

## Jordanian Popular Political Activity and the National Security

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**Abstract:** This study attempted to clarify the track of the peaceful Jordanian popular movement during the Arab Spring and the effect of security and national stability. In addition, the study examined the proactive reform steps taken by the regime which express the regime's feeling about the importance of responding to the political popular demands to preserve the legality and stability of the regime. The study concluded that the future of all popular movements, political reform and national security rely on the two sides of the equitation and wisdom of the regime in dealing with these issues, not to forget the need to respond for them as well as the awareness and wisdom of the popular movements with all spectrums, in addition, to the ability to avoid risks and preserving the safety and security of the country, which are considered a non-avoidable need.

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**Key words:** Popular movement • National security • Arab Spring • Jordan

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### INTRODUCTION

Arab countries have witnessed wide political transformations as a result of the eruption of public revolutions by the Arab populations against the tyrant and corrupt ruling regimes who have met them with oppression, tyranny and blood-shedding, revolutions which were unique all over the modern Arab history in terms of their sort, goals and aftermaths. Not far away in the modern history, Jordan witnessed-contrary to the Arab spring countries-a public activity and a peaceful political opposition which raised slogans of demands for, political economic and social reforms, fight against corruption, poverty and unemployment and which has become an icon of peaceful reform processes. The regime quickly and peacefully adapted with the public activity with gradual political and constitutional reform with the aim of preserving the regime legitimacy and protecting then national security and stability, keeping away from the oppressive means that had been widely employed by the Arab regimes. Such policy met with the public activity endeavors to preserve the political regime and its security since Jordan is one of the countries that had witnessed democratic transformation and political reform before and

also had experienced many public and political activities which some them demanded reforms and others demanded toppling the regime down, but the regime could adapt itself with all those events, and the population responded with awareness to confront the perils and survive the all the crises with security and stability.

**Study Importance:** The study importance lies in that it studies the Jordanian public activity and its impacts on the national security, due to the fact that it is considered a unique phenomenon and has turned more prevalent on the Jordanian and Arab arenas, where the regime's goals of trying to achieve the reforms and maintaining stability and security coincided with the goals of the public. The study importance also lies in that the public activity along with the Arab revolts have become the spotlight public and mass media concern since Jordan has witnessed suffocating political and economic crises and widespread corruption in the public sector, therefore reform has become an inevitable necessity. Finally, the study importance also lies in hat it highlights the preemptive steps that the regime conducted in order to adapt with the public activity demands, which in turn resulted in maintaining the national security.

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**Study Goals:** The study aims to recognize the Jordanian public and political activity and its causes and the regime's position towards it and the achievements of the activity on the political reform level, also the primary aspects of regression and contradictions of the public and political activity and the most prominent consequential results that the regime has to meet and the future of public and political activity tools.

**Study Problem:** The study problem lies in diagnosing the situation of the public activity in Jordan, which brought an agenda that formed the basis for the regime's project of political reform and the need for change, reform and corruption eradication as public and political demand which is in agreement with the modern Arab and international reality and which the same time safeguard the state and the regime from perils and achieve security and stability, and which is related to the interest of the both the regime and the public activity in avoiding sliding to bloody clash and the consequent regional and international interventions.

#### **Study Hypothesis and Questions:**

##### **The Study Relied on the Following Assumptions:**

- There is a correlative relation between the Jordanian public activity and the political reform and the national security.
- Interest in reform has increased on levels, the public level and the regime level, as a result of what had been happening in the Arab spring countries, in particular the neighboring countries, with the aim of maintaining the national security.

##### **These Assumptions Generated a Number of Questions:**

- Has the Jordanian public activity occurred as a self-motivated reform demanding activity, or as a result of the Arab spring influence?
- Has the political reform come as a result of the public activity and its pressures or it was granted by the ruling regime?
- Has the national security been maintained by the national security oppressive measures, or by the awareness of all the parts of the regime and the population?
- What is the role of the political currents in determining the future of the public activity and the national security?
- Is the public activity right in all the demands or there are contradictions?

#### **Study Limits:**

##### **Study Limits Lie in Three Determinants:**

- Location limits: the study will address the public activity in Jordan as a peaceful phenomenon.
- Time limits: the study will address the public activity phenomenon in the time period between 2010 and 2014.
- Subject limits: the study will address the situation and nature of the public and political Jordanian activity and the consequential impacts on the national security.

**Study Methodology:** Since the study addresses the subject of the public activity as one of the major factors in the political reform and the national security, it will employ the descriptive and analytical methodology which both focus on the motivations of public activity, the political reform prospects, achieving the national security in Jordan and the consequential impacts on the motivations and aftermaths of the public and political activity. The study will also employ the decision-making methodology which discusses the role of the decision maker in the Jordanian policy in achieving the public activity reform demands in order to achieve the legitimacy and the national security.

