

## **Freedom of Expression in Jordan**

A critical study of themes and issues based on an evaluation of influences on the development of the press and publication laws in Jordan since 1920, with particular emphasis on government pressures and censorship of weekly newspapers between 1989 and 1998

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BY

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## **Abstract**

This thesis considers the major factors that influenced the development of the printed press in Jordan between 1920 and 1998. Amongst the many influences and factors which affected the printed media are the geo-political, social, religious and economic factors. This study provides the reader with a theoretical framework which helps to determine Jordan's position in terms of where it stands in comparison to press freedoms in other countries. Different press theories are used to determine the position of Jordan in this regard.

This research follows on the development of the press since 1920. The analysis of press development in Jordan is divided into different phases: The first phase extends from 1920 to 1946; the second phase from 1946 to 1952; the third phase from 1952 to 1967; the fourth phase from 1967 to 1989 and the fifth and last phase extends from 1989 to 1998.

The thesis also contains an in depth discussion of the legislations which govern the printed media in Jordan, with particular emphasis on the 1993 Press and Publications Law and the amendments it underwent in 1997, however, there is some mention of other legislations which influenced the printed media.



The thesis includes a thorough and detailed analysis of a structured questionnaire which comprises of 52 different propositions carefully designed to gather up to date information regarding many issues related to press freedom in Jordan. Such interviews were conducted with journalists working in the different newspapers.

The thesis also contains an analysis of a number of lawsuits filed against the different newspapers in Jordan between 1993 and 1998. A number of useful appendices were also compiled; amongst them are the newspaper appendix and the lawsuit appendix.

Due to the absence of any detailed critical and analytical study regarding the subject at hand, the need for researching this subject is very obvious.

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until the present date

## **Definitions of Terms and Abbreviations**

Ameer	The Arabic word for Prince
ARTICLE 19	The International Centre on Censorship
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
DDPP	Director of the Department of Press and Publications
DPP	The Department of Press and Publications
GID	General Intelligence Department
Hashemite	Refers to the Prophet Muhammad's which the Royal family in Jordan belongs to.
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ILP	Islamic Liberation Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JCPJ	Jordanian Centre to Protect Journalists
JD	Jordanian Dinar
JPA	Jordan Press Association
JRTV	Jordanian Radio and Television
Petra	The Jordanian National News Agency
PPL	Press and Publications Law
UNESCO	United Nations Educational , Scientific and Cultural Organisation

## **1.0 Introduction**

The history of the press in Jordan is very recent in comparison to most Arab countries. Jordan as a state did not exist prior to 1920 and the first newspaper was not published until 1921. The development of the press in Jordan was influenced by many factors and vice versa. The printed press have taken on increasing importance in the recent years especially after the 1989 democratic experiment, which was hoped to move Jordan from an authoritarian state to a Western style democracy based on respect of human rights and free expression. During the last decade Jordan witnessed a wide spread of weekly newspapers that came as a result of the political reforms in the country, in conjunction with a population explosion and a dramatic increase in literacy rates, which lead to more citizens reading newspapers.

The development of the press in Jordan was restricted from the very beginning by many legal administrative and other emergency provisions, most notably the press and publication laws and their amendments. The fact that there are so many laws restricting or regulating the press in Jordan is a reflection of the unstable environment in which the press has been functioning until the present date. Decades of repression have, in so many ways – including censorship, bred an apathy which is the death knell for true democracy.

The government in Jordan used so many methods to pressurise journalists in an attempt to bring those journalists into submission to its undeclared policies. They did this by preventing them from any serious critical and analytical treatment of major subjects of interest. These methods included torture, harassment, arrest and detainment, imprisonment, threats and other methods which will be elaborated on later.

Since 1993 the government filed many lawsuits against weekly newspapers in particular. This forced some weekly newspapers to go out of business or to practice unacceptable levels of self-censorship. Therefore this research is not only a historical analysis of press development in Jordan since 1920; it is rather a more focused attempt which is concerned with other important aspects of the press. These aspects, which will be dealt with, will include lawsuits filed against the press, press and publications legislations, and the views of practising journalists in relation to contemporary issues facing the printed press in Jordan. This would result in highlighting the many government pressures and censorship against the printed media in general and weekly newspapers in particular.

## **1.1 Aims & Objectives**

**Aim:** The aim of this study is to assess the Jordanian media in the 20th century in the light of classic typology of media in order to assess the applicability of this typology to a modern Middle Eastern society.

### **Objectives:**

1. To carry out a detailed study of certain elements in the Jordanian press during certain critical periods of the twentieth century.
2. To assess the nature and affects of the legislations governing the press during these periods and to analyse the development of the press in Jordan in the light of these considerations.
3. To compile a database of all lawsuits that were filed against newspapers in Jordan from 1993 to 2003 and to critically analyse a sample of these cases especially those that were filed against weekly newspapers up to 1998.
4. To survey a representative sample of journalists in Jordan in order to establish a more accurate picture of the press in Jordan based on up to date views of journalists in daily and weekly newspapers.

5. To compile a database of all newspapers published in Jordan since 1920 up to the present date, with all possible relevant information relating to these newspapers

## ***1.2 Limitations to ensure focused study***

Although general mention will be made of all newspapers published in Jordan up to the present date, this study will place certain emphasis on weekly newspapers published for commercial purposes. It will exclude all other newspapers representing political parties and distributed freely. It also excludes specialised weekly newspapers such as those dealing with sports, arts, women's affairs and advertising. The reasoning behind this focus is due to the importance that newly emerging weekly newspapers represent.

Less emphasis was put on daily newspapers as they are almost fully controlled by the state and they support the official line. The government also owns most shares in all of these newspapers except one, whereas Petra, the national news agency of Jordan, and JRTV (Jordanian Radio & Television) are fully owned and controlled by the state.

Emphasis on the ten years timescale of the study from 1989 to 1998 was chosen for the following reasons:

- A. Jordan started the democratic experiment in 1989 (referred to by many as democratic reforms) for the first time in its history. Among the many reasons for this start were the anti-government riots in the south of Jordan when people took to the streets in protest against price increases of 50% overnight, as requested by the IMF (International Monetary Fund).



