

## Jordanian Legislative Elite and Wadi Araba Treaty

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### ABSTRACT

This study aimed at studying the relationship between the Jordanian Legislative Elite and its adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty, either by consent or rejection. The descriptive analytical method was employed to study the relationship between the influential different variables of the Twelfth parliament members stands, due to significance of consistent of this self-elite and its influence on the political behavior of its members. Employing the theory and approach of the applied elite.

It is meant by the elite members of the Twelfth Jordan parliament, amounting (80) representatives who voted for Wadi Araba Treaty. With agreement of (55) votes, opposition of (23) votes and abstention of a member and absence of another from voting. The study showed the relationship of factional belongingness and parliamentary coalition for the members of Jordan legislative elite and adoption of the Treaty by the member, and there is a relationship between (the economic-social) characteristics of elite members and adoption of the Treaty; for members of legislative elite from faction with Islamic, national, socialistic, and Ba'thi trend had opposed the Treaty., The rate of support among parliamentary members with military background is more than it at parliamentary members with civilian background.

**Keywords:** Legislative Elite, Jordan parliament, Wadi Araba, Peace Treaty, Jordan, Israel.

### Introduction

The Jordan political system is performed on the parliamentary basis, that depends on cooperation and balance between both authorities: the executive and the legislative. It is a system performed on equality between both institutions of the state "the legislative authority and the executive authority" no authority dominates the other. The Jordan parliamentary system depends on two basic pillars, they are: duality of consisting the executive authority: the executive authority in the Jordan parliamentary system consists of the King and the cabinet. Cooperation and balance between both authorities: the executive and the legislative, also the parliamentary system is performed on elastic separation among authorities and not absolute separation. There is a type of cooperation and mutual balance between both authorities, executive and legislative, and from the aspects of this mutual cooperation between the two authorities is that the executive authority does the works related with consisting the parliament and participating the executive authority in operations of proposing the laws, signing and issuing them and the authority of doing the systems, and the executive authority possesses the right of dissolving the parliament and this means terminating the constitutional period of it, and this is considered the most dangerous type of control from the executive authority towards the legislative authority and corresponds this right the principle of the ministerial responsibility possessed by the legislative authority towards the executive authority. The legislative authority possesses some competences and labors in the domain of the executive authority as an evidence on cooperation prevailing between both authorities, and these competences are represented in actions of political and financial control from the side of the authority, such as directing questions and interrogation, investigation, and accusation by members of the legislative authority against the executive authority, for the legislative authority can retract trust from the very government and in case of retracting trust the government resigns. And the principle of the ministerial responsibility is considered the correspondent arm to the right of dissolving

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possessed by the executive authority towards the legislative authority.

The study seeks to study the political stand of the Jordanian legislative elect and analyze its social economic characteristics to recognize its effect on the member's stand from the peace agreement- Wadi Araba, that is through studying the relationship of factional belongingness and the parliamentary coalition of the Jordanian legislative elite members and the member's stand from Wadi Araba Treaty. And studying the relationship among sources of recruiting the Jordanian legislative elite and the member's adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty.

The problem of study conceals in discussing the effect of the Jordanian legislative Elite members constituents on the stand of the member from Wadi Araba Treaty through studying the effect of the factional belongingness, the parliamentary coalition and the social-economic characteristics of legislative elites members for the stand of the member from Wadi Araba Treaty, and also recognizing the extent of effect of recruiting the members of legislative elite on this member's stand from Wadi Araba Treaty, and this is what the study discusses, and then the inquiries become deserving discussion, they are:

1. Is there a relationship between the factional belongingness of the Jordanian Legislative Elite and the member's stand from Wadi Araba Treaty.
2. Is there a relationship between the parliamentary coalition of the Jordanian Legislative Elite and the member's stand from Wadi Araba Treaty.
3. Is there relationship between the social-economic characteristics (age, religion, place of birth, scientific qualification and place of study) of the Jordanian Legislative Elite.
4. Is there a relationship between sources of recruiting the Jordanian Legislative Elite and the member's stand from Wadi Araba Treaty?

The study starts from the following main hypotheses:

1. There is a relationship between the factional belongingness of the Jordanian Legislative Elite and the member's stand from Wadi Araba Treaty.
2. There is a relationship between the parliament coalition of the Jordanian Legislative Elite and the member's stand from Wadi Araba Treaty.
3. There is a relationship between the social-economic characteristics (the age, religion, place of birth, scientific qualification and place of study) of the Jordanian Legislative Elite and the member's stand from Wadi Araba Treaty.
4. There is a relationship between sources of recruiting the Jordanian Legislative Elite and the member's stand from Wadi Araba Treaty.

The study employs the descriptive analytical method; and this method is considered suitable for subjects of the scientific research, that discuss the phenomenon or social and human problems, and so obtains the how of descriptive that is represented in individuals' behavior, and the quantitative description, that is represented in deducing numbers relate with the problem or the phenomenon or numbers have an evidence in the relationship of the phenomenon with the surrounding phenomena and then deduces explanation of the phenomenon and analyzing its dimensions, constituents and attain its results.