**First: the Arab Spring:** Arab revolts have generated a new political culture of resisting the corrupted regimes and achieving the reform without any fear from the oppressive regimes and their security systems and neutralizing the regimes capability of achieving an Arab renaissance project without the public welling and not allowing the clock pointer to reverse back to pre-Arab spring revolutions that sought and still seek integrating the Arab goals and protecting the revolts on the pan Arab level [1]. Consequently, the Arab spring in general and the Jordanian spring in particular came as a result of social, economic and political situations deterioration, poverty and unemployment widespread amongst the youth, rising prices, corruption and despotism propagation, sparking public activities that demanded comprehensive reforms, corruption and corrupts eradication from the state apparatuses and departments, public freedom liberation and reforming the constitutional system. In Jordan, a public and political activity was raised with the aim of addressing a number of political and economic reformative ideas. The activity has been almost ideally disciplined and careful for national security and stability from one side and different from the rest of the Arab public revolutionary and bloody activities from the

other side. Henceforth, the Arab spring can be defined as: " a radical change achieved by the public revolutions or non-peaceful activities in their endeavor to gain more rights, better life, and more comprehensive democracy, and it is normal that the sunny summer comes after the spring, i.e., the tranquil and clear period where the futuristic vision of the change that took place will incarnate [2]. Such definition applies to the Arab spring revolts which turned into an early autumn in some Arab countries and caused internal problems that developed into an internal civil infighting, freedom restriction and overwhelming chaos, since most of these regimes like the Libyan, the Syrian, the Egyptian and the Tunisian hold a bad record in human rights as a result of tyranny, clinging to rule chair and illegitimate access to authority, wither via inheritance, coup de or fraud. [3] On the other hand, the spring turned into a calm summer in some countries, of them Jordan, which responded to the demands of the local spring activities, adapted with local, regional and international influences, opened the doors for all the political and public spectra to take part in decision making, achieved most of their demands, recognized them as opposition, guaranteed freedom of speech and admitted the right of citizens to change the governments peacefully.

Consequently, the Arab spring upheavals aimed to achieve political and economic reform, which is considered the wheel of civilization that should be achieved in order to reform the political regimes and their governments, withergradually or at once, a matter that represents a challenge to the regime which has to respond with decisive procedures and conduct radical reforms [4].

**Second:** the developing of the public activity in Jordan Public activity in Jordan is not contemporary. On the contrary, it passed many stages as well as the activity in some of the Arab countries that witnessed a historical transformation stages that are similar to the European transformation stages of the eighteenth century when the conflict intensified between the secular democracy and the fundamental Christianity that tried to hinder the democratic processes and the ruling of the population through being the source of the authorities and also similar to the eastern European countries experience in the eighties decade of the last century after the communism collapse, soviet union shatter, and the global democratic transformation [5]. Despite of the democratic transformation that some Arab countries and Jordan witnessed, the wave of protests and public activities that marked the Arab spring strongly overwhelmed Jordan too, but without armed clashes or bloody confrontations

between the security forces and the citizens or even endeavors to stumble the regime down, although some slogans raised their ceilings to the famous Arab spring slogan " the population wants to bring the regime down" [6]. Historically, Jordan from 1921 till now [7] has witnessed a number of public and political parties' activities that are almost identical in terms of the causes, goals and demand. In the period between 1921 to 1923 the Emirate [Jordan then] witnessed public insurgency movement in the north, the middle and the south, motivated by bad economic situations and the domination of non-Jordanian rulers on the articular administrative, political and economic governmental positions and which demanded improving the economic situation, liberating public freedoms, and relying on native citizens in the government and the administrating of the country. The country also witnessed a number of national conferences and charters which were held by the national opposition parties for the same purpose. In the post-independence era after 1946 and the unity of the two banks of the Jordan River in 1952, Jordan was affected by a distinguished political and factional situation, where a number of ideological leftist, rightist, pan-national and centrist were established. The established parties demanded the regime to leave the rule instead of reforming it, but the political well of the ruling regime-with the aim of preserving its legitimacy and the state's security and stability-responded to the public demands and political opposing powers demands and allowed for the political participation, holding the first constitutional elections on factional basis in. In 1956 the first parliamentary government was formed by the winning by majority party "the national socialist party" for the first time in the history of the Jordanian political life, but didn't last more than one year as a result of the contradiction of the political wills of the parts of the political equation.

In 1989 [8] Jordan witnessed a public uprising which widely spread all over the country and was named "HabbatNaisaan-April uprising", triggered by the deteriorated economic situation and the increase of poverty and unemployment, cost of living, governmental apparatuses and political elites corruption and public freedom confiscation for more than thirty years of customary provisions and emergency laws. the regime could absorb the uprising with refusing to the democratic option and inclining to the public demands through dismissing the government and forming a new government cabinet that was authorized to apply the constitution provisions, work on restoring the parliamentary life and liberating public freedoms, abolish the emergency laws and advance new bills for

organizing the political activities of the parties, constitutional elections, prints and press publication. That period witnessed a reconciliation between the regime and the political powers, and the generation of a new social contract through the national charter of 1992, thereby the regime could preserve the state's security, stability, the continuity of the regimes legitimacy and evading from the local, regional and international influences on the political system [9] and finally that the reason why find that the public and factional political activity fluctuated between strength and weakness.

The public and factional activities achieved most of their national demands and goals, but there still an important fact that states that the people of Jordan-in his aspiration towards freedom and advocating his political, economic and social rights-is strong in its loyalty and affiliation to the homeland, strong in activity peacefulness, and knows when to move to gain his rights, when to wait, and when to retreat when the national security and stability are both threatened, despite its knowledge that most of the regime's responses are mere truce, which the regime would violate any time.

