> of the same year, the executive committee held its first meeting in the premises of the General Secretariat and it elected members of the different bureaus<sup>(53)</sup>.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 1972, heads of the National Union's committees were elected. Taher Hikmat was appointed as head of the legal bureau, Marwan Al Hmoud for the public bureau, Mudar Badran for the financial, Fadel Al Dalqamouni for the political, Wade' Sharayha for the economic, Issam Al Ajlouni for the social, Juma'a Hammad for the media and Sa'eed Al Tall for the research and studies bureau<sup>(54)</sup>. Abu Oudeh explained the responsibilities of the newly-appointed officials, noting that they have to exert efforts to improve the union and solve the problems they face in cooperation with other organizations<sup>(55)</sup>.

On the occasion of Eid Al Adha which coincided with the beginning of January, 1973, Adnan Abu Oudeh explained that the spirit of citizenship necessitates that every single citizen and member of the National Union contributes to building and developing the country, "because the union brings together all groups of the society, and the national duty commits everyone to serve their country<sup>(56)</sup>".

Abu Oudeh held another meeting in the General Secretariat for heads of the union's bureaus across provinces. Abu Oudeh underlined the need for directors to be models for the new ideology and to enjoy wide confidence to help accomplish the union's goals and make a positive change. "We will propose new thoughts in Jordan based on our experience and heritage to help develop Jordan in all fields". Human is a pivotal element in building, development and change, because their acts reflect on the Jordanian society<sup>(57)</sup>," he added.

Abu Oudeh's term as Secretary General was relatively short (October, 1972- March, 1973) after which he was removed from his post.

He was described as "nonpublic in personality and more inclined to theorization and talkativeness, and he did not communicate well with the public," according to Taher Hikmat, a founding member of the union<sup>(58)</sup>.

And although this is a mere subjective viewpoint by Taher Hikmat, one can still envision the situation at the time, especially that Hikmat was very close to Abu Oudeh back then. It is important here to note that King Hussein did not hesitate a bit in replacing the secretary general of the union after he saw it was better to do so according to specific considerations to fulfill the goals of the union. Replacing the secretary general was by no means a setback in the union's march as much as it was an attempt to put the right man in the right place.

### **Principles of the National Union**

A number of general principles, domestic and foreign policies were set to govern the work of the union in economic, social, educational and cultural fields, including the following:

- People of Jordan are part and parcel of the Arab nation.
- The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a constitutional monarchy (Where the king does participate in political life of the country).
- Every conspiracy against the identity and existence of Jordan is a conspiracy against the Arab cause, particularly the Palestinian cause.
- The unity of the Jordanian people is important to confront risks and challenges.
- Struggle to liberate the occupied territories (military and politically) is a national duty to restore the Arabs' right in Palestine.
- The Union of Arab states and consequently the unity of the Arab nation, requires first and foremost, the unity of people's forces in every Arab country, conducted through informed democracy, taking into account the objective conditions; the social, economic political, geographical, factors of time and stages of development so

as not to create a union that carries between its folds factors of division.

- The unity between the East and West Banks is a crucial unity taking into consideration the common history, land, goal and destiny.
- The unity frontline, which entails mobilization of Arab forces in battlefield and consolidating leadership and planning to prevent the enemy from attacking each separately.
- The unity in political confrontation in conflicts, which requires a unified foreign policy for the Arab states against the enemy schemes in international struggles<sup>(59)</sup>.

#### **First: The National Union's Foreign Policy**

The union's foreign policy was based on the following:

- Respect for the national sovereignty of nations and their right to self-determination without any foreign interference that would forcefully impose any rulings on any state.
- Support for liberation of nations in their struggle against colonialism.
- Operating internationally through the United Nations and the national interests.
- Rejection of the policy of dependence and participation in military alliances and blocs.
- Support for peaceful means in resolving international issues, with the belief in the right of nations and peoples to defend their rights, sovereignty and independence through various means.
- Harmonization and unification of the foreign policies of other Arab states, on the basis of common interests and joint destiny of the Arab nation.
- Announcement of a unified Arab stand vis-à-vis the Palestinian cause.
- Rejection of Arab-Arab conflicts.

#### **Second: The National Union's Domestic Policy**

The National Charter defined the pillars of the union's domestic policies as follows:

- The relation between the National Union and the ruling system is based on cooperation.
- All political, military and economic efforts must be coordinated according to the principles of the union.
- Democracy is the method of ruling and work shall be done through the Charter and within the constitutional parliamentary system<sup>(60)</sup>. The Charter did not identified what type of system the state should follow. However' the state is following the capitalist system.

The subcommittees of the National Union's preparatory committee began to hold several meetings in provinces in order to discuss the items of the Charter. Head of Irbid's committee, Hassan Al Kayed, said "the items of the charter comply with the Constitution of Jordan and support the Charter". He underscored the need to be one hand with the King. He also supported the charter's stand to the Palestinian cause, the Arab unity and Jordanians' political work<sup>(61)</sup>.

The ideas of the charter and union were continuously circulated on different levels. Members of the labor offices of the National Union's committee held a meeting in October, 1971 under the chairmanship of the Minister of Interior Ibrahim Al Habashneh, where he approved adding a representative for each province in the coordination committee<sup>(62)</sup>. The preparatory committee held several meetings on various regions like Salt<sup>(63)</sup> and Ramtha during the same month, where members explained the principles of the National Charter which aims at strengthening unity ties between citizens of both river banks<sup>(64)</sup>. The items of the charter had been also discussed in Sukhna area in Zarqa where all the attendees agreed to all the items of the charter and expressed relief concerning the framework of the charter which strongly upheld harmony between Jordanians and the armed forces<sup>(65)</sup>. Representatives of public sectors and charity societies in Salt and Ramtha voiced the need to mobilize efforts and potentials within the national framework to bring about advancement and development<sup>(66)</sup>.

During a public seminar for the National Union in Marka- Amman, Secretary General of the union, Mustafa Doudine, talked about the reasons of establishing the union, namely; the political gap which forced

intellectuals, youngsters and students to search for ideas from external sources, the Black September events and its consequences which led to a division in the national unity; and the need to build a modern state, especially with the availability of public potentials and capacities capable of building the state economically and socially<sup>(67)</sup>.