The study applies the theory of elite in its study of social and economic origins of the Jordanian Legislative Elite members, that is to recognize the extent of social characteristics with members of the Israeli Legislative Elite and stand of members from Wadi Araba Treaty.

There are two trends in the theory and approach of the elite in the subject of the constituent of the elite, the first: views that the opportunity of any citizen in entering the elite has no relation with the profession, education, political trend, factional belongingness, family origin, age, type, religion, and ethnic origin...etc., so every social section represented in structure of the elite, and the second trend is on the contrary of that, because entering to the elite may depend on all these factors, the matter that means monopolizing the owners of higher possibilities of the political leadership economically and socially. The second trend is supported by results of different studies about the social origins of the political elites, and the possibility of connecting the social background of the elite members by their

political performance (Al-Monofi, 1985, pp. 61-71).

Mouska and Pareto defined the elite as they are categories of people practicing the political authority directly, and are in a condition affects sharply in the operation of practicing it, and also perceived that the legislative elite consists of variant social categories. And Right Mills defined it that it is a concept connects with the power, and specifies the elite that they control power inside the community either that power was military, economic or political (Barakat, 1982, pp. 70-72). But Taiseer Al-Nashef defined it, that it consists of persons who own and practice the political authority at greater degree of the role of the rest of persons in their community (Al-Nashef, 1975, P. 131).

#### **Previous studies:**

There are some studies that dealt with the subject of the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, but none of them dealt with the qualitative and statistical method addressed by this study, which is considered unique in this field, among these studies:

Abdel-Rashed study (2018) entitled the Jordanian Israeli Peace Treaty of 1994 - a study of its political and economic motives and implications

The study aimed to demonstrate the internal, regional and international motives that led to the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, the study came out with results that confirm that Jordanian diplomacy has responded to international and regional changes and pressures towards heading to peace in the absence of a coherent and consistent Arab position for internal or external reasons, and Jordan's keenness to provide an umbrella The legitimacy of the Palestinians put Israel before a reality, which is the presence of a party representing the Palestinian people, and a state of war ended between Jordan and Israel.

Jabali Study (2018) The attitudes of the Israeli legislative (Knesset) elite on the Camp David treaty. The research seeks to study the relationship between the Israeli legislative (Knesset) elite and its adoption of the Camp David Treaty (Peace Treaty with Egypt), given the importance of the components of this social and economic self and its impact on the behavior of its political members. Using the elite approach. The Israeli legislative elite (Knesset) means the ninth (Knesset) legislature, numbering (120), who voted on the Camp David treaty. With (84) votes in favor, (19) against, and (17) abstentions, the study showed the relationship of partisan affiliation to members of the legislative elite, and the adoption of the treaty by members of the legislative elite from the ruling party (Likud) and the opposition supported the treaty, and the elderly members were more supportive of the younger generation male or females, which may pose a threat to the future of the peace process in light of the current indications that the legislative elite is opening to females and the younger generation in light of the vanishing of the first and second generations of Israeli leaders, (Rabin and Peres) Among the leaders of Israel and the emergence of a younger generation may not contribute to achieving a peace process to end the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Also, the study of Arieli& Cohen (2013) titled: Policy entrepreneurs and post-conflict cross-border cooperation: a conceptual framework and the Israeli Jordanian case. Its aimed to find out the role of politicians in shaping the trends towards the normalization of relations between neighboring countries after the formal solution to the conflict, she analyzed the motivations, preferences and strategies of local players, and concluded that the need for the attention and support of national decision makers with regard to the activities of political pioneers as essential to achieving the potential of post-conflict normalization. The focus of many efforts and investments directed towards stabilizing relations in the Israeli Jordanian border region since the 1994 peace treaty.

Jabali, S. (2013) The Ruling Israeli Elite and the Unilateral Withdrawal Plan from Gaza. The study aims to find out the relationship between the Israeli ministerial elite and its adoption of a unilateral withdrawal plan from the Palestinian territories. The study, by analyzing the relationship between party affiliation and members 'adoption of the withdrawal plan, shows that all members of the Shinui Party and 85.7% of Kadima members supported the plan, and all ministers of the National Religious Party Yisrael Baaliah and Yisrael Beiteinu opposed it. Also found that those who were seventieth, sixty or fifty years old supported the plan while those at the age of forty opposed it. Also showed

that 56.3% of the ministers born in Israel supported the withdrawal plan and 80%. Regarding recruitment into the military or political administrative system, 95% of the ministerial elite performed military service and about 68.4% of them supported the unilateral withdrawal plan.

As the study of Beaumont (1997) titled: *Dividing the Waters of the River Jordan: An Analysis of the 1994 Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty*. The study aimed to find out about Jordan obtaining its right from water, and it reached the conclusion that Israel will preserve all the waters of the upper Jordan Basin, which total about 600 cubic meters per year. In the lower part of the basin, Jordan gives a small percentage of the water from the mainstream, in addition to a greater percentage of the Yarmouk flow. The volume of water that Jordan will now get is much lower than the water allocations for the Johnston Plan in the 1950s.