**The Jordanian Activity Outbreak:** The sparkle of the public activity ignited form the villages and remote marginalized regions and extended towards the southern governorates which are needy to many of the development requirements, and lie on the margin of development and interest. The first demonstration of the activity commenced from Dheeban village in Madaba governorate in Friday, December seventh of 2001 as the first demonstration of the Jordanian activity in the Arab spring era, triggered by governmental corruption, poverty and unemployment, and the harsh economic conditions on the level of remote regions and villages, and the difficult economic and developmental situations and political conditions they suffer in the district of Dheeban and the south in general. The demonstrations later extended to the rest of the kingdom. The demands of the public activity started [10] with demanding economic and developmental reform which can be achieved by restoring the capabilities and properties of Jordan, prosecuting the corrupts, developing the poor areas and fair distribution of the developmental gains, also demanding political reform that would preserve the Jordanian identity through regularizing and constitutional zing the disengagement with the West-Bank of Palestine resolution, a decision that would stop the endeavors of targeting Jordan with purpose of turning it an alternative homeland for the Palestinians, and initiate a national

comprehensive scheme for reform that considers all Jordanians of one origin, and aims to protect the Palestinian identity and prevent evacuating Palestine from its native people, and protect Jordan from the Zionist schemes.

The activity rejected any decision that deports or abolishes any previously granted Jordanian nationality of any citizen of Palestinian origin [11] and also rejected the executive authority confiscation of the citizens' right to vote to whom they think he righteously represent them via defrauding the elections results, and demanded prosecuting the officials who are responsible for that defrauding [12].

**Jordanian Public Activity Causes:** Jordanians have all time taken on their shoulders all the difficulties the state faced, been understanding to the various harsh political and economic situations and havetolerated too much for the sake of preserving the community safety and the homeland security in changing and flaming regional conditions, despite their suffering of the hard living situations of rising poverty and unemployment levels, declining incomelevels and rising prices and corruption levels.

Successive governments could not confront those crises. Indeed, those crises are the product of the disfigured economic policies of the governments who neither have been able to protect the homeland capabilities and resources from the hands of the corrupts and thieves and neither could restorethem, as a sign of a first step towards achieving reforms, restoring the public trust and a serious endeavor to pay the accumulating state public debt [13]. Perhaps the most important causes of the public political activity in Jordan, which are similar to those of most of the Arab public activities, are [14]:

- Causes that are related to the regime and its close circles and their clinging to their authority positions and their undemocratic system of ruling, a matter that perishes the regime's legitimacy and encourages the people to rebel against it.
- Regimes' failures in achieving the economic welfare for their populations and the absence of the social justice as a result of nepotism and lobbies groups, which in turn have incurred public disgruntle and revolutions that targeted the regimes' heads [15].
- Deteriorated economic conditions, rising prices, economic depression, failing development, increasing general debt, poverty and unemployment specially among the youth, financial corruption,

state fund and property embezzlement, governmental apparatuses corruption over more than tens of years and governmental failure in improving the life situation of the citizens.

- Public feeling of security apparatuses despotism and persecution, and their violation of citizens' freedoms of all their forms [17] and the unfair and unequal implementation of the constitution and law on all the citizens, and the double standard dealing of the executive authority with the various issues, a matter that deprives the citizen from his constitutionally and lawfully guaranteed rights. Such persecution and despotism is the product of prevalent nepotism, groups lobbying, position inheritance and alien outlandish political and economic elites.
- Defrauding the population will in most of the constitutional elections, the 1989 crisis opened the door for reform, but the 2007 and 2010 elections ruined the political scene, and that imposes the need for regaining the people's trust via conducting free and fair elections that will genuinely express the people's will [17], especially with issuance of Ali Abu Arraghib government more than 200 temporary laws which enabled the corrupts and spread the corruption, facilitated selling the state's fortunes and confiscating the public freedoms.
- The targeting of the Jordanian national identity [18] with the endeavor to melt it under the slogans of pan-Arab nationalism and Arabism and therefore the Jordanian identity has turned open identity. Jordan witnessed some public activities and factional protests in years [1923, 1957, 1989, 2011] that demanded respect to the Jordanians rights in managing their state which go beyond national unity to fight the alternative homeland plot [19], which has shown great strides toward implementation with the suggestion of Rohrabacher, a member of The U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to the congress and disclosed by Wiki Leaks, which states: "the suggestion of granting the nationality of Palestine by the state of Palestine for all those Palestinian refugees of 1967 and 1948 wars and the sane time grant them green cards for a permanent residence in Jordan" [20].
- Selling Jordan's properties, lands, its historical heritage, its productive organizations and its natural fortunes to gain proceeds under the "privatization" title with illegal methods. People of Jordan felt that their fortunes and their strategic reserves are lost to strategic partners whom they do not know how came

to Jordan and become partners or why, and that privatization had not removed the burdens of the public sector according to the goals that privatization proceeds fund was established for [21], rather it increased corruption, bribery, embezzlement, brokerage, and looting of the national fortune, and helped subduing Jordan to the granting bodies and countries which conspire on Jordan.