This was a preparatory phase in the journey of the National Union. On October, 11<sup>th</sup>, 1972, however, King Hussein inaugurated the first session of the union council during which he delivered a speech praising the members of the temporary executive committee and the Secretary General Mustafa Doudine for their efforts in developing the union and getting it to the elections stage. King Hussein decided on October, 12<sup>th</sup> of the same year to elect the supreme executive committee of the National Union which consists of 36 members with Adnan Abu Oudeh as Secretary General succeeding Doudine<sup>(68)</sup>. The basic temporary draft law of the National Union was published consisting of 90 articles<sup>(69)</sup>.

The meetings of the subcommittees continued in all the regions of Jordan from end of 1971 till end of 1972. Public bodies in Hashemi Al Shamali- Amman held a meeting in November, 1971 in which they confirmed that the idea of the National Union emerged from Jordanians themselves who desired to organize its different groups in one force<sup>(70)</sup>.

Two public meetings for the National Union in Sweileh, Amman during the same month in which they discussed the principles of the charter and the National Union was more like a field for the citizens and the charter was their framework. Also they confirmed the need to disregard conflicts and support leadership<sup>(71)</sup>.

Sahab, eastern Amman, also saw meetings<sup>(72)</sup> which demanded that every citizen must be given their right in political work. The meetings reiterated support for national unity; considered the charter as a melting pot for all ideologies and upheld the belief that unity between people is a strategic requirement for the Arab unity<sup>(73)</sup>.

In Al Mafraq, northern Badia, the principles of the National Union were explained and Parliamentarian for the northern Badia Saud Al Qadi, urged citizens to join the union<sup>(74)</sup>. Heads of the union in Irbid and Kerak

met citizens for the same purpose<sup>(75)</sup>. This is not the place however to mention each and every meeting which took place in the different Jordanian villages and cities, but the purpose of mentioning these meetings is to indicate that the National Union enjoyed a wide public support from all citizens.

### **Activities and Achievements of the National Union**

#### **First: Politically**

When King Hussein announced the National Union, the purpose was to overcome consequences of the Black September, amidst difficult regional and local conditions which resulted in a state of confusion in Jordan leading afterwards to negative impacts on the relations between Jordanians living in the two river banks themselves. King Hussein held the Jordanians responsible for themselves and their nation and encouraged them to make efforts to bring back its unity and harmony as it has always been and stand against advocates of separation. The union was rather a public "party," where communication channels with the political leadership are always open.

The National Union's Charter highlighted the political basics of the union. In one of its articles, the charter explicitly refers to the topic of the foreign policy, which includes respecting the national sovereignty of all peoples and their right to self-determination; in addition to supporting liberation of colonized peoples, cooperating with the United Nations Charter, and rejecting alliances and political axes<sup>(76)</sup>. The details of this article have been mentioned previously. Following is an explanation of the practical work of the union politically.

The political conditions in the region forced the National Union during its emergence to work according to the reality of the local and Arab scenes at that time. The National Union issued its first political statement when the October 1973 War broke out. The union stressed the need for all its members to perform their duties in line with the war situation with Israel. The statement directly asked its members to be



prepared for receiving any instructions by the union, focusing on the following:

- Confronting the psychological war waged by the enemy against all Arabs in general, and Jordanians in particular through fighting rumors and increasing the citizens' awareness by means of meetings and seminars.
- Cooperating with the relative bodies in combating the chaos that might emerge from these conditions.
- Supporting the war efforts through voluntary work and organizing the popular resistance, as every member of the state counts as a soldier. Members of the union hurried to donate blood and sacrifice their own lives to the popular resistance<sup>(77)</sup>.

The above explains the political role of the National Union through its position during the October 1973 War. The war proved that victory cannot be achieved unless all efforts of both the army and the people were unified. What the National Union did was no surprise as the charter confirms the need for political action to fight the enemy, support colonized people and help them restore their freedom and independence.

Other indications that the National Union supported its political stand include its call for rejecting Arab–Arab disputes (i.e. the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Yemen etc...) and working in positive cooperative solutions based on dialogue. And since several Arab countries have gone through the same conditions Jordan went through, the National Union suggested documenting the links with the different organizations regardless of their fields in an attempt to avoid future situations similar to this one, seeing this was the right path for Arab unity. The union saw that the Zionist movement danger at this stage was the major danger and that it has to be encountered<sup>(78)</sup>.

The National Union has continuously called on Arab states to offer their support to frontline states, especially Jordan, because it stood as a shield for the rest of the Arab states in combating Israel<sup>(79)</sup>. Secretary General of the union, Mustafa Doudine, underscored the unity between

the citizens of the two Jordan River banks praising the people's ability to overcome the September events through which the prejudiced tried to separate between Jordanians and Palestinians. Doudine said "In Jordan, we are advocates of unity<sup>(80)</sup>".

King Hussein said the National Union was a new experience through which citizens found an opportunity to practice politics and stand up to challenges<sup>(81)</sup>. The Arab Union was established in order to reinforce the democracy during the absence of the political parties.

### **Second: Economically**

The economic interest is a national priority in dealing with other countries<sup>(82)</sup>. The articles of the National Union Charter confirmed more than once the need to establish an economic entity in industrial, agricultural and banking sectors, within a framework of economy and developmental programs that aim at establishing a stable and independent economic society and ensure high living standards for citizens<sup>(83)</sup>.

Based on the above, the charter included an article that tackled labor and laborers, as there was a need to highlight the importance of labor and the laborer's role in economic progress. Labor unions were directed to take part in this production "battle", because they were believed to be a "right for the laborer, aiming at raising the living standards of laborers and their cultural and vocational levels. Moreover, unions set the correct basis of work and production ethics and paved the way for cooperation between workers and management officials within the economic development scheme<sup>(84)</sup>".

Article (5) of the Charter stipulates that domestic trade is considered a means to facilitate delivering economic products from producers to consumers in a way that prevents any exploitation for the consumer, regulates trade markets and distributes markets all over Jordan including all cities and villages<sup>(85)</sup>. The role of the National Union was not limited to theory, but it actually controlled commodities prices just like when the union submitted a request to the Prime Minister demanding an explanation about the increase in child formula milk<sup>(86)</sup>.