- B. On November 9<sup>th</sup> 1989 Jordan had its first parliamentary election in 22 years since 1967. These new elections were hoped to mark a fresh start and a serious beginning to the journey towards real democracy. The number of weekly newspapers increased from 3, prior to 1989, to more than 20 in 1998. Marshall Law, which had been declared since 1967 was suspended by Prime Minister Mudar Badran on the eve of the parliamentary elections and finally abolished in July 1991. This resulted in the release of many political prisoners and the return of thousands of confiscated passports.
- C. Journalists previously prohibited from writing were allowed to resume their activities.
- D. The League of Jordanian writers, banned since 1987, was allowed to reform and resume its activities.
- E. Shortly after the parliamentary elections of 1989, Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990 after at least one year of threats and counter threats. As a result the press in Jordan had a good level of freedom in both the private and public sectors. This is what makes this period very important for this study. Later on in this investigation of the facts we will touch on the reasons behind the full freedom enjoyed by the media in the early 1990's which was unprecedented in the history of the state.

Sadly this freedom lasted only as long as the war itself, the government support for Iraq was intense but contrary views in support of Kuwait were suppressed.

- F. In April 1993 a new press and publications law was introduced which was the most liberal press law in Jordan until the present date.
- G. The peace treaty between Jordan and Israel which was signed in 1994 and in theory ended fifty years of hostilities, brought with it unprecedented pressures from the government to silence the press and any other voices opposing or even criticising the treaty. The treaty imposed on the government to introduce very restrictive amendments to the 1993 law. These amendments were introduced in 1997 as a result of Anglo-American Israeli pressures.
- H. In September 1992 the political party's law was adopted by the House of Representatives, allowing the formation of political parties that were prohibited since 1957.

The end of 1998 was chosen because of the death of King Hussein of Jordan which marked the end of an era and the start of a new era in 1999 under the leadership of his son King Abdullah the second.

### ***1.3 The Importance of the study***

The importance of this study is underlined by the absence of any empirical and critical study as far as freedom of expression in Jordan is concerned. Given Jordan's strategic geopolitical position in the volatile cauldron of Middle Eastern politics, it is vital to understand as fully as possible the importance of press efforts to inform, and government efforts to shape the news to their many needs.

The ongoing conflict between the government on the one hand and other voices from different political, economic and religious backgrounds on the other hand is making this study of freedom of expression more urgent than ever before.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is probably the most democratic country in the entire Arab world, yet it still lags far behind the Western democracies and even those of Southeast Asia in relation to press freedom and freedom of expression in general. The following quotations from The Independent under the section titled "Censorship: Media nadir" probably summarise the wider picture of the press in Jordan and the rest of the Arab World:

"The Arab media is in a sorry state. If it played its most credible role in opposing colonial rule in Middle East, it is now at its nadir – supporting local dictators, censoring its own reports, accepting bribes from the rich and powerful, acting as a mouthpiece for ruthless regimes.

King Hussein, that most 'trustworthy' of pro-Western Arab leaders, has recently closed down 13 weekly newspapers, many of them Islamist. Lebanon's 16 freelance television stations have been cut to four – all owned by prominent

members of the Lebanese government. In Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia, criticism of the head of state is seen as treachery.

In Tripoli, Cairo, Algiers (where more than 50 journalists have been killed by Islamists), Tunis and capitals of the Gulf States, journalists are imprisoned for the mildest criticism. In Lebanon – where the press is still comparatively free – and Jordan and Palestine, writers have been locked up. The Saudi-owned international Arab press – especially Al-Hayat and Al-Sharq Al-Awsat – have some freedom.

But the Saudi-owned Orbit channel brought about the collapse of BBC's Arabic television service over a programme about the kingdom (IND 97 Oct 09)."

The close ties between some Arab dictators and the West were highlighted again by The Independent under the section titled "Royals screened from prying eyes: Other monarchies have so far kept the media at bay" in the following quotation, which portrays the late King Hussein's agitation and fear of a free press:

"The authoritarian monarchs of the Middle East and the Gulf, such as King Hussein of Jordan wield enormous political power. Their problems are political agitation against their prerogatives, not vicious gossip columnists and over-bold paparazzi (IND 97 Sep 02)"

Thus this study should be a mirror through which freedom of expression in the whole Arab World would be reflected. It also examines freedom of expression, which is essentially a Western democratic development and as such historically alien to the Arab culture in the last hundred years at least. Jordan is at the heart of the Arab Muslim world, yet very little is known of it in the rest of the world apart from censored information including distorted history that, without any doubt, would need to be rewritten if and when the political environment allows better margins of freedom.

In fact most people at the intellectual level live in psychological imprisonment which in itself is an impediment to freethinking and honest expression in general. Again, when this is concluded it is hoped to be a small stone on the mound of human knowledge and with god's help it will show that the stone of freedom of expression which the government builders refuse is indeed the head cornerstone of democracy.

It is generally agreed that English is the major universal language and so this doctoral thesis written in English should reach a much more diverse audience. Press agency wire services and web sites are predominantly in English and the body of this work will be disseminated much more widely because of this. There is an element of reverse prejudice favouring English over Arabic intellectual work as with the French language with some countries (more in the past than now) many people looked to the rich sophisticated world of international affairs to see themselves more clearly from a world view. Even grey literatures of university theses from Arab cities feel the cold hand of government censorship in many subtle ways.

The strong emergence of more than 20 weekly newspapers in this period is an important factor which deserves thorough investigation. The importance of this study is also underlined by the fact that it would result in compiling a full database of all lawsuits together with and in-depth analytical discussion of a sample representing these weekly newspapers.

The events of September 11th highlighted the dangers of oppressing citizens in that part of the world and the importance of establishing real democracies based on solid foundations including a free press. This is why this study is important; it reflects a much wider picture throughout the Arab Muslim world which suffers from lack of basic freedoms.