The priority should have been selling the bankrupt organization and projects, while keeping the profitable one, because as the proverb says: " " the wealthy people creates a wealthy state ". The loyal and patriot will always define the goals of the privatization primarily for the sake relieving the burden of the public sector [22], but as long as there is no place for the patriots, and the loyalists to the homeland and as long as the homelands brokers are not prosecuted, then a behavioral base That states: "the higher the position of the corrupt official or the larger the corruption he has committed, the more the likelihood he will be acquitted and even prosecuted or either subjected to investigation " [23] will prevail in Jordan.

- The effect that the mass media, social communication websites, electronic and the satellite TV stations. Where it attracted the youth interests, mobilized them with all the political factions against the political regime, to demand reform and corruption fighting. The security could not stop people accessing to those information sources and thus the power balance [24] for the first time shifted in favor of the people after long time in the side of the authorities.
- The external endeavors to intervene with the purpose of disrupting the prevailing stability and creating chaos in order to make pressure on the regime that would force it to make concessions and policies that would cause it feel that is necessary for it to adapt with those powers and meet their demand in its seeks to achieve long term stability.
- Marginalizing the role of the youth and competent people of the community for long time, non-availability of political rostrum that would enable their participation in decision making and planning development schemes, and increased unemployment and exclusion, all these factors have pushed them to mobilize to communicate their complaints in order to achieve their demands and ambitions and to demand the political and economic reforms, corruption fighting and freedom liberation.

- Endeavors of some political parties and those greedy for authority and ruling, whether those who publicly worked in the political scene, or those who were prevented from practicing political factional activity for long time, to topple the regime down, or gain a position in the regime via the activity and sometimes via exposing their intentions of toppling the regime down under the title of corruption fighting and demand for reform [26].

For most of those reasons the public activity was simple at the beginning in terms of its demands, faint slogans and peaceful processes, where it demanded reform in all its political, economic and social forms, corruption and corrupts fighting, removing the officials' hands away from the public funds, keeping the national functional identity and the national unity, reforming the regulating laws of the public freedoms, and stopping defrauding the people's will in the parliamentary elections, but with the developing of the activity, new political orientations and classes took the responsibility of developing the activity demands and slogans into demanding to topple the regime down.

Since Jordan possesses great non-utilized economic fortune and safe investment environment as result of the security and political stability, and humanitarian trained fortune which built its country and highly contributed to building the other countries, then what we need is to find patriot sons of the homeland, honest and loyal men, who their main aim is to preserve the fortunes and stability via defeating corruption and preventing the looting of the homeland fortunes, and maintaining the loyalty and affiliation to the homeland which has long been suffering from the corrupts, the looters and the homelands brokers.

**The Public Activity Outcome of Preserving the National Security:** In an introductory speech of the forum on the political reform in Jordan: achievement and challenges, prince AL Hassan bin Talal said: " the goal of the political reform is to enable the citizen to become liberated from fear, practice his right of decent living, growth and development, translating those aspirations into a tangible reality that should be based on three primary principles: humanitarian security, social justice, the regional integration on the level of governments, peoples and economic and investment elements". [26] That is what the public activity has sought after while did not neglect the citizen and the national security. the view to the public activity in terms of economic motivations like poverty and

unemployment does not demean the political reform for two reasons, the first is that historically, all the public revolutions refer to economic reasons, since when people are assured regarding their economy, incomes and jobs, they live peacefully and preserve their homeland security and stability and the second reason is that the political regime which deal wisely with the events can limit any negative effects of poverty, unemployment and corruption on the continuation and stability of the political regime and the community by conducting the necessary reforms that the citizen feel comfort towards them and eliminate corruption, preserving the regime's security and the homeland's stability therefore. Consequently, the major problem in Jordan has been corruption in all its forms and the safety of corrupts from prosecution. Numerous case files about corruption in the last two showed that corruption was covered by a complete bundle of regulations and procedures that seem like they were legal with no doubt [28]. Based on that king Abdullah II rushed to take precautionary steps to prevent the negatives of the public activity on the events in Jordan, despite the fact that the previous governments had not achieved his reformative ambitions and therefore, the king started wisely with public activities and has been careful that the security forces not shed the blood of any citizen, and initiated the reformative schemes with advent of 2011 quoted saying: " the progress on the reform has decelerated, the reform needed to some people who toll the bell and that is what the Arab spring did of my responsibility as a guarantor of the political reform process, We need an irreversible reform that is built on peaceful and gradual change"[28]. That view of reform has been enhanced by the king's bundle of reforms that comprised a bundle of laws that are considered the core of the political life and meet the most of the requirements of the political and public activity " we have laid the change bases in the constitution which is the protector of the rights and freedoms and therefore third of the constitution has been altered, also constitutional frameworks of the new responsibilities of the king have been laid, along with additional items that established a constitutional court and an independent election commission [29]". The king's directions came as a response to the Jordanian street activity with the aim of achieving the national security and regimes stability and reducing the effects of public activity that all the spectra of the political opposition had adopted, insuring that it wouldn't turn into a public revolution as the case in some Arab countries, insuring preventing of the external regional or international intervention, specially that the

public activity demands comprehensive reforms not toppling the regime, and thus " made the opportunity to the king to present his reform scheme which holds the regime's interest itself and neutralizing all the reverse tension powers " [30]. Therefore the regime refused to launch numerous reforms that express the interest of both the regime and against the reverse tension powers and the interests of conspirators against Jordan's security and those who are authority greedy.

