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## Notes

### *Introduction*

1. See Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983).
2. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, and Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), originally published in 1983.
3. See Partha Chatterjee's important criticisms of these approaches in his *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), pp. 1–35.
4. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1968), pp. 148–205.
5. On the Indian case, see Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 15.
6. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 82.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 128–129.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
10. Michel Foucault, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality, with Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 87–104.
11. Foucault, “Governmentality,” p. 102.

12. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. I: *An Introduction*, translated by Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), p. 89.
13. Antonio Gramsci, "The Intellectuals," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International, 1971), p. 12.
14. Nicos Poulantzas, *State, Power, Socialism*, translated by Patrick Camiller (London: NLB, 1978), p. 77.
15. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Toward an Investigation)," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), p. 165.
16. See Joseph Massad, "Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism," *Middle East Journal* 49, no. 3 (summer 1995): 467–483.
17. Chatterjee, *The Nation*, p. 6.
18. See Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Summer, and Patricia Yaeger, eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1992). See also George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
19. Chatterjee, *The Nation*, p. 10.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
22. See Abdulla Laroui, *The Crisis of the Arab Intellectual: Traditionalism or Historicism?* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
23. See, for example, Abraham F. Lowenthal and J. Samuel Fitch, eds., *Armies and Politics in Latin America*, revised edition (New York: Holmer and Meier, 1986). See also Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence*, vol. 2 of *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). See also Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990–1992* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992).
24. Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 195.
25. Alfred Stepan, *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988).
26. Timothy Mitchell, "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics," *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 1 (March, 1991).
27. Antonio Gramsci, "The Modern Prince," in *Selections*, pp. 180–185.
28. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought*, pp. 50–52.
29. This does not necessarily mean that the new colonially planned state structure expands bureaucracies and institutions, as French colonialism had done in Tunisia, for example; it could just as easily destroy existing ones, as Italian colonialism had done in Libya. On the cases of Tunisia and Libya, see Lisa Anderson, *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830–1980* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

30. Sulayman Nusayrat, *Al-Shakhsiyyah al-Urduniyyah, Bayna al-Bu'd al-Watani wa al-Bu'd al-Qawmi* (Amman: Manshurat Wizarat al-Thaqafah, 1997).
31. Yusuf Darwish Ghawanmah, *Al-Tarikh al-Siyasi Li-Sharqiyy al-Urdunn Fi al-'Asr al-Mamlukiyy: Al-Mamalik al-Bahriyyah* (Amman: Dar al-Fikr lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzi", 1982).
32. Mahmud 'Ubaydat, *al-Urdunn Fi al-Tarikh: Min al-'Asr al-Hajariyy Hatta Qi-yam al-Imarah*, part I (Tripoli, Lebanon: Jarrus Bars, 1992).

### *1. Codifying the Nation: Law and the Articulation of National Identity in Jordan*

1. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), and Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World, A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993). See also Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), and Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Before 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
2. I rely in this chapter on Louis Althusser's notion of "interpellation." Althusser borrows the notion from French parliamentary procedure, where the act of verifying the attendance of parliamentarians by hailing them is called *interpellation* or *interpellier*. For Althusser, interpellation is the act by which hailing someone *identifies* them and *subjectifies* them: "[I]t transforms the individuals into subjects." This hailing operation, called interpellation, is the way ideology "acts" and "functions." See Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Toward an Investigation)," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), p. 174.
3. Louis Althusser, "Ideology," p. 143, note.
4. Antonio Gramsci, "State and Civil Society, Observations on Certain Aspects of the Structure of Political Parties in the Period of Organic Crisis," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International, 1971), pp. 206–275.
5. Jacques Derrida, "Force of Law: The Mystical Foundation of Authority," in *Cardozo Law Review* 11, nos. 5–6 (1990): 941; all emphases in the original.
6. Jacques Derrida "Devant la Loi," in *Kafka and the Contemporary Critical Performance: Centenary Readings*, edited by Ulan Udoff (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 145.
7. *The Organic Law of Transjordan*, published in *Al-Jaridah al-Rasmiyyah* (*Official Gazette*), #188 (April 24, 1928). In the remainder of the book, I will refer to *Al-Jaridah al-Rasmiyyah* as the *Official Gazette*.

8. Homi Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in *Nation and Narration*, edited by Homi Bhabha (New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 297.
9. *The Nationality Law of Transjordan*, published in the *Official Gazette* #193 (June 1, 1928).
10. Jacques Derrida, "Declarations of Independence," in *New Political Science*, no. 15 (summer, 1986), p. 10.
11. Jacques Derrida, "Force of Law," p. 963.
12. See, for example, Jabir Ibrahim al-Rawi, *Sharh Ahkam al-Jinsiyyah Fil-Qanun al-Urduni, Dirasah Muqarinah* (Amman: Al-Dar al-'Arabiyyah Lil-Tawzi' wa al-Nashr, 1984), pp. 83–89, and Hasan al-Hiddawi, *Al-Jinsiyyah wa Ahkamuha Fi al-Qanun al-Urduni* (Amman: Dar Majdalawi lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzi', 1993), pp. 71–75.
13. The Ottoman Law of Nationality had been in effect since January 19, 1869, when it was originally enacted, until the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 ceding the erstwhile Ottoman territories to the Allies, which was effective within a year of signing.
14. On the Tanzimat and the influence of European laws, see Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. II, *Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 118–119.
15. See the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on July 24, 1923, between the Allies (the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene state) and Turkey, reproduced in *The Treaties of Peace 1919–1923*, vol. II (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1924), p. 969.
16. See articles 32 and 33 of the Treaty of Lausanne, p. 238.
17. *The Statutes*, 2nd revised edition, vol. XII, from the Session of the Thirty-First and Thirty-Second to the Session of the Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Years of Queen Victoria, A.D. 1868–1871 (London: 1896), pp. 679–686.
18. *The Statutes Revised*, Great Britain, vol. 23, nos. 2, 3 GEO V to 6, 7 GEO V, 1912–1916 (London: Wymans & Sons, 1929), pp. 282–297.
19. *The Statutes Revised*, Great Britain, vol. 24, nos. 6, 7 GEO V to 10, 11 GEO V, 1917–1920 (London: Wymans & Sons, 1929), pp. 366–367.
20. Letter from John Shuckburgh, assistant secretary to the Colonial Office to the undersecretary of state at the Foreign Office, FO371/6372 (May 18, 1922), p. 26, and Despatch no. 280 from Acting High Commissioner of Palestine W. H. Deedes to Winston Churchill, the secretary of state for the colonies, FO371/6372 (April 28, 1922), p. 27, and Foreign Office to the undersecretary of state, Colonial Office, FO371/6372 (June 9, 1922), p. 29.
21. "Official Designation of Trans Jordanian," FO 371/6372 (April 28, 1921), p. 41.
22. *The Law of Foreigners* (Qanun al-Ajanib) was signed on July 3, 1927, and published in the *Official Gazette* #162 (August 1, 1927).

23. *Agreement Between His Britannic Majesty and His Highness the Amir of Trans-Jordan*, Jerusalem (February 20, 1928), with ratifications exchanges on October 31, 1929, article 9.
24. CO 831/41/7 #77058, Acting High Commissioner Battershill to Secretary of State, Ormsby Gore, 14 October 1937, Ref. TS/37/33, cited by Abla Amawi, *State and Class in Transjordan: A Study of State Autonomy*, doctoral dissertation (Washington, DC: Georgetown University, 1993), p. 238.
25. Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form," in *Race, Nation, Class, Ambiguous Identities*, edited by Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991), p. 94.
26. In this vein, women as residents of the private domestic sphere, and Bedouins as residents of the nonurban desert, signify through their spatial locations a temporal location—that of tradition. However, men, considered as residents of the public sphere, and urbanites, through their spatial locations, signify the temporal location of modernity. More on this in chapter 2.
27. Sigmund Freud, "Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–1974), vol. XI, pp. 83–84, published originally in 1927.
28. See Munib Madi and Sulayman Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn Fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin* (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1959); see also 'Ali Mahafzah, *Tarikh al-Urdunn al-Mu'asir, 'Ahd al-Imarah, 1921-1946* (Amman: Markaz al-Kutub al-Urduni, 1973), Sulayman Musa, *Ta'sis al-Imarah al-Urduniyyah, 1921–1925, Dirasah Watha'iqiyyah* (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1971), Sulayman Musa, *Imarat Sharq al-Urdunn, 1921-1946, Nash'atuha wa Tatawwuruha fi Rub'i Qarn* (Amman: Lajnat Tarikh al-Urdunn, 1990). Also see Kamal Salibi, *The Modern History of Jordan* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998), pp. 49 and 91. These views were also articulated by British officials as well as by Prince (later King) 'Abdullah in his writings.
29. Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," p. 102.
30. On British-Hashemite relations, see 'Abdullah al-Tall, *Karithat Filastin, Mudhakkarrat 'Abdullah al-Tall, Qa'id Ma'rakat al-Quds*, part I (Cairo: Dar al-Qalam, 1959), Avi Shlaim, *Collusion Across the Jordan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), Mary Wilson, *King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Jordan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), John Bagot Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957). For two recent attempts addressing the national question, see Linda Layne, *Home and Homeland: The Dialogics of National and Tribal Identities in Jordan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), and Schirin Fathi, *Jordan: An Invented Nation?* (Hamburg: Deutsches Orient-Institut, 1994).
31. Cited by King 'Abdullah in his memoirs, or *Al-Mudhakkarat*, included in 'Abdullah Ibn al-Husayn, *Al-Athar al-Kamilah Lil Malik 'Abdullah*, 3rd edition (Beirut: Al-Dar al-Muttahidah Lil-Nashr, 1985), p. 175.

32. See Kamil Mahmud Khillah, *Al-Tatawwur al-Siyasi Li-Sharq al-Urdunn, Maris 1921–Maris 1948* (Tripoli, Libya: Al-Munsha'ah al-'Ammah Lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzi' wa al-I'lan, 1983), pp. 126–128.
33. Munib Madi and Sulayman Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 210–220.
34. The initial border demarcation with Saudi Arabia was not ratified until 1965 (see later), although the two governments had established relations with each other in May 1933. Also, the border demarcations with Syria were not ratified until both governments signed an agreement in October 1931. Although the borders with Iraq had been agreed on by the two countries in April 1928, they were finally demarcated in the summer of 1932. See Ali Mahafza, *Tarikh al-Urdunn al-Mu'asir, 'Ahd al-Imarah, 1921-1946* (Amman: Markaz al-Kutub al-Urduni, 1973), pp. 62, 112, 119–121. See also Riccardo Bocco and Tareq Tell, "Frontière, Tribus et État(s) en Jordanie Orientale à l'Époque du Mandat," in *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 147, January-February, 1995, pp. 26–47.
35. See Kamil Mahmud Khillah, *Al-Tatawwur*, pp. 274–277.
36. August/September 1923 was the date of the al-'Adwan uprising. Also, the end of 1923 saw the Kuwait conference, in which the Saudi and Jordanian governments were attempting to delineate their borders, which were finally agreed on in the Hida' agreement in November 1925, stressing that Hijazi and East Jordanian tribes ('Asha'ir) cannot cross the border between the two countries "as armed groups" without proper documents issued "by their government and certified by the consul of the government into whose territory entry is sought." See Madi and Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 221, 254.
37. Khillah, *Al-Tatawwur*, p. 277; Musa and Madi, *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 321–323.
38. John Bagot Glubb was to expel a number of different branches of the tribe to the Hijaz after finding them guilty of conspiring with the Hashemite government to launch raids against the Saudis. Riccardo Bocco states, "[L]es membres de ces sections des Bani 'Atiyah ont été expulsés en masse, escortés avec leur famille par les jundi [Bedouin soldiers] de la DPF [Desert Patrol Force], vers le Hijaz." in Bocco, *Etat et tribus bedouines en Jordanie, 1920-1990, Les Huwaytat: Territoire, changement économique, identité politique*, doctoral dissertation, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, 1996, pp. 143, 170n–171n.
39. Quoted in Khillah, *Al-Tatawwur*.
40. On the membership of this party, see Madi and Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 326–328.
41. For the history of all these parties, see Khillah, *Al-Tatawwur*, pp. 277–287, and Madi and Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 321–334.
42. In 1965, the Saudi and Jordanian governments signed an agreement for border rectification and demarcation, which expanded the area around Aqaba from 6 to 25 km for the benefit of the Jordanians with other border rectifications in other areas. The agreement was signed on August 9, 1965. Final demarcation was concluded on January 29, 1967, after the two parties had hired a Japanese

- survey company to finalize the placement of border posts. See *Official Gazette*, no. 1868, August 26, 1965. See also Sulayman Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn Fi al-Qam al-'Ishrin, 1958–1995*, vol. II (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1996), pp. 92–94. In 1990, there was another border rectification with the Saudis around the Jabal Tubayq area.
43. Balibar, “The Nation Form,” p. 95.
  44. See Michael Fischbach, “British Land Policy in Transjordan,” in *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan*, edited by Eugene Rogan and Tareq Tell (London: British Academic Press, 1994). According to Fischbach’s research, two thirds of Transjordan’s village lands were musha’ (or communally owned) lands, p. 83, note.
  45. John Bagot Glubb, *Britain and the Arabs: A Study of Fifty Years 1908–1958* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1959), pp. 173–174.
  46. Fischbach, “British Land Policy,” p. 105.
  47. Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1978), p. 206.
  48. On the modern conceptions of space, see Neil Smith, *Uneven Development, Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1984). See also Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989).
  49. Engels, *The Origin*, p. 138.
  50. Francesca Klug, “‘Oh to Be in England’: The British Case Study,” in Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman-Nation-State* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 21.
  51. Ibid.
  52. On other aspects of Jordanian law that followed the French and the British examples, see E. Theodore Mogannam, “Developments in the Legal System of Jordan,” *Middle East Journal* 6, no. 2 (spring 1952): 194–206.
  53. Agency is established if the state’s subject is of legal age (defined as eighteen solar years according to article 18) and the time of his/her choice (August 6, 1926), in which case she or he can remain Jordanian as interpellated by article 1, choose another nationality (articles 2 and 3), or choose Jordanian nationality as in article 5. Whereas articles 2 and 5 are clearly targeting the erstwhile Ottomans, it is unclear whether article 3 also does so, given its mention of race (this article is lifted verbatim from the Treaty of Lausanne—see earlier). Because Jordan was/is for the most part “racially” homogeneous, it is unclear if race here is conflated with national affiliation in the sense of the Arab race, the Turkish race, and so forth.
  54. See *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Law of 1914*, article 1, pp. 285–286.
  55. Law #6 for the Year 1954, *The Law of Jordanian Nationality*, published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1171 (February 16, 1954).

56. Articles 4 and 5 of Law #7 for the Year 1963, *An Amendment Law to Jordanian Nationality Law*, signed on March 7, 1963.
57. Ibid.
58. However, these aspects of the law were changed significantly in the 1980s. See "The Women, Immigration and Nationality Group," in *Worlds Apart, Women Under Immigration and Nationality Law*, edited by Jacqueline Bhabha, Francesca Klug, and Sue Shutter, (London: Pluto Press, 1985), and Ann Dummett and Andrew Nicol, *Subjects, Citizens, Aliens and Others, Nationality and Immigration Law* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1990).
59. A foreigner, according to article 18 of *The Law of Foreigners*, means "anyone who is not Jordanian."
60. Article 2 of the *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Law of 1914*, p. 287, states the following: "(a) that he have either resided in His Majesty's dominions for a period not less than five years in the manner required by this section. . . . (b) that he be of good character and have an adequate knowledge of the English language; and (c) that he intend, if his application is granted, either to reside in His Majesty's dominions or to enter or continue in the service of the Crown."
61. See article 27 of the *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Law of 1914*, p. 296, which states, "The expression 'disability' means the status of being a married woman, a minor, a lunatic, or idiot."
62. Article 2 of Law #6 for the Year 1954.
63. *An Addendum to Nationality Law*, Law #56 for the Year 1949, published in the *Official Gazette* (December 20, 1949).
64. Article 7 of the British Mandate for Palestine (which came into operation on 29 September, 1923) stipulated the enactment of a nationality law, which took the form of the Palestinian Nationality Order, 1925, and was effective on August 1 of that year. See the text of both in *A Survey of Palestine: Prepared in December 1945 and January 1946 for the Information of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry*, vol. I. (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1991), pp. 5–6, 206.
65. Article 2 of this law introduces two new definitions of two new terms relevant to the text of this law. These words are *Arab* and *émigré* (Mughtarib). An Arab, according to this law, "means any person whose father is of Arab origin and who [the father] holds one of the nationalities of the Arab League." For the purposes of this law, "the word 'Mughtarib' means every Arab who was born in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan or in the usurped part of Palestine and who has emigrated outside the country or fled it, and this term also refers to the children of that person regardless of where they were born."
66. The reading and writing parts were added in the 1963 amendment. The original text required only "knowledge of Arabic" without any specifications.
67. See Hasan al-Hiddawi, *Al-Jinsiyyah*, pp. 44–46.



68. Article 1 of the 1952 Jordanian constitution as published in the *Official Gazette* no. 1093 (January 8, 1952).
69. Article 2 of the 1952 constitution.
70. The 1946 constitution was passed by the legislative council on November 28, 1946, and was published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 886 (February 1, 1947).
71. Article 15 of the 1946 constitution.
72. *The Organic Law of Transjordan*, published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 188 (April 24, 1928), article 1.
73. Article 10 of *The Organic Law*.
74. Article 15 of *The Organic Law*.
75. Article 6-1 of the 1952 constitution.
76. Article 6 of the 1946 constitution, emphasis added.
77. Article 5 of *The Organic Law*.
78. Ironically and in contradiction with article 4, article 13 asserts that the "Council of Ministers has the prerogative to waive the condition requiring four years of residency if the applicant was an Arab or if special circumstances existed which would result in the general public interest." The point, however, is that unlike a non-Arab, an Arab *is* required to reside in the country for fifteen, not four, years!
79. Article 13, section 4 of the 1954 law attempts to restrict access to Jordanian nationality to foreigners who demonstrate lack of loyalty to the privilege of being accorded Jordanian nationality: "A nationality certificate is not granted to a person who had acquired Jordanian nationality through naturalization and then lost it by his choice through acquiring another foreign nationality."
80. The regulations for applying for Transjordanian nationality stipulated that Bedouin applicants must swear allegiance in writing to the Amir 'Abdullah, his descendants, and successors. See *Official Gazette*, no. 228, May 16, 1929, cited in Bocco, *Etat et tribus*, pp. 144–145.
81. See Mazin Salamah, "Al-Fashal Yulahi Mu'tamarat al-Mughtaribin," in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid*, no. 10 (spring 1988), pp. 70–73.
82. Qanun al-Intikhab al-Mu'aqqat Li Majlis al-Nuwwab, no. 24, 1960, *Official Gazette*, no. 1494 (June 11, 1960), article 17-A. Hasan al-Haddawi is mistaken in his assertion that the 1987 amendments to Nationality Law introduced restrictions on naturalized citizens for the first time, as the election law of 1960 had already done that. What is new is the inclusion of these restrictions and their expansion within Nationality Law itself; see Al-Haddawi, *Al-Jinsiyyah*, pp. 152–154.
83. Qanun al-Intikhabat Li Majlis al-Nuwwab, no. 22, 1986, *Official Gazette*, no. 3398 (May 17, 1986), article 18-A.
84. The Temporary Law no. 18 for the Year 1969, the *Law Amending the Jordanian Nationality Law*, signed on May 21, 1969.

85. This amendment was added by Law no. 50 for the Year 1958, *An Amendment Law to the Law of Jordanian Nationality*, article 2, signed on December 21, 1958, by King Husayn.
86. One more condition for loss of nationality deals with Jordanians who acquired their nationality through article 6. The law claims that they can petition to give up their Jordanian nationality within a year of reaching legal age if they had been born and had taken up residence outside Jordan. According to the law, a Jordanian who loses his nationality will not be considered free of duties related to actions that "he" may have undertaken while still a national.
87. *The Law of Exile and Deportation*, published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 206 (October 15, 1928). This law was imposed by the British despite the opposition of many members in the executive and the legislative councils. See Abla Amawi, *State and Class in Transjordan: A Study of State Autonomy*, p. 340.
88. *The Law of Exile and Deportation*, article 3-1.
89. Jordan's king announced the severing of all Jordanian legal and administrative ties from the West Bank (Fakk al-Irtibat, literally, "the untying of ties") on July 31, 1988, by royal decree, thus nullifying the 1950 annexation of central Palestine to Jordan by his grandfather, King 'Abdullah. Note that the Fakk al-Irtibat decree was never published in the *Official Gazette* (although commensurate regulations were), which deprived it of the status of law. All binding laws in Jordan must be published in the *Official Gazette*.
90. On the denationalization of West Bank Jordanians and the views of the Jordanian high court in relation to such denationalization, see Ibrahim Bakr, *Dirasah Qanuniyyah 'an A'mal al-Siyadah wa Qararat Naz' al-Jinsiyyah al-Urduniyyah wa Sahb Jawazat al-Safar al-'Adiyyah* (Amman: Maktabat al-Ra'y, 1995).
91. *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Law of 1914*, p. 291. The influence of British nationality law on the Treaty of Lausanne is everywhere in evidence. Article 36 of the treaty, in line with British law, stipulates, "For the purposes of the provisions of this Section, the status of a married woman will be governed by that of her husband, and the status of children under eighteen years of age by that of their parents." See *The Treaties of Peace*, p. 970.
92. *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Law of 1914*, article 10, p. 291: "The wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject, and the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien."
93. Law #3 amending the Jordanian Law of Nationality signed on January 30, 1961.
94. Law #7 amending the Jordanian Law of Nationality signed on March 7, 1963.
95. "[O]r who married a non-Jordanian" as amended in 1963.
96. Amended to two years in 1963.
97. Law #22 for the Year 1987, the Law Amending Jordanian Nationality Law, signed on July 27, 1987.

98. Decision no. 4 for the year 1992 issued by the Special Office [Diwan] for the Explication of Laws, May 21, 1992.
99. *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Law of 1914*, article 12, p. 292.
100. Article 13 of the 1963 law.