The study of Satloff (1995) titled: *the Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty A Remarkable Document*, started from a main question: What would a complete peace between Arabs and Israelis look like? and it concluded that it looked like an absolute state of being, but a closer look at Israel's treaties with Egypt and Jordan shows that "complete peace" is a relative term that differs in content and has evolved over time. This has major implications for the future.

### **Jordanian legislative elite**

The legislative elite described by Mousca and Bareto, that it consists of those occupy the important political posts in the community and possess the power (Botom or, 1985, P. 50). In our study the researcher meant the Jordanian Legislative Elite are members of the Jordan Twelfth Parliament, their number amounts to (80) representatives, who voted for Wadi Araba Treaty in the year 1994, by agreement of fifty five representatives and opposing of twenty three representatives and absence of a member from voting and non-voting by the chief of the parliament.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is considered an Arab independent with sovereignty state, its property is not being divided and does not descend anything, and the Jordanian people is a part of the Arab Nation, and the government system in it is parliamentary royal hereditary "The Jordanian Constitution, article 1). The Jordanian people are considered the source of authorities, and it practices its authorities from one side by electing representatives' by the direct secret public election, in accordance with an election law guarantees safety of elections, and the right of candidates in controlling the process of election, and punishing the players with the will of electors. And from another side by the three authorities (the Jordanian Constitution, article 67).

The legislative authority is entrusted with the council of the Nation and the King, the Council of the Nation is consisted of both councils; the council of representatives and council of the senates (The Jordanian Constitution, article 25). And the Executive Authority undertakes the King and he undertakes it by his ministers in accordance with the verdicts of this constitution (The Jordanian Constitution, article 26). And the Judicial Authority undertakes the courts with the different types and degrees and issue all verdicts in accordance with the law in the name of the Kin (The Jordanian Constitution, article 37).

The King enjoys competences and special large authorities in the executive authority and this authority is one of the most important facts of the governments system in Jordan.

From the most important characteristics of the parliamentary system that is performed on the principle of cooperation and balance among the authorities, and the elastic separation among them in the following matters:

1. Head of State in Jordan is the King and he is irresponsible for deeds of his ministers.
2. The Prime minister and the cabinet are responsible before the parliament.
3. The cabinet should attain the trust of the parliament to practice its work.
4. The cabinet is a harmonious unit and its responsibility is mutual.
5. The council of ministers has the right to put the decision at the hands of the King to solve the parliament, and corresponds this right, the right of withdrawing trust given to the parliament, and resignation of the government after a week from the date of solution of the parliament according to the wording of the article (74) from the constitution.

Concerning the treaties and agreements are from the competences of the King and it is conditioned by that, if in it

was a burden of the budget with any costs, this demands the agreement of the parliament according to wording of the article (33) of the constitution.. the item (1) the King is the person who announces war contracts reconciliation, and concludes treaties and agreements.

The item (2) treaties and agreements that result in burdening the treasury of the state something of expenditures or badly deal with Jordanian’s public private rights do not be valid except if the council of the nation and is not allowed, at any case, the secret conditions be in a treaty or certain agreement contradicting the frank conditions (The Jordanian Constitution, 2019).

**The factional belongingness to the Jordanian Legislative elite and Wadi A’raba Treaty:**

It is clear through analyzing the relationship between the factional and the dogmatic belongingness to the Jordanian Legislative Elite and WadiA’raba Treaty, that is a relationship between the factional belongingness to the member of the Jordanian Legislative elite and the member’s adoption of Wadi A’raba Treaty. The Agreement had been supported by all members of Al-Mustaqbal (Future) Faction, Al-Watan (Native Land) Faction, The National Assembly Faction, Alertness Faction, Al-A’hd (convention) Faction, The Jordanian Democratic Arab Faction, and the Jordanian National Front, and also %93.3 of the Independent Representatives. Meanwhile opposed it all representatives from the Arab Ba’ath (Araousal) Faction, the Democratic People Faction, The Socialist Democratic Faction, and Members of the Islamic Labor Front, look the table (1).

**Table (1) The partisan and ideological affiliation of the Jordanian legislative elite and the Wadi Araba treaty**

Factional Belongingness	Stand	Supporting		Opposing		Abstention		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Islamic Labor Front				17	100			17	100
Al-Mustaqbal Faction		2	100					2	100
Al-Watan Faction		2	100					2	100
The National Assembly		3	100					3	100
Alertness Faction		1	100					1	100
Al-A’hd Faction		2	100					1	100
Jordanian Democratic Arab Faction		1	100					1	100
Jordanian National Front		2	100					2	100
Arab Ba’th Faction				1	100			1	100
Democratic People Faction				1	100			1	100
Socialist Democratic Faction				1	100			1	100
Islamic Labor Faction				1	100			1	100
Independent People		42	93.3	2	6.7			45	100
<b>Total</b>		55	70.5	23	29.5			78	100

There is a representative absent from the voting session and head of the council does not vote, and the number of members of the parliament become (80) representatives.And its clear that all members of the Islamic Labor Front party have categorically opposed the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty and its declared position rejecting the peace process with Israel, as a steadfast party position.