Chairman of the public conference in Al-Karak, Omran Ma'ayta, confirmed that the National Union Charter is in fact a "union for farmers and peasants in which they work together to serve their country and build a proper economy based on proper fixed foundations", adding that the "union will be a wise regulatory body that will work hard to accomplish industrial and agricultural projects of use to citizens<sup>(87)</sup>". From that time on, the meetings which had been held to discuss the items of the charter proved its importance as it discussed the economic conditions in light of the union's charter. The committee on commercial and industrial work held a meeting in Amman in November, 1971 with the purpose of preparing for a public meeting that targets workers in the economic sector<sup>(88)</sup>, although the Jordanian economy was still in its first steps<sup>(89)</sup>. Committees of the economic sector became responsible for explaining the goals of the national Union and highlighting its pivotal role in developing the national economy. They were also in charge of setting a plan that regulates the comprehensive sector of economy and coordinates its activities with other sectors in the community<sup>(90)</sup>.

The charter recommended establishing an economic foundation in industry and agriculture<sup>(91)</sup>. Therefore, a need has emerged for planning centrality to achieve a national economic unity and stability through communication among economic sectors<sup>(92)</sup>.

Generally, the National Union's Charter dedicated a good part of its articles for economic issues, which cannot be covered in this study. However, the major significant economic recommendations can be easily underscored. In addition to the previously mentioned recommendations, the charter confirmed the need to establish industrial enterprises; whether governmental, private or mixed (governmental and private), where each enterprise received a defined framework in light of the following:

- The state's economic and political scheme.
- The economic feasibility.
- Cooperation and integration with other Arab states<sup>(93)</sup>.

In order to create an advanced and effective economy in Jordan, the charter highlighted the need for administrative reform and fighting

anything that might corrupt it like bribery, routine and failure of management tools. The charter also introduced solutions for all those problems, with directing education according to business needs and setting programs for economic advancement on top of the list<sup>(94)</sup>. The charter states that the industrial revolution in developed countries helped uniting social thought, which in turn helped strengthen the community's will for economic development<sup>(95)</sup>.

The committee emerging from the economic seminar that was launched by the National Union during a meeting under the chairmanship of head of the economic bureau, Wadee' Saharayha beginning of January 1973, discussed a number of economic issues and set a memorandum that documented the seminar's recommendations to solve the problem of high prices<sup>(96)</sup>.

Another economic seminar was held for specialists in public and private sectors in the beginning of January 1973 to discuss the economic situation including the high prices and the high cost of living and tried to arrive at reasonable solutions. A recommendation that the seminar came up with was submitting a request to the Arab Bank to establish projects that ensure additional income to the government to use it in lifting the living standards of citizens<sup>(97)</sup>. The reason why they choose the Arab Bank is attributed to the efficiency of such banks as the largest bank in Jordan.

The National Union studied the law of labor and laborers and set the necessary recommendations in line with the charter. The union's leadership bureau established a committee consisting of members of the supreme executive committee and members of the National Union's council to review the state budget draft law<sup>(98)</sup>.

### **Third: Socially**

When the National Union was established, it was deemed as a social public organization that aims to organize community service, and regulate the relations between the society and governmental institutions after the June 1967 War severe impacts on the Jordanian society. Hence the need to build a new society that is capable of standing up to

enemies<sup>(99)</sup>. Reforming the society starts at its center; and since the woman is the core of the family, the union gave women leading positions and equality with men in all fields, in rights and duties<sup>(100)</sup> based on the natural and human environment of the Jordanian society<sup>(101)</sup>.

Secretary General of the National Union, Adnan Abu Oudeh, explained that the union "will conduct research and studies that reflect the unified thought of the union to effectively develop the society and to help it become productive in order to meet the different requirements". He also said "the union will change the general framework of the society to include all working forces in the country<sup>(102)</sup>". "During a visit to Oman mid-November, 1972, where he chaired a meeting for the union, Abu Oudeh said the idea of the National Union was originally proposed to push Jordan forward in the march for independence and transform it into a developed productive society<sup>(103)</sup>".

Out of the union's concern about the Jordanian expatriates abroad, the Secretary General of the union followed up on the problems that face the expats and coordinated with the relative bodies to work on solving them, especially that a large number of Jordanians work abroad. Issues of concern to expatriates included facilitating renewal of their expired passports, and admitting their children in governmental schools in the countries they work in. Some of the problems have been solved like speeding up passport transactions, communication with other governments with regard to Jordanian workers working on their soils in addition to proposing an authority or a commission to receive and solve complaints of expats abroad<sup>(104)</sup>.

Adnan Abu Oudeh held another meeting on December, 12<sup>th</sup> 1972 that was attended by council members in Nablus, Jenin and Toul Karem. Abu Oudeh confirmed that the union was a social movement within the Jordanian society with the aim of making change through citizens themselves by means of finding a pioneer group that believes in advanced concepts to fulfill the people's ambitions and hopes<sup>(105)</sup>. He asserted, in different place, "organization is the base to any movement; change will not happen except through organized groups<sup>(106)</sup>".

As to the status of women in the society, they did not hesitate to participate in the union in its different activities. The feminine movement used to hold its meetings in the headquarters of the union itself and discuss a variety of issues of concern to the society. Women were given the chance to join the union as members with the aim of lending a hand in fulfilling the goals of the union. The participation of women had a great role in fulfilling the principles of the union<sup>(107)</sup>.

And since the people living in the refugee camps in Jordan formed part of the society, their demands were met with special care by the Secretary General of the union, where he intervened in the UNRWA to prevent reduction of refugee allocations of basic food supplies, pave the roads of Baqa'a refugee camp, and open a school for girls there<sup>(108)</sup>.

Also women participated in the political field and showed unusual capacities despite opposition by some men who refused that women join the national Council. Women were allowed into the political life since April, 1973 and they were given the right to take part in parliamentary elections and to vote side by side with their male counterparts<sup>(109)</sup>.

King Hussein stressed the importance of building the Jordanian society through the National Union, because "fighting challenges requires speeding up the process of construction, so that the society becomes one in facing challenges<sup>(110)</sup>".

Secretary General of the union, Juma'a Hammad, followed up on the issues of women, and he met with a group of female representatives from this sector. He told them "the union has allowed women the opportunity to practice the rights guaranteed by the constitution. She can now become a productive member of her society and she has to commit to her duties, in return. Perhaps the major role played by women is to raise a conscious generation capable of serving their country<sup>(111)</sup>".