## 2. Different Spaces as Different Times: Law and Geography in Jordanian Nationalism

1. See Qanun no. 26 for the Year 1947, Qanun Huquq al-'A'ilah al-Mu'qqat, signed on June 29, 1947, and published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 915 (August 2, 1947).
2. Qanun Huquq al-'A' ilah, Law no. 92 for the Year 1951, published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1081 (August 16, 1951). This law replaced both the 1947 temporary law and Qarar Huquq al-'A'ilah al-'Uthmani of 1917.
3. "Qanun Mu'qqat Raqam (61) Li-Sanat 1976, Qanun al-Ahwal al-Shakhsiyyah," *Official Gazette*, no. 2668 (January 1, 1976).
4. See Khadijah al-Habashnah Abu-'Ali, "Qanun al-Ahwal al-Shakhsiyyah al-Urduni, Waraqat 'Amal," presented at the conference Al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah fi Zill al-Qawanin wal Tashri'at al-Haliyyah, sponsored by the General Jordanian Women's Union, Amman, March 23–25, 1992.
5. The 1924 law that was supposed to be published in the *Official Gazette*, which at the time was called *Al-Sharq al-'Arabi*, was never actually published, although its amendments were. See for example amendments to the law in *Official Gazette*, no. 148 (January 15, 1927), no. 151 (March 1, 1927), and no. 231 (July 1, 1929). For the text of the 1924 law, see *Turath al-Badu al-Qada'iyy, Nazariyyan wa 'Amaliyyan*, by Muhammad Abu Hassan (Amman: Da'irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, 1987), pp. 463–466.
6. Uriel Dann, *Studies in the History of Transjordan, 1920–1949: The Making of a State* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984), p. 88.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
8. See Sa'd Abu Dayyah and Abdul-Majid al-Nas'ah, *Tarikh al-Jaysh al-'Arabi fi 'Ahd al-Imarah, 1921–1946, Dirasah 'Ilmiyyah Tahliliyyah Watha'iqiyyah* (Amman: n.p., 1990), pp. 69, 81.
9. Quoted in Major C. S. Jarvis, *Arab Command: The Biography of Lieutenant-Colonel F. G. Peake Pasha* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1942), p. 61.
10. See Munib Madi and Sulayman Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn Fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin, 1900–1959* (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1959), p. 221, pp. 253–255.
11. This law was published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 230, June 16, 1929. The updated Qanun al-Ishraf 'ala al-Badu was published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 516 (February 16, 1936). Ahmad 'Uwaydi al-'Abbadī argues that the origi-

- nal laws were written in English and the official Arabic versions were mere translations: See his *Al-Qada' 'Ind al-'Asha'ir al-Urduniyyah*, part 4 of "Silsilat Man Hum al-Badu?" (Amman: Dar al-Bashir Lil-Nashr wal-Tawzi', 1982), p. 127, note 4.
12. See Qanun Ilgha' al-Qawanin al-'Asha'iriyah, Qanun Mu'agqat Raqam (34) li Sanat 1976, published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 2629 (June 1, 1976), p. 1299.
  13. Article 6 of the 1952 constitution, "Dustur al-Mamlakah al-Urduniyyah al-Hashimiyyah," *Official Gazette*, no. 1093 (January 8, 1952), p. 6.
  14. See article 6 of "Al-Dustur al-Urduni," enacted on November 28, 1946, and published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 886 (February 1, 1947), and article 5 of "Al-Qanun al-Asasi li Sharq al-Urdunn," *Official Gazette*, no. 188 (April 19, 1928).
  15. See "La'ihat Qanun Intikhab al-Nuwwab Fi Mintaqat al-Sharq al-'Arabi," published in the annex of *Al-Sharq al-'Arabi Gazette*, no. 52 (1923), articles 2, 4, 9, and 15.
  16. See Emily Naffa', "Dawr al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah Fi al-Nidal al-Siyasi," presented at *Al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah Fi Zill al-Qawanin wal Tashri'at al-Hashimiyyah* conference held in Amman, March 23–25, 1992.
  17. "Qanun Intikhab A'da' al-Majlis al-Tashri'i" was initially published as a project for a law in the *Official Gazette*, no. 195 (June 2, 1928) and was announced as an enacted law in the *Official Gazette*, no. 199 (August 15, 1928).
  18. See article 2 of the 1928 law.
  19. See "Nizam Intikhab 'Udwayn Li-Yumaththila Badu al-Imarah," *Official Gazette*, no. 216 (January 28, 1929).
  20. See article 2 of "Qanun Raqam (9) Li Sanat 1947, Qanun al-Intikhab li Majlis al-Nuwwab," published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 898 (April 16, 1947).
  21. See articles 3, 30, 31, 32.
  22. See article 3, subsections B–F.
  23. See Suhayr Salti al-Tall, *Muqaddimah Hawl Wad'iyyat al-Mar'ah wa al-Harakah al-Nisa'iyyah Fi al-Urdunn* (Beirut: Al-Mu'assassah al-'Arabiyyah lil-Dirasat wal-Nashr, 1985), p. 116.
  24. "Qanun al-Intikhab al-Mu'agqat li Majlis al-Nuwwab," Law no. 24 for the Year 1960, published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1494 (June 11, 1960). See articles 2-a and 3-1, 17-A–E. Article 17-A stresses that candidates should have been Jordanian for at least five years.
  25. See Paul A. Jureidini and R. D. McLaurin, *Jordan: The Impact of Social Change on the Role of the Tribes* (Washington, DC: Praeger, 1984), p. 15.
  26. See article 5.
  27. This letter was dated April 21, 1966.
  28. See Qanun 8 for the Year 1974, "Qanun Mu'addil li Qanun al-Intikhab li Majlis al-Nuwwab," *Official Gazette*, no. 2481 (April 1, 1974).

29. See Law no. 22 for the Year 1986, “Qanun al-Intikhab li Majlis al-Nuwwab,” *Official Gazette*, no. 3398 (May 17, 1986). See articles 2, 3-a, and 5. This law was amended twice in 1989 prior to the country’s first democratic elections in decades—see the *Official Gazette*, no. 3622 (April 16, 1989), and no. 3638 (July 8, 1989).
30. See Munib Madi and Sulayman Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 7–9.
31. See Sulayman Musa, *Ta’ sis al-Imarah al-Urduniyyah, 1921–1925, Dirasah Watha’iqiyyah* (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1971), pp. 188–189.
32. See Hani Hurani’s classic *Al-Tarkib al-Iqtisadi al-Ijtima’i Li Sharq al-Urdunn* (Beirut: Markaz al-Abhath, Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, 1978), p. 67. On general population surveys in the country, see A. Konikoff, *Transjordan: An Economic Survey* (Jerusalem: Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1946), pp. 16–19.
33. See article 3 of the “Qanun al-Ishraf ‘ala al-Badu li Sanat 1929,” *Official Gazette*, no. 230 (June 16, 1929).
34. Article 4, A–F.
35. Article 6.
36. See “Qanun al-Ishraf ‘ala al-Badu,” *Official Gazette*, no. 516 (February 16, 1936).
37. See Ricardo Bocco and Tariq M. M. Tell, “Pax Britannica in the Steppe: British Policy and the Transjordan Bedouin,” in *Village Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan*, edited by Eugene Rogan and Tariq Tell (London: British Academic Press, 1994), p. 120.
38. See Al-‘Abbadi, Ahmad ‘Uwaydi, *Al-Qada’ ‘Ind al-‘Asha’ir al-Urduniyyah*, no. 4 of “Silsilat Man Hum al-Badu,” (Amman: Dar al-Bashir lil-Nashr wal-Tawzi’, 1988), pp. 54–55.
39. See article 2-B of “Qanun Mahakim al-‘Asha’ir li Sanat 1936,” *Official Gazette*, no. 516 (February 16, 1936).
40. “Qanun al-Amn al-‘Am al-Mu’aqqaq,” Temporary Law #29 for the Year 1958, signed on June 16, 1958, *Official Gazette*, no. 1388, p. 641–643.
41. “Qanun Mu’aqqaq Bi Fasl al-Shurtah wa al-Darak ‘an al-Jaysh al-‘Arabi al-Urduni,” Temporary Law #27 for the Year 1956, signed on July 12, 1956, *Official Gazette*, no. 1285 (July 14, 1956), pp. 1763–1764. On the revoking of this law, see the *Official Gazette*, no. 1661 (May 16, 1957), p. 429.
42. Circassians were the second favorite group for employment in the Iraq Petroleum Company; see Seteney Shami, *Ethnicity and Leadership: The Circassians in Jordan*, doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology (Berkeley: University of California, 1982), p. 81.
43. See Abla Amawi, *State and Class in Transjordan: A Study of State Autonomy*, doctoral dissertation (Washington, DC: Georgetown University, 1993), p. 369.
44. Christians, who numbered 6.9 percent of the population, received 18.7 percent of the seats, whereas Circassians, who numbered 5.2 percent of the population,

- received 12.5 percent of the seats. See Ma'an Abu Nowar, *The History of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, vol. 1, *The Creation and Development of Trans-jordan: 1920–1929* (Oxford: The Middle East Center, Ithaca Press, 1989), p. 211.
45. CO 831/27/2 #37226, high commissioner to secretary of state, 20 October 1934, #TC/101/34, cited by Amawi, *State and Class*, pp. 366–367.
  46. CO 831/5/69421/31, high commissioner to L. S. Amery, 31 May 1929, cited by Amawi, *State and Class*, p. 367.
  47. See Hani Hurani, *Al-Tarkib al-Iqtisadi al-Ijtima'i Li Sharq al-Urdunn*, p. 138.
  48. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
  49. The council was set up juridically through enacting the Temporary Law no. 52 of the Year 1971, "Qanun Majlis Shuyukh Al-'Asha'ir," which became permanent on July 31, 1972, through the enactment of Law #4. See Law 52, *Official Gazette*, no. 2317 (August 16, 1971), p. 1273, and Law #4 of the Year 1972, *Official Gazette*, no. 2351 (March 16, 1972), p. 457. The council's operations were governed by internal statutes; see *Official Gazette*, no. 2339 (December 30, 1971), p. 2089.
  50. Wizarat al-Thaqafah wa al-I'lam, *Al-Urdunn Fi Khamsin 'Am, 1921–1971* (Amman: Da'irat al-Matbu'at wal-Nashr, 1972), pp. 49–50. Also see article 15 of the law.
  51. See al-'Abbadi, *Al-Qada' 'Ind al-'Asha'ir*, pp. 61–64.
  52. See Law #25 for the Year 1973, "Qanun Ilgha' Qanun Majlis Shuyukh al-'Asha'ir," *Official Gazette*, no. 2426 (June 16, 1973), p. 1119.
  53. See al-'Abbadi, *Al-Qada' 'Ind al-'Asha'ir*, pp. 441–442.
  54. *Ibid.*, p. 441.
  55. See articles 2 and 4.
  56. For a summary of these organizations' plans and programs regarding sedentarization of nomadic populations, see Riccardo Bocco, *Etat et tribus bedouines en Jordanie, 1920-1990, Les Huwaytat: Territoire, changement économique, identité politique*, doctoral dissertation, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, 1996, pp. 211–225.
  57. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
  58. See the Law Canceling Tribal Laws (Qanun Ilgha' al-Qawanin al-'Asha'iriyyah), Temporary Law #34 for the Year 1976, signed on May 23, 1976, *Official Gazette*, no. 2629 (June 1, 1976), p. 1299.
  59. Bedouin Police Files, #MA/22/1102, September 5, 1961. The proposal was dated September 20, 1959, cited by 'Abbadi, *Al-Qada' 'Ind al-'Asha'ir*, p. 112. 'Abbadi, who served in 1976 as editor of the police magazine and as police director of public relations, had access to police files, which remain closed to the public.
  60. Order #148, dated 1962, cited *ibid.*, p. 112.
  61. Files of the Karak Police #12/8/1634, June 4, 1964, cited *ibid.*, p. 114.

62. Files of the Directorate of Public Security, #MA/22/700. July 7, 1962, cited by al-ʿAbbadi, *Al-Qadaʿ ʿInd al-ʿAshaʿir*, p. 112. A similar appeal was made in 1964 by the head of the police of the city of Maʿan, wherein he called on the government to abolish the Bedouin Supervision Law of 1936, as it was incompatible with present circumstances, see Files of the Maʿan Police, #MM/12/private/1562, November 16, 1964, cited by ʿAbbadi *ibid.*, p. 113.
63. Files of the Directorate of Public Security #MA/22/456, July 28, 1966, cited *ibid.*, p. 113.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
65. Files of the Ministry of Interior #214/12554, July 17, 1966, cited *ibid.*, p. 113.
66. King Husayn, speech delivered on June 9, 1976, cited *ibid.*, p. 121.
67. See Anne Sinai and Allen Pollak, eds., *The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the West Bank: A Handbook* (New York: American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East, 1977), p. 35.
68. See Robert Satloff, *Troubles on the East Bank: Challenges to the Domestic Stability of Jordan* (New York: Praeger, 1986), p. 19.
69. See al-ʿAbbadi, *Al-Qadaʿ ʿInd al-ʿAshaʿir*, pp. 118–119.
70. Seteney Shami, *Ethnicity and Leadership*, pp. 122–123.
71. See Robert Satloff, *Troubles*, p. 66.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.* Note that Mudar Badran, a former director of the Mukhabarat (Jordan’s Intelligence Services), was not a friend of Palestinian Jordanians, who, in fact, consider him hostile to them as a group.
74. For example, Nabil al-Sharif, the editor of *Al-Dustur*, in a veiled editorial called for an “objective” assessment of this “historical moment” so that Jordanians can learn from these “mistakes”; see *Al-Dustur* (March 13, 1984).
75. Mahmud al-Kayid, “Al-ʿAtwah wa al-Qanun,” “Al-ʿAtwah and law,” in *Al-Raʿy* (December 4, 1984), p. 1.
76. Abdul-Latif al-Subayhi, “Al-ʿAtwah wa al-Qanun,” “Al-ʿAtwah and law,” in *Al-Raʿy* (December 6, 1984), p. 2.
77. Ghassan al-Tall, “Hal Yastatiʿ al-Mujtmaʿ al-Urduni An La Yakun ʿAshaʿiriyyan?” “Can Jordanian society afford not to be tribalist?” *Al-Raʿy* (December 30, 1984).
78. Hussayn Taha Mahadin, “ʿAshaʿiriyyat al-Nasab La ʿAshaʿiriyyat al-Dawr,” “The tribalism of descent, not the tribalism of role,” *Al-Raʿy* (January 13, 1985), p. 14. See also Ghazi Salih al-Zabn, “Haqaʿiq La Budda Min Dhikriha Fi al-ʿAdat al-ʿAshaʿiriyyah,” or “Facts that must be mentioned about Tribal traditions,” in *Al-Raʿy* (January 13, 1984), p. 15. Al-Zabn insists that “a majority of the people of Jordan in both banks [East and West] are tribal groupings,” and therefore their tribal traditions must be respected. Also see Yahya Salim al-Aqtash, who suggested that the Islamic Shariʿah replace all the laws of the land, tribal and civil alike: “Al-Badil al-Amthal Lil Aʿraf al-ʿAshaʿiriyyah,” “The most ideal alternative to tribal conventions,” in *Al-Raʿy* (January 27, 1985).

79. ‘Abdullah al-Khatib, “Nusaffiq Li-Ilgha’ al-‘Asha’iriyah al-Idariyyah,” in *Al-Ra’y* (January 24, 1985), last page.
80. For the views of the different senators, including al-Rifa’i, expressed during the senate debate, see *Al-Dustur* (January 8, 1985), p. 12.
81. *Tatawwur* is often mistakenly translated as development instead of evolution. Although *tatawwur* is used at times in the sense of development, in Arabic *development* is *Tanmiyah*.
82. Marwan Muasher, “Detribalization: Towards the Rule of One Law,” *Jordan Times* (January 19, 1985).
83. *Al-Ra’y* (January 28, 1985), pp. 1, 20.
84. For a short biography of Sharaf, see *Al-Mar’ah al-Urduniyyah, Ra’idat Fi Maydan al-‘Amal*, compiled by ‘Umar al-Burini and Hani al-Hindi (Amman: Matabi’ al-Safwah, 1994), pp. 63–65.
85. *Al-Ra’y* (January 29, 1985), also see *Jordan Times* (January 29, 1985). The newspapers made the announcement of Sharaf’s resignation with no comment whatsoever.
86. On these developments, see Linda Layne, *Home and Homeland: The Dialogics of Tribal and National Identities in Jordan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 103–105.
87. Quoted in *Middle East International* (February 8, 1985), p. 11.
88. Quoted in Arthur R. Day, *East Bank/West Bank: Jordan and the Prospects of Peace* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1986), p. 35.
89. Schirin Fathi, *Jordan: An Invented Nation? Tribe-State Dynamics and the Formation of National Identity* (Hamburg: Deutsches Orient-Institut, 1994), p. 210.
90. On the results of sedentarization and the different development projects launched by the state, see Kamal Abu Jaber, Fawzi Gharaibeh, and Allen Hill, eds., *The Badia of Jordan: The Process of Change* (Amman: University of Jordan Press, 1987), pp. 107–125. Also see Peter Gubser’s important study of Karak and its environs in Peter Gubser, *Politics and Change in al-Karak, Jordan: A Study of a Small Arab Town and Its District* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
91. Paul Jureidini and R. D. McLaurin, *The Impact*, pp. 31–36.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
93. Salwa’s husband Jamil al-‘As, of Palestinian origin from Jerusalem, was Jordan radio’s most important song and music composer in the sixties and seventies.
94. Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*, reproduced in Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: Norton Press, 1978), p. 163.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
96. On the Western invention of African “tribalism,” see Nelson Kasfir, “Explaining Ethnic Political Participation,” *World Politics* 31, no. 3 (1979): 365–388; also



- see Terrence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 211–262.
97. On Israeli claims that "Jordan is Palestine," see Sheila Ryan and Muhammad Hallaj, *Palestine Is, But Not in Jordan* (Belmont, MA: The Association of Arab-American University Graduates Press, 1983).
  98. This representation has become so pervasive that a Palestinian scholar chose a picture of Petra's famous "Khaznah" as a cover for his book on Jordan and the Palestinians. The "Palestinian" white-and-black hatta was superimposed on the Khaznah representing the book's theme; see Yazid Yusuf Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn wa al-Filastiniyyun, Dirasah Fi Wihdat al-Masir Aw al-Sira' al-Hatmi* (London: Riyad al-Rayis Press, 1987).
  99. The fascination expressed by most Israeli Jews with Petra is enshrined in Zionist mythology, wherein stories of daredevil Israeli Jews illegally crossing the border between Jordan and Israel (between 1948 and 1994) in disguise (it is said that they prefer the Bedouin disguise) risking their lives to see Petra are prevalent. It is said many were killed making the trip. One could see this mythology translated into action following the 1994 peace treaty signed between Jordan and Israel, which was followed by a flood of Israeli and American Jews descending on Petra. Most were uninterested in visiting Amman or any other "living" city in the country, or even in staying in hotels in Petra itself, as they would visit Petra for a few hours and return to Israel at the end of the day. The Jordanian government was so concerned about the lack of Israeli tourist benefits that it instituted a policy wherein border crossings would be open for only a few hours every day to prevent tourists from visiting Petra and returning in the same day without spending any money in the country. In addition, stories of Israeli tourists defacing some of Petra's ruins and scribbling on them statements like "this belongs to Israel," or "this is the land of Israel," became embarrassing to the Israeli and Jordanian governments after the press reported the incidents. Other stories concerning Israeli tourists bringing their own food and sandwiches with them were reacted to negatively by the Jordanian government and Petra's restaurateurs and hotel managers, not to mention stories of Israeli tourists stealing hotel property, which were also reported in the Israeli press. Such stories had been reported before in Turkey about Israeli tourists stealing, among other things, hotel bathroom sinks! As for King Husayn's popularity in the country, the Israeli press was consistently reporting stories about the king being so popular among Israeli Jews that he would be able to defeat any Israeli candidate running for prime minister of Israel without much competition!
  100. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, edited by Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 217–251.

101. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 181.
102. Jordan is hardly unique in this regard, as many postcolonial states were to adopt such colonially constructed “national” ruins as national monuments. For other examples, see Anderson, *ibid.*, pp. 178–185. Note that Jerusalem, which was part of Jordan and under Jordanian control from 1950 to 1967, was also prominent in posters and other representations of Jordan. The Dome of the Rock was used most commonly as a stand-in for Jerusalem, which in turn was a stand-in for Jordan. Jerusalem, however, played a role different from that of Petra, in that it partook of the religious discourse that the regime used to legitimize itself (see chapter 4).
103. Linda Layne, *Home and Homeland*, p. 102.
104. Layne observes how the Jordanian national airline ALIA used to offer its passengers “a pair of painted wooden Bedouin dolls packaged in a bag made from the *traditional* red-and white checkered headdress,” emphasis added (Layne, *Home and Homeland*, p. 103). The invention of national tradition has become so institutionalized that even an observer such as Layne fails to realize that the red-and-white checkered headdress is not traditional at all. As we will see in chapter 3, it was produced by John Glubb as “traditional.”
105. See the magazine *Jordan* (Washington, DC: Jordan Information Bureau). The bureau is run by the Jordanian ministry of information. See, for example, the following issues: winter 1981/1982, spring/summer 1984, winter 1984/1985, and spring/summer 1986.
106. On the history of traditional Bedouin forms of songs and their early transformation for radio listeners, see Tawfiq al-Nimri, “Al-Musiqa wa al-Ghina’,” in *Da’irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun* (Jordanian Department of Culture and Arts), *Thaqafatuna fi Khamsin ‘Am* (Amman: Da’irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, 1972), pp. 369–395. Also see Ahmad al-Muslih, *Malamih ‘Ammah Lil-Hayah al-Thaqafiyyah Fi al-Urdunn* (1953–1993) (Amman: Manshurat Lajnat Tarikh al-Urdunn, 1995), pp. 57–61.
107. Hani al-‘Amad, “Al-Fulkur Fi al-Diffah al-Sharqiyyah,” in *Da’irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun*, *Thaqafatuna Fi Khamsin ‘Am* (Amman: Da’irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, 1972), p. 303.
108. Such books included the three-volume *Dictionary of Jordanian Traditions, Dialects and Unusual Events*, by Ruks Za’id al-‘Uzayzi. See his *Qamus al-‘Adat, al-Lahajat wa al-Awabid al-Urduniyyah* (Amman: Da’irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, 1973–1974), vols. I, II, III.
109. Da’irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, *Thaqafatuna fi Khamsin ‘Am* (Amman: Da’irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, 1972).
110. This is an adaptation of Johannes Fabian’s critique of the structuralist anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss in his classic *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 61.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

112. Ibid., pp. 25, 31.
113. The Layathnah are enduring a different kind of transformation through the development by Amman developers of the nineteenth-century village of Taybah into a resort village renamed Taybat Zaman or “the Taybah of long ago.” The new five-star hotel resort boasts of nineteenth-century village-residences converted into luxurious hotel rooms, equipped with Bani-Hamidah rugs covering the floors and with Bani-Hamidah quilts (Bani Hamidah is a tribe in northern Jordan, some 300 kilometers north of Taybah), as well as satellite television showing CNN, Israeli satellite channels, and other Arab satellite channels including the Jordanian satellite channel. The resort hotel advertises itself as environmentally conscious and claims that it has not disturbed the ecology of the area. Furthermore, it claims that it has benefited the Layathnah economically by employing many of them—its opinion of itself, however, is not shared by most Layathnah members living in the area and subjected to the total transformation of their environment, the least of which is the music blasting from the hotel garden dining hall and its live band in the middle of the night. The Taybat Zaman management assures its guests, in posters hanging in its lobby, that their “village” will transport the guests to a past time of long ago.
114. John Shoup, “The Impact of Tourism on the Bedouin of Petra,” *Middle East Journal* 39, no. 2 (spring 1985): 283.
115. For the history of the Bidul, see John Shoup, “The Impact of Tourism,” pp. 277–291. Also see Ahmad ‘Uwaydi al-‘Abbadi, *Fi Rubu ‘al-Urdunn, Jawlat wa Mushahadat*, part 1 (Amman: Dar al-Fikr, 1987), p. 313. Al-‘Abbadi lists the Bidul as part of the Huwaytat tribe; see Ahmad ‘Uwaydi al-‘Abbadi, *Al-‘Asha ‘ir al-Urduniyyah, al-Ard wal Insan Wal Tarikh* (Amman: Al-Dar al-‘Arabiyyah lil Nashr wal Tawzi’, 1988), p. 633.
116. See Anna Ohannessian-Charpin, “Strategic Myths: Petra’s B’doul,” in *Middle East Report*, no. 196 (September/October 1995), pp. 24–25. Note that whereas many Bidul continued to work in the Petra tourist industry, in 1995 the government moved again to disrupt their lifestyle. Because of the bad ventilation in the Siq, which constitutes the entryway to Petra and which is crossed by Layathnah- and Bidul-owned and operated horses, horse dung was said to render the air unbreathable, leading the ministry of tourism to outlaw the use of horses, putting many Bidul out of business.
117. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).
118. Aziz al-Azmeh, *Islam and Modernities* (London: Verso, 1993), p. 12.
119. See Jamil Nasir, *The Islamic Law of Personal Status* (London: Graham and Trotman, 1986), p. 29.
120. See Enid Hill, “Islamic Law as a Source for the Development of a Comparative Jurisprudence: The modern Science of Codification (1): Theory and Practice

in the Life and Work of ‘Abd al-Razzaq Ahmad al-Sanhuri (1895–1971),” in *Islamic Law: Social and Historical Contexts*, edited by Aziz al-Azmeh (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 155, 164.