It is noticed through analyzing the table No. (1) related with the factional belongingness and Wadi A’raba Treaty that %74.5 are from supports...they are the independent members, and %25.5 are form the rest of Jordanian factions. The study indicates to correctness of its hypothesis that views that there is a relationship between the factional belongingness of the Jordanian Legislative elite and adoption of the member to Wadi A’raba Treaty.

### The Parliamentary Coalition of the Jordanian Legislative Elite and Wadi A'raba Treaty:

It is clear through analyzing the relationship between the Parliamentary coalition of the Jordanian Legislative elite and Wadi A'raba Treaty, there is a relationship between the Parliamentary coalition of the Jordanian Legislative elite member and the adoption of Wadi A'raba Treaty by member, all members of the independent Labor Front, the independent Brotherhood Front Coalition, and the Independent Parliamentary Coalition had supported the Treaty, also %88.8 from the Independent members supported the Treaty, while opposed it each of members of the Islamic Labor Front and opposed it %20 from members of the Democratic Parliamentary Assembly Coalition, followed the rate of %18.2 from the independent members, then %12.5 from members of the Jordan National Front Coalition, Look the Table No. (2).

**Table (2) The Parliamentary Coalitions of the Jordanian Legislative Elite and Wadi A'raba Treaty**

Parliamentary Coalitions	Stand	Supporting		Opposing		Abstention		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Islamic Labor Front				17	100			17	100
Democratic Parliamentary Assembly		12	80	3	20			15	100
Independent National Labor Front		15	100					15	100
Parliamentary Brotherhood		5	100					5	100
Jordan National Front		7	87.5	1	12.5			8	100
Independent Parliamentary		4	100					4	100
Independent People		12	81.8	2	18.2			14	100
<b>Total</b>		<b>55</b>	<b>70.5</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29.5</b>			<b>78</b>	<b>100</b>

And so the study proved the correctness of its hypothesis that views there is a relationship between the parliamentary coalition of the Jordanian Legislative Elite member and the member's adoption of Wadi A'raba Treaty as cleared in the above provided table. And that all members of the Islamic Labor Front bloc have opposed the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, and this constitutes the bloc's commitment to its position rejecting reconciliation with Israel, as a principled and indisputable position, and from the alphabet of the bloc.

### Social-economic characteristic of the Legislative Elite Member and Adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty:

It is meant by the social economic characteristics of the Legislative Elite Members and adoption of Wadi A'raba Treaty the age, religion, place of birth, studying qualification, and place of studying, (Al-Horani, Hani, 1995, PP. 97-211), that is to be aware of the extent of their influence on the adoption of the elite member of Wadi Araba Treaty that we will tackle as follows:

#### Firstly: The age combination of the Legislative Elite Members and the Stand from Wadi Araba Treaty:

The age is considered a main analytical tool in understanding the Jordan Legislative Elite, as considered an indicator connected with years of political breeding that form ideas of the Legislative Elite from a side, and because of its connection with the political systems, that express stability of the Legislative Elite or the haste of replacing it from other side.

And it appears through analyzing the relationship between the age combination of the Legislative Elite Members and their stand from adopting Wadi Arab Treaty, where the support rate among the members who are in both decades; the third and the seventh of age reached the rate %100, and this rate reached %87.5 among the members in the sixth decade, and the rate of 69.4 in those in the fifth decade and its decrease into the rate of %63.3% in the fourth decade. And the rate of opposition increases among members who are in the fourth decade to reach %36.7, and decreases to %30.6 among those who are in the fifth decade. While it decreases among members in sixth decade to reach %12.5. See table (3).

**Table (3) The age combination of the Jordanian Legislative Elite & Wadi Araba Treaty**

Age Decade	View	Supporting		Opposing		Abstention		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Third Decade		2	100					2	100
Fourth Decade		19	63.3	11	36.7			30	100
Fifth Decade		25	69.4	11	30.6			36	100
Sixth Decade		7	87.5	1	12.5			8	100
Seventh Decade		2	100					2	100
Eighth Decade		-							100
<b>Total</b>		55	70.5	23	29.5			78	100

It is noticed rise in the rate of opposes of Wadi Araba Treaty at the fourth and the fifth decades, and rate of supporting the agreement rises at the old people generation. And this relationship agrees with the voting pattern for the members of Kineiset on Oslo Agreement (Al-Jabali, 2013, P. 53).It also turns out that the least age is always impulsive and eager to use force, while the oldest age tends to be more stable and peaceful than others.

We deduce from that the members of the Legislative Elite of old age are more supporting than the generation of youth and refers to the wish of the old people in settlement depending on their previous trials, and this is what agrees with what Al-Jabal’s study deduced (Jabali, 2013, PP. 57-58).

**Secondly: Religion for the Jordan Legislative Elite Members:**

In spite of the rate of representing Christians in the Jordan Community at %3, but the rate of representing them in the parliament reaches the rate of %11.5.

By testing this hypothesis that views there is a relationship between the religious belongingness of the Legislative Elite Members, the rate of representing the Christians in the Jordan Parliament Members reaches to %11.5 from the Parliament members. And what relates with the Elite members Stands from Wadi Araba Treaty.