Some even believe women have proved their merit in the political scene through joining the National Union. Women assumed leading positions in the union like Badriyya Abdul Jaleel, member of the executive committee who also worked in the educational bureau of the union<sup>(112)</sup>. Women also offered aid to the Jordanian Armed Forces

casualties through their participation in the October 1973 War on the Syrian frontline<sup>(113)</sup>.

The union's members attached great importance to conditions of health and education by means of meeting people directly and inquiring about their concerns. Therefore, the union held a large number of seminars and lectures to study the situation in Jordan and communicate with officials in that regard<sup>(114)</sup>.

The National Union's view towards the Jordanian society was based on the belief that it is the initiator of the march to a better life, and the body in charge of overcoming the difficulties faced by the society. It saw citizens capable of reaching the ultimate goal; i.e. serving the country and working hard for its progress. The union supported this perspective in order to build a productive mature society, which was a practical application to the union's vision, "from the people and to the people."

#### **Fourth: Educationally**

The Jordanian society is a young society, as its citizens classify as a youthful nation. That is why there was a pressing need to pay attention to the educational sector with all its elements; teachers, students, education facilities. The success of the educational sector is beneficial to the whole community and makes it more aware of its surroundings, especially the issues it most suffers from. And although the National Union was a pot that encompasses all political forces, it was more of an educational edifice than a political movement which makes it an outcome of the culture and thoughts of the society. Each and every citizen had to have a role in lifting education standards in the country. Briefly said, the union represented the minimal level of national culture that is based on proper educational grounds<sup>(115)</sup>.

To achieve this vision, the National Union decided to establish six committees to improve the educational system of Jordan and improve the conditions of workers in this sector in line with the union's charter. The mission of those committees focused on conducting studies to develop school curriculum and follow up on the process of amending it, even in

the occupied territories with the aim of developing the educational system of Jordan to suit the modern Jordanian renaissance<sup>(116)</sup>.

On February, 8<sup>th</sup> of 1973, Adnan Abu Oudeh chaired a meeting for the educational bureau emanating from the organizational committee of the union. The meeting reviewed the necessary tools to build the Jordanian society through preparing the citizen; the core of the society, within the frame of his/her Arab and Islamic culture and heritage based on modern scientific thinking methods. In cooperation with the Ministry of Education, the bureau defined the concept of modern education in Jordan<sup>(117)</sup>.

Undoubtedly, the decision of the organizational committee to establish the educational bureau was a significant step in the application of the union's charter, as it managed to get educational institutes in Jordan (Ministry of Education, Jordan University, and Youth Welfare Association) to work together within one team capable of creating a scientific trend to cope with its surroundings. Article (6) of the charter underscored education as "the golden cover for human capacities," hence the need to reconsider learning methods in schools and universities, subject them to a scientific experimental approach and eliminate spoon feeding techniques to teach the people the ways to express their thoughts through dialogue and solve their problems peacefully. The charter wanted to "spare people the conflicts that arise due to failure to explain thoughts which may lead to tensions while doing that<sup>(118)</sup>". To this end, the National Council's Charter was proposed as a learning subject in schools<sup>(119)</sup>, with the hope of preparing the society for a qualitative leap based on the core, i.e. students who are being fully prepared for a better future.

The Ministry of Education urged male and female teachers to join the National Union and the ministry asked its different directorates to facilitate issuance of ID's for members<sup>(120)</sup>. During a reception held beginning of September 1973, the Secretary General of the union, asked teachers seconded to Oman to "take into consideration the fact that the National Union will keep in touch, because it was originally founded for all Jordanians, inside the state and abroad<sup>(121)</sup>".



### The Role of the National Union in National Issues

When King Hussein established the Arab National Union, he wanted it to be a tributary to the rule, more like a "party" that contributes to drawing the state policy in cooperation with the official ruling authority. It should be noted that the nature of this public-official organization was not limited to taking care of Jordan's domestic issues and the challenges standing in its way, but it also had an influential role in the national issues, especially that Jordan's location placed it in direct contact with the heated regional political issues, most important of which was the Palestinian case, Arabs' first and most vital concern. The Palestinian issue subjected Jordan to several political challenges and complications because it lies on the longest frontline with Israel; all the events that happened in Palestine affected Jordan politically, socially and economically.

The 1948 and 1967 Palestinian Exodus had great impacts on Jordan which managed to adapt to the new reality but found difficulty due to foreign interference in the Jordanian-Palestinian relations seeking to apply ideologies of different references that were very far from the Arab national spirit and wished to harm the Jordanian unity. Despite all this, Jordan was capable of standing up to attempts of questioning its positions and responded through establishing the Arab National Union which was representative of all categories of the Jordan society. The union was a means to heal the rift in the Jordanian-Palestinian relations and to enhance brotherhood ties between the two sides.

Jordan offered all kinds of support to the Palestinian Resistance and it even received the *fedayeen* to work on its soil at a time when other Arab countries settled for cheering. Jordanian citizens helped support the resistance and some even joined it. When the resistance deviated from its own set liberation goals, they found themselves outside the Arab World after which they expressed their desire to go back and King Hussein welcomed them back<sup>(122)</sup>.

On May, 15<sup>th</sup>, 1973, the National Union issued a statement in the occasion of the Nakba in which it explained that this anniversary is a

cause for us all to review ourselves, proceed our struggle and stand in the face of challenges no matter how huge they were. The statement renewed the call for solidarity and integration among all Arabs and "urging our Palestinian brothers to show more persistence and steadfastness<sup>(123)</sup>".

The union condemned a statement made by Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba beginning of July, 1973, in which he called for an "alternative homeland." The union saw that "proposing such a fallacy would only enroot Arab disintegration, confuse the core of the Palestinian cause and waste the Palestinian right<sup>(124)</sup>". The union responded to this statement through organizing an official public march that kicked off from Amman to Irbid, to protest against calls for an alternative homeland<sup>(125)</sup>.

The National Union continued to urge the international community to put an end to the Israeli aggression against the occupied territories and its violation for human rights principles. The union's statement of December, 10<sup>th</sup> 1973, said "Israel still continues to flout human rights and ignore relevant international conventions<sup>(126)</sup>".