121. Sanhuri wrote this in a 1938 article quoted by Hill, *ibid.*, p. 165.
122. Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Press, 1986).
123. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
125. This law was published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1081 (August 16, 1951).
126. The Temporary Personal Status Law, #61, *Official Gazette*, no. 2668 (January 1, 1976).
127. This decree was published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 3 (June 11, 1923).
128. Qanun Huquq al-‘Ailah al-Mu‘aqqat (the Temporary Law of Family Rights), no. 26 for the Year 1947, *Official Gazette*, no. 915 (August 2, 1947). This was the first such law promulgated by an independent Arab state, soon to be followed by Syria, Iraq, Tunisia, and Morocco.
129. J. N. D. Anderson, “Recent Developments in Shari‘a Law VIII: The Jordanian Law of Family Rights 1951,” *Muslim World* 42 (1952): 190. Anderson goes through every article, tracing its legal basis in Ottoman and Egyptian laws as well as the Hanafi tradition and identifying Jordanian innovations.
130. See article 62 of the 1947 Temporary Family Rights Law, and article 64 of the 1951 Law of Family Rights. Note that the 1951 law grants a woman the right to leave the marital home without her husband’s approval in cases where the husband has beaten her, harmed her (verbally), or harmed her family (verbally). In these cases, her moving out of the marital home cannot be used to exempt the husband from supporting his wife financially.
131. See article 68 of the 1976 Personal Status Law.
132. See Lynn Welchman, “The Development of Islamic Family Law in the Legal System of Jordan,” in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 37, part 4 (October 1988): 876. Also see ‘A’ishah al-Faraj al-‘Atiyyat, “Al-Mar’ah Fi Zill Qanun al-Ahwal al-Shakhsiyyah al-Urduni,” paper available from the Office of Advisory Services for Women (Maktab al-Khadamat al-Istishariyyah lil-Mar’ah), Amman, 1984. Also, for some of the suggested amendments to the 1976 law, see Raja’ Abu Nuwwar, “Al-Mar’ah al-Urduniyyah Fi Nihayat al-‘Aqd al-Dawli Lil-Mar’ah,” in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid*, nos. 3–4 (spring/summer 1985), Nicosia, Cyprus, pp. 176–177.
133. For similarities and differences in the way the Egyptian state dealt with married women, see Mervat Hatem, “The Enduring Alliance of Nationalism and Patriarchy in Muslim Personal Status Laws: The Case of Egypt,” in *Feminist Issues* 6, no. 1 (spring 1986): 19–43.
134. For example, according to official statistics, whereas Jordanian women constituted 7.7 percent of the wage-earning workforce in 1979, their numbers in-

- creased to 12.5 percent in 1985 and to 15 percent in 1993, cited by Suhayr al-Tall, "Dirasah Hawl Awda' al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah," paper presented at the Arab Institute for Human Rights in Tunis, 1994, p. 5. With the increasing unemployment levels in Jordan since the late 1980s, educated Jordanian women have been some of the worst-affected sections of the population. In 1991, the unemployment of women was 34.2 percent (compared to 14.5 percent of men); 90 percent of those unemployed women were between the ages of 20 and 40, and 70.2 percent of them held at least an associate university degree. See al-Tall, pp. 9–10.
135. Article 23-1, The Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, *Official Gazette*, no. 1093 (January 8, 1952). On women's labor rights, see Jordanian Labor Laws, the last of which was enacted in 1996, see *Official Gazette*, no. 4113 (April 16, 1996).
  136. Article 12 of the Passport Law no. 2, *Official Gazette*, no. 2150 (February 16, 1969).
  137. On the 1990 draft law project, see Khadijah Habashnah Abu-'Ali, Center of Woman's Studies, untitled paper presented to the special panel The Jordanian Woman in the Shadow of Contemporary Laws and Legislations, Amman, March 1992.
  138. For a brief but comprehensive overview of gender discrimination in Jordanian laws, see Fatimah Qassad, "Al-Mar'ah wa Ba'd al-Tashri'at," unpublished paper, Amman, n.d.
  139. On Jordanian women and labor laws, see Asma' Khadir, "Al-Mar'ah al-'Amilah Fi al-Urdunn Waqi'an wa Tashri'an," unpublished paper, Amman, October 1983; see also Khalil Abu Kharmah, "Al-Mar'ah Fil Naqabat al-'Ummaliyyah," paper presented at the panel Working Women, sponsored by the Women's Committee in the Journalists Union, Amman, December 1987.
  140. See the Penal Laws or Qanun al-'Uqubat no. 16, 1960, *Official Gazette*, no. 1487 (May 1, 1960), especially articles 96, 97, 283, 340.
  141. See al-Tall, "Dirasah Hawl," pp. 40–41. See also Lama Abu-Odeh, *Crimes of Honor and the Construction of Gender in Arab Societies*, doctoral dissertation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Law School, 1995).
  142. See "'Amman: Qanun Jara'im al-Sharaf fi Muwajahah Bayn al-Hukumah wa al-Islamiyyin," in *Al-Hayah*, 15 February 2000, pp. 1, 6.
  143. Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988).
  144. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
  145. *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.
  146. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
  147. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
  148. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
  149. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

150. Al-Mithaq al-Watani al-Urduni, article 8, text published by the Ministry of Information in December 1991. The actual charter was signed on June 9, 1991, after fourteen months of deliberations and massive press coverage, culminating in the Jordanian National Conference for the Charter, which took place on June 9, 1991. A draft of the charter was published by the Jordanian daily press (*Al-Ra'y* and *Al-Dustur*) on December 31, 1990.
151. Emily Naffa', "Dawr al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah Fi al-Nidal al-Siyasi," paper presented at the Jordanian Women in the Shadow of Contemporary Legislation conference held in Amman, March 23–25, 1992, p. 8.
152. Catharine Mackinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
153. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
156. The manifesto is reproduced by 'Abdullah in his memoirs, *Al-Mudhakkarat*, published as part of all of 'Abdullah's works, *Al-Athar al-Kamilah Lil-Malik 'Abdullah*, 3rd edition (Beirut: Al-Dar al-Muttahidah Lil-Nashr, 1985), p. 158.
157. See *Qanun Man' Buyut al-Bagha'* (The Law Banning Houses of Prostitution), *Official Gazette*, no. 165 (September 1, 1927).
158. See *Al-Jazirah*, "Ghirat al-Amir al-Mu'azzam 'ala al-Taqlid wa al-Akhlaq al-'Ammah," (January 4, 1939).
159. *Al-Jazirah*, "Ra'y 'Alim Dini Kabir Fi Mushkilat al-Mar'ah al-Muslimah wa Mas'alat Sufuriha" (The Opinion of a Major Religious 'Alim About the Problem of the Muslim Woman and the Question of Her Unveiling) (February 1, 1940).
160. 'Abdullah's attitude was reportedly the same toward European women. James Lunt reports that "King Abdullah was a stickler for protocol and woe betide the European woman who entered the royal presence short-sleeved and short-skirted." in James Lunt, *Glubb Pasha: A Biography* (London: Harvill Press, 1984), p. 175.
161. *Al-Jazirah*, "Hirs Sumuw al-Amir al-Mu'azzam 'ala al-Akhlaq al-'Ammah wa al-Mazahir al-Islamiyyah" (The Avidity of his Majesty the Prince about Public Ethics and Islamic Appearances) (March 20, 1940). Note that this concern with women teachers' public appearance was not peculiar to 'Abdullah but was more of a universal phenomenon. Three decades earlier, in a Massachusetts town, in the United States, the school board issued "Rules for Female Teachers," which included that women teachers "not dress in bright colors," "not dye [their] hair," and "not wear any dress more than two inches above the ankle," as well as "not keep company with men," "not smoke," "be home between the hours of 8 P. M. and 6 A. M." The "Rules" are reproduced in Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. 330.

162. The amir's decree, the prime minister's letter, and the judge's manifesto were all published in *Al-Jazirah*, "Al-Iradah al-Saniyyah Bi Man' al-Tabarruj," (March 27, 1940).
163. *Al-Jazirah*, "Al-Raghbah al-Saniyyah Fi Ittikhadh al-Mula'ah Libasan Lil-Mar'ah al-Muslimah Kharij Baytiha" (The Exalted Desire that the Muslim Woman Don *Al-Mula'ah* as Her Dress Outside Her Home) (July 27, 1940).
164. See his *Al-Mudhakkarat*, p. 44.
165. See for example *Al-Jazirah*, August 7, 1940, p. 2, and August 24, 1940; these articles were written by Fathi Mustafa al-Mufti.
166. See "Man Yuthir Harakat al-Fasad Fil Madinah? Al-Tilmidhah Aw al-Mu'allimah?" (Who Provokes the Movement of Corruption in the City? The Girl-Student or the Woman-Teacher?) *Al-Jazirah* (August 17, 1940).
167. *Al-Jazirah* (October 10, 1940).
168. *Al-Jazirah* (August 24, 1940).
169. 'Awni Jaddu' al-'Ubaydi, *Jama'at al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin Fi al-Urdunn was Filastin 1945–1970, Safahat Tarikhiyyah* (Amman: n.p., 1991), pp. 40–41.
170. *Al-Jazirah* (February 6, 1945).
171. "Ayyatuha al-Mar'ah al-Mutabarrijah," *Al-Jazirah* (January 25, 1946). In his poem, al-Shanqiti expresses his horror that with this kind of appearance, men cannot tell who among such women are "virgins" and who are "Awani" (which literally means middle-aged but in this context means nonvirgins) or between "adulteresses" and those who might be considered their "equals."
172. See for example Taysir Zibyan, *Al-Malik 'Abdullah Kama 'Araftahu* (King 'Abdullah as I Knew Him), 2nd edition (Amman: n.p., 1994), pp. 63–67. See also 'Awni Jaddu' al-'Ubaydi, *Jama'at al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, pp. 38–41.
173. John Bagot Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), p. 214.
174. Interview with Taysir Zibyan on August 3, 1951, cited in his *Al-Malik 'Abdullah Kama 'Araftahu*, p. 67.
175. The law was signed on July 17, 1951, see *Official Gazette*, no. 1081, August 16, 1951.
176. Wizarat al-I'lam, *Al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah* (Amman: Ministry of Information's Department of Press and Publications, 1979), p. 20.
177. Ibid.
178. On the merchant class, see Aba Amawi, *State and Class in Transjordan*.
179. Wizarat al-I'lam, *Al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah*, p. 21. It is unknown why the society was dissolved or on whose initiative it was dissolved.
180. Ibid., p. 22.
181. See Suhayr al-Tall, *Muqaddimah*, p. 122–123.
182. The research center for women's studies was founded in 1990. This club organizes conferences for business women, has a consultative office offering legal advice to women on women's issues, and publishes a number of informative

brochures on a variety of subjects including women and social security, women and labor laws, tenancy laws, retirement laws, civil service, personal status laws, and divorce.

183. *Business and Professional Women Newsletter*, no. 1 (May 1992).
184. Al-Ittihad al-Nisa'i al-'Arabi was founded on June 17, 1954, at a meeting of over 100 Jordanian women at the Philadelphia Hotel in downtown Amman (the owners of the hotel, Antoine Nazzal and his wife, donated the hotel hall-room and services for the meeting). Among those attending were Samihah al-Majali, Faridah Shubaylat, Emily Bisharat, Widad Bulus, Lam'a al-Razzaz, Salwa Dajani, Fayruz Sa'd, Zaha Manko, and Faridah Ghanma. See *Al-Difa'* (June 18, 1954); see also *Filastin* (June 16, 1954). For press coverage of the subsequent internal developments within al-Ittihad, see *Al-Difa'* (June 22, 1954 and June 26, 1954). On support for the Ittihad from other cities and towns, see the letter sent to the prime minister by the women of Ramallah in *Al-Jihad* (December 3, 1954). For the history of this period, see Suha Kamil 'Id, "Tarikh Nidal al-Mar'ah Fi al-Urdunn Fi Wajh al-Mukhattatat al-Suhyuniyyah," (The History of Women's Struggle in Jordan in the Face of Zionist Schemes), unpublished paper, October 1983, Ministry of Social Development.
185. For the history of the Union, see Da'id Mu'adh, "Tajribat al-Ittihad al-Nisa'i (1974–1981)," in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid* no. 7 (spring 1986): 59–64.
186. See al-Tall, *Muqaddimah*, pp. 125–165. For a critique of the record of the new official union, see Majidah al-Masri, "Al-Azmah al-Rahinah Lil-Harakah al-Nisa'iyyah fi al-Urdunn," in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid*, no. 7 (spring 1986): 65–69.
187. For a list of all members of the council, see Sa'id Darwish, *Al-Marhalah al-Dimuqratiyyah al-Jadidah Fil Urdunn, Tafasil al-Munaqashat wa Hukumat al-Thiqah* (Beirut and Amman: Dana, a subsidiary of Al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyyah Lil Dirasat wa al-Nashr, 1990), pp. 160–161.
188. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
190. Al-Tall, *Muqaddimah*, p. 117–118. About the union, see chapter 6.
191. See *Al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah*, pp. 147–154. For media coverage of women and women's issues in this period, see Suhayr al-Tall, "Al-Siyasah al-I'lamiyyah wa Qadayah al-Mar'ah," in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid*, no. 7 (spring 1986), pp. 70–73.
192. *Al-Muqawamah al-Sha'biyyah*, no. 10 (June 1951), cited by Emily Naffa', "Dawr al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah Fi al-Nidal al-Siyasi," Paper presented at the Jordanian Women in the Shadow of Contemporary Legislation conference held in Amman, March 23–25, 1992, p. 3. Also see Suha Kamil 'Id, "Tarikh Nidal al-Mar'ah Fi al-Urdunn Fi Wajh al-Mukhattatat al-Suhyuniyyah," October 1983, Ministry of Social Development, pp. 9–10.
193. *Al-Difa'* (November 30, 1954).
194. Documents of the Women's Awakening League cited by Emily Naffa', "Dawr al-Mar'ah," p. 4.



195. "Nuridu Haqqana Kamilan," *Filastin* (October 10, 1955).
196. *Filastin* (October 12, 1955).
197. *Al-Mithaq*, the Jordanian Socialist Party mouthpiece, 1956, cited by Emily Naffa, "Dawr al-Mar'ah," p. 4.
198. See *Filastin* (March 30, 1956, April 19, 1956). Around the same time, Queen Zayn, King Husayn's mother, donated a gold watch to be raffled (by the Ittihad) for the benefit of the National Guard. See *Filastin* (March 19, 1956). The raffle brought a profit of 500 Jordanian dinars. See *Filastin* (April 1, 1956).
199. See *Filastin*, April 12, 1956, and April 18, 1956.
200. See "Raja' Abu 'Ammashah . . . Fi Damir al-Sha'b wa al-Watan," in *Al-Tali'ah*, a Amman weekly, no. 94 (January 1, 1956), reprinted in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid*, no. 7 (spring 1986), p. 160, and see Suhayr al-Tall, *Muqqadimah*, p. 113n.
201. *Ibid.*, pp. 113–116.
202. See Hayfa' al-Bashir and Hiyam Najib al-Shuraydah, "Al-Musharakah al-Siyasiyyah lil Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah wa Ittijahat al-Qita' al-Siyasi Nahwa 'Amaliha Fi Nafs al-Majal" (Political Participation of Jordanian Women and the Direction of the Political Sector Toward Her Work in the Same Field), paper presented at the National Conference on Jordanian Women, Reality and Vision (al-Mu'tamar al-Watani lil Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah, Waqi' wa Tatallu'at) held in Amman, May 14–16, 1985, p. 6.
203. *Ibid.*
204. 'Ablah Mahmud Abu 'Ulbah, "Al-Mar'ah al-Urduniyyah wa al-Nidal al-Siyasi" (Jordanian Women and Political Struggle), paper presented at the Jordanian Women in the Shadow of Contemporary Legislation, a conference sponsored by the General Federation of Jordanian Women, held in Amman on 23–25 March, 1992, p. 2.
205. See *Intikhabat 1993: Dirasah Tahliliyyah wa Raqamiyyah* (The 1993 Elections: An Analytical and a Numerical Study) (Amman: Markaz al-Urdunn al-Jadid, February 1994).
206. *Al-Hayah* (November 5, 1997), p. 7.
207. *Al-Hayah* (October 22, 1997), p. 4.
208. *Al-Hayah* (November 6, 1997), p. 1.
209. Zionist ideology has always been ambivalent about the Middle East. On the one hand, it portrays European Jews as having originated historically in the Middle East (to lay its suspect colonial claim to Palestine), while simultaneously portraying them as modern gentile Europeans carrying gentile enlightenment European achievements to a desolate Asian outpost (the implication being that the couple of millennia of Jewish residence in Europe forced them to shed their uncivilized Middle-Eastern roots, adopting instead civilized gentile European norms). This ambivalence about being *in* but not *of* the Middle East continued in Israeli culture after the settler-colony was established. While modern Jewish Israelis are presented as indistinguishable from gentile Europeans

in terms of lifestyle and technoaesthetic culture, Zionist theft of Palestinian Arab food (e.g., hummus, falafil) and dance (dabkah), Palestinian Armenian pottery, and Yemeni and other Arab jewelry making (now coded as “Yemenite-Jewish” as if Yemeni Jews were living in complete isolation) is engineered to give a “Middle Eastern” flavor to an otherwise gentile European, Hebrew-speaking people. For an examination of Zionist and Israeli cultural forms, see Joseph Massad, “The ‘Post-Colonial’ Colony: Time, Space and Bodies in Palestine/Israel,” in *The Pre-Occupation of Post-Colonial Studies*, edited by Fawzia Afzal-Khan and Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

### 3. Cultural Syncretism or Colonial Mimic Men: Jordan's Bedouins and the Military Basis of National Identity

1. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, “Introduction: Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism,” in Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 1–49.
2. Ibid., p. 16.
3. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), p. xi.
4. On Western cultural cross-dressing, see Marjorie Garber's essay “The Chic of Araby: Transvestism and the Erotics of Cultural Appropriation,” in her *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), pp. 304–352.
5. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
6. Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Toward an Investigation),” in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), p. 169.
7. The following historical review is based on Munib Madi and Sulayman Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn Fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin 1900–1959* (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1959); Benjamin Shwadran, *Jordan A State of Tension* (New York: Council for Middle Eastern Affairs, 1959); Uriel Dann, *Studies in the History of Transjordan, 1920–1949: The Making of a State* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984); Sa'd Abu-Dayyeh and 'Abd al-Majid Mahdi, *Al-Jaysh al-'Arabi wa Diblumasiyyat al-Sahra', Dirasah Fi Nash'atihi wa Tatawwur Dawr al-Thaqafah al-'Askariyyah* (Amman: Mudiyyat al-Matabi' al-'Askariyyah, 1987); Ma'an Abu Nowar, *The History of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, vol. I: *The Creation and Development of Transjordan 1920–1929* (Oxford: Ithaca Press, 1989); Abila Amawi, *State and Class in Trans-Jordan: A Study of State Autonomy*, doctoral dissertation (Washington, DC: Georgetown University, 1993); P. J. Vatikiotis, *Politics and the Military in Jordan: A Study of the Arab*

- Legion, 1921–1957* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967); and Sa'd Abu-Dayyah and 'Abd al-Majid Mahdi, *Tarikh al-Jaysh al-'Arabi Fi 'Ahd al-Imarah, 1921–1946, Dirasah 'Ilmiyyah Tahliliyyah* (Amman: Al-Matabi' al-'Askariyyah, 1989).
8. F. G. Peake, "Transjordan," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* XXVI, part III (July 1939): 388.
  9. Frederick G. Peake, unpublished autobiography, Imperial War Museum, F. G. Peake (Peake Pasha) Papers, DS/Misc/16, Reel 1, cited by George S. Dragnich, *The Bedouin Warrior Ethic and the Transformation of Traditional Nomadic Warriors into Modern Soldiers within the Arab Legion, 1931–1948*, masters thesis in history (Washington, DC: Georgetown University, 1975), p. 61, note 1.
  10. Bernard Vernier adds that this appellation bestowed on this force "faisait entrevoir que cette troupe modèle pourrait un jour devenir le noyau de l'armée unifiée de l'arabisme," in Bernard Vernier, *Armée et Politique au Moyen-Orient* (Paris: Payot, 1966), p. 83.
  11. Benjamin Shwadran, *Jordan*, p. 159. Ma'an Abu Nowar states that aside from a few Transjordanians, the TJFF included Circassians, Chechens, Armenians, Jews, Palestinian Arabs, Sudanese, Lebanese, Syrians, Egyptians, and Druze Arabs. In addition, the TJFF enlisted British officers and N.C.O.s of ex-Black and Tans, previously used by the British against Irish nationalists. See Ma'an Abu Nowar, *The History*, p. 174. Note how Abu Nowar does not consider Circassians and Chechens "Transjordanian."
  12. Article 10, *Agreement Between the United Kingdom and Trans-Jordan*, signed in Jerusalem on February 20, 1928. This agreement was never ratified by the Trans-Jordanian legislature.
  - 13.. *Official Gazette* (June 17, 1944), p. 796.
  14. C. S. Jarvis, *Arab Command: The Biography of Lieutenant-Colonel F. G. Peake Pasha* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1942), p. 59.
  15. Quoted in Jarvis, *Arab Command*, p. 59.
  16. Uriel Dann, *Studies in*, p. 88.
  17. See Sa'd Abu Dayyah and 'Abd al-Majid al-Nas'ah, *Tarikh al-Jaysh, al-'Arabi fi 'Ahd al-Imarah, 1921–1946, Dirasah 'Ilmiyyah Tahliliyyah Watha 'iqiyyah* (Amman: n.p., 1990), pp. 69, 81.
  18. Quoted in Jarvis, *Arab Command*, p. 61.
  19. On the need to control the desert and the increasing tension between the Saudis and the Transjordanian governments, see Ricardo Bocco and Tariq M. M. Tell, "Pax Britannica in the Steppe: British Policy and the Transjordan Bedouin," in *Village Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan*, edited by Eugene Rogan and Tariq Tell (London: British Academic Press, 1994), pp. 116–120.
  20. Quoted in Jarvis, *Arab Command*, p. 62.
  21. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 62.

22. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 83.
23. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 88.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 107–109.
25. Peter Young, *Bedouin Command: With the Arab Legion 1953–1956* (London: William Kimber, 1956), pp. 24–25.
26. Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 37.
27. James Lunt, *Glubb Pasha: A Biography* (London: Harvill Press, 1984), p. 94.
28. John Bagot Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), pp. 369–370.
29. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, pp. 98–99. Lunt adds to his defense of Glubb a quote from Albert Hourani: “Although Glubb was far too intelligent to dismiss city-dwellers out of hand, he was much happier in the society of bedouins and villagers.” See also p. 168.
30. Syed Ali El-Edroos, *The Hashemite Arab Army, 1908–1979: An Appreciation and Analysis of Military Operations* (Amman: Publishing Committee, 1980), pp. 213–214. El-Edroos is of Pakistani nationality. It is interesting that, aside from some memoirs and a few unimpressive period histories, there is no single Jordanian historian who wrote a comprehensive history of the armed forces. Also, not only is the Pakistani connection a state-to-state military alliance, but also it extends to the royal family, as former crown-prince Hasan, Husayn’s brother, is married to a Pakistani, Princess Servat, or as she is known in Jordan, Princess Tharwat.
31. El-Edroos, *The Hashemite Arab Army*, p. 214.
32. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 261.
33. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 97.
34. Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Report by His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1933* (London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1934), p. 318.
35. Nicos Poulantzas, *State, Power, Socialism*, translated by Patrick Camiller (London: NLB, 1978), p. 77.
36. John Bagot Glubb, *The Story of the Arab Legion* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948), p. 22.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
38. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 96.
39. *Al-Istiqlal*, November 16, 1928, cited by James Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 60. Lieutenant-Colonel G. E. Leachman (1880–1920) was a soldier, explorer, traveler, and administrator in Mesopotamia, where he was murdered near Falluja by members of the Ramadi tribe on August 12, 1920. He traveled among the Bedouins in disguise. See Lunt, p. 60, note.
40. Thomas Henry Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: His Life and Work on an Indian Frontier: A Memoir, with Selections from His Correspondence and*

*Official Writings* (London: John Murray, 1895). I would like to thank Riccardo Bocco for directing me to Sandeman's biography.