The western politicians (especially those from USA, UK, and France) tend to deceive their people and others by showing that they are concerned about free press and other liberties in the Middle East. This is a very important issue as these countries are largely to be held responsible for restrictions of freedoms including press freedom. Especially if we remember that none of the heads of Arab states are freely elected and they enjoy huge direct and indirect support from the Western powers to continue abusing their own people. This is the general view held by Arabs.

## **1.4 Definition & Scope**

The word 'freedom' tends to defy the idea of a comprehensive definition, because it can apply to competing or even conflicting interests. This explains the absence of a clear or agreed definition for freedom. Many attempts, however, have been made by writers, commentators and other concerned intellectuals to define freedom, yet they are all open to some level of uncertainty and doubt.

Freedom to do what? Freedom for whom? Freedom from what? In this context some philosophers and theologians would extend the debate to encompass the relationship between god and man, and the extent to which a person can be deemed free. What meaning, if any, can the word freedom have in that context?

Lawyers and judges understand and define freedom from a legal perspective; whereas academic philosophers and other intellectuals would have their own definitions according to their own perspectives. The following definition is an attempt to define this concept without any claim to comprehensiveness. Freedom means the ability of the individual to say or do what he/she wishes or to avoid doing so, without violating the rights of others or without violating any limitations or constraints set by the law. Freedom of expression means the absence of restraints upon the ability of individuals or groups to communicate their ideas to others

as long as they do not invade others' rights essential to the dignity of other individuals (No'aimy, 1989: 12-13).

The term freedom of expression includes freedom of the press and the liberty to communicate ideas in all forms including books, pictures, signs and all other means of expression. The purpose may be to inform, to persuade, to convince others, to reveal the truth or to clarify or eliminate doubt. We may also note in this connection the brief comparison made by (Montgomery-Watt, 1968: 97) of the Muslim concept of freedom with that of Western counterparts in which he has highlighted some of the differences between them but concluded that, "despite such points, however, it seems likely that there is a combination of ideas somewhere in Islamic thought, which performs much the same function as the concept of freedom does in the West." His conclusion is very important in this context as we are discussing freedom of expression and the press in one of the Muslim countries which is at the heart of the Muslim world.

However, it should be noted that the scope and character of freedom of expression under Islamic law, Shari'ah, differs widely from other laws especially with reference to the limits that are imposed by the Shari'ah and the values that are to be upheld.

Censorship on the other hand is one of the most popular catchwords in our daily life. It is also very difficult to define in a



comprehensive manner. It belongs to a category of words describing, apparently simple, but in reality a highly complex social mechanism representing not only a challenge but also a subject of very disputable nature in modern political life. As a result it became subject to a wide range of definitions and even outright distortion and has been turned into slogans.

Censorship can be defined as "all mechanisms used to supervise and control information and ideas in all forms, i.e. oral, printed, pictures, audio-visual and other forms, that are circulated among the people within a society."

Governments give a wide range of reasons for censoring information, for taking action against individuals expressing their opinions which are not accepted by these governments, and for justifying secrecy. These limitations and restrictions are usually justified by governments, which claim that such behaviour is to protect the rights of others, national security, public morals, public order, racism, sexism, religious intolerance and many other justifications. It is noteworthy that some kinds of restrictions are necessary but governments usually go overboard in restricting freedom for their own purposes in most cases.

There are so many methods used by different governments to achieve their goals in censoring information. These methods include the introduction of press laws, licensing, attacks and restrictions on

journalists, media concentration, closure of media outlets, economic pressures and many other methods. Usually the governments target media workers, writers and academics, human rights activists, political opponents and any other person or group of people who might be seen as a danger (No'aimy, 1989: 14).

## 2.0 Background

In this chapter, the writer attempts to put the research questions in their context pointing out a frame of reference for these research questions. This will be achieved through an examination of some of the major theories of mass media or media systems, as they are referred to by some writers, and an attempt to see where mass media in Jordan fits into the classification of theories or systems. This attempt entails looking into mass media in Jordan in terms of its structure, classification, theoretical frameworks and parameters of control.

It should be stated at the outset of this chapter that there has always been a special relationship between mass media and the society. Mass media has always been perceived and portrayed as a mediating institution, which may have specific functions to perform. These functions, expectations and expressions of how the media should have been delineated are ideas that have been termed 'normative theories'. To look into how mass media operates in a certain system or within the framework of a suggested theory, it is necessary to look at different political-economic aspects and varied social and political dimensions. These dimensions may depend on implicit political theories (McQuail, 1983: 84-85). These would include the prevailing socio-economic conditions in a country at a certain time, the strength and legitimacy of

the ruling group, stability of the political system, the economic strength of the media, the presence of opposition groups and pressure groups of other kinds, the economic conditions in the country and above all the laws governing the operation of mass media in the country. Another important dimension that is often marginalized by scholars writing about mass media, but has a direct bearing on mass media in Jordan, is where the country can be placed on a hypothetical continuum of freedom. Assuming this hypothetical continuum goes from point A (1: complete dependence) to point C (10: complete independence, real free country) passing through point B (5: neither dependent nor independent, falling somewhere between), each country can be given an index of freedom based on where it can be placed on the continuum and how far to the left it goes from point C. The reason for this marginalisation is the false assumption that every state that is a member of the United Nations and has achieved its formal independence is a free country. This is definitely not the case and this issue will be further elaborated on later.

One of the earliest attempts to compare major theories of the press was that of Siebert et al back in 1956. Siebert et al had a four-way division of these theories, which were later supplemented by two others. The classic work of Siebert et al has been retained as a major source and point of reference for discussing the theories of mass media. Media systems, according to (McQuail, 1983: 85), are characterised by

"alternative, even inconsistent philosophical principles" and for that reason it is not inappropriate to add two new supplements due to further developments.

The question to be asked at this point is whether press or mass media in Jordan can fit into any of the theories initiated by the work of Siebert et al? In other words, can any of the six proposed media systems serve as a frame or reference for mass media in Jordan – the topic of this study? Before answering this question, let's have a look at these theories and examine their major tenets as shown in the literature of mass media. First, let us consider the classic four-fold division suggested by Siebert et al back in 1956.