The union paid great attention to the refugees' issues. Secretary General of the union, Juma'a Hammad, received a delegation of the Gaza Strip in April, 7<sup>th</sup>, 1973, where he said "we have to work based on the principle of cooperation and solidarity for the public's best interest<sup>(127)</sup>".

A delegation from the National Union visited Tehran in mid-September of the same year to introduce the Arab view regarding what is happening in Palestine and the continuous violations of Israel<sup>(128)</sup>.

The National Union shouldered the responsibility of explaining the "United Arab Kingdom" project which aims to reorganize the Jordanian-Palestinian home based on proper democratic foundation<sup>(129)</sup>. On another note, the union denounced Israeli threats broadcast on Israel Radio mid-December, 1972 which says "Israel believes the Jordanian relations with other Arab extremist countries - Syria - as dangerous and such relations might renew tensions on the borders with Jordan<sup>(130)</sup>".

The National Union followed up on the happenings on the Arab scene. Following news about clashes between Kuwait and Iraq in the

beginning of 1973, the union called officials in both states to act more reasonably to end the conflicts; because "such tensions in such conditions might be a good opportunity for the Zionist danger." The union called for renouncing the regional disputes and unifying efforts to face Israel<sup>(131)</sup>.

On June, 5<sup>th</sup> 1973, the National Union issued a statement during the June War in which it urged Arab nations to change their realities<sup>(132)</sup>. In an interview with journalist Kilani, Secretary General of the National Union, Juma'a Hammad, confirmed the union's role in the battle of determination. Article (13) of the Union's law states that the "major danger that threatens us is the Zionist threat; therefore it must be confronted collectively. Once a person becomes a member of the union, he/she becomes automatically responsible for participating in the battle of determination which becomes an individual obligation not a sufficiency<sup>(133)</sup>".

### **The National Union Experience Ends**

The National Union's experience was best represented in its effective participation in adoption of citizens' issues through consolidating the public base. The union managed to actually solve some of the problems citizens suffer from, and their views had been delivered to officials. The union cooperated with different governmental bodies, especially the Jordanian Armed Forces<sup>(134)</sup>. Secretary General Juma'a Hammad stressed during the monthly meeting for the union's directors in March 1974, the need to raise the awareness of the National Union's groups to contribute to development and construction. "The experience we lived during the past period affirms the positive results we have achieved<sup>(135)</sup>," Hammad said.

A Royal Decree was issued end of April 1974 which approved the new law for the Arab National Union, issued according to Article (10) of the Arab National Union Law 35/ 1973. The new law included basic changes in the union's structure; the members of the supreme executive committee were reduced to 18 instead of 36, the King accepted the resignation of Secretary General Juma'a Hammad. The King formed a transitional committee to facilitate the issues of the union and adjust its

position in line with the new system of the Union. The committee was headed by Mudar Badran with members Salem Mas'adeh, Abdul Aziz Khayyat, Suleiman Arar, Mahmoud Al Kayed Hyasat, Mahmoud Sa'eed and Abdul Karim Al Malahmeh<sup>(136)</sup>.

The transitional committee of the National Union held a meeting in May, 14<sup>th</sup> of the same year in the union's headquarters in which a number of issues of relevance to the union were discussed in light of the new law. The aim of this was to regulate the union according to the new bases of the law<sup>(137)</sup>.

Despite the short life of the Arab National Union (end of 1971- end of 1974), it still achieved many local breakthroughs and had national stands vis-à-vis Arab issues. Wasfi Al Tall's absence following his assassination in Cairo had the greatest effect in the union's failure to survive because it "clashed with the ambitions of some personalities like Zaid Al Rifai, which helped dissolving the union one way or another<sup>(138)</sup>". Head of the union's economic bureau, Wade' Al Sharayha, academician in the University of Jordan, confirmed that Zaid Al Rifai was against the establishment of the union and that he was "concerned" about it. Sharayha explained that the reason behind Al Rifai's rejection to the union was his fear that "it might control the government<sup>(139)</sup>".

In his journals, Tarawneh explained that the reason why the National Union ended was mainly because of the resignation of Zaid Al Rifai's government<sup>(140)</sup> which caused the union and its law to end because a group of politicians were against it<sup>(141)</sup>. Mudar Badran said the political conditions at the time hampered the National Union and caused it to come to an end<sup>(142)</sup>. Prime Minister Zaid Al Rifai dissolved the Arab National Union and cancelled its law, leading to dissolution of its structure, closure of its bureaus and disposal of its assets<sup>(143)</sup>.

Apparently, other reasons sped up the dissolution of the Arab National Union; the general Arab conditions, the decisions of the Rabat Summit of 1974 and Jordan's recognition that the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people<sup>(144)</sup>. Moreover, the union was not ready to comprehend

the different political forces and their participation on the basis of multi-party system, hence its dissolution and the cancellation of its law<sup>(145)</sup>. Also, the stable situation in Jordan after the complete exit of *fedayeen* from Jordan had a role in its end<sup>(146)</sup>.

Marwan Doudine believed that the National Union achieved the goals it was established for; reconsolidating the Jordanian national front on the domestic level and eliminating local disputes<sup>(147)</sup>. Adnan Abu Oudeh disagreed to the dissolution of the National Union but he saw "it would have been better if it continued to operate in order to activate dialogue and because it was a wide public base and a pioneer idea<sup>(148)</sup>".

Through the Arab National Union, Jordan managed to overcome King Hussein's concerns that a national dissidence might happen in the Jordanian society. The King was reassured about Jordanians, which proved that the union "achieved its goals and prevented any chance for domestic division<sup>(149)</sup>". By end of 1974, the Arab National Union disappeared and ceased to exist.

## Conclusion

The establishment of the Arab National Union beginning of last century came during hard conditions and huge challenges through which Jordan lived at the time. The June defeat of 1967 caused a great transformation in Jordan due to the disastrous impacts it left on different levels; economic, social, political and educational. Jordan suffered greatly from the consequences of this war and the new exodus of the displaced Palestinians. Jordan also suffered the aftermath of the war which caused the September crisis of 1970, which was an attempt to blow up Jordan's unity. The period during which the union was established was described as a truce with the guerilla organizations because it was basically formed to reunite Jordanians and Palestinians, repair mishaps and renew relations with the leadership.