41. Monthly Reports on the Administration of the Transjordan Deserts, A Sandeman Policy, March 1935, cited in Riccardo Bocco, *État et Tribus Bedouines en Jordanie, 1920–1990, Les Huwaytat: Territoire, Changement Économique, Identité Politique*, doctoral dissertation, Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, 1996, p. 135.
42. *Journal of the Royal Society of Asian Affairs* XVII, part III (October 1986): 357.
43. John Bagot Glubb, "Relations Between Arab Civilization and Foreign Culture in the Past and To-day," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* XXIV (July 1937): 417.
44. John B. Glubb, "The Conflict Between Tradition and Modernism in the Role of Muslim Armies," in *The Conflict of Traditionalism and Modernism in the Middle East*, edited by Carl Leiden (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), pp. 9–21.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
46. Glubb, "Relations Between," p. 418.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 419.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 419.
49. John Bagot Glubb, *The Changing Scenes of Life, An Autobiography* (London: Quarter Books, 1983), pp. 212–214.
50. Glubb, "The Conflict," p. 17.
51. See Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 172.
52. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 147.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
54. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 347.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 401.
56. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 175.
57. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 370.
58. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 81.
59. Glubb, "The Conflict," p. 18.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
61. Glubb, "Relations Between," p. 421.
62. John Bagot Glubb, *Britain and the Arabs: A Study of Fifty Years 1908–1958* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1959), p. 171.
63. Glubb, "Relations Between," p. 421.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 422.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 422.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 424.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 424.
68. Glubb, "The Conflict," p. 15. See also Glubb, *The Story*, p. 38.
69. Glubb, "Relations Between," p. 424.

70. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 199.
71. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), p. 139.
72. Glubb, "Relations Between," pp. 424–425.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 425.
74. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 103.
75. Jarvis, *Arab Command*, p. 129.
76. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, pp. xiii, xiv.
77. *Ibid.*, p. xv.
78. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books, 1994), p. 26.
79. See Karl Marx, "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof," in *Capital*, vol. 1: *A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*, edited by Frederick Engels (New York: International Publishers, 1967), pp. 71–83.
80. As T. E. Lawrence explains: "All the subject provinces of the Empire were not worth one dead English boy," quoted in Stephen Ely Tabachnick, "The Two Veils of T. E. Lawrence," *Studies in the Twentieth Century*, no. 16 (fall 1975), p. 97.
81. Glubb, *The Changing*, pp. 102–103.
82. Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Report*, p. 281. Note that since 1923, Peake contracted a recent Armenian immigrant, Haïg Peltékian, to become the tailor for the Arab Legion. Haïg Pasha (or, more precisely, Hayk Pasha), as he became known after 'Abdullah bestowed on him this Ottoman title, became also the personal tailor for 'Abdullah. Until 1940, Haïg employed thirty Armenian workers and became "the supplier of army uniforms." See Anna Ohannessian-Charpin, "Les Arméniens à Amman: La Naissance d'une Communauté," in Jean Hannoyer and Seteney Shami, eds., *Amman: The City and Its Society* (Beirut: CERMO, 1996), pp. 333–334.
83. Shelagh Weir, *Palestinian Costume* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), p. 68. Palestinian peasants before the 1930s mostly wore the *Tarbush Maghribi* or the *Laffah*. Before the 1930s, only Palestinian Bedouins wore the *hatta*, see *ibid.*, pp. 58–66. See also Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinian People 1876–1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1991), especially the pictures on the following pages: 198, 208, 209, 219, 221, 226. See also Sarah Graham-Brown, *Palestinians and Their Society 1880–1946: A Photographic Essay* (London: Quartet Books, 1980), pp. 166, 169, 174–176, 181.
84. Sir Gawain Bell, *Shadows on the Sand: The Memoirs of Sir Gawain Bell* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), pp. 141–142.
85. Musa 'Adil Bakmirza Shirdan, *Al-Urdunn Bayna 'Ahdayn* (Amman: n.p., 1957?), p. 24.

86. I would like to thank Dr. Ma'n Abu Nuwwar for the information he provided me regarding this point. Also, on the modifications in clothing during this period, see Dragnich, *The Bedouin Warrior*, p. 159.
87. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 335.
88. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 106.
89. Letter, February 13, 1980, cited by Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 169.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
91. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 160.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
93. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 19.
94. On performatively constituted identities, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
95. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 419.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 419. In his autobiography, Glubb identifies the Arab diplomat as Lebanon's president. See *The Changing*, p. 169.
97. Ghalib Halasa, *Zunuj, Badu, wa Fallahun* (Beirut: Dar al-Masir, 1980), p. 6.
98. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 83.
99. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 248.
100. Glubb reveled in these titles and writes of them glowingly. See Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 372.
101. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 115.
102. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 264.
103. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 176. On another occasion, Lunt asserts that "Unlike T. E. Lawrence or St. John Philby, he never dressed as an Arab, but always wore the uniform of the Arab Legion. . . . He was of course enormously helped by his fluency in Arabic, reading and writing it with equal ease," p. 81.
104. John Glubb, *War In the Desert, An R.A.F. Frontier Campaign* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), p. 146.
105. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 51.
106. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 129.
107. Quoted in Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *O Jerusalem* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), p. 198.
108. J. Glubb "The Bedouins of Northern Iraq," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* XXII, part I (January 1935): 13.
109. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, pp. 185–186.
110. Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 33.
111. Extract from a circular letter from Glubb to British officers, no. A:CO/1/3, cited by Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 117.
112. T. E. Lawrence, "Twenty-Seven Articles," first published in the *Arab Bulletin*, #60, August 20, 1920, reproduced in John E. Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), p. 467.

113. Gawain Bell, *Shadows*, pp. 144–145.
114. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 106.
115. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 117.
116. *Monthly Report*, July 1933, cited by Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 84.
117. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 414.
118. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 90.
119. See Trevor Royle, *Glubb Pasha* (London: Little Brown, 1992), p. 297. When I wrote my dissertation, I had not read Royle's account and had to rely on erroneous information claiming that Naomi was of Palestinian origins. Royle's account based on interviews with Naomi Glubb puts the matter to rest. A picture of Naomi and her mother, Rosemary Glubb, can be seen in Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, between p. 110 and p. 111.
120. Royle, *Glubb Pasha*, pp. 321–322.
121. Glubb, *A Soldier*, pp. 414–415.
122. John Glubb, *Arabian Adventures: Ten Years of Joyful Service* (London: Cassell, 1978), p. 24.
123. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 6.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 419.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 445.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 194. For the actual collusion between the Jordanian government, Glubb, and Mr. Bevin, see Avi Shlaim, *Collusion Across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 134–138. For more information on the loss of Ramallah and Lydda, see *ibid.*, pp. 261–267.
127. See, for example, Riyad Ahmad Bunduqji, *Al-Urdunn Fi 'Ahd Klub* (Amman: Matabi' al-Safadi, circa 1957).
128. Gustave Schlumberger describes the creation of Outre-Jourdain as follows: "Aussi les rois chrétiens de Jérusalem avaient-ils dès longtemps reconnu la nécessité de constituer ces divers territoires avec leurs grands châteaux en une seigneurie unique, sorte de marche frontière d'importance capitale, avant-garde du royaume s'avancant par delà la mer Morte jusqu'à la mer Rouge, éperon audacieux projeté entre les deux grandes divisions du monde sarrasin avoisinant: l'Égypte et la Syrie. Du nom de ces deux principales forteresses, aussi de celui de la ville d'Hébron, près de la rive occidentale du lac Asphaltite, qui en faisait partie, cette seigneurie si fameuse dans l'histoire des guerres de la Croisade avait pris le nom de seigneurie de Karak et Montréal, ou simplement du Karak et Montréal, ou encore d'Hébron, de Karak et Montréal, plus souvent même du Karak, ou par corruption du Krak, tout court. On l'appelait aussi, en raison de sa situation *au delà du Jourdain*, ou encore des terres bibliques ou antiques dont elle occupait l'étendue, seigneurie de *la terre d'outre Jourdain*, ou seigneurie de la terre Moab et d'Idumée." *Renaud de Chatillon, Prince D'Antioche, Seigneur de la Terre d'Outre-Jourdain*, by Gustave Schlumberger,



- Plon-Nourrit, Paris, 1923, p. 147, emphases added. He also states that "On l'appelait encore 'Terre d'Oultre le Jourdain,' " p. 152. He adds that "Ce qui faisait que les chrétiens attachaient tant de prix à la conservation de ces puissants châteaux d'Oultre-Jourdain, que les Sarassins, d'autre part, s'efforçaient sans cesse de s'en emparer, c'était . . . la situation incomparable qu'ils occupaient sur les routes militaires et commerciales conduisant de l'Égypte en Syrie et en Arabie, et sur celle du Hadj, ou du pèlerinage aux villes saintes," p. 163.
129. Glubb, *The Story*, pp. 187–188.
  130. For more information about Renaud De Chatillon, see Gustave Schlumberger, *Renaud de Chatillon*.
  131. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 248.
  132. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited by J. B. Bury, vol. VI (London: Methuen, 1912), p. 325. On de Bouillon, also see Frederick G. Peake, *History and Tribes of Jordan* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1958).
  133. Royle, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 322.
  134. Glubb, "Relations Between," p. 425.
  135. Glubb, "The Conflict," p. 17.
  136. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 6.
  137. Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October*, no. 28 (spring 1984), p. 126.
  138. J. B. Glubb, "The Mixture of Races in the Eastern Arab Countries," The J. L. Myers Memorial Lecture was delivered at New College, Oxford, on 25th April, 1967.
  139. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 32.
  140. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
  141. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
  142. *Ibid.*, pp. 164–165.
  143. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 335.
  144. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
  145. *Ibid.*, p. 388.
  146. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 172.
  147. *Ibid.*
  148. *Ibid.*
  149. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
  150. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 37.
  151. Glubb, *Periodic Report*, February-May 1942, cited by Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 107.
  152. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 253–254.
  153. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
  154. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
  155. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 265.

156. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 20.
157. Ibid., p. 325.
158. Ibid., pp. 103–104. Glubb even tells us how Bedouin soldiers made bread for lunch, *ibid.*, pp. 104–105.
159. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 102. Also see Peter Young, *The Arab Legion* (Berkshire: Osprey Publishing, 1972), p. 30.
160. I would like to thank Dr. Ma'n Abu Nuwwar for the information he provided me on this matter.
161. Musa 'Adil Bakmirza Shirdan, *Al-Urdunn Bayna 'Ahdayn*, pp. 24–25.
162. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 96. Contrast these descriptions of women with the noble descriptions of the Shammar tribe on pp. 20–21.
163. Ibid., p. 42.
164. Ibid., p. 160.
165. Ibid.
166. Ibid., p. 161.
167. Ibid.
168. Glubb, *Britain and*, p. 171.
169. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 87.
170. Ibid., pp. 149–150.
171. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 60. On how Arabs imparted to Europeans chivalrous behavior, see J. B. Glubb, "Arab Chivalry," *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* XXIV, part I (January 1937).
172. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 104.
173. Ibid., p. 67.
174. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 150.
175. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 188.
176. On filiation and affiliation, see Edward Said, *The World: The Text and the Critic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983).
177. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 114.
178. Ibid., p. 113.
179. Ibid., p. 108.
180. Ibid., p. 114.
181. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 37.
182. Ibid., p. 45.
183. Ibid., pp. 58–59.
184. Godfrey Lias, *Glubb's Legion* (London: Evans Brothers, 1956), p. 88.
185. Glubb, *The Story*, pp. 92–93.
186. On Glubb's earliest Iraqi recruits into the Legion, see Sa'd Abu Dayyah and 'Abd al-Majid Mahdi, *Al-Jaysh al-'Arabi*, pp. 103–107.
187. See Ricardo Bocco and Tariq M. M. Tell, "Pax Britannica in the Steppe," p. 122.

188. Great Britain, *Report . . . for the Year 1933*, p. 283.
189. See George S. Dragnich, *The Bedouin Warrior*, p. 110.
190. Dragnich, *The Bedouin Warrior*, p. 111.
191. See article 2b and article 16 of The Law of Tribal Courts for the Year 1936, published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 516 (February 16, 1936). Note that these powers were given the head of the Arab Legion over *nomadic* Bedouins. Also, the administrative structure of the government also changed in 1939. The Organic Law was amended so that the Executive Council was replaced by the Council of Ministers, and a Defense Ministry was created that soon merged with the Ministry of the Interior with one minister (Rashid al-Madfa'i) presiding over both.
192. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 102.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
194. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
195. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
196. J. B. Glubb, "The Economic Situation of the Trans-Jordan Tribes," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* XXV, part III (July 1938): 458.
197. Glubb's Monthly Reports on the administration of the Transjordan deserts, Arab Legion Headquarters, April 1940, cited by Riccardo Bocco, *État et Tribus*, p. 303n.
198. Cited in Bocco, *État et Tribus*, p. 198.
199. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 219.
200. *Ibid.*, pp. 363–364.
201. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
202. *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83.
203. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
204. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
205. Glubb's Monthly Reports on the Administration of the Transjordan Desert, The Desert Medical Unit, February 1940, cited by Bocco, *Etat et Tribus*, pp. 201, 304n.
206. 'Adil Ziyadat, "Al-Khadamat al-Tibbiyyah Lil-Jaysh al-'Arabi fi 'Ahd al-Imarah, 1921–1946," *Abhath al-Yarmuk* 7, no. 2 (1991): 180–181.
207. Louis Althusser, "Ideology," p. 145.
208. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 65.
209. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
210. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
211. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 80. More information on the forts with the Transjordan flags fluttering from them connecting the desert and acting as reconnaissance stations fit with wireless connected to Amman can be found on pp. 80–81.
212. On military schools set up by Glubb, see Sa'd Abu Dayyah and 'Abd al-Majid Mahdi, *Al-Jaysh al-'Arabi*, pp. 119–145, 162–166.

213. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 263.
214. Ibid., p. 263.
215. Ibid.
216. Ibid., p. 265. The word *Watan*, which Glubb translated as nation, actually means homeland.
217. Letter from Glubb to de Chair, in Somerset de Chair, *The Golden Carpet* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945), p. 244.
218. Ibid., p. 368.
219. He speaks derisively of Jordan's defense minister for making such queries concerning the educational level of officers. See Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 160.
220. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 153.
221. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 244.
222. Glubb, *Britain*, p. 171.
223. Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Report . . . for the Year 1938*, p. 353.
224. Glubb, *The Story*, p. 172.
225. *Annual Report*, 1928, p. 112, quoted by Amawi, *State and Class*, p. 309.
226. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 175.
227. Dragnich, *The Bedouin Warrior*, p. 118.
228. Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 49.
229. Ibid., pp. 59–60.
230. Althusser, "Ideology" p. 154.
231. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, pp. 185–186.
232. Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 42.
233. Ibid., p. 41.
234. Ibid., p. 77.
235. Sir Gawain Bell, *Shadows*, p. 157.
236. Naji al-Zu'bi, Chief Officer of the Musical Massed Bands, "Lamhah Tarikhiyyah 'an Musiqat al-Quwwat al-Musallahah al-Urduniyyah," (Amman, unpublished paper, 1994). For a list of the names of the musicians, see p. 1.
237. F. G. Peake, "Trans-Jordan," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* XXVI, part III (July 1939): 387–388.
238. Interview with Ma'n Abu Nuwwar, Amman, January 30, 1995. The royal anthem has no reference whatsoever to the nation. The brief one-verse lyrics read as follows:  
*Long live the young king*  
*Long live the young king*  
*His status is paramount*  
*His banners are fluttering up on high.*
239. See Nizam Rusum Jawqat Musiqat al-Jaysh al-'Arabi Li Sanat 1936 (The Statute of the Fees of the Arab Army's Massed Band for the Year 1936) published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 520 (April 4, 1936), p. 135.

240. Seteney Shami, *Ethnicity and Leadership*, p. 85.
241. Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 44.
242. Young, *The Arab Legion*, p. 19. Young provides pictures and detailed descriptions of the uniforms worn by the armed bands.
243. It should be mentioned here that the Bedouins have their own musical instrument, namely, the Rababah, a one-string instrument played with a bow. On the importance of the Rababah in Bedouin life, see Yasin Suwaylih, *Al-Rababah Fi Hayat al-Badiyah* (Damascus: Dar al-Hasad, 1994).
244. Naji al-Zu'bi, "Lamhah," p. 2.
245. Young, *The Arab Legion*, p. 21.
246. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 384.
247. Theodor W. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music* (New York: Continuum, 1976), p. 155.
248. Bell, op. cit., p. 156.
249. Ibid., pp. 156–157.
250. Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 35. Several cases of Bedouin resistance to the wrongs they felt they had received by the Legion are also mentioned by Young, *ibid.*, pp. 33–36.
251. J. B. Glubb, "The Economic," pp. 451–452. On the importance of coffee in Bedouin culture, see Muhammad Abu Hassan, "Al-Qahwah wa Atharuhah fi Hayat al-Badu al-Ijtima'iyya," *Al-Funun al-Sha'biyyah*, no. 2, Amman (April 1974). Also see Ahmad Abu Khusah, *Al-'Asha'ir al-Urduniyyah wal Filastiniyyah wa Washa'ij al-Qurbah Baynah* (Amman: n.p., 1989), pp. 153–156, and Ahmad 'Uwaydi al-'Abbadi, *Min al-Qiyam wa al-Adab al-Badawiyyah*, part 2 of "Silsilat Man Hum al-Badu," (Amman: Da'irat al-Matbu'at wa al-Nashr, 1976), pp. 189–253.
252. Godfrey Lias, *Glubb's Legion*, p. 109.
253. Sami Zubaida, "National, Communal and Global Dimensions in Middle Eastern Food Cultures," in Sami Zubaida and Richard Tapper, eds., *Culinary Cultures of the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), p. 41.
254. The word *mansaf* originally referred to a large dish used to serve food to guests.
255. See Nina Jamil, *Al-Ta'am Fi al-Thaqafah al-'Arabiyyah* (London: Riyad al-Rayyis Lil-Kutub wa al-Nashr, 1994), p. 153. I also would like to thank Dr. Hasan Jum'ah Hammad for the information he shared with me about Bedouin mansaf and about jamid.
256. Ahmad 'Uwaydi al-'Abbadi, *Min al-Qiyam*, pp. 169–174. Al-'Abbadi describes the variations of mansaf cooking in different regions of Jordan.
257. See Ruks Bin Za'id al-'Uzayzi, *Qamus al-'Adat, al-Lahjat wa al-Awabid al-Urduniyyah*, vol. 3 (Amman: Da'irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, 1973), p. 201. Also see al-'Abbadi, *Min al-Qiyam*, pp. 170–171.
258. In fact, the word "laban," which for village folks meant yogurt, for the Bedouins meant milk; see *ibid.*, p. 157.

259. See Nimr Sarhan, "Ta'am al-Mansaf Fil Ma'thurat al-Sha'biyyah al-Filastiniyyah," in *Al-Turath al-Sha'bi* (Baghdad) 9, no. 9 (1978): 79–84.
260. Kamel Abu Jaber, Fawzi Gharaibeh, Allen Hill, eds., *The Badia of Jordan: The Process of Change* (Amman: University of Jordan Press, 1987), p. 67. Foreign anthropologists claiming a nuanced understanding of Bedouin life in the age of the nation-state make similar faulty claims. Andrew Shryock, for example, identifies mansaf as "the traditional feast dish," without noting the process through which mansaf had been traditionalized by the Hashemite state. He describes mansaf ahistorically as consisting of "piles of rice heaped on sheets of unleavened bread, drenched in fatty broth and topped off with boiled lamb and almonds," without noting that many of mansaf's current ingredients were introduced by the Mandatory-Hashemite state and by the postindependence Hashemite state more recently, and that the new mansaf was repackaged as "traditional" and then, and only then, nationalized. See Shryock's *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997), p. 47. Linda Layne was only slightly more careful in describing mansaf. She states that it is "an 'arab [Bedouin] speciality consisting of lamb or goat meat served over a bed of rice with a sauce prepared from dried yoghurt and clarified goat butter" (p. 85). On another occasion, she identifies mansaf as a "traditional Bedouin feast," (p. 103), and, finally, states that "*mansaf* (an 'arab speciality of rice and lamb), . . . has come to be known as Jordan's national dish," (p. 147). While Layne registers the appropriation of mansaf by the Hashemite state, she does not seem to realize that the dish had been repackaged and reintroduced by the state to the Bedouins as *their* traditional dish (which has by now been nationalized) in a form that differs substantially from the form it had had before the Mandatory and the postindependence Hashemite state altered it. See Linda Layne, *Home and Homeland: The Dialogics of Tribal and National Identities in Jordan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).
261. Abu Jaber, et al., *The Badia*, p. 69.
262. Ibid., p. 69. Although this has become the case recently because of the colonial introduction of tea to Jordan and the ease and speed with which tea can be prepared compared to Bedouin coffee, the authors mention this phenomenon as if it exists today as it always has! On Bedouin coffee, see footnote 251.
263. See Eliahu Epstein, "The Bedouin of Transjordan: Their Social and Economic Problems," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* XXV, part II (April 1938). Epstein recommended that foreign capital be introduced to the country to improve the worsening lot of the tribes. His was a barely veiled Zionist attempt to introduce European Jewish colonial settlers to the country.
264. Glubb, "The Economic," p. 457.
265. Lias, *Glubb's Legion*, pp. 109. The only variation was the star that was added to the original flag design. Note that the flags of neighboring Syria, Iraq, and the Palestinians are also based on Sykes' original design.

266. Ibid., pp. 89–90.
267. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 95.
268. On catachresis, see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 64–65, 298.
269. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books, 1994), p. 23.
270. On double-mimesis and T. E. Lawrence, see Kaja Silverman's essay "White Skin, Brown Masks: The Double Mimesis, or With Lawrence in Arabia," in her *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 299–338.
271. Freud actually sees the fetish as a substitute for the loss of the mother's penis, which the boy-child believed she possessed. The boy's inability to deal with the perceived "castration" of his mother leads him to fetishize an object as a substitute for the absence of a penis in a woman, short of which, Freud tells us, he would have become a homosexual! See Sigmund Freud, "Fetishism," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. XXI (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–1974), originally published in 1927.
272. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 49.
273. Ibid., p. 49.
274. Ibid., p. 445.
275. Ibid.
276. Lunt, *Glubb Pasha*, p. 120.
277. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 426.
278. Ibid., p. 427. These claims are confirmed by the account of Musa 'Adil Bakmirza Shirdan, a pro-Glubb Jordanian officer, in his memoirs, *Al-Urdunn Bayna 'Ahdayn*, pp. 136–137.
279. Glubb, *The Changing*, p. 58.
280. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 428.
281. Ibid.
282. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, p. xii.

#### 4. Nationalizing the Military: Colonial Legacy as National Heritage

1. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. xi.
2. On this and on the early development of what came to be the Free Officers in the Jordanian Arab Army, see the memoirs of Shahir Abu Shahut, *Qissat Harakat al-Dubbat al-Urduniyyin al-Ahrar* (1952–1957), unpublished manuscript, to be published as part of *Silsilat Ihya' al-Dhakirah al-Tarikhyyah*, New Jordan Studies Center, edited by Hani Hurani, Amman, Jordan, p. 34. I would like to thank Hani Hurani for providing me with a copy of the draft manuscript.
3. Ibid., p. 35, note.
4. Ibid., p. 36.
5. Ibid., pp. 36–37.