### ***2.1 Authoritarian System or Theory***

In this system the media advances and supports the government policies, because in this system the governments exercise full control over the press either through direct means or implicit means such as legal action, licensing, or financial means. Historically, this system was started in monarchies wherein the media was subordinated to the power of the state and subjected to the interests of the ruling class. There is no true independence for the press in this system. In fact censorship and punishment for non-conformity applies specially to matters of ideological implications.

(Rugh, 1979: 224-27), in describing this system, says: "This system is based on the assumption that the truth is not the product of a great mass of people, but of a few wise men in a position to guide their fellows."

The following quotation from a Lebanese chief editor, and Minister of Information for some time, describes the philosophy of authoritarianism prevalent specifically in the Arab World. He maintains:

"In developing societies, truth has always been considered divine in form as well as in content, to whatever god or prophet it is attributed. The knowledge of this truth is therefore considered a privilege, the privilege of one or a few men, who henceforth necessarily claim a monopoly on freedom – the freedom of those who know and have alone the right to tell the others what they must know and believe. A phenomenon accentuated by the sacred character of the written word, to be written in the most perishable fashion: in newspapers. In such a context, it is natural and logical that the press should assume a very particular role. Instead of being a 'mass medium' in the sense commonly held, it becomes the instrument of transmission of the official truth, the media by which this truth is authoritatively communicated to the masses (Rugh, 1979: 25-26)."

Since the term 'Arab World' will be used regularly, the following quotation should shed some light on this term:

"The often used term 'Arab World' refers to the 21 countries that are members of the Arab League and which share a common language and a predominant religion. Arabic is the official language and Islam, with the exception of Lebanon, is the dominant religion in these 21 countries. They also share common history, culture, custom and tradition. Except for a handful of oil-producing countries, almost all of the 21 Arab countries have low per capita income, high illiteracy among the masses, and a high literacy among the educated class (Amman, 1994: 1)."

The authoritarian theory operates particularly in pre-democratic, dictatorial and repressive societies. It operates in societies where there is military rule, occupation, and colonialism. An important point is stated by (McQuail, 1983: 86), which is the fact that "it would be a mistake to

ignore the existence of authoritarian tendencies in relation to the media in societies that are not generally or openly totalitarian." In fact, sometimes a conflict arises between the interests of the state and the freedom of the press. It is also the case that more elements of authoritarianism are attached to some media rather than others.

(McQuail, 1983: 66-67) summarizes the principles of authoritarianism as follows:

Media should do nothing which could undermine established authority.

Media should always (or ultimately) be subordinate to established authority.

Media should avoid offence to majority, or dominant, moral and political values.

Censorship can be justified to enforce these principles.

Unacceptable attacks on authority, deviations from official policy or offences against moral codes should be criminal offences.

## ***2.2 Libertarian or Free Press System***

Just the opposite of the authoritarian system, the libertarian system believes in the full freedom of the press from government controls. It holds that mass media should provide the consumer with sufficient free and objective information. This theory had its origin in the emergence of printing and the print media in liberal democracies. It holds that the individual is free to express his opinion freely. He is also free to assemble and organise with others. A central argument for libertarianism is that free and public expression of different opinions is the best way of arriving at the truth and exposing errors. It has its roots in Milton's

denunciation of censorship and John Stuart Mill's strong liberal

statements such as the following quotation:

"The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race, posterity as well as the existing generation, those who dissent from the opinion, even more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error (McQuail, 1983: 87)."

Proponents of this theory – based on their assumption that there is a convergence between the good of the society, general welfare, and the good of the individual – believe that if good morals and the authority of the state are threatened, the freedom of the press in its practice should be restrained. (McQuail, 1983: 88) takes the statement of de Sola Pool (1973) as a major guideline: "No nation will indefinitely tolerate a freedom of the press that serves to divide the country and to open the floodgates of criticism against the freely chosen government that leads it."

Libertarian media serves as an outside check or what has been labelled in the literature as simply a 'watch dog function' on government. On the other hand, mass media is a tool for what Milton called an open encounter of ideas to help distinguish truth from error. (McQuail, 1983: 89-90) summarises the principles of libertarianism as follows:

Publication should be free from any prior censorship by any third party.

The act of Publication and distribution should be open to a person or group without permit or license.



Attack on any government, official or political party (as distinct from attacks on private individuals or treason and breaches of security) should not be punishable, even after the event.

There should be no compulsion to publish anything.

Publication of 'error' is protected equally with that of truth, in matters of opinion and belief.

No restriction should be placed on the collection, by legal means, of information for publication.

There should be no restriction on export or import or sending or receiving 'messages' across national frontiers.

While there are profuse examples of the authoritarian mass media, a question arises: are there as many examples of libertarian mass media? Western countries, and the most powerfully acclaimed leading democracies in the world today; the US and Britain claim to have libertarian press. Do they in fact have this kind of pattern? There are some fundamental questions to be raised in this connection. Topping these is the question of who owns the mass media in a capitalistic society like the US? How free are the journalists to choose topics to write about and how freely can they write about these topics? Is the media in the US, for example, really intended for the public welfare and the good of the country? These are legitimate questions whose answers may lead to the fact that mass media in these ostensible democratic countries is under the oppressive authority of some powerful lobbies, centres of power, economic interests and political interests of certain groups living in the country. On the other hand, sometimes the ruling group in a certain country may interpret whatever is happening in the country to be a threat

to the system and hence find a pretext to restrain the media in its own way. Libertarian press seems ideal, but in practise it has not been possible to have this kind of press in many countries in the world.

### **2.3 Social Responsibility Theory**

Social responsibility theory had its origins in the American Commission on the freedom of the Press (Hutchins, 1947). It seeks to reconcile the independence of the media with its obligation to society. The theory assumes that the media serves several essential functions in society especially in relation to democratic politics. It also assumes that the media should accept to fulfil these functions mainly in the area of information and in the provision of a platform for diverse opinions. The theory calls for emphasis on independence of media consistent with the media's obligation to society. It also recognises that there are special standards for the media to be stated and followed.