**Table(4) The Religion of the Jordan Legislative Elite Member & Wadi Araba Treaty**

Religion	View	Supporting		Opposing		Abstention		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Moslem		47	68.1	22	31.9			69	100
Christian		8	88.8	1	11.2			9	100
<b>Total</b>		55	70.5	23	29.5			78	100

The study had shown that there is a relationship between the religious belongingness of the member of the political elite and his adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty, for the rate of supporting rises to reach to %88.8 among those who belong to the Christian religion, and the rate of supporting among those who belong to the Islamic religion decreases to reach %68.1, while the rate of opposition at those who belong to the Islamic religion rises to treat %31.9, while this rate decreases the reach %11.2 at members belonging to Christian religion.

**Thirdly: Place of birth, member of the Jordan Legislative Elite:**

It is clear through analyzing the relationship between the place of birth of the member of the Legislative Elite and his adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty, that there is a relationship between the place of birth, the member of the Legislative Elite and his adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty, for the rate of supporters among members of the Elite who were given birth to in Jordan rises to reach %78.5, while this rate decreases to reach %30.8 among the Jordanian parliamentarians born in the West Bank. While opposed Wadi Araba Treaty %69.2 from members of the Elite born in

Palestine, and the rate of opposes to %21.5 among those born in Jordan as appears from table No. (5).

**Table (5) Place of Birth and the Stand from the member adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty**

Place of Birth	View	Supporting		Opposing		Abstention		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Total of Representatives born in Jordan</b>									
Amman		16	88.8	2	21.2			18	100
Ramtha		2	100					2	100
Salt		3	60	2	40			7	100
Irbid		7	70	3	30			10	
Ma'an				2	100			2	100
Maadaba		4	100					4	100
Jerash		1	50	1	50			2	100
Ajloun		2	66.7	1	33.3			3	100
Northern Ghors		1	100					1	100
Northern Shorah		1	100					1	100
Al-Fheis		1	100					1	100
Karak		6	100					6	100
Maan		1	100					1	100
Al-Shoubak		1	100					1	100
Zarqa'		2	66.7	1	33.3			3	100
Tafielah		1	50	1	50			2	100
Mwaqqar		1	100					1	100
Aqaba		1	100					1	100
Total of Representatives born in Jordan		51	78.5	14	21.5			65	100
<b>Total of Jordanian Parliamentarian born in Palestine</b>									
Bethlehem		2	100					2	100
Hebron		2	100					2	100
Nablus				1	100			1	100
Haifa				2	100			2	
Jinean				1	100			1	100
Hatta Village				1	100			1	100
Unknown				4	100			4	100
Total of people born in Palestine		4	30.8	9	69.2			13	100
<b>Total</b>		55	70.5	23	29.5			78	100

And the rate of support rises to %100 among members of the parliament, represented and born to cities of Ramtha, Ma'adaba Northern Ghors, Northern Shunah, Fuheis, Karak, Ma'an, Al-Shubak, Muwaqqar and Aqaba. While the rate of support among the represented Parliamentarians of the capital, Amman to reach to %88.8, and %70 among the represented Parliamentarians of Irbid city and to %66.7 among the Parliamentarians represented of Ajloun city. Because the big cities, especially the capital, are the most politically and partisan mobilized than the distant cities.

And it appears that the rate of opposition reached to %100 among the Jordanian representative born in the city of Haifa inside occupied Palestine in 1948. Also, some cities of the West Bank that formed the place of birth of the Jordanian representatives, such as Nablus, Jineen and the village of Hatta. This treaty rejected by the representatives born in the occupied areas and its cities of Palestine.



**Fourthly: the scientific qualification o the member of the Jordan Legislative Elite:**

Through analyzing the relationship between the variable of the scientific qualification of the member of the Legislative Elite and the stand from adopting Wadi Araba Treaty to obligation of the study hypothesis testing that views there a positive relationship between the level of educational and the member’s adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty. Therefore, the study depended four scientific levels, they are: below Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor, Master Degree and Doctorate.. as cleared in the table No. (6).

The variable of the scientific qualifications of members of the Legislative Elite in Jordan had shown that about %87.2 from members of the of the Legislative Elite bear the Degree of the B.A., and higher, and there are %38.4 bear the Degree of B.A., %153 bear the Degree of M.A. (Master Degree), %21.7 bear the Degree of Doctorate, and about %10.2 bear the General Secondary Certificate.

**Table (6) The Studying Qualification of the member and the stand from the adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty**

View Level of Education	Supporting		Opposing		Abstention		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Doctorate	9	52.9	8	47.1			17	100
Master’s degree	9	70	3	30			12	100
High Diploma	7	81.8	2	18.2			9	100
Bachelor Arts	23	76.6	7	33.4			30	100
General Secondary	1	50	1	50			2	100
Preparatory	6	75	2	25			8	100
<b>Total</b>	55	70.5	23	29.5			78	100

It appears through the table No. (5) that the highest rate of the supporter among members of the legislative elite for Wadi Araba Treaty amounted %81.8 from the bearers of the Degree of High Diploma, followed by %76.6 from bearers of the Bachelor of Arts Certificate. Then %70 from bearers of the Master Degree, and %52.95 among the bearers of Doctorate Degree.