6. See John Bagot Glubb's account in his *A Soldier with the Arabs* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), pp. 255–257. Glubb analogizes king 'Abdullah's promise to promote al-Tall to colonel, to King Herod's promise to grant Salome's wishes. In Herod's case, the price was the head of John the Baptist, in 'Abdullah's, according to Glubb, it was 'Abdullah's own head.
7. 'Abdullah al-Tall, *Karithat Filastin, Mudhakkarat 'Abdullah al-Tall Qa'id Ma'rakat al-Quds*, vol. I (Cairo: Dar al-Qalam, 1959), pp. 584–586.
8. See P. J. Vatikiotis, *Politics and the Military in Jordan: A Study of the Arab Legion, 1921–1957* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), pp. 98–108.
9. Al-Tall, *Karithat Filastin*, pp. 581–582, 592.
10. Ibid., p. 587. The date stated in the book is December 1949, which is clearly an error, as al-Tall had left the country by then.
11. Ibid., p. 587. In his memoirs, published in 1990, 'Ali Abu-Nuwwar mentions the names of other officers who worked with al-Tall, including Mahmud al-Rusan and Qasim Nasir, as well as Shahir Abu-Shahut and Mahmud Ma'ayta. See 'Ali Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina Talashat al-'Arab, Mudhakkarat Fi al-Siyasah al-'Arabiyyah, 1948–1964* (London: Dar al-Saqi, 1990), p. 112.
12. Al-Tall, *Karithat Filastin*, p. 589.
13. Ibid., p. 591.
14. Ibid., p. 593. Al-Tall's use of the term *Free Officers* here is anachronistic, as the group had not formed yet, although its subsequent members were already active.
15. 'Ali Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 114. Abu-Nuwwar states that he dismissed all these officers from the army upon becoming chief of staff in 1956.
16. Al-Tall, *Karithat Filastin*, p. 597.
17. Defenders of King 'Abdullah's armistice deal with the Israelis at Rhodes counter al-Tall's accusations by accusing him (al-Tall) of responsibility for that deal in which the Jordanian government relinquished control over the large Palestinian area known as the Triangle to the Israelis and which became proof to King 'Abdullah's enemies of his "treason." See, for example, Hazza' al-Majali, *Mudhakkarati* (Amman: n.p., May 1960), pp. 89–92.
18. On 'Abdullah's assassination and the ensuing trial, see chapter 5.
19. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 281.
20. The official Jordanian line continued to consider al-Tall the head of the conspiracy until the mid sixties, when King Husayn pardoned him. See for example, Munib Madi and Sulayman Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn Fi al-Qam al-'Ishrin, 1900–1959* (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1988), p. 558. To my knowledge, he was only pardoned but never exonerated officially. In his book, 'Ali Abu-Nuwwar defends al-Tall and asserts that he had nothing to do with the assassination, in *Hina*, pp. 128–129. See also the new two-volume biography of al-Tall written by his brother Ahmad Yusuf al-Tall, *'Abdullah al-Tall, Batal Ma'rakat al-Quds* (Amman: Dar al-Furqan, 1999).
21. For an assessment of al-Tall's role, see Vatikiotis, *Politics*, pp. 98–108, and 'Abbas Murad, *Al-Dawr al-Siyasi Lil-Jaysh al-'Arabi, 1921–1973* (The Political Role of



- the Arab Army, 1921–1973) (Beirut: Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, Markaz al-Abhath, 1973), pp. 65–68.
22. See Kamil Mahmud Khillah, *Al-Tatawwur al-Siyasi Li Sharq al-Urdunn, Maris 1921–Maris 1948* (Tripoli, Libya: Al-Munsha'ah al-'Amah Lil-Nashr wal Tawzi' wal I'lan, 1983), pp. 300–305.
  23. Abu Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, pp. 49–50.
  24. Ibid., p. 50.
  25. Ibid., p. 51.
  26. Ibid., p. 55.
  27. See Abu Shahut for a list of the committed members, pp. 60–61.
  28. Abu-Shahut reports that Muhammad Ma'ayta pledged to support the group, while 'Ali al-Hiyari was more cautious and ambivalent in his support. Mahmud al-Rusan disappointed the officers, as he proposed that he would join the group as its leader. The Free Officers, shocked at his opportunism, decided not to pursue him as a result; in Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, pp. 62–64.
  29. 'Ali Abu-Nuwwar's mother arrived in Jordan with her family as a little girl at the beginning of the century (her father is Shahm Shirdan) from the Caucasus and settled in the small town of Suwaylih, near Amman. She married 'Abd al-Qadir Abu-Nuwwar, of Salt, who lived in Suwaylih at the time. See Musa 'Adil Bakmirza Shirdan, *Al-Urdunn Bayna 'Ahdayn* (Amman: n.p., 1957?), pp. 10–11. In his memoirs, 'Ali Abu-Nuwwar mentions briefly that he grew up among his Circassian uncles and cousins in Suwaylih. See *Hina*, p. 9.
  30. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 64.
  31. Ibid., pp. 134–136.
  32. It is said that in one such argument, the king slapped Glubb on the face and dismissed him from the palace. It is unclear, assuming this happened, if it was over the Hannun incident. Other incidents were reported, but their veracity cannot be ascertained. See Ribhi Jum'ah Hallum, *Ha'ula' A'da' al-Taharrur Fi al-Urdunn*, Silsilat Kutub Qawmiyyah (Cairo: Al-Dar al-Qawmiyyah Lil-Tiba'ah wa al-Nashr, 1962), p. 11.
  33. *Mudhakkarat al-Malik Talal*, prepared by Mamduh Rida, and edited by Subhi Tuqan (Cairo: Al-Zahra' Lil-I'lam al-'Arabi, 1991). This is the second printing of the memoirs, which were initially published in the Egyptian magazine Ruz al-Yusif, in 1960, followed by their publication in book form by Ruz al-Yusif Lil-Nashr, in 1961. This book was part of the continuing Nasirist propaganda campaign against the Hashemites, as it was published shortly after the memoirs of 'Abdullah al-Tall and followed by Ribhi Hallum's book, and others. It is still unverifiable whether these memoirs are real or forged, especially as they contain a number of errors and inaccuracies.
  34. John Bagot Glubb, *The Story of the Arab Legion* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948), p. 248.
  35. See Glubb, *A Soldier*, pp. 284, 288, 292–296.
  36. Abu Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, pp. 64–65.

37. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 115.
38. See Glubb, *A Soldier*, pp. 291–292. Note that Abu-Nuwwar had had a public argument with Glubb on political and military strategies as early as 1949. According to Glubb, Abu-Nuwwar was seeking an audience with King Talal through the king's barber, for the purpose of conspiring with the mentally unstable king against Glubb himself. It was then that he sought to exile him to Paris.
39. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 141. Also see Peter Snow, *Hussein* (Washington: Robert B. Luce, 1972), p. 44, for a slightly different story. Also see Musa 'Adil Bakmirza Shirdan, *Al-Urdunn*, pp. 84–85, who claims that Abu-Nuwwar was interested in overthrowing Glubb for his own selfish reasons, not because of his nationalism, as he (Abu-Nuwwar) is alleged to have been a heavy drinker and "woman-hungry." This book was part of a progovernment propaganda campaign to discredit Abu-Nuwwar after 1957.
40. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, pp. 144–146.
41. See Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, pp. 69–70. Abu-Nuwwar makes no mention whatsoever of this meeting.
42. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, pp. 146–151. Whereas Abu-Nuwwar claims that the king invited him to Amman to ask him about developments in the Algerian Revolution, Abu-Shahut claims that Abu-Nuwwar was called to Amman to advise the king on the recent fate of the Moroccan king, Muhammad V, who had just been deposed by the French; see Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 85.
43. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 158.
44. Ibid., pp. 158–159. Glubb's expression "Aquss 'Umrak" literally means to cut your life, as in the English expression "to cut someone's life short."
45. Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 77.
46. Ibid., pp. 77–79.
47. See Hani Hurani and Salim Tarawnah, "Hakadha Saqata Hilf Baghdad fi 'Amman," in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid*, no. 7 (spring 1986), pp. 112–163.
48. See Shirdan, *Al-Urdunn*, pp. 121–124. Shirdan, who was an officer in the Jordanian Arab Army with the rank of ra'is awwal (a rank in between captain and major), also served as aide-de-camp to several Jordanian prime ministers as well as (briefly) to King 'Abdullah. Although he mentions discrimination against him in the army, he is unwavering in his support for the government's pro-British and anticolonial nationalist line, espousing instead a pro-British nationalist line, in that the British are seen as "friends" of Jordan whose welfare he seeks.
49. Abu-Nuwwar tries to exonerate Hazza' al-Majali from supporting the Baghdad Pact venture and the army killings, when in fact al-Majali was the prime minister heading the campaign to join the pact at the time (his premiership lasted only five days in the face of public pressure). See Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, pp. 161–162. For al-Majali's own account, see Hazza' al-Majali, *Mudhakkarati* (Am-

- man? n.p., 1960), pp. 171–174. He claims to have opposed the use of force in quelling the demonstrations. On the actual negotiations with Sir Gerald Templer on joining the pact, see Hazza' al-Majali, *Hadha Bayanun Lil-Nas, Qissat Muhadathat Timblar* (Amman: n.p., 1956).
50. See Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 87.
  51. On the army role in repressing the population, see Peter Young, *Bedouin Command: With the Arab Legion 1953–1956* (London: William Kimber, 1956), pp. 119–158.
  52. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 154.
  53. *Ibid.*, p. 158. Rumors had it that one Yusuf al-Harbid, a communist, declared an independent republic of Ramtha. I would like to thank Mr. Salti al-Tall for this piece of information.
  54. They named a number of collaborating officers, such as 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sahin and Khalid al-Sahin, as well as Muhammad Suhaymat. See pamphlet #36 reproduced in Murad, *Al-Dawr*, pp. 78–79, and in Young, *Bedouin Command*, pp. 173–174.
  55. Young, *Bedouin Command*, pp. 142, 146.
  56. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
  57. *Ibid.*, pp. 150–151, 153.
  58. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
  59. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
  60. *Ibid.*, pp. 134–135.
  61. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
  62. *Ibid.* On Rashdan's tribal affiliation, see Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 202.
  63. Quoted by Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 86.
  64. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
  65. King Husayn reports the incident without mentioning the meeting with Abu-Shahut or any other officer, see King Hussein, *Uneasy Lies the Head: The Autobiography of King Hussein I of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan* ((New York: Bernard Geis Associates, Random House, 1962), p. 140.
  66. 'Ali Abu-Nuwwar insists in his memoirs that no such group existed in the Jordanian army and concurs with Glubb's assessment that these were circulated by the Egyptian embassy in Amman. Abu-Nuwwar's "ignorance" of the group, however, seems less than genuine given his earlier meetings with Abu-Shahut—although his being away in Paris made him ignorant of the development of the group during the years when its ranks were expanded. See Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 163. Note that as a result of the London meeting with Abu-Nuwwar and the king, Abu-Shahut was heavily censured by his fellow officers and was almost dismissed from the group. See Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, pp. 70–71.
  67. See Glubb, *A Soldier*, pp. 386–387.
  68. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, pp. 73–74.

69. On the new education facilities and the new education section and philosophy in the army, see Sa'd Abu-Dayyeh and 'Abd al-Majid Mahdi, *Al-Jaysh al-'Arabi wa Diblumasiiyyat al-Sahra', Dirasah fi Nash'atihi wa Tatawwur Dawr al-Thaqafah al-'Askariyyah* (Amman: Mudiriyyat al-Matabi' al-'Askariyyah, 1986).
70. P. J. Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 83.
71. Ibid., pp. 83–84.
72. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 166.
73. Ibid., p. 145.
74. On the Bedouin composition of the army, see Young, *Bedouin Command*, pp. 201–202. The non-Jordanian tribes included the 'Unayzah tribe, the Ruwalah, and the Shammar, as well as Bani 'Atiyyah.
75. Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 82. The Bedouin regiments were the First, Second, Third, Seventh and Ninth Infantry and the First and Second Armored Cars, see Peter Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 194.
76. Ibid., pp. 78, 81; see also Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 386. Glubb puts the number at 23,000 men.
77. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 386.
78. Ibid., p. 412.
79. Ibid., pp. 412–413.
80. Young, *Bedouin Command*, pp. 172–175.
81. I am referring here to the memoirs of Abu-Shahut and Abu-Nuwwar. As for historical accounts that do not distinguish among the different nationalist trends among the army officers, see, for example, Benjamin Shwadran's brief account of the period in his *Jordan: A State of Tension* (New York: Council for Middle Eastern Affairs Press, 1959), p. 349; also see Sulayman Musa and Munib Madi's account in their *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 669–875; see also Vatikiotis's confused account of the Free Officers in *Politics*, pp. 100–101, note. The only exception is Robert Satloff's *From Abdullah to Hussein, Jordan in Transition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 138–139. Satloff relies on Abu-Shahut's memoirs but does not consult with Abu-Nuwwar's.
82. See Madi and Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 628–629. The nucleus for what later became the Jordanian air force was born in July 1948, when the army purchased seven transport planes. King 'Abdullah inaugurated officially the new air force in July 1951. Still, however, by 1955, very little expansion had taken place. For more details on the early development of the air force, see Sahar 'Abd al-Majid al-Majali, *Al-Jaysh al-'Arabi, 1921–1951, Dawruhu fi al-Sira' al-'Arabi-al-Suhyuni* (Amman: n.p., 1992), pp. 181–183.
83. King Husayn, speech delivered on May 25, 1955, reproduced in Sultan al-Hattab, *Al-Thawrah al-Kubra wa al-Jaysh al-'Arabi kama Yarahuma al-Husayn, Qira'at wa Nusus, 1953–1992* (Amman: Dar al-'Urubah Lil-Dirasat, 1993), p. 71.
84. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 131. Husayn was twenty-seven when he wrote this autobiography.

85. Ibid., pp. 131–132.
86. Ibid., p. 132.
87. Glubb, *A Soldier*, pp. 387–388.
88. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 132.
89. Ibid., pp. 132–133.
90. Ibid., pp. 135–136.
91. Ibid., p. 136.
92. Ibid., p. 132.
93. Ibid., p. 137.
94. Ibid., p. 138.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid., p. 133.
97. Ibid., pp. 133–134.
98. Ibid., p. 140.
99. Ibid., pp. 140–141.
100. Ibid., p. 139.
101. Ibid., p. 141.
102. Ibid., p. 142.
103. Ibid.
104. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 424.
105. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 179. The Bedouin's officer name is Dhuqan al-Sha'lan.
106. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, pp. 143–145.
107. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 428.
108. Ibid., pp. 425–426.
109. Ibid., p. 427.
110. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 138.
111. Faruq Nawwaf al-Surayhin, *Al-Jaysh al-'Arabi al-Urduni*, 1921–1967 (Amman: n.p., 1990), p. 333.
112. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 146.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid., pp. 148–149.
115. For the texts of a number of poems and songs written on the occasion of Glubb's expulsion and its subsequent anniversaries, see Hashim Isma'il al-Luqyani, *Ta'rib Qiyadat al-Jaysh al-'Arabi* (Amman, n.p., 1993), pp. 92–95.
116. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 165.
117. Ibid., p. 171.
118. Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, pp. 91–92. Abu-Nuwwar seems to want to score a point against Abu-Shahut by asserting that he was absent the day of Glubb's dismissal; see Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, pp. 177, 189.
119. For a list of the new appointments, see Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 94, and Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, pp. 192–193.
120. Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 193.

121. Abu-Nuwwar, op. cit., p. 194. There is very little information about “Al-Jaysh al-Maryami” or “the Mary-ite Army.” It is said that a number of sectarians in Palestine had submitted a request before the 1948 war to the British high commissioner to form a Christian military battalion. The request is said to have been forwarded to the Pope, who recommended its implementation to the British so that Christian “rights” could be safeguarded from alleged Muslim discrimination. As a result, a small military group formed and was called al-Jaysh al-Maryami. The group disintegrated following the 1948 war. It re-emerged in 1955 again in Jordan as a special palace guard (modeled after King ‘Abdullah’s Circassian guards). Its reemergence seems to have precipitated a rare sectarian massacre that took place in the predominantly Christian Jordanian town of Madaba, in which a number of Christians were killed. It was said that the Ikhwan al-Muslimun and the Islamist Tahrir Party were the instigators. The riot began after a brawl between a Christian taxi driver and a Muslim taxi driver. This seems to have followed an attack on a monastery in Salt by the Tahrir Party. Samir al-Tandawi claims that Parliament member Muhammad Salim Abu al-Ghanam, representing Madaba, was behind the transformation of the brawl into an outright sectarian riot. See Samir al-Tandawi, *Ila Ayna Yattajihu al-Urdunn?* (Cairo: Al-Dar al-Misriyyah Lil-Kutub, 1958?), pp. 76–77. Ribhi Hallum claims that the Jordanian Christian army officer Salim Karadshah and a number of Christians and Muslims were behind the riots to push the issue for the reconstitution of al-Jaysh al-Maryami. Karadshah and the prominent Turkish-born Palestinian Armenian officer in the Jordanian army, Karim Uhan, are said to have cooperated with Prince Muhammad (Husayn’s brother and successor to the throne at the time) and sent another petition to Pope John XXIII, requesting of him that he ensure Christian rights in Jordan. In his account, Hallum claims that the prince became the secret head of al-Jaysh al-Maryami, with Uhan as his assistant and Karadshah as chief of operations. Jordanian army officers are said to have been contacted secretly to train the new force (see Hallum, *Ha’ula*, pp. 34–35). ‘Abbas Murad, who is a more credible source than the propagandistic Hallum, claims that the band of Christian youth who were organized by Uhan as “Al-Jaysh al-Maryami” within the Jordanian army began asking that homes of worship and Christian sermons be made available in their units as is the case with Muslim soldiers—a request that created much sectarianism, fed at the time by the proregime Muslim Brothers and the antiregime Islamist Tahrir Party. Members of al-Jaysh al-Maryami included, in addition to the Palestinian Armenian Uhan and the Jordanian Karadshah, Iskandar Najjar (a Palestinian Jordanian officer who was director of wireless operations), Jubran Hawwa (a Palestinian Jordanian officer who was director of provisions), Jamil Qa’war (a Jordanian officer), and Imil Jumay’an and Shafiq Jumay’an (Jordanian officers). See ‘Abbas Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 72. What is interesting about this brief affair is the state’s continuing uncertainty about its own nationalist project manifested in its encouragement of religious

- identities at the expense of national ones. For the biography of Uhan and the subsequent positions he occupied in Jordan's security apparatuses, see Mudi-riyyat al-Amn al-'Am, *Al-Amn al-'Am al-Urduni Fi Sittin 'Aman, Min 1920 Ila 1980* (Amman: n.p., 1981), pp. 352–353.
122. Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 186.
  123. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
  124. *Ibid.*
  125. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, pp. 204–205.
  126. Cited in Young, *Bedouin Command*, p. 195.
  127. *Ibid.*
  128. Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 110.
  129. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
  130. Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 98.
  131. For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 95–96.
  132. On the allegation of Salti control, see Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 183.
  133. Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 97.
  134. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
  135. *Ibid.*, pp. 99–100. Abu-Shahut speaks of Abu-Nuwwar's alleged paranoia that Abu-Shahut would replace him through a coup; see pp. 100–101.
  136. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
  137. See Aqil Hyder Hasan Abidi, *Jordan: A Political Study, 1948–1957* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1965), pp. 134–137.
  138. King Husayn, speech delivered on March 6, 1957, reproduced in Hattab, *Al-Thawrah*, pp. 81–82.
  139. Sulayman al-Nabulsi, speech delivered on March 1, 1957, published in *Al-Mithaq*, March 7, 1957, and reproduced in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid*, no. 7 (spring 1986), pp. 209–210.
  140. Abidi, *Jordan*, p. 142.
  141. *Ibid.*, p. 148. The recommendations also included the establishment of relations with the former USSR and with the People's Republic of China to express Jordan's gratitude over the stance taken by both countries during the tripartite invasion.
  142. See Madi and Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 651–660.
  143. The text of the letter is reproduced in King Hussein, *Uneasy*, pp. 159–160.
  144. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
  145. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, p. 250.
  146. Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 112.
  147. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, pp. 155–156.
  148. *Ibid.*, pp. 156–157.
  149. *Ibid.*, pp. 114–115.
  150. Robert Satloff claims that the list included twenty-seven officials to be retired. See Satloff, *From Abdullah*, p. 164.
  151. Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 116.

152. Ibid., p. 113.
153. See Glubb, *A Soldier*, pp. 433–434. For arguments exposing Glubb's conspiracy theory, see Abidi, *Jordan*, pp. 155–157, and Erskine Childers, *The Road to Suez* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1962), n. 58, p. 397, cited by Abidi.
154. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, pp. 318, 323. Note that Abu-Nuwwar was very much disliked by the exiled officers after 1957, including 'Ali al-Hiyari, all of whom refused to work or coordinate political activities with him. Many of the Free Officers, including 'Ali al-Hiyari, blamed him for the palace coup, alleging that his leadership methods were characterized by regionalist chauvinism (for his town of Salt), his arrogance (despite his humiliating collapse in front of the king, which became known to everyone), his young age, and his greed and ambition. These allegations were communicated by Free Officers to 'Abdullah al-Tall in 1958 in Damascus, where al-Tall had come (from his Cairo residence) to meet them. See Ahmad Yusuf al-Tall, *'Abdullah al-Tall*, pp. 928–931.
155. Ibid., pp. 317–319.
156. The United States, following its first major international military intervention after World War II in Korea, had just helped topple the Iranian nationalist prime minister, Dr. Muhammad Mossadegh, in 1953, and restored the shah. It also overthrew the Guatemalan nationalist president Jacobo Arbenz in 1954, launching in Guatemala a civil war that continued through the early 1990s. Its role in Jordan at the time was part of its new international policy of interventionism.
157. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 162.
158. Ibid., pp. 163–164.
159. Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 117.
160. Ibid., p. 118.
161. See Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 91.
162. See King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 173.
163. King Husayn, speech delivered on April 14, 1957, reproduced in Hattab, *Al-Thawrah*, p. 84.
164. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 435, and Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 92.
165. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 179.
166. Abu-Nuwwar, *Hina*, pp. 322–324.
167. Ibid., p. 326.
168. See Naseer Aruri, *Jordan: A Study in Political Development (1921–1965)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), pp. 143–144.
169. *New York Times*, April 17, 1957, cited by Aruri, *Jordan*, p. 144n.
170. See Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 95, and Satloff, *From Abdullah*, p. 170.
171. *Al-Ba'th*, Syrian newspaper, August 12, 1957, cited by Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 96.
172. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 96.
173. For details, see Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, pp. 120–126.
174. Aruri, *Jordan*, p. 144.
175. Cited in Satloff, *From Abdullah*, p. 171.