(McQuail, 1983: 90-92) firmly asserts that the social responsibility theory has to reconcile three somewhat "divergent principles: of individual freedom and choice; of media freedom and of media obligation to society." To accomplish this reconciliation, the theory has favoured two kinds of solutions. The first is to develop independent institutions for the management of broadcasting, and the second is the development of professionalism as a means of attaining higher standards of performance.

The main principles of social responsibility theory, according to (McQuail, 1983: 91-92) are as follows:

Media should accept and fulfil certain obligations to society.

These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance.

In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.

The media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence or civil disorder or give offence to ethnic or religious minorities.

The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and to rights of reply.

Society and the public, following the first named principle have a right to expect high standards of performance and intervention can be justified to secure the, or a, public good.

## ***2.4 Soviet Media Theory or Totalitarianism***

As the name indicates, this theory was developed out of the Russian communist ideologies as formulated by the leaders of the revolution. The first postulate of this theory is that media should be controlled by agencies of the working class. The press is to be organised to produce a classless society. The press has an important role to play in the formation of society and thus the media has important functions in socialisation, mobilisation and informal social control. The Press in this system is also expected to submit to the ultimate control of the state. Media in this system is expected to be responsible and accountable to the public. Censorship and punishment are justified in this system.

The postulates of this theory are summarised by (McQuail, 1983: 93-94) as follows:

Media should serve the interests of, and be in control of, the working class.

Media should not be privately owned.

Media should serve positive functions for society by: socialisation to desired norms; education; information; motivation; mobilisation.

Within their overall task for society, the media should respond to wishes and needs of their audiences.

Society has a right to use censorship and other legal measures to prevent, or punish after the event, anti-societal publication.

Media should provide a complete and objective view of society and the world, according to Marxist Leninist principles.

Media should support progressive movements at home and abroad.

## ***2.5 Development Media Theory***

We have looked at the 'advanced' world with its libertarian system of mass media and on the other end we looked at two other systems that may be compared to the libertarian system. These are the totalitarian and the authoritarian systems. The development theory starts with the fact that in developing countries there are some conditions that limit the application of other theories or reduce their potential benefit. The first of these conditions is the absence of conditions necessary for the development of communication infrastructure, professional skills, cultural resources and the available audience. Second is the dependence on the developed world, particularly in the area of technology. Third, the primary national task of these countries is economic, social, and educational development. Fourth, these countries are becoming aware of their identity and interests in international politics.

The media in this system has to play a positive role in development at large. It involves the acceptance of economic development for nation building. Certain freedoms of the media are subordinated to the responsibilities of the media in this direction.

The main principles of this theory as summarised by (McQuail, 1983: 95-96) are as follows:

Media should accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy.

Freedom of the media should be open to restriction according to (1) economic priorities and (2) development needs of society.

Media should give priority in their content to the national culture and language.

Media should give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically.

Journalists and other media workers have responsibilities as well as freedoms in their information gathering and dissemination tasks.

In the interest of development ends, the state has a right to intervene in, or restrict, media operations and devices of censorship, subsidy and direct control can be justified.

## ***2.6 Democratic Participant Media Theory***

The last addition to the theories of mass media, according to McQuail is very difficult to formulate because it lacks full 'legitimizing and incorporation into media institutions' on one hand and because some of its tenets are to be found in other theories of mass media.

The central point of this theory relates to the needs, interests and aspirations of the individual in a political society. It has to do with the right to answer back and to use the means for communication. The theory "rejects the necessity of uniform, centralised, high cost, highly

professionalised, state controlled media." It favours "multiplicity, smallness of scale, locality, de-institutionalisation, horizontality of communication links at all levels in society."

The main principles of this theory have been summarized by (McQuail, 1983: 97-98) as follows:

Individual citizens and minority groups have rights of access to media (rights to communicate) and rights to be served by media according to their own determination of need.

The organisation and content of media should not be subject to centralised political or state bureaucratic control.

Media should exist primarily for their audiences and not for media organisations, professionals or the clients of media.

Groups, organisations and local communities should have their own media.

Small scale, interactive and participative media forms are better than large scale, one-way, professionalised media.

## ***2.7 Which of these Theories?***

The question to be raised at this point is: Which theory accounts for mass media in Jordan? Does Jordan fit into any of the six systems discussed earlier? If so which one? The answer for these questions is negative. The Jordanian mass media does not fit neatly into any of the theories outlined earlier. It takes a little from most of them, but it definitely takes from one more than it takes from the other.

To accurately identify the tenets of the theoretical framework of the Jordanian media, one has to be familiar with the political structure of the government in the country, the prevalent economic conditions, the

political climate, the margin of freedom given to the individual and above all the 'index' of freedom of the country that was referred to earlier.

Jordan claims to be a constitutional monarchy. It has a parliament and some elected officials apart from members of the parliament. It has elected city council members in all of the country's municipalities. If a Jordanian official is asked directly about the media system in the country, he would classify it as libertarian along the lines of the acclaimed libertarianism of Western media. This classification is false and it intends to reflect what the officials in the country would like others to think of Jordan.

The closest theory of mass media for Jordan is authoritarianism. First of all, Jordan is not a free country and on the index of independence mentioned earlier it would score very low. Jordan tails behind the Western powers and it is euphemistically called a moderate country. It guards Western interests in the area and represents a force that allies itself with the enemies of the Arabs. In fact, since its establishment, Jordan has been affiliated with the West. Britain created the country to reward the Hashemite (the ruling family of Jordan) for their revolution against the Turks and help in winning the First World War. The ruling family neither trusts the Jordanians nor does it trust other Arabs. It gives a lot of lip service to individual freedom, democracy, the Arab cause and the interests of the Arab nation. None of this is literally true. For these

reasons, the mass media reflects the official government's point of view, and it can rarely criticise government policies other than on the surface. The government of Jordan is always keen to show that Jordan is a free country and it has democratic institutions. It will be argued that this, however, is part of a show or a public relations campaign to show a pleasant face of the country to Europe and America. As would be seen later in the section dealing with media structure, Jordan Television is a government agency completely controlled by the government. The broadcasting service is also a government department completely controlled by the state. All daily newspapers are controlled by the government with the exception of one daily newspaper, which is owned by the private sector. The main function of the mass media in the country is to function as a tool for the ruling family and the system of government.