**The Reformative Schemes:** After political currents entered the public activity battle yard, whether those who had been prevented from practicing factional activity or the who publicly work, and their endeavor to confiscate the activity in order to achieve the scheme that had been achieved in the Arab region, the Islamic movement as the largest political organization could present its demands in the activity without being expressing of the demands of the public activity, after it ruined the activity of March 24th in the Jamal Abdul Nasser circle events, when it tried to push itself in the public activity and demanded the comprehensive and speedy reform, a matter that prompted the security forces to break up the sit-in because the reform and change only can be achieved gradually. As Huntington said that the reform and the political change both come gradually through political institutions that would be able to manage the change like: civil society organizations, bureaucratic institutions, security forces, etc. [31]. Consequently, the reformative steps that the regime launched came as a gradual reform map in order to avoid the security solutions and thus preserving homeland security and stability.

**The Most Important Amendments Were as Follows [32]:**

- The constitutional amendments that the establishments of the constitutional court, the independent election commission and the restriction of the king's responsibilities in resolving the chamber of deputies and its suspension term [33], laws of gatherings, of parties, and of the state's security court, the system of national integrity and the teachers' union and the independent unions, were established based on them.

Before the 2011, the constitutional amendments: the constitution was subjected to many amendments that affected its democracy. due to the frequent demands by the political opposition and the public activities to amend

the constitution, the king ordered in April 27th of 2011 to establish a commission for amending the constitution with presidency of Ahmad Allawzi, with the task of reviewing the scripts of the constitution in order to address the appropriate amendments onto the constitution for the present of Jordan and its future and allow for renaissance in the political life.

The amendments concluded around third of the constitution [34], of them establishing the constitutional court and the independent election commission, the restriction of issuing the temporary laws with the emergency condition, the state security court, the prosecution of the ministers and many other amendments.

Despite the debate about the amendments, they were perplexing to some of the working powers, in particular that amendments responded to a number of the street demands [35]. therefore the amendments came as an advanced step to calm the public street and a qualitative transition from the political regime and fulfilling of the majority of the demands of the public activity and the civil society organizations and some of the political parties and contributed to supporting the national constants and the state's status in most of the international forums and a speedy road to preserve the state's stability and the national security and its achievements.

**The Constitutional Court:** as a result of the demands of the public and political movements for establishing the constitutional court and the king's ratification on the institutional amendments, the law of the constitutional court no. 15 of the year 2012 [36] was issued according to the article 31 of the constitution which specified how the court be established, its judicial organ, it responsibilities which are restricted to monitoring the constitutionality of the laws, their operative regulations and interpreting the constitution's articles. Also the article specified the bodies that have the right to directly advance their impugns to the court and restricted that right to the prime ministry, the higher chamber of the parliament [the senate] and the chamber of the deputies. consequently, the constitutional court came as an expression of reform approach that the regime has been committed to, in order to enhance the reformative process through its mandatory laws and through working on protecting the freedoms and rights, separating and balancing between the authorities, and respecting the constitution, all as reformative steps that aim to achieve national stability and security.

**Jordan's Independent Election Commission:**

The independent election commission was established [37] based on the constitutional amendment [article no. 67] as an independent commission from the government authority and its traditional apparatuses, with the task of supervising the electoral processes in Jordan, honestly, transparently, and neutrally in order to achieve justice, equality, equal opportunities and law sovereignty. the establishment of the commission came after accusations of defrauding the elections to the successive governments and the security apparatuses [38] with the aim of regaining people's trust in political participation that they had lost in the electoral process and appeared in their boycott to the elections and stopping the intervention of the governments and the security forces on the elections, and therefore showing the political will for reforming is true and aims to elect non-defrauded chamber of deputies, after they have turned marginal in terms of their role and effect and only vote with confidence to the successive governments [39].

Despite the clear image of the independent election commission, some critics doubt its futuristic role due to the fact the security file is the dominant and that there is no guarantee of preventing defrauding by political will from the regime, because despite the constitutional amendment, it was twice violated by assigning 27 senate members who were not illegible because of not meeting the assignment conditions [40].

But I see that the law of establishment of the independent election commission according to a constitutional article give it the credibility and the public confidence to insure the inability of the governments to abolish the commission, an affirmation of political will for reform, an agreeing response to the demands of the public activity and an achievement of the national stability and security at the end.

**Voting Law:** as a result of the public demands to amend the voting law, the Jordanian parliament ratified bill of the voting law of the 2012 in April 8<sup>th</sup> of 2012, but it faced hard opposition from all the opposition spectra since it was not as aspired in terms of achieving reform and political participation. the opposition asked the king to intervene, and the king ratified the law after amendment with increasing the chamber of deputy seats to 150, where the sates of the national list were increased to 27 seats and the women quota list were increased to 15 seats. despite that the king deemed the law unsatisfactory [41] and the prime minister described it as controversial, the political parties m the civil society organizations and the public

activity opposed it, and considered it unfulfilling to the political reform demands and a retreat from the unity which the regime had dispersed before [42]. On the road of reforming, it seems that it fulfilled some of the demands and there is a possibility to amend this law and according to the statements of the officials these amendments are not eventual.