176. For the specifics of martial law, see the Martial Law instructions published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1327 (April 27, 1957), pp. 410–414. For the declaration of martial law throughout the kingdom, see the *Official Gazette*, no. 1328 (May 4, 1957), pp. 415.
177. Abidi, *Jordan*, p. 163.
178. The initial law separating the two forces was issued in 1956, “Qanun Mu’aqqaṭ bi-Faṣl al-Shurtah wa al-Darak ‘an al-Jaysh al-‘Arabi al-Urduni,” Temporary Law #27 for the Year 1956, signed on July 12, 1956, *Official Gazette*, no. 1285 (July 14, 1956), pp. 1763–1764. On the revoking of this law, see the *Official Gazette*, no. 1661 (May 16, 1957), p. 429.
179. “Qanun al-Amn al-‘Am al-Mu’aqqaṭ,” Temporary Law #29 for the Year 1958, signed on June 16, 1958, *Official Gazette*, no. 1388 (July 1, 1958), pp. 641–643. See also Mudiriyyat al-Amn al-‘Am, *Al-Amn al-‘Am al-Urduni Fi Sittin ‘Aman, Min 1920 Ila 1980*, p. 28.
180. Satloff, *From Abdullah*, p. 171.
181. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 97.
182. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 159.
183. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
184. King Husayn, speech delivered on August 22, 1957, reproduced in Hattab, *Althawrah*, p. 89.
185. *The Arab Federation Agreement* was published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1371 (February 19, 1958), pp. 235–238. Also see Naseer Aruri, *Jordan*, pp. 151–164.
186. *The Arab Federation Agreement*, article 4-b, p. 237.
187. See Dustur al-Ittihad al-‘Arabi, *Official Gazette*, no. 1377 (March 31, 1958), pp. 402–413.
188. *Ibid.*, see article 4-A of the constitution.
189. See Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 102; see also King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 205.
190. The pamphlet is cited in Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 101.
191. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 206.
192. See Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 101.
193. For a list of arrested officers, see *ibid.*, pp. 101–102.
194. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
195. Actually, al-Shar‘ belongs to a Palestinian family who settled in the northern Jordanian town of Irbid before Transjordan was formed.
196. For a list of the accused, see Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 103.
197. On these defections, see *ibid.*, p. 107.
198. King Husayn, speech delivered on April 15, 1961, reproduced in Hattab, *Al-Thawrah*, p. 120.
199. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 147.
200. For attempts on the king’s life, see King Hussein, *Uneasy*, pp. 209–216.
201. For the assassination attempts and the names of arrested officers, see Murad, *Al-Dawr*, pp. 105–106.

202. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 108.
203. Ibid.
204. Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 161. Abu-Shahut states how he was invited by then Prime Minister Wasfi al-Tall to his office. The prime minister paid Abu-Shahut a debt that he owed to Abu-Shahut's father and found a job for him in the civil service.
205. Ibid., p. 163.
206. Ibid., pp. 164–172.
207. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 115.
208. Adnan Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians and the Hashemite Kingdom in the Middle East Peace Process* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), p. 119.
209. Ibid., p. 118.
210. As late as 1962, King Husayn still claimed that “Abu-Nuwwar has certainly been an active enemy ever since [he left the country in 1957],” in King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 178.
211. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, pp. 115–116. More recently, Mr. al-Kilani participated in the interrogation of the young Jordanian officer, Ahmad al-Daqamsah, from northern Jordan, who was accused of shooting seven Israeli schoolgirls who mocked and ridiculed him when he was performing his prayers. The shooting occurred in March 1997 at the Baqura border area.
212. See the extensive list provided by Murad, *Al-Dawr*, pp. 116–117.
213. Al-Tall had already met with King Husayn in Cairo on February 26, 1955, during the latter's visit to Egypt. They met in Ma'adi at the home of the Sharif 'Abd al-Hamid, father of Husayn's first-wife-to-be, Dina. Husayn's uncle, the Sharif Nasir, was also present at the meeting during which al-Tall assured the young king of his innocence of King 'Abdullah's assassination. See Ahmad Yusuf al-Tall, *'Abdullah al-Tall*, vol. II, p. 913. On another occasion, Wasfi al-Tall, a cousin of 'Abdullah's, conveyed an oral message in July 1959 from Prime Minister Hazza' al-Majali to 'Abdullah al-Tall asking him to write a letter exonerating himself of the assassination of King 'Abdullah. Al-Tall refused to write the letter, asserting that a full amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles was in order. He also understood al-Majali's offer to be an attempt on the part of the latter to split the exiled nationalist opposition. See Ahmad Yusuf al-Tall, *'Abdullah al-Tall*, vol. II, p. 943.
214. Ibid., p. 970.
215. See Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 117n.
216. Ahmad Yusuf al-Tall, *'Abdullah al-Tall*, vol. II, p. 971.
217. The text of the letter was published on the front page of the Jordanian newspaper *Al-Manar* (January 25, 1967), pp. 1, 4. It is said that when al-Tall was in Egypt, he became close to the Ikhwan al-Muslimun, which is why he became alienated from 'Abd al-Nasir, prompting him to send him his famous letter. In

- fact, al-Tall's Islamist direction led him to prepare for a doctorate at al-Azhar. His dissertation (the topic was the "struggle between the Torah and the Qur'an") was not finished, as it was interrupted by the Jordanian amnesty and his return to Jordan. In 1964, he had published a book titled *Khatar al-Yahudiyyah al-'Alamiyyah 'Ala al-Islam wa al-Masihyyah* (The Danger of World Judaism on Islam and Christianity). See Ahmad Yusuf al-Tall, *'Abdullah al-Tall*, vol. II, pp. 753–754.
218. See, for example, al-Tall, *Karithat Filastin*, p. 581.
219. See 'Abdullah al-Tall's prefatory letter published in Taysir Zibyan, *Al-Malik 'Abdullah Kama 'Ariftuhu* (Amman: Majallat al-Shari 'ah, 1994), pp. 13–16. The book was originally published in 1967.
220. Ahmad Yusuf al-Tall, *'Abdullah al-Tall*, vol. II, p. 973.
221. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 117.
222. Ibid.
223. See his recent memoirs in which he mentions all his appointments without making any reference to the plot of which he was accused or to his imprisonment. See Sadiq al-Shar', *Hurubuna ma' Isra'il, 1947–1973, Ma'arik Khasirah wa Intisarat Da'i'ah, Mudhakkarat wa Mutala'at Al-Liwa' al-Rukn al-Mutaqa'id Sadiq al-Shar'* (Amman: Dar al-Shuruq Lil-Nashr, 1997), jacket back.
224. For a list of the arrested officers, see Mu'ard, *Al-Dawr*, pp. 119–120.
225. Ibid., p. 120.
226. See "Qanun al-Haras al-Watani," Law no. 7 for the Year 1950, signed on January 17, 1950, *Official Gazette*, no. 1010 (February 9, 1950), pp. 71–72. The law stipulated that all Jordanians between the ages of twenty and forty years should serve (or be trained) up to 150 hours a year, which essentially amounts to one month, according to Glubb. See articles 2 and 3 of the law. See also Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 290. On the National Guard, see also Avi Plascov, *The Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, 1948–57* (London: Frank Cass, 1981), pp. 92–96. Plascov mistakenly reports that Jordanians between the ages of eighteen and forty were to serve in the National Guard (p. 92). Also see P. J. Vatikiotis, *Politics*, pp. 79–81.
227. Al-Surayhin, *Al-Jaysh al-'Arabi*, p. 318.
228. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 290. Note that the law refers to "all Jordanians" without specifying gender, although in reality only males were recruited and/or volunteered. This conflation of "all Jordanians" with "all male Jordanians" is characteristic of such laws.
229. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 289.
230. Ibid. Glubb later added that the purpose was "to bring Palestinians into a larger share of the defense of their country," cited in Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 80.
231. Al-Husayn Ibn Talal, *Mihnati Ka Malik*, translated by Ghalib A. Tuqan (Amman: n.p., 1978), p. 112. The book initially appeared in French in 1975 under the title *Mon Métier de Roi*.

232. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 369.
233. Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 80.
234. Avi Plascov, *The Palestinian*, p. 93.
235. Ibid.
236. Ibid. Plascov mentions erroneously that 1965 was the year of integration. See also Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 110.
237. Plascov, *The Palestinian*, p. 96.
238. Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 81.
239. For other government efforts undertaken in the sixties to Jordanize the Palestinians, see Clinton Bailey, *The Participation of the Palestinians in the Politics of Jordan*, doctoral dissertation, Department of Political Science (New York: Columbia University, 1966), pp. 248–256.
240. Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 111.
241. Shwadran, *Jordan*, pp. 336–337.
242. In reality, the term “all Jordanians” in the law refers to “all male Jordanians” as women were never conscripted into Jordan’s military, although some were to join its professional and service sections. See “Qanun al-Khidmah al-Wataniyyah al-Ijbariyyah,” Temporary Law #102 for the Year 1966, *Official Gazette*, no. 1966 (November 27, 1966), pp. 2464–2466, articles 2 and 16. This law was signed on November 23, 1966, ten days after the raid on Samu’. Note that compulsory conscription was being instituted also in response to the Arab League’s formation of the PLO in 1964, and the PLO was recruiting and commanding Palestinian guerrillas; see Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 30.
243. Vatikiotis, *Politics*, p. 27.
244. Ibid., p. 28.
245. Ibid., pp. 28–29.
246. Ibid., p. 29.
247. See Plascov, *The Palestinian*, pp. 96–103.
248. On nationalism and sexuality, see Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1992), as well as George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
249. For a review of these rumors, see Sa’id al-Tall, *Al-Urdunn wa-Filastin, Wujhat Nazar ‘Arabiyyah* (Amman: Dar al-Liwa’ Lil-Sahafah wa al-Nashr, 1986), pp. 41–64.
250. Ibid., p. 51.
251. See Hani Hurani, “‘Al-Ittihad al-Watani’ wa al-Shakl al-Rahin Lil-Sultah Fi al-Urdunn,” in *Shu ‘un Filastiniyyah*, no. 14 (October 1972).
252. Mudiyyat al-Tawjih al-Ma’nawi, *Al-Fida ‘iyyun Bayna al-Riddah wa al-Intihar* (Amman: Mudiyyat al-Tawjih al-Ma’nawi, 1973), p. 26.
253. Speech cited in Mudiyyat al-Tawjih al-Ma’nawi, *Al-Fida ‘iyyun*, p. 61.

254. King Husayn, speech delivered on July 8, 1958, reproduced in al-Hattab, *Al-Thawrah*, p. 100.
255. Here, the soldier is reciting the *Surah of al-Fatihah*, traditionally the first surah in the Qur'an; *The Koran Interpreted*, translation by Arthur J. Arberry (New York: Collier Book, 1955), p. 29.
256. Here, the soldier is reciting the *Surah of al-Nas*, traditionally the last surah of the Qur'an; *ibid.*, p. 354.
257. *Al-Aqsa* (the newspaper of the Jordanian army), August 26, 1970, cited in "Ham-lat al-Ta'bi'ah Did al-Muqawamah," in Khalil Hindi, Fu'ad Bawarshi, Shihadah Musa, and Nabil Sha'ath, *Al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah wa al-Nizam al-Urduni, Dirasah Tahliliyyah Li Hajmat Aylul* (Beirut: Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, Markaz al-Abhath, 1971), p. 123.
258. Mudiriyyat al-Tawjih al-Ma'nawi, *Al-Fida'iyyun*, p. 40.
259. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
260. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
261. Cited in David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Conflict in the Middle East* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), p. 306.
262. Shirdan, *Al-Urdunn*, p. 238.
263. *Ibid.*, pp. 92–93.
264. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
265. *Ibid.*, pp. 195–197. Al-Halabi is cited by Shirdan as allegedly saying that one of the things that stood out for him when he accompanied the Syrian president to the former USSR was the beauty of a young Russian man, a situation that reminded him of a Damascene man who fell in love with his handsome Lebanese male barber in Beirut.
266. The story is reported by David Hirst, *The Gun*, p. 308.
267. This version of the story is reported by the king's biographer, James Lunt, in his biography *Hussein of Jordan: A Political Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 134.
268. *Ibid.*
269. *Al-Aqsa* (October 10, 1970), p. 1.
270. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
271. Cited in Khalil Hindi, "Al-Ta'bi'ah al-Urduniyyah Did al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah Qabl Hajmat Sibtimbar 1970," in *Shu'un Filastiniyyah*, no. 4 (September 1971), p. 41.
272. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
273. Interview with Ma'n Abu-Nuwwar, reproduced in Khalil Hindi et al., *Al-Muqawamah*, p. 480.
274. See Abu Iyad with Eric Rouleau, *My Home, My Land: A Narrative of the Palestinian Struggle* (New York: Times Books, 1981), p. 76. Also see the interview with Ma'n Abu-Nuwwar, reproduced in Khalil Hindi et al., *Al-Muqawamah*, p. 481.

275. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 143–144.
276. King Husayn, speech delivered on November 11, 1957, reproduced in Hattab, *Al-Thawrah*, p. 91.
277. See Seteney Shami, *Ethnicity and Leadership: The Circassians in Jordan*, doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology (Berkeley: University of California, 1982), pp. 42, 128.
278. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
279. Seteney Shami, "The Circassians of Amman: Historical Narratives, Urban Dwelling and the Construction of Identity," in Jean Hannoyer and Seteney Shami, eds., *Amman: The City and Its Society* (Beirut: CERMOC, 1996), p. 315.
280. The king's name was changed in the early years. Although he referred to himself as Husayn al-Awwal, or Husayn the First, he signed his name as Al-Husayn Bin Talal; see *Official Gazette*, no. 1187 (July 17, 1954), p. 552. Earlier, he used to sign his name as Husayn Bin Talal; see *Official Gazette*, no. 1143 (May 6, 1953), p. 691. Finally, by August 1954, he began referring to himself as Al-Husayn al-Awwal and also signing as Al-Husayn Bin Talal; see *Official Gazette*, no. 1191 (August 18, 1954), p. 607.
281. No formal decrees were issued to add "al" to the name of the prince; rather, it was done informally. While the king was abroad in September 1986, newspapers began referring inconsistently to the prince (on September 10 and 11, 1986) as "Prince al-Hasan" and as "Prince Hasan." The hesitation was resolved by September 14, after which the name of the prince would always appear in newspapers as "al-Hasan." See *Al-Dustur* and *Al-Ra'y* (September 10, 11, and 14, 1986). In the *Official Gazette*, the name al-Hasan began to appear intermittently after 1969. See the *Official Gazette*, no. 2144 (January 16, 1969), p. 5, for the use of al-Hasan, and the *Official Gazette*, no. 2174 (May 27, 1969), p. 532, referring to him as "Hasan." Since then, however, he has been referred to consistently as "al-Hasan."
282. On the establishment of the University of Mu'tah, see al-Luqyani, *Ta'rib Qi-yadat*, p. 77.
283. See 'Umar Sulayman Badran, *Hakadha Yakun al-Intima' Lil-Watan* (Amman: Mudiriyyat al-Matabi' al-'Askariyyah, 1989).
284. See Sami al-Khazendar, *Jordan and the Palestine Question: The Role of Islamic and Left Forces in Foreign Policy-Making* (Berkshire: Ithaca Press, 1997), p. 149.
285. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 146.
286. For the names of the military government's members and their tribal affiliations, see *ibid.*, p. 146.
287. See *Al-Dustur* (February 4, 1971), cited by Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 147.
288. Interview with Ma'n Abu-Nuwwar, head of the army's Department of Spiritual Guidance, reproduced in Khalil Hindi et al., *Al-Muqawamah*, p. 480.

289. Murad, *Al-Dawr*, pp. 148–149.
290. *Ibid.*, pp. 152–153.
291. For the new law imposing military service, see the *Official Gazette*, no. 2599 (January 1, 1976). This law was replaced by a new law of compulsory military service in 1986. See the *Official Gazette*, no. 3402 (June 1, 1986).
292. Wizarat al-ʿIlam, *Al-Marʿah al-Urduniyyah* (Amman: Department of Press and Publications, 1979), p. 86.
293. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
294. *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.
295. In the late 1980s, a scandal broke out in the country regarding the discovery of a major prostitution ring involving a high-ranking officer in the Women's Police Force and a female university professor. The story entered every household in the country until it finally petered out. The police officer in question was subsequently retired. Rumors had it that she had been demoted first.
296. See Suhayr al-Tall, *Muqaddimah Hawla Qadiyyat al-Marʿah wa al-Harakah al-Nisaʿiyyah Fi al-Urdunn* (Beirut: Al-Muʿassasah al-ʿArabiyyah Lil-Dirasat wa al-Nashr, 1985), pp. 84–85.
297. In 1952, the Hashemite Band was renamed the Second Massed Band. In 1953, a third Band was formed and was attached to the First Infantry Regiment. Finally in 1954, a fourth band was set up.
298. Naji al-Zuʿbi (chief officer of the Musical Massed Bands), “Lamhah Tarikhiyyah ʿan Musiqat al-Quwwat al-Musallahah al-Urduniyyah,” (Amman: unpublished manuscript, 1994), p. 3.
299. In 1958, two more Bands were formed, one of which was led by the Egyptian Ismaʿil ʿAskar, who was later granted Jordanian nationality. See *ibid.*
300. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
301. They performed in Egypt in 1956, Lebanon in 1957 and 1966, Kuwait in 1964, Oman in 1972, Syria in 1972 to 1974, Yemen in 1976, Libya in 1979, Iraq in 1990, Turkey in 1960, Iran in 1962 and 1971, see *ibid.*, pp. 5–6.
302. They performed in Italy in 1959, Scotland in 1962, the United States in 1964, 1976 and 1986, England in 1966 and 1985, France in 1981 and 1993, Switzerland in 1987 and Spain in 1992, see *ibid.*, pp. 5–6.
303. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
304. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
305. *Ibid.*
306. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, p. xi, emphasis in original.
307. Seteney Shami, *Ethnicity*, p. 110.
308. Paul A. Jureidini and R. D. McLaurin, *Jordan: The Impact of Social Change on the Role of the Tribes* (New York: Praeger, 1984), p. 61.
309. *Ibid.*
310. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.
311. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

312. King Husayn, speech delivered on July 12, 1980, reproduced in Hattab, *Al-Thawrah*, p. 200.
313. See *Official Gazette*, no. 796 (June 17, 1944).
314. *Official Gazette*, no. 912 (July 1, 1947), p. 853.
315. *Official Gazette*, no. 1410 (January 1, 1959).
316. *The Arab Federation Agreement*, article 4-b, p. 237.
317. *Official Gazette*, no. 753 (April 16, 1964).
318. *Official Gazette*, no. 1948 (September 15, 1966).
319. *Official Gazette*, no. 2189 (August 16, 1969).
320. King Hussein, *Uneasy*, p. 150.
321. *Journal of the Royal Society of Asian Affairs* XVII, part III (October 1986), pp. 357–358.
322. Abu-Shahut, *Qissat al-Dubbat*, p. 85.
323. See Murad, *Al-Dawr*, pp. 155–157.

### 5. The Nation as an Elastic Entity: The Expansion and Contraction of Jordan

1. On ‘Abdullah’s schemes to rule over Syria and Iraq and unify them with Trans-jordan, see, for example, Kamil Mahmud Khillah, *Al-Tatawwur al-Siyasi Li Sharq al-Urdunn, Maris 1921–Maris 1948* (Tripoli, Libya: Al-Munsha’ah al-‘Amah Lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzi’ wa al-I‘lan, 1983), pp. 346–428. On his plans for taking over Palestine, see, for example, Anis Sayigh, *Al-Hashimiyun wa Qadiyyat Filastin* (Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-‘Asriyyah wa Jaridat al-Muharrir, 1966), ‘Abdullah al-Tall, *Karithat Filastin, Mudhakkarat ‘Abdullah al-Tall, Qa’id Ma’rakat al-Quds*, part I (Cairo: Dar al-Qalam, 1959), Sulayman al-Bashir, *Judhur al-Wisayah al-Urduniyyah, Dirasah fi Watha’iq al-Arshif al-Suhyuni* (Beirut: Dar al-Farabi, 1982), and Avi Shlaim, *Collusion Across the Jordan: King ‘Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).
2. Annex to the *Official Gazette*, Parliamentary Minutes (Mulhaq al-Jaridah al-Rasmiyyah, Mudhakkarat Majlis al-Nuwwab) no. 3 (May 13, 1950), p. 7.
3. Ibid.
4. “Khitab al-‘Arsh,” in al-Hukumah al-Urduniyyah, *Wihdat Diffatay al-Urdunn: Waqa’i’ wa Watha’iq* (The Unity of Both Banks of Jordan: Events and Documents) (Amman: Idarat al-Sahafah wa al-Nashr, June 1950), p. 3.
5. “Rad Majlis al-A‘yan ‘Ala Khitab al-‘Arsh,” in *Wihdat Diffatay*, p. 15.
6. Ibid., p. 15.
7. “Khitab al-‘Arsh,” in *Wihdat Diffatay*, pp. 3–4.
8. Ibid., p. 4.
9. Ibid., p. 5.
10. Ibid., p. 6.



11. Ibid.
12. "Rad Majlis al-Nuwwab 'Ala Khitab al-'Arsh," in *Wihdat Diffatay*, p. 18.
13. Such tendencies can also be found in Arab nationalism as well as in the individual nationalisms of other Arab countries and peoples. For similar tendencies in post-WWII Palestinian nationalism, see Joseph Massad, "Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism," in the *Middle East Journal* 49, no. 3 (summer 1995).
14. For the Jordanian government's annexation of central Palestine to Jordan, see 'Isam Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin al-Wusta Ila Sharqiyy al-Urdunn," *Shu'un Filastiniyyah*, no. 40 (December 1974), pp. 56–83; see also Munib Madi and Sulayman Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn Fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin, 1900–1959* (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1988), pp. 533–546, and Muhammad Mahafzah, *Al-'Ilaqat al-Urduniyyah al-Filastiniyyah, al-Siyasiyyah, al-Iqtisadiyyah wa al-Ijtima'iyyah, 1939–1951* (Amman: Dar al-Furqan wa Dar 'Ammar, 1983), pp. 197–223.
15. See the proposal in *Al-Athar al-Kamilah Lil-Malik 'Abdullah*, 3rd edition (Beirut: Al-Dar al-Muttahidah Lil-Nashr, 1985), pp. 390.
16. See, for example, Anis Sayigh, *Al-Hashimiyyun*, p. 244.
17. See Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," p. 59.
18. On the Amman conference, see Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," pp. 56–57; see also Benjamin Shwadrán, *Jordan: A State of Tension* (New York: Council for Middle Eastern Affairs Press, 1959), p. 280. Shwadrán mistakenly reports the number of delegates as 5,000, when the real number was 500; see Sayigh, *Al-Hashimiyyun*, pp. 272–274, and also Madi and Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn*, pp. 535–536.
19. A number of telegrams sent by Palestinian delegates to the Palestine government explaining the repressive measures used by the Jordanian government are cited by Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," p. 60.
20. See Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," p. 60.
21. See Shwadrán, *Jordan*, p. 280.
22. See Sayigh, *Al-Hashimiyyun*, p. 272.
23. See 'Abdullah al-Tall, *Karithat Filastin*, pp. 375–376.
24. 'Arif al-'Arif, *Al-Nakbah, Nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis wa al-Firdaws al-Mafqud, 1947–1955*, part IV (Sidon-Beirut: Al-Matba'ah al-'Asriyyah, 1959), p. 877.
25. 'Abdullah al-Tall, *Karithat Filastin*, p. 376.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., pp. 378–379.
28. *Al-Ruwwad*, December 3, 1948, cited by Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," p. 63. There were in fact three different versions of the conference resolutions, the one signed by the attendees and two subsequent versions modified and doctored by 'Abdullah; see Avi Plascov, *The Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, 1948–57* (London: Frank Cass, 1981), pp. 13–14.