Meanwhile the highest rate for the opposers among the Legislative Elite members amounted to %50 among bearers of the degree of diploma, followed by bearers of the Bachelor Degree at a rate of %33.4, then bearers of the Master Degree at a rate of %30.

**Fifthly: place of study, the member of the Jordan Legislative Elite:**

Studies that tackled the political elites on places of the university study to shed light on the nature of places that the individuals visit in stages of their university obtainment and the possibility of affecting that on their obtainment on ranks of the political power, and this study seeks to recognize places of study of the elite members and influence of that on the member adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty.

The study supposes that there is a positive relationship between place of the member of the Legislative Elite and his adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty, and to test that universities in which members of elites had been divided into two divisions:

1. The Jordanian Universities and Institutes:
  - a) The Jordanian Universities and Institutes: they cover the university of Jordan, Yarmouk University and Mu’tah university, in addition to graduates of the Secondary Schools.
2. Foreign and Arab Universities and Institutes, they were divided into two divisions:
  - a) American universities, western Europe States and covers: American universities, British universities, Italian, German and French universities.
  - b) Arab universities, they cover the Lebanese, Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian and Saudi universities.

c) But universities of the Soviet Union, States of Eastern Europe, they cover the Soviet and Yugoslavian universities.

d) The Islamic universities, they cover the Turkish universities.

**Table (7) Place of members of the Elite and the Stand from adopting Wadi Araba Treaty**

Place of study	View	Supporting		Opposing		Abstention		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Jordanian universities &amp; institutes</b>									
Amman		7	53.8	6	42.2			13	100
Ramtha		1	100					1	100
Irbid				2	100			2	100
Mu'tah				1	100			1	100
General Secondary		4	100					4	100
Total of Jordanian Universities & Institutes		12	57.1	9	42.9			21	100
<b>Arab universities</b>									
Lebanon		11	91.7	1	8.3			12	100
Egypt		2	28.6	5	71.4			7	100
Saudi		1	33.3	2	66.7			3	100
Syria		1	33.3	2	66.7			3	100
Iraq		2	66.7	1	33.3			3	100
Total of Arab Universities		17	60.7	11	39.3			28	100
<b>Universities of the U.S.A</b>									
Total of Studiers in the American universities & Institutes		7	87.5	1	12.5			8	100
<b>Western Universities</b>									
Britain		6	85.7	1	14.3			7	100
Germany		1	100					1	100
Italy		2	100					2	100
France		1	100					1	100
Total of the American and Western Universities		10	90.9	1	9.1			11	100
<b>The Soviet universities &amp; Eastern Europe</b>									
The Soviet Union		1	100					1	100
Yugoslavia		1	100					1	100
Total of the Soviet Universities & Eastern Europe		-						-	
<b>Islamic universities</b>									
Turkey		3	100					3	100
Total of Turkish universities		3	100					3	100
Unavailable		4	100					4	100
<b>Total</b>		55	70.5	23	29.5			78	100

It is clear from analyzing the variable of the study place of the Legislative Elite that all members of the Jordan Legislative Elite, studying at the Turkish universities, universities of Eastern Europe and universities of the Soviet Union had supported Wadi Araba Treaty, followed at the rate of %90.9 among studiers at the American Universities. Then at the rate of %87.5 among studiers at Western Europe universities, the matter that indicates to the role of the

Turkish Universities, Eastern Europe and the American Universities in creating a cultural of coexisting (living).

And %60.7 from members of the Legislative Elite of studies at the Arab universities (Lebanese, Egyptian, Saudi, Syrian and Iraqi). And opposed it %71.71 of them studiers at Saudi and Syrian Universities. And it is noticed that %97.7 from members of the Legislative Elite of graduates from the Lebanese Universities had supported Wadi Araba Treaty, and supported by %66.7 of studiers at the Iraqi universities. And the rate of supporting reaches to %57.1 among the representatives studying at the Jordanian Universities and Institutes. Meanwhile the rate of opposition reaches to %100 among studiers at Irbid and Mu'tah universities as provided in table No. (7).

### **Recruitment of the Jordan Legislative Elite and Wadi Arab Treaty:**

This part of the study tackles the relationship among sources of recruiting the Jordan Legislative Elite and the Stand from adopting Wadi Araba Treaty, and it is meant by recruiting in general a process of choosing individuals to occupy roles in a certain social consistency, and means by the political recruitment occupying the formal posts such as Head of a State, prime minister, minister, member of the parliament, the governor or the administrative official, and also the less formal posts such as the union member, formal, or propaganda, and the political recruitment takes place within the inlets in the constructive – occupational analysis. It is as occupation does its entrusted role at all political systems, because it has persons who master leading and active duties in it (Rabe' and Muqalid, 1996, P. 470).

So the political recruitment is a process of entrusting the political roles to the individuals either they sought to, or others directed them occupy these posts (Al-Jawhari, Abdel Hadi, 1985. P. 39).