The Arab National Union was a socio-political organization that was considered more like a political national party amidst an absence of

political parties. Its goal was to build up an advanced society; politically, socially and economically, alongside other governmental institutions.

The plan behind forming the Arab National Union was to contribute to rebuilding an integrated unified national front to stand up to domestic and foreign challenges. Establishing the union was a serious attempt and a constructive and enlightened idea to build Jordan and empower it to face the challenges it met by means of widening public participation in the rule and deepen feelings of loyalty and national allegiance with the absence of political parties.

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### End Notes

- (1) Al Tall, Sa'eed. *Al Mithaq Al Watani Al Uduni: Falsafa wa Maseera* [The Jordanian National Charter: Philosophy and Journey] presented by Ahmed Obeidat, head of the Royal Committee for Drafting the National Charter. Amman, 1999 (P. 28). Referred to later as "Al Tall, *The National Charter*." Historian Abdul Karim Gharaybe confirmed that the idea of the National Union began as early as 1966 when he attended a meeting in Beirut in April 1967 upon an invitation by Jordan's Cultural Advisor there, Sa'eed Al Tall. In the same meeting were present the following: Nasser Eddine Al Assad, Qustantine Zuraiq, Waleed Al Khaledi, among others. Gharaybe said Wasfi Al Tall wanted to establish a political organization in Jordan that would replace political parties dissolved since April, 1957. Personal interview, Abdul Karim Gharaybe (89 years old), March 28th, 2010- Jordan University, at his office – department of history .
- (2) *Al Rai Newspaper* " Amman " (85), September, 8th, 1971., p.1.
- (3) *Al Rai Newspaper* (327), June, 21st, 1972, p.1.
- (4) Al Tarawneh, Ahmed. *Rehlaty ma' Al Urdun* [My Journey with Jordan]. ed. Amer Salah Tahboub. Amman: Addustour print house. 1997. (P. 147). Referred to later as "Al Tarawneh, *Rehlaty*."
- (5) *Al Rai Newspaper* (85), September, 8th, 1971 , p.1.
- (6) Al Ajlouni, Ibrahim. *Al Ittihad Al Watani: Safahat Min Tajrubet Juma'a Hammad* [The National Union As Seen by Juma'a Hammad]. Beirut: Arab institute for Studies and Distribution. 2006. (pp. 9-10). Referred to later as "Al Ajlouni, *The National Union*."
- (7) After the unity of the two river banks in 1950, a number of political parties with different ideologies appeared; **Arabism** (the Jordanian Ba'th Party, Arab Nationalist Movement), **national** ( the National Socialist Party, Jordanian Arab Constitutional Front Party, Ummah Party, National Union Party, Jordanian People's Party), **religious** (The Muslim Brotherhood Society, Islamic Liberation

- Party) **communist (Marxist)** (the Jordanian Communist Party, National Front). Some of those parties were approved according to Parties Law of 1954 but some were not, like the Islamic Liberation Party and the Jordanian Communist Party. All political parties in Jordan were dissolved end of April 1957 for domestic and foreign reasons except for the Muslim Brotherhood Party. The Parties were back again according to a law issued in 1992. For more See, Shraah, Ibrahim. "Jordanian Parties and National Issues (1950-1975)." MA Thesis, History Department-Yarmouk University. 1995. (pp. 22-66).
- (8) Personal interview, Adnan Abu Oudeh. July, 22nd, 2009- Amman (in his house).
  - (9) Personal interview, Marwan Doudine. July, 18th, 2009- Amman (in his office).  
Personal Interview, Marwan Al Hmoud. December, 20th, 2009- Amman, (in his office) .
  - (10) King Hussein proposed the United Arab Kingdom project in March, 1972. The project was based on the following: establishing a new country of two states, Jordan and Palestine; with Amman as central capital and capital of Jordan and Jerusalem as capital of Palestine. King Hussein would be leader of the United Arab Kingdom and responsible for the central executive authority assisted by a central cabinet. Both states will have unified legislative and executive authorities and military forces. The United Arab Kingdom project replaced. The project was rejected by different parties (Palestinian, Arab and international) and was met with failure. See, Shraah, Ibrahim. "United Arab Kingdom Project 1972." *Dirasat/ Jordan University*. Vol. 31, 1st ed. February, 2004. (pp. 152-173).
  - (11) Personal interview, Muhye Addine Al Masri. July, 8th, 2009- Amman (in his office). *Al Rai Newspaper* (324). June, 18th, 1972 , p.1.
  - (12) Personal interview, Adnan Abu Oudeh. July, 22nd, 2009- Amman(in his house) .  
Personal interview, Eng. Ra'ef Najem. July, 25th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
  - (13) *Al Rai Newspaper* (184), January, 20th, 1972, p.1.
  - (14) Personal interview, Dr. Kamel Abu Jaber. December, 6th, 2009- Amman (in his office) .
  - (15) Personal interview, Ahmed Al Lozi. December, 14th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
  - (16) Personal interview, Dr. Wade' Sharayha. November, 17th and 20th, 2009- Jordan University, Faculty of Business Administration.
  - (17) In March, 15th, 1973, the Jordanian National Union was called as the Arab National Union to make the union more appealing to Jordanian citizens in both banks of the Jordan River, especially the ones from Palestinian origins. At the same time, King Hussein announced the United Arab Kingdom. Al Tall, *The National Charter*, (P. 34).
  - (18) *Al Rai Newspaper* (271), April, 17th, 1972, p.1.
  - (19) *Al Rai Newspaper* (332), June, 27th, 1972, p.1.
  - (20) *Al Rai Newspaper* (332) and (361) July 3rd and 26th, 1972, p.1.