29. See Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," p. 64.
30. See Abidi, *Jordan*, pp. 55–56.
31. Ordinance (Amr) no. 21 for the Year 1949, issued according to the Defense Ordinance (Nizam) no. 6 for the Year 1939, published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1002 (December 1, 1949).
32. "Qanun Dhayl Qanun Jawazat al-Safar number 11 for the Year 1949," *Official Gazette*, no. 970 (February 14, 1949).
33. *Official Gazette*, no. 1012 (March 1, 1950), p. 92.
34. John Bagot Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), p. 237.
35. *Official Gazette*, no. 1132 (February 1, 1953), p. 518.
36. See Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," pp. 69–70.
37. See "Qanun al-Idarah al-'Amah Fi Filastin #17 for the Year 1949," published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 975 (March 16, 1949).
38. See Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," pp. 70–71. Before the position was abolished, Matar had been succeeded by Falah al-Madadhah, another Transjordanian, who was finally replaced by the Palestinian Raghīb Nashashibi, an 'Abdullah supporter.
39. Published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1003 (December 17, 1949).
40. Cited by Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," p. 71.
41. *Official Gazette*, no. 987 (July 1, 1949). Finally, in June 1950, the Council of Ministers issued a decree by which it gave people still in possession of Palestinian currency, until August 1950 to turn in their money and replace it with Jordanian currency; see *Official Gazette*, no. 1026 (June 17, 1950).
42. See *Al-Sharq al-'Arabi*, no. 174 (December 20, 1927), for "Qanun Ihlal al-Naqd al-Filastini Mahal al-Naqd al-Masri wa al-'Uthmani" or "The Law of Using the Palestinian Currency in Place of the Egyptian and Ottoman currencies."
43. *Official Gazette*, no. 988 (July 16, 1949).
44. Muhammad 'Izzat Darwazah, *Al-Qadiyyah al-Filastiniyyah Fi Mukhtalaf Marahiliha, Tarikh wa-Mudhakkarat wa-Ta'liqat*, vol. II (Sidon: n.p., 1959–1960), p. 307.
45. Quoted in Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," p. 72.
46. "Addition to the Electoral Law, no. 55, 1949" published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1004 (December 20, 1949).
47. See Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," pp. 73–74.
48. Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 351.
49. See Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," p. 75.
50. See *Al-Jil al-Jadid*, no. 24, May 1, 1950, cited in Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," p. 76.
51. See Sakhnini, "Damm Filastin," pp. 77–80.
52. A manifesto issued by the Prime Minister's Office in May 31, 1950, published in *Wihdat Diffatay*, p. 28.

53. This is based on the detailed account of the aftermath of 'Abdullah's assassination in Mary C. Wilson, *King Abdullah: Britain and the Making of Jordan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 209–215. Also, see a brief account in Robert Satloff, *From Abdullah to Hussein: Jordan in Transition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 13–14. John Bagot Glubb gives the impression that civilians committed the looting and the destruction in Jerusalem. He states, "In Jerusalem, a few shops were looted before the troops took over," in Glubb, *A Soldier*, p. 278.
54. Mary Wilson, *King Abdullah*, p. 209.
55. For a skeptical account about who was responsible for the assassination of King 'Abdullah, see Nasir al-Din al-Nashashibi, *Man Qatala al-Malik 'Abdullah* (Kuwait: Manshurat al-Anba', 1980). Al-Nashahibi wants to exonerate the Palestinian people from the responsibility of killing 'Abdullah. He tries to uncover credible evidence of Egyptian, British, and/or Jordanian parties who were behind the murder.
56. Ibid., p. 211. Kirkbride served as British resident to Jordan from 1939 to 1946 when he became minister to Transjordan and later ambassador until December 1951. Musa 'Adil Bakmirza Shirdan speaks of angry Jordanians intent on killing Palestinian refugees and says that a massacre was averted by deploying the army in the streets. See his memoirs *Al-Urdunn Bayna 'Ahdayn* (Amman: n.p., 1957?) p. 72.
57. For these demographics, see Yazid Yusuf Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn wa al-Filastiniyyun, Dirasah fi Wihdat al-Masir aw al-Sira' al-Hatmi* (London: Riyad El-Rayyis Books, 1987), pp. 12–14.
58. See *ibid.* for all demographic calculations cited here.
59. Ibid., pp. 34–35.
60. Ibid., pp. 14–16. Sayigh also provides numbers for the cities of Irbid and Zarqa'.
61. For literacy rates, health care standards, level of political participation, number of newspapers, and so forth among Palestinians and Jordanians, see Shaul Mishal, *West Bank/East Bank: The Palestinians in Jordan 1949–1967* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 1–9; also see Naseer Aruri, *Jordan: A Study in Political Development, 1921–1965* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972), pp. 49–69.
62. See Plascov, *The Palestinian*, pp. 36–37.
63. Shaul Mishal, *West Bank/East Bank*, p. 21. Mishal cites letters of complaints sent to the government by the West Bank Chamber of Commerce in this regard.
64. Jamil Hilal, *Al-Diffah al-Gharbiyyah, al-Tarkib al-Ijtima'i wa al-Iqtisadi (1948–1974)* (The West Bank: Its Economic and Social Composition, 1948–1974) (Beirut: Markaz al-Abhath, Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, 1975), pp. 133–134. Hilal goes on to specify in detail these policies and projects; see chapter 3, pp. 77–176.
65. For the extent of emigration, see the comprehensive analysis and statistics provided by Hilal, *ibid.*, pp. 82–106.

66. Plascov, *The Palestinian*, p. 37.
67. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 36.
68. Yazid Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn*, p. 17.
69. King Husayn had initially opposed the idea of the PLO or Palestinian entity when it was being proposed by Ahmad Shuqayri after the latter had been appointed as Palestine's representative to the Arab League. King Husayn would insist that there was no need for such an organization, because, according to him, "[W]e are Palestine and we are the Palestinian Cause. . . . [And] Jordan, as a state, as an army, and as a people will attend to the Palestinian Cause, and [therefore,] there is no need for anything more than this." See Shuqayri's account of their initial talks in the fall of 1963 in Ahmad Shuqayri, *Min al-Qimmah Ila al-Hazimah: Ma' al-Muluk wa al-Ru'asa' al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dar al-'Awdah, 1971), pp. 20–21.
70. See Yazid Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn*, pp. 22–25.
71. Article 24 of the Palestinian Nationalist Charter, *Al-Mithaq al-Qawmi al-Filastini*, reproduced in Faysal Hurani, *Al-Fikr al-Siyasi al-Filastini, 1964–1974, Dirasah Lil-Mawathiq al-Ra'isiyyah Li-Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah* (Beirut: Markaz al-Abhath, Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, 1980), p. 231; for similar statements and commitments made by the PLO, see Mishal, *West Bank*, pp. 66–69.
72. *Al-Ahram*, January 21, 1964, cited in 'Isa al-Shu'aybi, *Al-Kiyaniyyah al-Filastiniyyah, al-Wa'i al-Dhati wa al-Tatawwur al-Mu'assasati, 1947–1977* (Beirut: Markaz al-Abhath, Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, 1979), p. 117; for an excellent overview of PLO–Jordanian relations in this period, see *ibid.*, pp. 116–127.
73. See Letter of Designation of the Prime Minister, *Kitab Taklif Wizarat Wasfi al-Tall*, February 13, 1965, published in the *Official Gazette* and reproduced in Sa'd Abu-Dayyeh, *Al-Fikr al-Siyasi al-Urduni, Namudhaj fi Dirasat al-Fikr al-Siyasi al-Urduni min Khilal Kutub al-Taklif allati Wajjahaha al-Malik Husayn Bin Talal ila Ru'asa' al-Wizarat* (Amman: Dar al-Bashir, 1989), p. 154.
74. *Al-Kitab al-Sanawi Lil-Qadiyyah al-Filastiniyyah li-'Am 1964* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyyah, 1966), pp. 10–11, cited in Shu'aybi, *Al-Kiyaniyyah*, p. 118.
75. *Al-Jihad*, June 4, 1965, cited in Shu'aybi, *Al-Kiyaniyyah*, p. 120.
76. Speech delivered on October 4, 1965, in the Diwan of the royal palace, reproduced in *Khamsah wa 'Ishrun 'Am min al-Tarikh, 1952–1977, Majmu'at Khutab Jalalat al-Malik al-Husayn Bin Talal al-Mu'azzam, Malik al-Mamlakah al-Urduniyyah al-Hashimiyyah*, vol. II (London, Amman: Samir Mutawi' Lil-Nashr, 1978), p. 368.
77. King Husayn's letter to President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, October 18, 1965, reproduced in Mundhir Fa'iq 'Anabtawi, editor, *Al-Watha'iq al-Filastiniyyah al-'Arabiyyah Li-'Am 1966* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyyah, 1967), pp. 568–571.

78. Shu'aybi, *Al-Kiyaniyyah*, p. 121.
79. King Husayn's speech at the graduation ceremony of the 'Ajlun Teachers College, June 14, 1966, reproduced in *Khamsah wa 'Ishrun*, pp. 441–443.
80. Yazid Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn*, pp. 25–27.
81. For more elaborate statistics, see Yazid Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn*, pp. 34–35.
82. For the official Jordanian version of events at al-Karamah where the guerrillas are cursorily mentioned and where credit is given wholesale to the Jordanian Arab army, see Ma'n Abu-Nuwwar, *Ma'rakat al-Karamah, March 21, 1968*, 3rd edition (Amman: n.p., 1970). For a Palestinian account, see, for example, Abu Iyad with Eric Rouleau, *My Home, My Land: A Narrative of the Palestinian Struggle*, translated by Linda Butler Koseoglu (New York: Times Books, 1981), pp. 57–60. For another official Jordanian military account that attempts to be slightly less partial, see El-Edroos, Syed Ali, *The Hashemite Arab Army, 1908–1979: An Appreciation and Analysis of Military Operations* (Amman: Publishing Committee, 1980), pp. 438–442. Also see “Shihadat Min Ma'rakat al-Karamah,” (Testimonies from the Battle of al-Karamah) in *Shu'un Filastiniyyah*, no. 8 (April 1972), pp. 197–210, especially the testimony of the Jordanian army officer Sa'd Sayil, who speaks of an immediate interest shown by the king and his coterie to underestimate the contribution of the Fida'iyyin in the fighting at al-Karamah, pp. 209–210. Sayil, of Palestinian origins, defected to the PLO during Black September.
83. For an analysis of the importance of the battle of al-Karamah for the Palestinian guerrilla movement, see Munir Shafiq, “Ma'rakat al-Karamah,” in *Shu'un Filastiniyyah*, no. 19 (March 1973), pp. 103–110.
84. Text of the interview is reproduced in *Al-Watha'iq al-Urduniyyah 1968* (Amman: Da'irat al-Matbu'at wa al-Nashr, 1973), pp. 152–156. A similar quote is reproduced in El-Edroos, *The Hashemite*, p. 442, wherein El-Edroos reports that the king, in response to “a demand by East Bank and Army leaders to crack down on the undisciplined and over-assertive Commandos,” stated, “I try to exert control. . . . [W]hat do you expect me to do? What should I do to a people who have lost everything—who were driven out of their country? Shoot them? I think we have come to a point where we are all Fedayeen.” Moreover, at a press conference held in Amman on March 23, 1968, and in response to a question about the guerrillas, the king expressed a similar sentiment and in exasperation asked the journalists if “you expect us to kill them [the Fida'iyyin] and destroy their abilities?” reproduced in *Al-Watha'iq al-Urduniyyah 1968*, p. 99.
85. More recently, Robert Satloff, an operative of the Washington Institute for Middle East Policy, the unofficial academic arm of the pro-Israel lobby in the United States, began propagating a fabrication that “East Bankers” refer to Black September as “White September.” See Robert Satloff, “From Hussein to Abdullah: Jordan in Transition,” Research memorandum, published by the Washington Institute for Middle East Policy, Washington, DC, no. 38, April 1999, p. 2. Although he did not quote any “East Banker” as saying or writing

this expression, this fabrication has become “fact,” not only for the Israel lobby but also for the *New York Times*. In an article on King Abdullah II, the *Times* reporter mentions casually how Transjordanians refer to Black September as “White September.” “Facts,” for the *New York Times*, it would seem become such through its peremptory power to repeat them. It was Joseph Goebbels, after all, who asserted that the first rule of propaganda is endless repetition. See Jeffrey Goldberg, “Suddenly a King,” *New York Times Magazine*, February 6, 2000. On the European scene, Paul Lalor partakes of spreading the new fabrication in a paper called “Black September/White September,” presented at a symposium sponsored by the Center d’Études et de Recherches sur le Moyen-Orient Contemporain, Paris, June 24–25, 1997, cited by Adnan Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians, and the Hashemite Kingdom in the Middle East Peace Process* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), p. 290n. Perhaps Transjordanian nationalists will soon learn of the new fabrication in the United States and Europe and adopt it as their own!

86. On Jordanian agents, see Abu Iyad with Eric Rouleau, *My Home*, p. 75.
87. On tribal conferences, see Olivier Carre, *Séptembre Noir: Refus Arabe de la Résistance Palestinienne* (Brussels: Editions Complexes, 1980), p. 60, and also see Khalil Hindi, Fu’ad Bawarshi, Shihadah Musa, and Nabil Sha’ath, *Al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah wa al-Nizam al-Urduni, Dirasah Tahliliyyah Li Hajmat Aylul* (Beirut: Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, Markaz al-Abhath, 1971), pp. 129–131.
88. For this estimate, see Olivier Carre, *Séptembre Noir*, p. 24.
89. The king gave this statement to *Le Monde*, cited in *Al-Yawmiyyat al-Filastiniyyah*, vol. 4–5, entry date: November 25, 1966 (Beirut: Markaz al-Abhath, Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, 1967), p. 238.
90. This estimate is taken by Sayigh from the testimony of a Jordanian army officer, Sa’d Sayil (of Palestinian origins), who participated in the al-Karamah battle; see “Shihadat,” p. 210.
91. See Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn*, p. 39. King Husayn himself may have exaggerated these figures when he stated in 1973 that “Palestinians constitute no less than half of those in the Jordanian armed forces,” speech delivered on February 3, 1973, reproduced in *Majmu’at Khutab Jalalat al-Malik al-Husayn Bin Talal al-Mu’azzam, Malik al-Mamlakah al-Urduniyyah al-Hashimiyyah*, vol. III (London, Amman: Samir Mutawi’ Lil-Nashr), p. 402.
92. *New York Times*, February 19, 1968, cited in *Al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah wa al-Nizam al-Urduni*, op. cit., p. 35.
93. High-ranking PLO official Abu Iyad admits to such mistakes, especially the failure of the guerrillas to appeal to Transjordanians; see Abu Iyad, *My Home*, p. 76. It should be noted however, that Fath had sought to include many Transjordanian nationalists in its activities, inviting them to attend Palestine National Council meetings as observers. These included many former nationalist politicians and Free Officers, including Sulayman al-Nabulsi. Sa’id al-

- Mufti, 'Akif al-Fayiz, Mahmud al-Rusan, Jamal al-Sha'ir, Ja'far al-Shami, Dafi Jam'ani. Mahmud al-Ma'ayta, et al. Court historian Sulayman Musa claims that the popularity of Fath was such that some high-ranking Transjordanian officials in the government would wear Fath uniforms to work. See Sulayman Musa, *Tarikh al-Urdunn fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin, 1958–1995*, vol. 2 (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1996), p. 365.
94. See "Qanun al-Khidmah al-Wataniyyah al-Ijbariyyah," published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 2069 (January 16, 1968), and which replaced "Qanun al-Khidmah al-Wataniyyah al-Ijbariyyah" of the previous year published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1988 (March 1, 1967). For the period of service, see article 4-A of the 1968 law stipulating the period of service to be two years, as opposed to article 4-A of the 1967 law, which stipulated that period to be ninety days.
  95. "Qanun Ilgha' Qawanin al-Khidmah al-Wataniyyah al-Ijbariyyah," *Official Gazette*, no. 2248 (July 1, 1970). The law was actually signed on June 25, 1970.
  96. See "Nizam Munazzamat al-Muqawamah al-Sha'biyyah," in the *Official Gazette*, no. 1305 (November 11, 1956).
  97. See *Al-Muqawamah*, pp. 135–137.
  98. For an assessment of Palestinian-Jordanian relations by a pro-Palestinian Transjordanian who was part of the Jordanian national movement and the PLO, see 'Isam Ahmad al-Fayiz, *Al-Nizam al-Hashimi wa al-Huquq al-Wataniyyah lil Sha'b al-Filastini* (Beirut: Dar Ibn Khaldun, 1974). Al-Fayiz (whose last name indicates his belonging to the Bani-Sakhr tribe) identifies the Jordanian regime as the party responsible for creating divisions between the two people and accuses the regime of fostering *iqlimiyyah*, or nationalist chauvinism. In fact, al-Fayiz turns out to be a pseudonym used by Hani Hurani, a Jordanian born to a Palestinian-Jordanian mother and a Syrian father, who was a DFLP activist (from an interview with Hani Hurani, August 2000).
  99. See "Nizam al-Jaysh al-'Arabi," *Official Gazette*, no. 2272 (January 2, 1970).
  100. Hindi et al., *Al-Muqawamah*, p. 135.
  101. Quoted *ibid.*
  102. See Khalil Hindi, "Al-Ta'bi'ah al-Urduniyyah Did al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah Qabl Hajmat Sibtimbar 1970," or "Jordanian Mobilization Against the Palestinian Resistance Before the September 1970 Onslaught," in *Shu'un Filastiniyyah*, no. 4 (September 1971), pp. 31–54.
  103. See Carre, *Séptembre Noir*, p. 60. Carre quotes the chiefs as having pressed the king to "frapper avec le fer ceux qui défient la loi Jordanienne," while assuring him of their "soutien total pour faire appliquer les lois de l'Etat," *ibid.*
  104. Reported in the Lebanese newspaper *Al-Muharrir*, May 5, 1970, cited in *Al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah*, p. 130.
  105. *Al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah*, p. 130.
  106. The communiqué is quoted in *Al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah*, pp. 130–131.
  107. Adnan Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, p. 177.

108. Ibid.
109. For events in the south, see the important essay of Mahjub 'Umar, "Aylul fi Junub al-Urdun" (September in the South of Jordan), in *Shu'un Filastiniyyah*, no. 71 (October 1977), p. 124.
110. Ibid., p. 131.
111. See Mahjub 'Umar, "Aylul," for arguments refuting PLO accounts of southern Jordanian tribes and their relationship to the monarchy.
112. James Lunt follows the Jordanian government's assessment of the number of casualties, see James Lunt, *Hussein of Jordan: Searching for a Just and Lasting Peace: A Political Biography* (New York: William Morrow, 1989), p. 142. El-Edroos, in his official history of the Jordanian army, was to later revise the number of dead, citing the number of casualties to be 5,000 to 10,000 between dead and wounded, including 600 Jordanian army soldiers and over 1,500 wounded. El-Edroos, *The Hashemite Arab Army*, p. 459.
113. See *Black September* (Beirut: PLO Research Center, 1971), pp. 131–138; see also *Newsweek* October 12, 1970. On mass graves, see Eric Pace, *New York Times* (September 29, 1970); see also Abu Iyad, *My Home*, pp. 95–96, where he cites the number of casualties to be 7,000 to 8,000 dead.
114. On these desertions, see El-Edroos, *The Hashemite*, p. 459.
115. See 'Abbas Murad, *Al-Dawr al-Siyasi Lil-Jaysh al-Urduni, 1921–1973* (Beirut: Markaz al-Abhath, Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, 1973), p. 130.
116. See the Lebanese newspaper, *Al-Nahar* (November 11, 1971) cited by Murad, *Al-Dawr*, p. 130.
117. Muna told her father, "I am ashamed of what you are doing. . . . I cannot believe that Amman, Salt and Zarqa are burning. The lackey authorities are setting them on fire. Fire is burning the youth, the women, the children and the old people. I wish I had never been born; I wish I had never seen you so that no one could say that I was your daughter—the daughter of the executioner Mohammed Daoud. . . . Father, I will join the ranks of the fighters to liberate Amman and Palestine. Goodbye father. You may find me among the debris caused by the napalm bombs—your bombs. Revolution Until Victory. [Signed] Your daughter." Muna's letter is cited in *Black September*, p. 77, and in Carre, *Séptembre Noir*, p. 48. On Dawud's resignation as prime minister and as army officer on September 24 and his request for asylum in Libya, see *Black September*, p. 78, and Lunt, *Hussein of Jordan*, p. 143.
118. See *Black September*, p. 5.
119. On the trial of the four Palestinian assassins, see Ahmad Shuqayri, *Al-Nizam al-Urduni Fi Qafas al-Ittihad, Asrar wa Khafaya Masra' Wasfi al-Tall* (The Jordanian Regime in the Cage of the Accused: The Secrets and Hidden Facts of the Death of Wasfi al-Tall) (Cairo: Dar Hardot, 1972). This book was republished in Beirut as *Inni Attahim* (I Accuse) (Beirut: Dar al-'Awdah, 1973). The title of the second edition is presumably an echo of Emile Zola's famous evocative state-



- ment in condemnation of French anti-Semitism manifested in the Dreyfus Affair at the end of the nineteenth century, which began with "J'accuse."
120. For PLO reassessment of its own role in the Jordanian civil war, see Khalil al-Hindi, "Al-Muqawamah wa al-As'ilah al-Masiriyyah ba'da Aylul," in *Al-Muqawamah*, pp. 255–279; also see Haytham al-Ayyubi, "Waqfah Naqdiyyah Amam al-Muqawamah Qabla Ahdath Aylul wa Khilalaha wa Ba'daha," in *Al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah*, pp. 280–290, and Fath, "Al-Thawrah Ma' al-Tajribah wa al-Khata'," *Al-Muqawamah*, pp. 309–315. Also, for the views and reassessment of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), see al-Jabhah al-Dimuqratiyyah Li Tahrir Filastin, *Hamlat Aylul wa al-Muqawamah al-Filastiniyyah: Durus wa Nata'ij* (The September Campaign and the Palestinian Resistance: Lessons and Results) (Beirut: Dar al-Tali'ah, February 1971).
  121. See, for example, the book published by the Jordanian armed forces' Mudiriyyat al-Tawjih al-Ma'nawi, *Al-Fida'iyyun Bayna al-Riddah wa al-Intihar* (Amman: Mudiriyyat al-Tawjih al-Ma'nawi, 1973). The only exception is the Jordanian Sa'id al-Tall (brother of the late prime minister Wasfi al-Tall), *Al-Urdunn wa Filastin, Wujhat Nazar 'Arabiyyah* (Amman: Dar al-Liwa' Lil-Sahafah wa al-Nashr, 1986), p. 67, where, in addition to holding the PLO mostly responsible, he claims that "from the start, one must admit that the Jordanian government must shoulder part of the responsibility for exacerbating the situation that led to the clash, wherein it did not develop an equation that rendered its responsibilities, its duties and its sovereignty, on the one hand, compatible with the responsibilities and the duties of the resistance, on the other."
  122. On the conditions of the arrests and of Jordanian prisons, see the memoirs of Ghazi al-Khalili, *Shihadat 'ala Judran Zinzanah, Yawmiyyat Mu'taqal fi al-Sujun al-Urduniyyah* (Testimonies on the Walls of a Prison Cell: The Memoirs of a Detainee in Jordanian Prisons) (Beirut: Ittihad al-Kuttab wa al-Sahafiyyin al-Filastiniyyin, 1975).
  123. On the massive purges, see Asher Susser, *On Both Banks of the Jordan: A Political Biography of Wasfi al-Tall* (Essex: Frank Cass, 1994), pp. 156–160; on the massive arrests and trials of "subversives," see Yazid Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn*, pp. 58–60.
  124. The king's speech, September 7, 1971, in *Majmu'at Khutab*, vol. III, p. 301. Note that the literal translation of this sentence is "the need for the establishment of a general organization that includes all the people's sons and daughters," a figure of speech referring to *all* Jordanian men and women.
  125. Hani Hurani, "'Al-Ittihad al-Watani' wa al-Shakl al-Rahin Lil-Sultah Fi al-Urdunn," ("The National Union" and the Current Form of Authority in Jordan), in *Shu'un Filastiniyyah*, no. 14 (October 1972), p. 55.
  126. Sulayman Musa, *A'lam Min al-Urdunn, Safahat min Tarikh al-'Arab al-Hadith, Hazza' al-Majali, Sulayman al-Nabulsi, Wasfi al-Tall* (Amman: Dar al-Sha'b, 1986), p. 98.