**The Parties Law [43]:** The parties law came as one of the political reform bundles that the public and political activities demand, but it was deemed limited and does not fulfill the factual ambitions, and is not in harmony with parties vision and the language of the national dialogue, in particular the articles that include penalties that would restrict the work of the parties, and the ignorance of the parties demands that ministry of interior should not be their reference. They demanded implementing proposals regarding that, although the national dialogue commission had responded unanimously to many of the parties proposals, especially those related to imposing restrictions and procedures that are inappropriate to the role of the parties in the public life [44]. in the framework of the government endeavors to make consensus amendments on the two laws of parties and voting, a number on views were addressed by the minister of political development and the parties regarding developing the relation between the government and the parties and some important points that deserve reviewing, provided that the national concordance be patronized by the king [45] and the law may will be amended again.

**Public Gatherings Law [46]:** It is considered one of the restrictive laws of the public freedoms and to achieve the public and political activity demands in the kingdom, the parliamentary public freedoms committee passed the public gatherings law. According to the law, no longer there is a need to get the administrative ruler approval for any gathering and the article that deems any violating gathering of the law illegal [47]. Consequently the amendment of the law came for liberating the public and individual freedoms, as one of the political rights, a means of the public and political participation and a means of containing the public activity and achieving the national security and stopping the administrative ruler's persecution.

**The State Security Court:** it is a private court that was establishes in 1959 according to a private law and met hard opposition against its rulings from all the political spectra who demanded that the responsibilities of this

court should be reviewed. according to the constitutional amendments that the king demanded in response to the Jordanian public activity, the constitutional article that relevant to this court was amended [48], thereby prevented the prosecution of any civil citizen in a punitive case which not having all its judges of civilians, with exemption of treason m espionage, terror, drugs and currency forgery cases.

Consequently, those trends came in agreement with the public demands and the political opposition to amend the law of the state security court, a positive indicator for any reformative law and a very important step towards a national dialogue for building the new Jordan. Based on the previous points, we note that the Jordanian activity is a reformative activity, positive and peaceful and its demands are in agreement with the reformative movement that all the political and public powers, or civil society organizations demand, after the citizen had lost confidence in executive and legislation authorities and their ability to fulfil the people's demands, especially after the citizen had witnessed the homeland fortunes been looted without been permitted to object, moreover the thieves and the corrupts protected from prosecution and may also restore their positions in the regime again !. Therefore, the public activity gave the king and decision makers the opportunity to make the necessary reforms and therefore the king was quoted to say:" the Arab spring makes an opportunity for Jordan to go forward in gradual, well addressed reformative and native roadmap, in order to achieve tangible accomplishments which would make it an exemplar on the regional level, where it enjoys security and stability among flaming region " [49]. These reforms and changes are what the public activity could accomplish. And now the question: would it have been possible to achieve those reforms before the activity started? And what is more important: was the recognition of the people's right to deal with policy in the regime's agenda [50] The reformative achievements in Jordan are great and distinguished in comparison with the past, but still inadequate especially in the field of fighting corruption, poverty and unemployment. On the other, it is important to preserve the achievements and have obligation to preserve national security and stability [51].

**The Public Activity Contradictions:** Demands of political, economic and social reforms and corruption fighting are legitimate demands for all citizens and the political and public activities, but sometimes the demands of those activities excreted contradictive behaviors in some cases which are considered violations to traditions, noble values and to ethics. Of these contradictions:

- When a person from a particular family or party is accused of corruption, his relatives and supporters initiate protests and sit-ins, or refuge to means that are contradictory to their previous demands for prosecuting the corrupts.
- Some activities in the Jordanian street demand freedom of speech, hold protests and raise accusations of freedom confiscation and non-commitment by the constitution to the government, while the same time accuse the public activities in other regional countries of conspiring against the Arab nation, and stands supporter to the regimes of persecution and destruction [52].
- Security and stability are the grace Jordan enjoys, therefore there are some people who ask the security forces to differentiate between the activities that demand reform and corruption fighting and freedom of speech and those outlaws who were prosecuted for criminal actions, but when the some activists violate the law and refuge to violence, breaking and burning the public and private properties, we find some people protest against prosecuting them.
- When the Gendarmerie forces of the public security or any security body stop any attacks against the public properties and protect people's souls and impose the law, some activists accuse those security bodies of attacking citizens and violating freedom of speech, and persecution and brutality.
- We all are with the activity that holds sense of responsibility and demand reforming the laws that organize the public freedoms and believe that any law must gain the agreement of the people and the political spectra and the civil society organization in mutual agreement since no any law would gain social consensus, but some activities demand laws tailored the way they like and call for either boycotting the elections or fighting those laws using unfamiliar means.
- The activity of the Jordanian spring started widely by the public and political movements with the aim of achieving the reformative goals and ended with divergences between it parties, with every party tries to exhibit his ideas independently from other activity groups.
- The public and political have sought to achieve all the demands with rashness, not understanding that change cannot be achieved in short time "Arabs regrettably have got used to be short-sighted and only look at the past when looking far-sighted, since it always long and far, while for their future they always look at it directly and shortsightedly "

[53] and that is the contradiction and rashness to achieve their demands that our activities have committed.