It should be noted here that the authoritarianism of mass media in Jordan has been justified and legalised by different kinds of legislation which will be discussed in a separate section in this dissertation. It is to be stated, though, that the government policy towards the mass media has been well guarded by legislation and reinforced by several government departments including the police and the security department.

Most researchers, entrusted in the development of the press and its freedom in the different societies, agree that the press in each society has



unique and different characteristics, which distinguish it from other press systems in other societies. Accordingly, such differences were the basis on which press systems in different countries were classified and labelled under one system or another (No'aimy, 1989: 14).

It is worth noting that Jordan's political life is dominated by the king; in whose hands there are considerable, executive and legislative powers. He has the authority to form and dismiss cabinet, to appoint and remove prime ministers, to dissolve parliament, and to establish the broad outlines of domestic and foreign policies; yet no Jordanian is allowed to criticise any kind of conduct related to the king or other members of the royal family. This situation, however, left the press in a very difficult position and was only permitted those freedoms allowed by the king. The king, without a shred of doubt, is and has always been very worried about the press for a variety of domestic and international factors. These included Jordan's position as a frontline state in the Arab confrontation with Israel, and its involvement in the Palestinian question; as well as the emergence of Islamic movements, both in Jordan and more widely throughout the region. The purported peace treaty with Israel in 1994 continued to be a highly sensitive political issue, which is not only complex but also very controversial. This may imply that the nature of some press laws were vague intentionally, enabling the different governments to exploit them.

Press legislations tend to avoid any mention of extra legal influences. Jordan press cannot be classified under any of the international theories of mass communications or other theories including Rugh's classification of the Jordanian system as a loyalist press. It doesn't completely fit into any one system, regardless of any given name or label. Therefore it isn't sufficient enough to know how the media in Jordan is structured, who controls it, and for what purpose, just by examining the legislative aspect of the press. In Jordan and indeed in the rest of the Arab world the press laws do not reveal all the details of who decides the content of newspaper material and why? Therefore it is absolutely essential to go beyond all press and publication laws because the laws alone may tend to give the impression of a free press, contrary to what is taking place in practise.

With regard to the acclaimed move towards a free society and in turn a free press there is a fundamental question to be asked: What caused the authoritarian regime in Jordan to take up the egalitarian mask (Ansari, 1988: 227). After all, in authoritarian societies, the distance between the ruler and the ruled is quite great and in Jordan's case there is no exception. The elite/mass model of government assumes an undifferentiated mass acted upon by those in power with little opportunity for the transfer of demands up the chain. Jordan and indeed all other Arab countries have been placed in this category by most observers, yet

Western powers very seldom concern themselves with this intolerable situation. This one-way system of communication, i.e. orders from the ruler to the masses without feedback, explains the weak affect of media in general and particularly in developmental areas.

The most influential book about communication and development is probably Wilbur Shramm's, which is titled "Mass Media and National Development". When it appeared in 1964, social scientists thought they understood the nature of development and the role of communication in development. However, the last few decades show that our conception of development was rather limited and perhaps not entirely correct. Today we see that past notions do not entirely fit the reality and potential of the contemporary scene. This section would avoid implicating itself with many major aspects of communication and development, such as the dominant paradigm that ruled intellectual definitions and discussion of development during the late 1960s.

Mass media in Jordan also takes some elements from the developmental theory. In fact there was a time when the Jordanian government extensively discussed 'developmental mass media' and the role mass media can play in the development of the country. This kind of developmental mass media concerned radio and television overcasts more than other forms of mass media.

In Jordan the role of media in development was recognised in the early 1970s. UNSECO called for employing mass media in the service of national development. This was positively responded to by the Jordanian government. Jordan was one of the few countries to establish a development communication department at the Ministry of Information in the mid-1970s. Radio and TV documentaries were produced, in addition to messages related to agriculture, environment, public sanitation, and vocational training. Mass media also concerned itself with some programs and messages related to health, childcare, family planning, and birth spacing, in addition to its concern with many health related issues. Jordan TV, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, produces and broadcasts educational material to viewers, particularly aimed at students and covering subjects such as English, Geography, Chemistry, Biology, Religion, etc. The School of Journalism at Yarmouk University carried out an interesting task in the use of communication for education. It implemented a project from 1986 to 1990, which was funded by UNSECO and the United Nation Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) (Ayish et al, 1994: 139-140). This project was designed to educate residents in the North Jordan rural community on population problems and family planning. It proved to be an extremely successful experiment; as such projects are badly needed throughout the Arab Muslim world, where birth rates are very high.

The main purpose of this research is to explain lack of freedom through identifying and exploring the responses of journalists working in an authoritarian regime in relation to press freedom. The following sub-themes will be analysed and elaborated on in the different sections related to them. The answer to each sub-theme cannot be restricted to a particular section or chapter; however the chapters which best deal with each sub-theme will be indicated.

- A. Is there freedom in obtaining news and publishing it without restrictions? Refer to Chapter 11.
- B. What is the nature of the legislation in relation to the press in Jordan and what influence did such legislations have on the development of the press? Refer to Chapter 8.
- C. Do Jordanian journalists have an association that is influential in the press system and in defending freedom of expression? Refer to Chapter 9.
- D. What are the major government pressures and restrictions that target weekly newspapers? Refer to Chapters 9, 10 and 11

### 3.0 Methodologies

The purpose of this section is to highlight the methods used in this research study. The nature of this research necessitated the use of more than one research method including; descriptive, historical and analytical methods. The researcher started with a thorough review of the literature, in particular literature concerned with the overall development of the press and its legislations in Jordan since the early twentieth century until the end of 1998. Literature related to government pressures, censorship and any other restrictions imposed on the printed media in Jordan were also reviewed. In order to get a wider and more global perspective on these pressures and limitations, it was important to review some general specialised works on the subject such as "The World Report on Information Freedom and Censorship" prepared by (ARTICLE 19, 1991). This report covered 27 countries including Algeria and Egypt from the Arab world. However, the nature, type, quantity and quality of the literature are discussed in details in the section dealing with the literature review.