- (21) *Al Rai Newspaper* (362), July, 27th, 1972, p.1.
- (22) *Al Rai Newspaper* (367), August, 1st, 1972 , p.1.
- (23) Personal interview, Adnan Abu Oudeh. July, 22nd, 2009- Amman (in his house).
- (24) *Al Rai Newspaper* (447), November, 17, 1972, p.1.
- (25) *The Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*. Amman: Hashemite Press. 1968. (P. 11). Referred to later as *The Constitution of Jordan*.
- (26) Baysam Mansi, Ibrahim. *Jordan Constitutional Councils: (Legislative, Upper House, Lower House, National Union, Era State, Kingdom)*. Amman. 2002. (P. 80). Referred to later as Ibrahim, *Constitutional Councils*.
- (27) Al Ajlouni, *The National Union*. (P. 10-11). Al Tall, *The National Charter*, (P. 34).
- (28) Al Ajlouni, *The National Union*. (pp. 10-11).
- (29) Al Tall, *The National Charter*, (pp. 34-35).
- (30) *Al Rai Newspaper* (438), November, 8th, 1972, p.1.
- (31) Al Ajlouni, *The National Union*. (pp. 7-8).
- (32) Personal interview, Adnan Abu Oudeh. July, 22nd, 2009- Amman (in his house).
- (33) Personal interview, Marwan Doudine. July, 18th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (34) Personal interview, Ahmed Al Lozi. January, 14th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (35) Personal interview, Taher Ahmed. July, 2nd, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (36) Personal interview, Abdul Elah Muhammad Nazzal. June, 28th, 2009- Amman (in his office); Personal interview, Hammad Al Ma'aytah. July, 15th, 2009, (in his office); Personal interview, Dr. Wade' Sharayha. November, 16th, 2009 -Jordan University; Personal interview, Shaya' Falah Al Abed Al Da'ja, grandson of late Falah Al Abed Al Da'ja, member of National Union (in his office). July, 1st, 2009; Personal interview with son of Mahmoud Al Kayed Al Hyasat, member of National Union. July, 5th, 2009, (in his office).
- (37) Susser, Asher. *On Both Banks of the Jordan: A Political Biography of Wasfi Al-Tall*. Tr. Jawdat Al Saad. Amman: Dar Azminah for Publishing & Distribution. 1994. (P. 135). Referred to later as "Susser, *On Both Banks of the Jordan*."
- (38) Personal interview, Adnan Abu Oudeh. November, 18th, 2009- Amman (in his house).
- (39) *Al Rai Newspaper* (85), September, 8th, 1971, p.1.
- (40) *Addustour Newspaper*, (1484), September, 8th, 1971, p.1.
- (41) Constitution of Jordan (P. 4).
- (42) Ibrahim, *Constitutional Councils*. (pp. 84-85).
- (43) *Al Rai Newspaper* (363), July, 28th, 1972, p.1.
- (44) Ibrahim, *Constitutional Councils*. (P. 85).
- (45) *Addustour Newspaper* (1552), November, 15th, 1971, p.1.
- (46) Personal interview, Muhye Addine Al Masri. July, 8th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (47) Personal interview, Adnan Abu Oudeh. July, 22nd, 2009- Amman.



- (48) Personal interview with Abdul Aziz Al Khayyat. November, 23rd, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (49) Personal interview, Marwan Doudine. July, 18th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (50) *Al Rai Newspaper* (273), March, 31st, 1972, p.1.
- (51) *Al Rai Newspaper* (163), December, 10th, 1971, p.1.
- (52) *Al Rai Newspaper* (439), October, 12th, 1971, p.1.
- (53) *Al Rai Newspaper* (447), October, 17th, 1972, p.1.
- (54) *Al Rai Newspaper* (447), October, 20th, 1972, p.1.
- (55) *Al Rai Newspaper* (449), October, 22nd, 1972, p.1.
- (56) *Addustour Newspaper* (1959), January, 9th, 1973, p.1.
- (57) *Al Rai Newspaper* (475), November, 20th, 1972, p.1.
- (58) Personal interview, Taher Hikmat. July, 2nd, 2009- Amman,( at his office).
- (59) See, *Al Rai Newspaper* (85), September, 8th 1971, p.1, for more information on the principles of the Arab National Union.
- (60) *Al Rai Newspaper* (85), September, 8th, 1971, p.1.
- (61) *Al Rai Newspaper* (100), September, 26th, 1971.
- (62) *Al Rai Newspaper* (125), October, 25th, 1971, p.1.
- (63) *Al Rai Newspaper* (100), September, 26th, 1971, p.1.
- (64) *Al Rai Newspaper* (110), October, 10th, 1971, p.1.
- (65) *Al Rai Newspaper* (112), October, 12th, 1971, p.1.
- (66) *Al Rai Newspaper* (110), October, 10th, 1971, p.1.
- (67) *Al Rai Newspaper* (126), October, 26th, 1971, p.1.
- (68) Ibrahim, *Constitutional Councils*. (pp. 85-86).
- (69) Most prominent of which was the statement in Chapter Two, Article (2): "Jordanians are the source of authorities," and other articles relevant to citizen's rights like the right to free elections, freedom to work, equality between males and females in rights and duties, fighting blind tribal loyalty and citizen's right to join syndicates and unions without restrictions. Chapter Three of the basic system highlighted the political goals of the National Union like maintaining the sovereignty of the state and the throne and enhancing democracy. In Chapter Four, the tools through which the basic system would be applied were explained. Chapter Five included the basics of organization and organic management. See, *Addustour Newspaper* (1539), November, 2nd, 1972, p.1.2.
- (70) *Addustour Newspaper* (1539), November, 2nd, 1971, p.1.
- (71) *Al Rai Newspaper* (141), November, 12th, 1971, p.1.
- (72) *Al Rai Newspaper* (133), November, 3rd, 1971, p.1.
- (73) *Al Rai Newspaper* (133), November, 3rd, 1971, p.1.
- (74) *Addustour Newspaper* (1626), March, 25th, 1972, p.1.
- (75) *Addustour Newspaper* (1630), March, 29th, 1972, p.1.
- (76) *Al Rai Newspaper* (110), November, 10th, 1971, p.1.
- (77) Al Ajlouni, *The National Union*. (pp.41-42).