The follow up of the matter of the political recruitment and methods of reaching to the elite are considered from the most important matters that the studies of the political elite concern about, to be aware of the sources that the leading elements come from in Israel and concentration on springs of recruiting the members and their patterns (Al-Nashef, 1975, P. 113), and this study aims at recognizing the relationship between the Jordanian Political Elite recruitment and adopting Wadi Araba Treaty.

The motivation to establish a relationship connects between the background and the stands are a thing can understand it, so as Endanger and Searing, the contemporary two studiers of the Elite. The thing that we may wish to know it, is what we were able to prophesy a high degree of possibility that certain traits of the background connect with certain stands? Meaning may expect that a certain background will also give certain trends to an extent? And on the basis of studying a comparison to the French and German the academic Elite (Lenschofiski, Diene Loco, P. 26).

And the study attempts to answer if there was a relationship between sources of recruiting members of the Jordan Legislative Elite and their sand of adopting Wadi Araba Treaty.

And sources of the political recruitment of the political Elites variate in accordance with the social, economic and cultural system at each state, and also the division at each researcher differs in accordance with the difference of the studying community.

And the factional belongingness is considered one of the sources of recruiting the political elite (Barakat, 1983, PP. 48-49). And also the administrative corps that combine the great men of administration, owners of experience and the applied skill of the scientists, investors and consultants in the world of economy, Legislative and experts of industry, media and announcement (Ismael, 1980, P. 302).

The military association in the communities represents one of the main canals of the social movement, where it allows to sons of the middle and lower classes the opportunity to reach the highest centers, and the army and armed forces represent one of the important means in consisting the Elites, in addition to relations of the military powers, their connection with the political powers, extent of the militants domination on phase of different activities in the community, the extent of their independence, and sociologists congregate on the modern armies form basic canals of the rising social movement, so in the communities in which the higher education for the middle classes is available, and the army represents a domain to consist a new elite its members belong to the middle classes in community (Al-Husseini, 1993, PP. 197-198).

Recruitment of the Legislative Elite will be tackled from part of:

**Firstly: the military service:**

It appears through analyzing the table No. (8) related with analyzing the relationship between the military service of the elite members and the stand from adopting Wadi Araba Treaty, about %80 some of them supported Wadi Araba Treaty, while the rate of opposition decreased the voting for Wadi Araba Treaty to a rate of %20.

It is noticed from the study of recruiting the elite and his military experience that members of the Legislative elite that occupied the higher posts as a lieutenant general, major general, brigadier general, military consultant and officer beside who occupied the lower posts in it had supported Wadi Araba Treaty, meanwhile opposition increases in total between who occupied the middle and low posts, as table No. (8) clears.

**Secondly: sources of recruiting the Legislative Elite and Wadi Araba Treaty:**

The standard depended by the study is the main reason which brought the member to the elite, and perhaps the last post was before the membership. And since there was two professions or more mastered by each member of the elite with military nature though he belongs to a certain faction, but being the member is Military in the first degree..is that entered it to the elite, or another member belongs to a certain faction in order to practice his professional activity in the faction.

**Table (8) Sources of recruiting the Legislative Elite and the Stand from adopting Wadi Araba Treaty**

Service	View	Supporting		Opposing		Abstention		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Military Associations</b>									
Military ranks of brigade and brigadier general&Armed Forces officer		4	80	1	20			5	100
Ex- Ministers		11	84.6	2	15.4			13	100
Party member organization		5	50	50	50			10	100
Lawyer		1	100					1	100
Member of the Board of Directors		2	100					2	100
Head of Unions		2	100					2	100
Mayor		4	100					4	100
Members of Administrative Board		2	100					2	100
Administrative Employee		1	100					1	100
Director		9	60	6	40			15	100
Doctor (MD)		2	50	2	50			4	100
Professor		1	20	4	80			5	100
Head of Department		3	60	2	40			5	100
Engineer		1	100					1	100
Member of a committee to support the Palestinian cause				1	100			1	100
Advocate		1	100					1	100
Businessman		1	100					1	100
Journalist		3	100					3	100
Member of a Consultant National Council		1	100					1	100
Governor		1	100					1	100
<b>Total</b>		<b>55</b>	<b>70.5</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29.5</b>			<b>78</b>	<b>100</b>

And appeared through studying sources of recruiting the Legislative Elite as cleared in table No. (8) that about %80 of those with posts and military backgrounds had supported Wadi Araba Treaty, while the rate of supporting the agreement decreased to %64.7 from those with civil posts and associations, and this agrees with results of analysis by the elite of the Keneisit and Camp-David Agreement (Jabali, Sager, 2018).

And opposition to the agreement between those with civil backgrounds and the military associations from members of the Legislative Authority. This indicates that the parliamentary elites who worked in the military service are more inclined to peace because of their knowledge of the nature of peace and war between countries.