- Some of the political stand against many of the global powers, and accuse the regime and its governments of being collaborators or at least inferior to those global powers, but once the events of the Arab spring have risen, they started to communicate with the global and regional powers in an endeavor to build relations with them.
- There are some researchers who divide the activity into two parts [54]:

**The First:** views that the institutional amendments have fulfilled part of the comprehensive political reform demands, while the same time asks for more and careful for the homeland security and stability.

**The Second:** has his own agenda and therefore refuses the constitutional agenda and seek to escalate the public activity to push Jordan into a state of division and history.

These contradictions do not serve the political and economic demands and promotes a state of corruption values and panic from the unknown and may also result in unpredicted chaos, weakened activity and jeopardizing the national security.

**Reasons of Public Activity Regression:** the public activity started with high pace, where its impacts appeared on the political movement and the political system in general, with most of the activists' demands; especially the political demands had been met. gradually, the activity started to weaken and regress despite of some provocative government policies and economic issues like raising the prices of electricity, power, and smart cards, and arresting some activists [55] and despite the deterioration of the economic situation, the inflation of corruption, and the survival of the corrupts from prosecution, but eventually the activity turned very sluggish. Perhaps the most important reasons for the regression of the public and political activity-in addition to the contradictions of the activity itself-are as follows:

- The quick response of the regime to great deal of the demands of the activity, in a way that convinced many citizens and political currents and removed radicalism from them and from the slogans which had been raised by the political factions which has its

suspected relations with some regional powers, not to mention the crises that those countries have created division among those factions, which in turn affected the activity.

- The role of the tribal activity in front of violence and the call for preserving the national security which was raised by many tribal forces in all the governorates and Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan [56] and which aimed to enforce the state in front of negative phenomena that threat the social peace and the national security.
- The neighboring countries and the regional countries which witnessed the Arab spring revolutions that produced blood shading, sectarian wars and havoc, all that affected the Jordanian reform activity view towards preserving the accomplishments of the nation, and protection of the homeland from the perils and calamities that the some Arab spring countries have been witnessing.
- The long time duration of the activity since 2011 affected the activists psychology and conditions, and laid huge burdens on their shoulders, therefore some felt enough and withdrew and the high voice of demands started to faint.
- The periods of the customary rules era affected the factional life in Jordan and the selfish factional interests disunited the parties in the chase for political earnings, all that resulted in the regression of the activity pace.
- The non-unification of the political leadership of the activity and the absence of the united language in the activities resulted into divided activities.
- The care for preserving the national unity after the appearance of some activities of loyalty to the regime which faced and those activities of the opposition.
- The armed forces and the security forces did not respond to the call of some political leaderships for confrontation with the public activity and the regime's care for " soft security " procedures in dealing with the activity in order to avoid the scenario of the hard reaction of activities to the hard security procedures in some Arab spring countries, and that is what king Abdullah II confirmed by saying " I would like to praise the performance of the security men who dealt peacefully with the demonstrations, and in many cases many security men were transferred to hospitals with wounds, because they had the orders to receive hits and beatings and be protectors of the demonstrations instead of attacking them " [57].

**The Future of the Tools of the Public Activity and the National Security:**

The tools of the public activity and the national security are the political [factional] and public currents and the political regime. Due to the aftermaths of some of the Arab spring revolutions of downing regimes like Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Yemen and what going in Syria, the rules of the political game and the external relations was and have been modified according to the requirements of the regional and international states and according to the interests and liaisons which impose themselves on the activities and revolutions of the Arab spring. These variables only clearly appear in the case of stability which is imposed by the future of the political regimes in the Arab spring countries and the nature that will rule those countries. The future of the public activity and the national security depends on nature of the factional and public powers and the extent of seriousness of the regime in continuing the political reforms and corruption fighting, according to the following scenario:

- The moderate conservative powers that initiated the activity.
- Did not have any aspiration for the authority, on the contrary demanded political and economic reform and fighting corruption which has been spreading within the government and its apparatuses and within the regime itself. When these powers started to feel the danger of activity on the future of Jordan and that other powers had stolen the activity from them, they started to retreat in order to preserve the national security, and they decided that if the situation would continue as currently is, then the security has the priority on continuing the activity.
- Islamic powers: the political Islam clearly jumped to the arena after the soviet conquer of Afghanistan and September 11th attacks on America [58], where the war on terror was addressed globally and made a remarkable transition in the Arab political life. Since the advent of the Arab spring and authority transition to the hands of the Islamists in the countries of the downed regimes, the Islamic groups activity in Jordan started an escalator curve with the hope of reaching the authority, but the failure of the Islamists in those countries, particularly in Egypt, as well the counter public political activity of the rest of the people of Jordan reversely affected their ambitions and activities, a matter that contributed to containing the political Islamic activity towards preserving the national security and homeland stability.

in case the situation remained as is, the Muslim brotherhood will not have influence on the street public activity and will remain constrained by the regional situations towards the Islamic movements which suddenly discovered that the democracy is the solution not raising the slogan " Islam is the solution " with the advent of the Arab spring and their reaching the political decision making position in the state [59].