The literature review concentrated on weekly newspapers as opposed to daily newspapers. Particular emphasis was to be put on weekly newspapers due to the fact that they enjoy more independence as

they are privately owned. The rest of the media in Jordan is controlled by the state.

It was obvious at the end of the literature review that there was very little critical and analytical works dealing with different aspects of the freedom of the press in Jordan such as government pressures, lawsuits, and press and publication laws after 1989. This absence or lack of serious critical work was very clear in almost all aspects of this research with the exception of the historical part.

As a result of these circumstances the researcher conducted a number of preliminary interviews, group discussions, formal and informal meetings with many groups including journalists working at different daily and weekly newspapers, Jordan news agency, lecturers of journalism at the school of journalism in Yarmouk University, librarians, human rights activists, previous minister of information and the DDPP. A number of previous parliamentarians were also interviewed, especially those who were subject to government pressures and restriction as a result of their opinions. These meetings, interviews and group discussions were the basis on which an open answer questionnaire was designed. It covered most of the dimensions and issues which were raised during preliminary interviews and meetings.

This questionnaire was designed to gather information about the current state of the Jordanian press in general and the obstacles and

challenges facing newspapers. The major aspects covered by this questionnaire were censorship practices, government pressures on weekly newspapers, lawsuits filed against newspapers, the press and publication law of 1993 and its amendment since 1997, the role of the JPA (Jordan Press Association) in promoting the freedom of the press, and the role of the courts. The questionnaire can be seen in full in Appendix 1.

The open answer questionnaire was conducted with journalists, writers, human rights activists, librarians and some university lecturers. A substantial amount of information was gathered, which was extremely important and highlighted many issues and themes concerning press freedom in Jordan. This data was very important and helpful in the construction of the second questionnaire. The responses to the second questionnaire are on a four point Likert Scale extending from strongly agree to strongly disagree. This structured questionnaire can be seen in full in Appendix 1. The appendix exhibits all propositions together with the total frequency and percentage of responses. The questionnaire was intended to solicit views about the following aspects:

1. Press and publication laws in Jordan during the last decade.
2. The role of the JPA and the way it has been perceived by its members.



3. Nature, type and extent of government pressures and other restrictions against weekly newspapers in particular, and the printed press in general.
4. Self-censorship and its implications on the way journalists function due to vague and restrictive press and publication laws.
5. The advertisement in daily newspapers versus daily newspapers.
6. Court cases and their implications on the weekly press

In addition to these aspects there are other aspects which can be seen in the questionnaire which is self-explanatory. There are a number of methods for conducting the interviews but, due to the fact that most journalists in Jordan prefer to be anonymous as this was advised during preliminary interviews and meetings, the researcher was compelled to use a structured questionnaire that would give the respondents the opportunity to answer it at their own convenience.

It was designed in such a way that insured that all respondents understand the questions asked in the same way. The final version of the questionnaire comprised of 52 questions, which were based on the preliminary questionnaire, formal and informal meetings, and group discussions, in addition to the literature review.

To facilitate the analysis of the questionnaire it was divided into five different domains. These domains are press and publications laws, censorship, freedom, the prohibitions and the JPA. Each of these

domains comprised of a set of questions. The numbers of propositions for each domain vary from one to the other as shown in designated tables, which can be seen in Chapter 9.

The questionnaire was conducted in a country which can be described as reserved or not used to straight forward questions with political implications. Most journalists involved in this questionnaire were not prepared to fully cooperate without some kind of informal introduction or contact. This informal contact and introduction was made easier by the fact that the researcher is a graduate of the school of journalism where most of the journalists involved are familiar with him. The fact that journalists in Jordan know each other and influence each other to a great extent through tribal ethnic or religious factors contributed to a high percentage of responses. The completion of the questionnaire was done by contacting journalists familiar with the researcher and spending some time with them informally to talk about Ireland and Irish life, culture and the political system. These discussions and meetings were key to persuading journalists to contact their colleagues and ask them to cooperate with this unusual survey.

This approach proved to be the most successful approach in this social environment. Most journalists needed to take the questionnaire with them for a day or more, which meant that the researcher had to keep returning to Amman twice a week to collect the completed copies from

the different newspapers. It took more than six weeks to complete this task. It is also worth mentioning that these contacts enabled the researcher to observe the following important issues:

1. Most journalists involved in the questionnaire were not knowledgeable of the Press and Publication Laws, or other legislations related to press freedom in Jordan, such as the Penal Code. This conclusion was reached as a result of some journalists asking their colleagues about these legislations and some of them felt embarrassed and asked for some time to read the questionnaire and to read the Press and Publication Laws.
2. Most Journalists, especially those working at weekly newspapers were very keen to speak privately about the lack of freedoms and the very low salaries. They also concentrated on the unstable environment and the insecurity imposed on them by the government through suspension, closure, and legal and illegal actions by the state. This made them more eager to help in answering the questionnaire and to praise any question or proposition which was designed to show government restrictive policies and unfair treatment of the press. The fact that this research is done in English and is based in Ireland left most journalists safer and more willing to cooperate with the researcher.

3. It was noticed that some journalists encouraged their colleagues to take a copy of the questionnaire in order to answer it so as to aid this research area.
4. Some journalists at the daily newspapers were very hesitant and reacted in a strange way, especially at the Jordan Times, which is the only English newspaper in Jordan. They were extremely unhelpful and furious as to the way the questionnaire was designed and certain issues were raised. Nonetheless, this was expected to some extent, as the Jordan Times is very closely related to the government, indeed it is controlled by the government, not only financially, but also at all other levels, including its connections with the security and intelligence departments.