### **Conclusion:**

The study showed that there is a relationship between the factional belongingness of the Legislative Elite members and the member's adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty, there is a support of all members of Mustaqbal Faction, Al-Watan Faction, the National Assembly Faction, Al-Yaqtha Faction, Al-A'hd Faction, the Jordanian Democratic Arab Faction, and Jordanian National Front. And supported it %93.3 from the Independent Representatives, while opposed it all Representatives from the Islamic Labor Front, Arab Ba'th Faction, Democratic People Faction, and the Socialist Democratic Faction. And there is a relationship between the parliamentary coalition of the Legislative Elite members and the member's adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty. And supported the Treaty all members of the Independent Labor Front coalition, coalition of the Independent Brotherhood and the Independent Parliamentary Coalition, also %87.5 from the Coalition of the National Front supported the Treaty and %81.8 from the independent members, while %18,2 from the independent members opposed it.

The study tackled the relationship between the social-economic characteristics of the Legislative Elite members and the member's adoption of Wadi Araba Treaty, and the study showed that there is a support of adopting the scheme among those who are in the third decade and the seventh one, while opposition of the Treaty increases among those who are in the fourth and fifth decade. Also the study asserted that %88.8 from members of the Moslem representatives had supported the Treaty of Wadi Araba, meanwhile %68.1 from members of the Elite Moslems Wadi Araba Treaty, and %31.9 opposed it from the Moslem members.

The study showed of what relates with place of birth that opposition of the Treaty increases among the Jordanian representatives who were born in Palestine at a rate of %69.1 more than it among the representatives who were born in Jordan to decrease at a rate of %21.5, and what relates with the level of education, the highest rate of supporters among members of the Legislative Elite of Wadi Araba Treaty amounted to %81.8 from bearers of high diploma, followed by %76.6 from bearers of the Bachelor Degree of Arts, while the highest rate of opposition among bearers of Doctorate Degree reached %47.1.

And the study showed that the highest rate of supporting Wadi Araba Treaty increases among studies in the Turkish universities, universities of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to reach %100, followed by studiers in the American universities at a rate of %90.9, then among graduates of Western Europe States at a rate of %89.4, then decreases to a rate of %60.7 from studiers at the Arab Universities, followed by a rate of %57.1 among studiers at the Jordanian Universities.

And it was shown through studying sources of recruiting the Legislative Elite that %80 from members of the Legislative Elite with military backgrounds supported Wadi Araba Treaty. And the rate decreased to reach %64.7 at members of the Legislative Elite of those with the civil backgrounds. The researchers would indicate to a group of matters, as below:

1. In spite of the evident variation in the pattern of the Jordanian Factions voting in accordance with the nature of these factions and their ideology, but it was reflected on members' voting on the factions with Islamic, National, Socialistic and the Ba'thic trend, who opposed Wadi Arab Treaty.

2. The change of some social characteristic of the Jordanian Legislative Elite members in the present time from the previous one, no doubt that it played an important role in the change of the Jordanian Elites stand in its trend

towards the Arab- Israeli peace process.

3. The decline of the first and the second generation from the leaders of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and the appearance of youths' generation may not share in deducing the balance of peace process to terminate the Arab- Israeli conflict, especially in shadow of the openness of the Jordanian Elite in front of youths' generation and increase of disputes sharpness among the youths' generation, especially in the fateful issues, that confront the Jordanian State.

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## النخبة التشريعي الأردنية ومعاهدة وادي عربة

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### ملخص

يهدف البحث لدراسة العلاقة بين النخبة التشريعية الأردنية، وتبنيها لمعاهدة وادي عربة سواء بالقبول أو ارفض، ولقد استخدم المنهج الوصفي التحليل لدراسة العلاقة بين المتغيرات المختلفة المؤثرة على مواقف أعضاء مجلس النواب الثاني عشر، نظراً لأهمية مكونات هذه النخبة الذاتية وتأثيرها على سلوك أعضائها السياسي. فقد استخدم نظرية واقترب النخبة انطبقه في هذه الدراسة. ويقصد بالنخبة أعضاء مجلس النواب الأردني الثاني عشر، البالغ عددهم 80 نائباً والذين صوتوا على معاهدة وادي عربة. بموافقة 55 صوتاً ومعارضة 23 صوتاً، وامتناع نائب وغياب نائب عن التصويت، وأظهرت الدراسة علاقة الانتماء الحزبي والتكتل البرلماني لأعضاء النخبة التشريعية الأردنية، وتبني العضو المعاهدة، وهناك علاقة بين الخصائص الاجتماعية - الاقتصادية لأعضاء النخبة وتبني العضو للمعاهدة، فأعضاء النخبة التشريعية من الأحزاب ذوى التوجه الإسلامي والقومي والاشتراكي والبعثي قد عارضوا المعاهدة، كما بينت الدراسة ان كبر السن أكثر تأييداً من جيل الشباب، وكذلك الأمر ينطبق على تأثير أصول ومكان ولادة النواب الأردنيين من أصول فلسطينية خصوصاً في فلسطين التاريخية على موقفهم من المعاهدة. وأن نسبة التأييد بين النواب ذوى الخلفيات العسكرية هي أكثر منها بين النواب الأردنيين ذوى الخلفيات المدني

الكلمات الدالة: النخبة التشريعية، معاهدة السلام، الأردن، إسرائيل.

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