**Jordan Leftists:** lost their power and public influence after the 1957 events because of their external agenda and their negative vision of Jordan interior and the governmental procedures against them along with accusations to them of being non-patriotic [60]. with the advent of the Arab spring, their participation in the political factional activity came as a means of presence proof and return to the political arena, and an endeavor to find a position in the higher authority positions in case of new developments on the situation, after they noticed the obvious influence of the Islamic movement on the public activity and its monopoly of decision making of it, away from its the left, its partner in the coordination committee of the Jordanian powers and factions. The leftist current tried to make its activity separate and distinct under the name the 14<sup>th</sup> of March which was adopted by the factional parties of the Palestinian resistance movement. With the regression of the public conservative and Islamic activities the leftist activity also regressed and contributed to preserving the national security and stability. Despite the fact that most of the leftist political orientations are ideological representatives of regional powers, their movement has always been restricted by the Jordanian public movement and the regional and international developments that influence the Jordan political arena, consequently their actions follow those developments.

**The Army and the Security Forces:** contrary to the Arab spring countries, Jordanian army and the security forces have not participated in any confrontation with all the public and factional political activities, where the army declared itself the protecting fence of the homeland and the activity, and that is what the security forces implemented through its protection of the popular processes and activities, applying the soft security procedures, and distributing cold water and juice cans on the activities participants during their processes, with higher orders not to confront any public activity, even when they were indeed targeted by some activists and in some cases were introduced to hospitals with

wounds and bruises. Jordan security forces procedures contributed to calm the Jordanian street activity and proved that it does not practice any sort of force or exclusion towards any group of the activity, therefore did not give the chance for any irresponsible groups that aimed to induce confrontations with public activities, thereby securing the homeland, the political stability and citizen's respect.

**The Political Will and Reform:** contrary to the political regimes in the Arab spring countries which resisted their people's wills and did not respond to their demands of reforming, ending with downing and obsolescence, the Jordanian regime has been open to all the classes of the community and its political spectra. With the aim of maintaining its legitimacy, the national security and the political stability, the regime established a committee for national dialogue, with the participation of all the political factional and public currents and the civil society organizations as a precautionary step for achieving gradual political reform and in response to the demands of the public and political activity, through a bundle of constitutional and political reforms that was previously mentioned. The procedure resulted in restoring a sort of the activity's trust in the regime, and assuring most of the political and public currents on the future of the reform gradual process in case the regime fulfills his promises, despite the justified doubts of those political currents by the previous experience with regime's promises, its practices against the democratic transformation and the political participation [61], non-seriousness in fighting corruption and the corrupts whom have not been prosecuted for their crimes. The Jordanians in common disdain giving a cover and a protection for the corrupts and despots who have looted the homeland properties and fortunes under the title "the homeland security" because "every regime that practices both corruption and despotism will inevitably have its structure demolished, its tyranny defeated, and its existence ruined to death" [62].

As a result of all the previous addressing, I think that Jordan political activities are heading towards pacification with purpose of preserving the homeland security and stability, with more peaceful demands of political and economic reforms and corruption fighting and if the regime continues the political and economic reforms and corruption fighting, and the situation is going to settle in Egypt in favor of the army and the seculars, then the public activity will remain a correct and symbolic activity, and much weaker than the level of its beginnings in 2011

in terms of comprehensiveness and cooperation and the ultimate goal will remain the interest of both the homeland and the citizen's, and achieving goals using peaceful means by all the parts and spectra of the political process.

#### **Epilogue:**

- The wisdom of the regime in dealing with the internal events and the public political activities, the preemptive reforms made by the regime that preceded the public activity demands, the awareness and the wisdom of the Jordanian people and their political spectrum, the well dealing of the security apparatuses with the public activity, and the positive role of the mass media, all these factors have resulted in protecting the homeland and its stability, after the population had got reassured towards the conspicuousness of the political will of the regime.
- The Jordanian public activity has shown sense of a responsibility towards the homeland security and maintaining its stability and the national unity.
- Corruption is an epidemic that is a very hard to eradicate and a crime against the people and the state, which is committed under the sight of the government and its apparatuses and has been protected by regulations and procedures. Without withdrawing the protection of corruption regulations and procedures the state as a whole will perish and we seek-through the demanded reforms-to protect the state: the homeland, the people and the regime.
- The national identity is the state's fortress in the face of risks, especially the peril of Zionist regime and its collaborationists in and out of the homeland in the alternative homeland plot, and therefore we do not want the gradual scheme of political reform to result in gradual implementation of the alternative homeland plot with the postponing of the population census to 2015, which represents a sign of the implementation of the plot, since the identity is the fortress of the both the homeland and the regime.
- We do not want the reforms that have been achieved by the political public demands to turn into a mere temporary armistice between the population and the regime as previously shown; we want them to be a step towards further reforms in order to enhance the regime's legitimacy and protecting the homeland.
- We want one political front, with one political intellect, which seeks to achieve the national goals under one slogan, in order to have the homeland for all people, while the other front political reforms the

process in case the first front has strayed off the national goals road and both fronts should seek to protect the homeland and its stability.

- Regaining trust between the citizens and the regime can only be achieved through the regime's commitment by the constitution and the regulating laws and enhancing them, forcing justice, equality and equal opportunities, eradicating poverty, unemployment, bribery, corruption, lobbying groups, nepotism, and positions inheritance.
- The security policy that followed a smooth conduct towards the public activity could contain it on both the public and the demands levels, therefore could avoid both parts the possibility to refuge to violence, contrary to other Arab regimes that faced the public activities with security persecution.

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