127. Sulayman Musa, "Wasfi al-Tall: Surah Shakhsiyyah," (Wasfi al-Tall: A Personal Portrait), an introduction to Wasfi al-Tall, *Kitabat Fi al-Qadaya All-`Arabiyyah* (Amman: Dar al-Liwa', 1980), pp. 64–65.
128. King's speech opening the National Union Conference, November 25, 1971, in *Al-Watha'iq al-Urduniyyah, 1971* (Amman: Da'irat al-Matbu'at wa al-Nashr, n.d.), p. 247.
129. The royal decision was published *ibid.*, pp. 291–292.
130. On Dudin's role in the village leagues, see David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), p. 390.
131. See Adnan Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, p. 201.
132. See Hurani, " 'Al-Ittihad al-Watani' wa al-Shakl al-Rahin Lil-Sultah Fi al-Urdunn," p. 54.
133. Sa'diyyah al-Jabiri was the daughter of the Syrian leader Ihsan al-Jabiri. Before marrying Wasfi al-Tall, she had been married to the Palestinian political figure Musa al-'Alami. It is said that she and Wasfi fell in love while she was married, which led to her divorce from her husband. She married Wasfi al-Tall a year later in 1950. See Sulayman Musa, *A'lam Min al-Urdunn*, p. 115; see also Sulayman Musa, "Wasfi al-Tall, Surah Shakhsiyyah," in Wasfi al-Tall, *Kitabat Fi al-Qadaya al-`Arabiyyah*, p. 33.
134. See list of members in *Al-Watha'iq al-Urduniyyah, 1971*, p. 291.
135. Asher Susser, *On Both Banks of the Jordan*, p. 163. Sulayman Musa claims that it was dissolved in 1973; see his "Wasfi al-Tall, Surah Shakhsiyyah," p. 65.
136. See Yazid Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn*, pp. 64–65. For the PLO's conception of a future Palestinian state and its response to King Husayn's project, see 'Isa al-Shu'aybi, *Al-Kiyaniiyyah al-Filastiniyyah*, p. 163; see also Clinton Bailey, *Jordan's Palestinian Challenge, 1948–1983: A Political History* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984), p. 63.
137. Yazid Sayigh, *Al-Urdunn*, p. 65.
138. "Rad Majlis al-Nuwab 'ala Khitab al-'Arsh al-Sami" (The Response of the People's Assembly to the Speech from the Paramount Throne), December 8, 1971, published in *Al-Watha'iq al-Urduniyyah, 1971*, p. 281.
139. For the 1973 to 1974 developments, see 'Isam Sakhnini, "Al-Kiyan al-Filastini," in *Shu'un Filastiniyyah*, nos. 41, 42 (January/February 1975), pp. 70–72.
140. King Husayn, speech delivered on November 30, 1974, reproduced in *Kham-sah wa 'Ishrun 'Aman* vol. 3, p. 497. 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah claims that the king began to use the Muslim analogy after Black September. See Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, p. 211.
141. Hani al-'Amad, "Al-Fulkur Fi al-Diffah al-Sharqiyyah," in Da'irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, *Thaqafatuna Fi Khamsin 'Am* (Amman: Da'irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, 1972), p. 303. For the result of government efforts to collect data on Jordanian cultural songs, see Hani al-'Amad, *Aghanina al-Sha'biyyah Fi al-*

- Diffah al-Sharqiyyah Min al-Urdunn* (Amman: Da'irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, 1969). On the similarities between the music and singing cultures of the West Bank and East Bank, which vary no more than the southern and northern parts of the East Bank itself, see Tawfiq Abu al-Rubb, *Dirasah Fi al-Fulklur al-Urduni* (Amman: Wizarat al-Thaqafah wa al-Shabab, 1980), pp. 55–102, and 'Abd al-Latif al-Barghuthi, *Al-Aghani al-'Arabiyyah al-Sha'biyyah fi Filastin wa al-Urdunn* (Jerusalem: Matba'at al-Sharq al-'Arabi, 1979). On the history of Tawfiq al-Nimri and his early contributions to “Jordanian” songs, see *Al-Ra'y*, September 23, 1998.
142. Hani al-'Amad, “Al-Fulklur,” p. 307.
  143. Contrast, for example, the pre-1970 pictures of the king included in his autobiography, *Uneasy Lies the Head: The Autobiography of His Majesty King Hussein I of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan* (New York: Bernard Geis and Random House, 1962), and in Vick Vance and Pierre Lauer, *Hussein de Jordanie: Ma “Guerre” Avec Israël* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1968), where the red-and-white *hatta* is nowhere in sight, with the post-1970 pictures in and on the cover of, James Lunt, *Hussein of Jordan: A Political Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1989), and on the jacket of the Arabic edition of Husayn, Malik al-Mamlakah al-Urduniyyah al-Hashimiyyah, *Mihnati KaMalik*, translated by Ghalib 'Arif Tuqan (Amman: n.p., 1978), where the *hatta* is ubiquitous.
  144. For example, in words such as *katlah*, meaning a beating, or *wakit*, meaning time, the qaf is pronounced as a *ka*, not a *ga*. Other words include *qum* and *qut*, which are pronounced *kum* and *kut*, respectively, by Karakis and Madabites. For the different pronunciations of *qaf* and *kaf* in Jordan, see Ruks Za'id al-'Uzayzi, *Qamus al-'Adat, al-Lahajat wa al-Awabid al-Urduniyyah*, vol. I (Amman: Da'irat al-Thaqafah wa al-Funun, 1973–1974), pp. 15–16.
  145. On the code-switching of accents among the children of Palestinian refugees of peasant background in poor East Amman, see Aseel Sawalha, “Identity, Self and the Other Among Palestinian Refugees in East Amman,” in Jean Hannoyer and Seteney Shami, eds., *Amman: The City and Its Society* (Beirut: CERMOC, 1996), pp. 353–354.
  146. Laurie Brand, *Palestinians in the Arab World: Institution Building and the Search for a State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 181–182. Among Sarhan's publications is *Al-Hikayah al-Sha'biyyah al-Filastiniyyah* (Beirut: Al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyyah Lil-Dirasat wa al-Nashr, 1988).
  147. See Ghanim Zurayqat, “Al-Taharruk al-Jamahiri Fi al-Urdunn Khilal Harb al-Junub” (Popular Mobilization in Jordan During the War in the South), in *Shu'un Filastiniyyah*, no. 78 (May 1978), pp. 190–193.
  148. Brand, *Palestinians in the Arab World*, pp. 181–182.
  149. On the Jordanian state's efforts to plan the festival, see Ahmad Muslih, *Malamih 'Ammah Lil-Hayah al-Thaqafiyyah fi al-Urdunn, 1953–1993* (Amman: Manshurat Lajnat Tarikh al-Urdunn, 1995), pp. 98–101. The festival has been held

- every year since 1981, with the exceptions of 1982 and 1991, as a result of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the second Gulf war, respectively.
150. See Fu'ad 'Alim, "Mahrajan Jarash al-Khamis, Min Ajl Jamahiriyyat al-Mahrajan . . . wa Tathbit Hawiyyatihi al-Thaqafiyyah," in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid*, nos. 8–9 (fall/winter 1986), pp. 124–130, and Fu'ad 'Alim, "Mahrajan Jarash 87: Bila Lawn . . . wa la Hawiyyah," in *Al-Urdunn al-Jadid*, no. 10 (spring 1988), pp. 73–75. In 1988, the festival had an independent committee headed by Akram Masarwah, a Christian Transjordanian.
  151. For the importance of cricket and football in other British colonies, see C. L. R. James's classic *Beyond a Boundary* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993). The book was originally published in 1963.
  152. Kan'an 'Izzat and 'Umar Bishtawi, *Kurat al-Qadam al-Urduniyyah Fi Nisf Qam* (Jordanian Football Across Half a Century) (Amman: n.p., 1986), chapter 1, "Nubdhah Tarikhiyyah." The book is not paginated.
  153. Husni Sido al-Kurdi, who later on founded the Bank of Jordan, or "Bank al-Urdunn," was married to a Circassian woman of the Shuqum family.
  154. See chapter 2, "Qissat al-Dawri," *ibid.* Also, for the poor conditions under which these clubs labored, see Muhammad Hamdan, "Al-Riyadah wa al-Shabab," in Hani Hurani and Hamid al-Dabbas, eds., *'Amman, Waqi' wa Tumuh, Qadayah al-Thaqafah, al-Bi'ah wa al-'Imran* (Amman: Markaz al-Urdunn al-Jadid Lil-Dirasat, 1996), pp. 75–78. For the popularity that football achieved among teenage boys in Amman, see 'Abd al-Rahman Munif's memoirs of his childhood and youth in Amman in *Sirat Madinah* (Biography of a City) (Beirut: Al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyyah Lil-Dirasat wa al-Nashr, 1994), pp. 120–125.
  155. Seteney Shami, *Ethnicity and Leadership: The Circassians in Jordan*, doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1982), p. 86.
  156. *Ibid.*
  157. Kan'an 'Izzat and 'Umar Bishtawi, *Kurat al-Qadam al-Urduniyyah Fi Nisf Qam*, chapter 1, "Nubdhah Tarikhiyyah."
  158. I would like to thank Jihad Yahya and Salim Hamdan of the Wihdat Club for information about both players.
  159. See the entry on the Wihdat team in 'Izzat and Bishtawi, *Kurat al-Qadam*. "Wihdat" is in fact an abbreviation of widhat sakaniyyah (housing units), which referred initially to the refugee camp but later became abbreviated as "wihdat" or "units."
  160. Mu'nis al-Razzaz informed me of this during a number of conversations that I had with him between 1988 and the present. He also states in his novel *Al-Shazaya wa al-Fusayfisa'* (Fragments and Mosaics) (Beirut: Al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyyah Lil-Dirasat wa al-Nashr, 1994), that "the Jordanian public supported the Egyptian Zamalik [team] against the Jordanian Faysali [team] . . . for the sake of 'Abd al-Nasir, Umm Kulthum, and Taha Husayn," p. 36. Al-Razzaz

- makes another implicit reference to such support in his despairing novel *Mud-hakkarat Dinasur* (Memoirs of a Dinosaur) (Beirut: Al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyyah Lil-Dirasat wa al-Nashr, 1994), p. 79.
161. "Qanun Mu'assasat Ri'ayat al-Shabab," Law #13 for the Year 1968, published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 2076 (February 15, 1968).
  162. Qarar #8 for the Year 1978, issued by the Special Office for the Interpretation of Laws, article 3, reproduced in Wizarat al-Thaqafah wa al-Shabab (Jordanian Ministry of Culture and Youth), *Al-Siyasah al-Urduniyyah Lil-Shabab wa al-Riyadah, Nahwa Jil al-Intima' wa al-I'tizaz al-Watani* (Jordanian Policy toward Youth and Sports, Toward A Generation of National Belonging and Pride) (Amman: Publications of the Ministry of Culture and Youth, 1983), p. 38.
  163. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27.
  164. Laurie Brand, *Palestinians in the Arab World*, p. 183.
  165. In fact, following the civil war, during which the camp was almost leveled by army bombardment, the government had gone into the camp and widened the streets, or more precisely alleys, to allow tanks to move in should the need arise in the future, as tanks were unable to enter the camp's narrow alleys during the 1970 confrontation.
  166. Brand, *Palestinians in the Arab World*, p. 183.
  167. Fahd al-Fanik expressed this opinion in a discussion of a lecture I gave at the New Jordan Studies Center in Amman on August 4, 1997.
  168. "Hik 'allamna al-Husayn, sha'b wahad la sha'bayn."
  169. Arthur Day, *East Bank/West Bank: Jordan and the Prospects for Peace* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1986), pp. 61–62.
  170. See Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, p. 215.
  171. King Husayn's speech at the opening of the Seventeenth Convention of the Palestine National Council in Amman on November 21, 1984, reproduced in 'Ashrat A'wam min al-Kifah wa al-Bina': *Majmu'at Khutab Jalalat al-Malik al-Husayn Bin Talal al-Mu'azzam, Malik al-Mamlakah al-Urduniyyah al-Hashimiyyah, Min Sanat 1977 ila Sanat 1987* (Ten Years of Struggle and Construction: The Collection of Speeches of His Majesty King Husayn Bin Talal, the Exalted, King of the Hashemite Jordanian Kingdom, from the Year 1977 to the Year 1987), collected and edited by 'Ali Mahafzah (Amman: Markaz al-Kutub al-Urduni, 1988), p. 590.
  172. *Ibid.*, pp. 593, 596.
  173. On the 1986 election law, see Hani Hurani's important and thorough analysis in "Mashru' Qanun al-Intikhab al-Jadid li Majlis al-Nuwwab, Riddah Kabirah lil-Wara' 'ala Sa'id al-Damanat al-Dimuqratiyyah wa Ikhlal Sarih bi-Iltizamat al-Urdunn al-Qawmiyyah," (The Project of the New Election Law for Parliament: A Retreat Backwards at the Level of Democratic Guarantees and a Clear Violation of Jordan's [Arab] Nationalist (Qawmiyyah) Commitments), in *Al-Urdunn Al-Jadid*, no. 7 (spring 1986), pp. 27–50.

174. Cited in a report published in the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, no. 60 (summer 1986): 177.
175. His statement in Parliament is reproduced in the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, no. 61, Autumn 1986: 214–219; also see Laurie Brand, *Palestinians in the Arab World*, pp. 174–175.
176. His speeches on April 24, 1988, to the tribal leaders of the Irbid governorate; on April 27, 1988, to the tribal leaders of the Zarqa' governorate; on May 2, 1988, to the tribal leaders of the Balqa' governorate; on May 3, 1988, to the tribal leaders of the governorate of the capital (Amman); on May 4, 1988, to the tribal leaders of the Mafraq governorate; on May 8, 1988, to the tribal leaders of the Karak governorate; on May 11, 1988, to the tribal leaders of the Ma'an governorate; and on May 18, 1988, to the people of the southern city of Tafilah, are reproduced in *Majmu'at Khutab Jalalat al-Qa'id al-A'la, Khilal al-Fatrah 1/1/1987–1/1/1990*, edited and compiled by Qasim Muhammad Salihi and Qasim Muhammad al-Duru' (Amman: n.p., n.d.), pp. 179–227.
177. Speech delivered on May 4, 1988 to the tribal leaders of the Mafraq governorate, *ibid.*, p. 207.
178. Speech delivered on June 7, 1988 at the Arab summit, in *Majmu'at Khutab Jalalat al-Qa'id al-A'la, Khilal al-Fatrah 1/1/1987–1/1/1990*, pp. 229–248.
179. Speech reproduced *ibid.*, pp. 253–258.
180. For a discussion of the different measures undertaken by the Jordanian government following the July 31 speech, see Asher Susser, *In Through the Out Door: Jordan's Disengagement and the Middle East Peace Process* (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1990), pp. 25–30.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
182. *Ibid.*
183. *Ibid.*
184. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
185. On the court cases that citizens brought against the government for denationalizing them, see Ibrahim Bakr, *Dirasah Qanuniyyah 'an A'mal al-Siyadah, wa Qararat Naz' al-Jinsiyyah al-Urduniyyah wa Sahb Jawazat al-Safar al-'Adiyyah* (A Study about the Workings of Sovereignty, and the Decisions to Remove Jordanian Nationality and the Withdrawal of Regular Passports) (Amman: Maktabat al-Ra'y, 1995). In November 1995, the government restored to West-Bank Palestinians their 5-year passports (but not their nationality), as a gesture of good will, until they received Palestinian citizenship once the Palestine National Authority achieved its hoped-for "independence."
186. See Laurie Brand, *Palestinians in the Arab World*, pp. 219–220.
187. It is beyond the scope of this book to delve into the intricate details of this lively period of Jordanian history. For an informative overview of the debates about national identity in the post-1988 period, see Marc Lynch, *Contested Identity and Security: The International Politics of Jordanian Identity*, political

- science dissertation (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1997), chapter 3. See also Laurie Brand, "Palestinians and Jordanians: A Crisis of Identity," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, no. 96 (summer 1995): 54–60. Also see Schirin Fathi, *Jordan: An Invented Nation? Tribe-State Dynamics and the Formation of National Identity* (Hamburg: Deutsches-Orient Institut, 1994), pp. 201–239, and Adnan Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, pp. 235–261.
188. These included Jihad Hattar. See her memoirs: Jihad Hattar, *Dhikrayat 'an Ma'rakat Aylul: al-Urdunn 1970* (Memoirs from the September Battle: Jordan 1970) (Beirut: Al-Ittihad al-'Am Lil-Kuttab wa al-Sahafiyyin al-Filastiniyyin, 1977).
  189. Other prominent Transjordanian Christians working within the Palestinian national movement include Ghanim Zurayqat, part of the PLO's writer's union and Ghalib Halasa, Jordan's most illustrious late novelist, who worked with Fath in Beirut in the late 1970s until 1982, when the PLO was evicted from Beirut by Israel's invasion of that country. He moved to Syria, where he continued to work with Fath on cultural issues. Halasa, an exile since 1955, died in Syria in December 1989. His brilliant novels and short stories remain banned in Jordan as they are considered "immoral" because of their explicit, albeit tasteful, sexual and political content. His writings on the Palestinian question include *Azmat Thawrah Am Azmat Qiyadah*, a collection of essays initially published in the magazine *Al-Ta'mim* in the years 1983 to 1984 (n.p: Manshurat al-Intifadah, circa 1992), and *Naqd al-Adab al-Suhyuni, Dirasah Aydiyulujyiyah wa Naqdiyyah li-A'mal al-Katib al-Suhyuni 'Amus 'Uz* (Beirut: Al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyyah Lil-Nashr, 1995). Both books were published posthumously.
  190. See Nahid Hattar, "Man Huwa al-Urduni?" in *Al-Hadath* (November 1, 1995), p. 9.
  191. See al-'Abbadi's articles in *Shihan*. For example, see his "Al-Urduniyyun wa al-Jinsiyyah al-Filastiniyyah," in *Shihan* (February 25, 1995), and his article "Wathiqat al-Milyun Tawqi," in *Al-Hadath* (November 11, 1995). On al-'Abbadi, see also Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, pp. 244–246.
  192. 'Abd al-Hadi al-Majali, who is also head of the ultranationalist al-'Ahd Party (the Covenant), seeks to formally distinguish between Palestinians seeking a Palestinian state in the occupied territories and those who renounce such a goal in favor of "national unity" in Jordan. He insists that those who seek a Palestinian state should not be allowed to work in Jordanian political institutions (see *Al-Dustur*, May 11, 1993). See also Marc Lynch's discussion of al-Majali's views in "A Very Public Separation: Jordanian and Palestinian Identities in the New Jordan," a paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association, in Washington, DC, December 1995.
  193. Hattar, "Man Huwa al-Urduni?" p. 9.
  194. See also Hattar's response to the heavy barrage of attacks on him in Jordanian newspapers, "Filastin lil-Filastiniyyin wa al-Urdunn Lil-Urduniyyin" *Al-Hadath*

- (November 15, 1995). Hattar calls all his detractors “the Pseudo-intellectuals of the Alternative Homeland Idea,” as, in his opinion, they all support Jordan becoming the Palestinian homeland!
195. See Marwan al-Sakit, “Muttafiqun Am Mukhtalifun,” in *al-Hadath*, December 6, 1995.
  196. Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, p. 197.
  197. Ibid.
  198. ‘Urayb Rantawi, “Qira’ah fi al-Bu’d al-Dakhili lil ‘Ilqah al-Urduniyyah al-Filastiniyyah,” *Al-Dustur*, October 3, 1995.
  199. *Al-Mithaq* (July 9, 1997), pp. 22–23.
  200. Mu’nis al-Razzaz expressed this view to me during a conversation in July 1997 at his office at the Ministry of Culture where he works as an advisor to the minister. The regime’s attempt to revive the cult of Wasfi al-Tall was symbolized by its renaming the 1980s new Amman Garden’s Boulevard as the Wasfi al-Tall Boulevard. Despite the erection of signs to that effect and the official media’s reference to the street by its new official name, most Ammanis persist in referring to it as the “Garden’s Boulevard.”
  201. The conferences were held in 1996. See *Wasfi al-Tall, Fikruhu wa Mawaqifuhu*, Waqa’i’ al-Nadwah allati Nazzamaha al-Markaz al-Urduni wa al-Islami Lil-Dirasat wa al-Ma’lumat bil Ta’awun ma’ Wizarat al-Tahaqafah (Amman: al-Markaz al-Urduni wa al-Islami Lil-Dirasat wa al-Ma’lumat bil Ta’awun ma’ Wizarat al-Tahaqafah, 1996), and *Hazza’ al-Majali, Qira’ah Fi Siratihi wa Tajribatihi Za’id al-Mudhakkarat*, Waqa’i’ al-Nadwah allati Nazzamaha al-Markaz al-Urduni Lil-Dirasat wa al-Ma’lumat bil Ta’awun ma’ Wizarat al-Tahaqafah (Amman: al-Markaz al-Urduni Lil-Dirasat wa al-Ma’lumat bil Ta’awun ma’ Wizarat al-Tahaqafah, 1996). Note that the Jordanian Center for Studies and Information sometimes calls itself the Jordanian and Islamic Center for Studies and Information.
  202. See Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators: A Reappraisal* (London: Lawrence Hill, 1983).
  203. On the Jordanian revolt from 1936 to 1939, see Kamil Mahmud Khillah, *Al-Tatawwur al-Siyasi Li Sharq al-Urdunn, Maris 1921—Maris 1948* (Tripoli, Libya: Al-Munsha’ah al-‘Amah Lil-Nashr wal Tawzi’ wal I’lan, 1983), pp. 300–305.
  204. Khillah, *Al-Tatawwur*, pp. 305–310. Also see the official documents of al-Shabab al-Ahrar in *Ma’rakat al-Huriyyah Fi Sharq al-Urdunn, wa Aqwal Rijal al-Siyasah Fi Surya al-Kubra*, edited and written by Muhammad Sayf al-Din al-‘Ajluni (Damascus: Matba’at Judat Babil, 1947).
  205. For an interesting discussion of Israeli claims and the ideological collusion of Jordanian exclusivist nationalists, see Salamah Ni’mat, “Al-Urdunn wa Maqulat ‘Al-Watan al-Badil’ lil-Filastiniyyin,” *Al-Hayah*, April 4, 2000: 4.
  206. This was expressed at a press conference, see *Al-Ra’y* (September 19, 1993): 14.



207. *Al-Ra'y* (October 13, 1993): 1, 23.
208. On 'Abdullah II's recent rule, see Lamis Andoni, "King Abdallah: In His Father's Footsteps?" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, no. 115, spring 2000: 77–90.
209. Al-Fanik wrote a number of editorials to that effect and repeated these assertions at conferences, as he did in October 1994 at a Center for Strategic Studies Conference on the Jordanian Press, held in Amman at the University of Jordan.
210. Al-'Abbadi is quoted in Andrew Shryock, *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), p. 325.
211. Al-'Abbadi was taken to court because of an anti-Hashemite editorial he published in *Shihan*, July 1996.
212. *Al-Dustur*, electronic edition (February 22, 1998), p. 1.
213. Middle East Broadcasting Corporation, televised news, London (February 22, 1998).
214. *Al-Hayah* (February 23, 1998): 1, 6.
215. On February 22, the day after the king's visit to Ma'an, most of the mayors of southern towns and cities that constitute the governorate of Tafilah of which Ma'an is part met and sent a communiqué to the king pledging their allegiance to him and to the Hashemite leadership, stressing that Jordanians must be united with their regime internally to face external threats. Most mayors were represented, but with the notable exception of Ma'an's mayor. See the text of the communiqué in *Al-Dustur*, electronic edition (February 23, 1998).
216. See Laurie Brand's discussion in *Palestinians in the Arab World*, pp. 180–185, and Brand's "Palestinians and Jordanians," pp. 59–60.
217. Letter from John Shuckburgh, assistant secretary to the Colonial Office to the undersecretary of state at the Foreign Office, FO371/6372, p. 26, May 18, 1922, and Despatch no. 280 from Acting High Commissioner of Palestine W. H. Deedes to Winston Churchill, the secretary of state for the colonies, FO371/6372, p. 27, April 28, 1922, and Foreign Office to the Undersecretary of State, Colonial Office, FO371/6372, p. 29, June 9, 1922.

### *Concluding Remarks*

1. On the strategic uses of essentialism, see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," in *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Methuen, 1987), p. 205.