- (78) *Al Rai Newspaper* (138), November, 9th, 1971, p.1.
- (79) *Addustour Newspaper* (1555), November, 18th, 1971, p.1.3.
- (80) *Al Rai Newspaper* (191), January, 7th, 1972, p.1.
- (81) *Al Rai Newspaper* (151), November, 26th, 1971, p.1.
- (82) *Al Rai Newspaper* (139), November, 10th, 1971, p.1.2.
- (83) *Al Rai Newspaper* (140), November, 12th, 1971, p.1.
- (84) *Al Rai Newspaper* (141), November, 13th, 1971, p.1.
- (85) *Al Rai Newspaper* (143), November, 15th, 1971, p.1.
- (86) Personal interview, Dr. Wade' Sharayha. November, 16th, 2009- Jordan University.
- (87) *Addustour Newspaper* (1543), November, 6th, 1971, p.1.
- (88) *Addustour Newspaper* (1545) and ((1546), November, 9th and 8th, 1971, p.1.
- (89) *Al Rai Newspaper* (137), November, 8th, 1971, p.1.
- (90) *Addustour Newspaper* (1547), November, 10th, 1971, p.1.
- (91) *Al Rai Newspaper* (139), November, 10th, 1971, p.1.2.
- (92) *Al Rai Newspaper* (140), November, 12th, 1971, p.1.
- (93) *Al Rai Newspaper* (142), November, 14th, 1971, p.1.3.
- (94) *Al Rai Newspaper* (150), November, 25th, 1971, p.1.
- (95) *Al Rai Newspaper* (175), December, 22nd, 1971, p.1.
- (96) *Al Rai Newspaper* (519), January, 3rd, 1973, p.1.
- (97) *Addustour Newspaper* (1959), January, 6th, 1973, p.1.
- (98) *Al Rai Newspaper* (533), January, 21st, 1973, p.1.2.
- (99) *Al Rai Newspaper* (216), February, 12th, 1972, p.1.
- (100) *Al Rai Newspaper* (240), March, 12th, 1972, p.1.
- (101) *Al Rai Newspaper* (254), March, 28th, 1972, p.1.
- (102) *Addustour Newspaper* (1907), November, 15th, 1972, p.1.
- (103) *Al Rai Newspaper* (472), November, 16th, 1972, p.1.3.
- (104) *Al Rai Newspaper* (711), July, 19th, 1973, p.1.
- (105) *Al Rai Newspaper* (499), December, 13th, 1972, p.1.2.
- (106) *Al Rai Newspaper* (504), December, 18th, 1972, p.1.
- (107) *Al Rai Newspaper* (516), January, 4th, 197, p.1.3.
- (108) *Al Rai Newspaper* (729), August, 6th, 1973, p.1.
- (109) Personal interview, Widad Boules. November, 30th, 2009- Amman (in his office). Al Mousa, Suleiman. *Tareekh Al Urdun Al Siyasi Al Mu'aser* [Jordan Political Contemporary History]. Amman, 1998. (p. 136).
- (110) *Al Rai Newspaper* (490), December, 3rd, 1972, p.1.
- (111) *Al Rai Newspaper* (661), May, 30th, 1973, p.1.
- (112) Personal interview, Dr. Wade' Sharayha. November, 16th, 2009- Jordan University.
- (113) Personal Interview, Marwan Al Hmoud. December, 14th, 2009- Amman (in his office).

- (114) Personal Interview, Marwan Al Hmoud. December, 14th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (115) *Al Rai Newspaper* (243), March, 15th, 1972, p.1.
- (116) *Al Rai Newspaper* (579), March, 8th, 1973, p.1.3.
- (117) *Addustour Newspaper* (1989), February, 9th, 1973, p.1.
- (118) *Addustour Newspaper* (2012), March, 4th, 1973, p.1.
- (119) *Al Rai Newspaper* (219), February, 16th, 1972, p.1.
- (120) *Al Rai Newspaper* (329), June, 23rd, 1972, p.1.
- (121) *Al Rai Newspaper* (760), September, 6th, 1973, p.1.
- (122) *Addustour Newspaper* (2095), May, 26th, 1972, p.1.
- (123) *Al Rai Newspaper* (646), May, 15th, 1973, p.1.
- (124) *Al Rai Newspaper* (700), July, 8th, 1973, p.1.
- (125) Personal Interview, Marwan Al Hmoud. December, 20th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (126) *Al Rai Newspaper* (794), December, 10th, 1973, p.1.
- (127) *Al Rai Newspaper* (610), April, 8th, 1973, p.1.
- (128) *Al Rai Newspaper* (774), September, 20th, 1973, p.1.
- (129) *Addustour Newspaper* (1680), March, 29th, 1972, p.1.
- (130) *Al Rai Newspaper* (503), December, 17th, 1972, p.1.
- (131) *Al Rai Newspaper* (516), January, 4th, 1973, p.1.
- (132) *Addustour Newspaper* (2104), October, 17th, 1973, p.1.
- (133) *Al Rai Newspaper* (801), November, 17th, 1973, p.1.
- (134) *Addustour Newspaper* (2344), February, 5th, 1974, p.1.
- (135) *Addustour Newspaper* (2370), March, 2nd, 1974, p.1.
- (136) *Addustour Newspaper* (2427), April, 29th, 1974, p.1, *Al Rai Newspaper* (991), April, 29th, 1974, p.1.
- (137) *Addustour Newspaper* (2443), May, 15th, 1974, p.1.
- (138) Personal interview, Muhammad Al Dabbas. July, 12th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (139) Personal interview, Dr. Wade' Sharayha. November, 16th, 2009- Jordan University.
- (140) Zaid Al Rifai submitted the resignation of his first government in November, 23rd, 1974. In the same day, King Hussein entrusted Hussein Al Rifai with forming his second government which included 20 ministerial portfolios. This government continued till February, 8th, 1976. See, *Jordanian Documents; Jordanian Ministries 1921-1993*. Amman: Department of Press and Publication. 1993. (pp. 109-111).
- (141) Al Tarawneh, *Rehlaty*. (P. 147).
- (142) Personal interview, Mudar Badran. December, 7th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (143) Al Tall, *The National Charter*, (P. 35).

- (144) Personal interview, Adnan Abu Oudeh. July, 22nd, 2009- Amman (in his house). *Ministries of Jordan*, 1993. (P.108).
- (145) Al Tall, *The National Charter*, (P. 146).
- (146) Susser, *On Both Banks of the Jordan.*" (P. 134).
- (147) Personal interview, Marwan Doudine. July, 20th, 2009- Amman (in his office).
- (148) Personal interview, Adnan Abu Oudeh. November, 18th, 2009- Amman (in his house).
- (149) Personal interview, Adnan Abu Oudeh. November, 18th, 2009- Amman (in his house).