### ***3.1 Population and Sample***

The population of this questionnaire was composed of all journalists who are registered members of the JPA. The total number of JPA member at the time of this study was 560 journalists. Since it was not the purpose to study the whole population, the researcher delivered 20 copies to every daily newspaper, and 5 copies to every weekly newspaper to use as the representative sample. However, the researcher tried to

increase the size of the sample as much as available time and resources permitted.

Therefore 200 randomly chosen journalists were given a copy of the questionnaire together with a covering letter explaining the nature and purpose of the study with a kind request from the researcher to help in answering this questionnaire. Out of the 200 copies, 156 copies were received and all of them were usable. Hence the response rate was 156/200. This rate is considered very high and as a result it was seen as very appropriate for analysing the research questions.

### ***3.2 Data Analysis***

The data that was collected through this structured questionnaire was coded and statistically analysed using the SPSS statistical package. Descriptive statistics such as means, standard deviations and cross tabulations in addition to analytical statistics such as analysis of variance and T-Tests were used where appropriate throughout the analysis. Other tests used included; 1-Way Nova tests – used to determine the indicative statistical level of differences between the means of the study sample views in the study domains and the whole instrument, by analysing individual variations; and Newman-Kuels tests. These statistical methods were used because they significantly served the purpose of the study. They were chosen after a careful consideration of the various available

statistical analysis methods. The variables of the study included sex, speciality, academic qualification, experience, and type of newspaper.

### **3.3 Court Cases**

The literature review revealed the fact that there were many lawsuits filed against different newspapers in Jordan especially the weekly press. It also revealed that there is very little known about the nature, type and implications of these lawsuits. No classified data exists apart from bits and pieces of information about several of these cases found in certain departments attached to different governmental departments. This lack of organised data compelled the researcher to compile a list of all lawsuits together with the most relevant data for each case and catalogue them in a tabulated manner to facilitate their manipulation. Every possible effort was made to produce a comprehensive database; however, this database is not perfect despite the enormous efforts and resources allocated to it.

A package called Microsoft Access was used to place all cases into a database to allow for easier manipulation of the data. This helped in querying and presenting the data in the database; for example you could find all the cases dealing with specific charges using a query and present it using a report; alternatively you could find all the cases concerning a specific newspaper and likewise present them using a report. In fact this

database would be used to create necessary tables for particular years or for any particular given query.

A full list of all lawsuits filed against journalists and the government in the period 1993 to 2003 can be seen in Appendix 2. This list is easy to follow and understand; it includes all necessary data concerning these lawsuits such as the lawsuit number, the year, the name of the plaintiff, the name of the defendant (newspaper), the issue number (of the newspaper), the type of newspaper, the violation, and the nature of the charge. To achieve this it was necessary to spend long hours over more than 30 weeks researching the archives of courts, libraries, Petra, JRTV, JPA, DPP, newspapers and their lawyers, the national library, and many personal contacts to check information and dates.

Despite the many problems and obstacles that were encountered during this task, the researcher managed to copy a good number of lawsuits representing the period emphasised in the title. Some of these cases are analysed in the section covering lawsuits. However, the total number of these lawsuits up to the end of 2002 was exactly 140. This number represents all lawsuits which could be found or traced.

### ***3.4 Newspaper Database***

A database of all newspapers published in Jordan since 1920 until the present date was also compiled. It included all newspapers dealing

with many different subjects in both weekly and daily format with all relevant and available data such as the name of the newspaper, the year it was established, who established it, place of publication, type (i.e. weekly or daily), current status (i.e. still publishing or ceased), and editor. However, not all information for each newspaper is complete nor is it totally accurate, but all efforts were made to include whatever relevant information could be found in this database. It includes so many publications such as weekly magazines and others.

This database was compiled to avoid the creation of a long list of all publications in the various chapters and sections. This database would also help in finding any information relating to a specific newspaper or to a specific period or type of newspaper. In other words the querying of this database would unquestionably improve the manipulation of the data through many productive techniques. For more information about each press publication please refer to Appendix 3. Due to the large number of pages occupied by the appendices it was decided to bind them in a separate volume from that of the thesis.



## 4.0 Literature Review

There is very little serious and critical literature related to the press in the Arab world and, when found, it is restricted to few countries, most notably Lebanon and Egypt. The majority of these works are historical studies or records of press and publication laws, regulations and provisions or bibliographical lists of newspapers and periodicals published in these countries. Academic and serious works on free press and free expression, which can be classified as analytical, critical and focused, are very few. They exist as grey literature produced by some researchers at post-graduate levels in the form of university theses.

Despite the existence of the School of Journalism in Jordan at Yarmouk University since 1980, the intellectual production of this school is very low. The literature dealing with the Jordanian press is mainly concerned with the historical and political developments and events which make the research in this area very difficult.

There are also a number of lectures which were given on various occasions. They were related to the press in Jordan or freedom of expression in general. Most of these lectures were defensive of the authority and its policies. Thorough examinations of the content of these lectures revealed that very little objectivity or neutrality existed, as most lecturers were concerned only with pleasing the government by justifying

its behaviour. The examination of the literature required the researcher to classify this literature into the following categories: University theses, periodical articles, documents and reports, and books.

#### **4.1 University theses**

Review of the literature revealed that there are only two university theses related to the press in Jordan. Both of them are indirectly related to our subject and each of them has a different aim and method.

Press development in Jordan is discussed in "The Development of Daily Press in Jordan from 1967 to 1987" (Hamad, 1992).

This was an MA thesis submitted to the faculty of Journalism at Cairo University in 1992. This thesis is concerned with seven daily newspapers published in Jordan between 1967 and 1987. These newspapers are; Al-Dustour, Al-Deefa', Al-Urdun, Al-Rai, Al-Sabah, Al-Akhbar, and Al-Sha'b. The research is descriptive and avoids any critical analysis and concentrates on places of publishing, ownership, names of editors, specialised pages, and column writers. In part one of the thesis the researcher discusses the socio-political, economical and cultural conditions in Jordan since 1920. The different newspapers are presented in a list, similar to a bibliographic study.

The researcher emphasised the relationship between the press and the government, how the government dealt with the press, the influence of the press and publication laws and their impact on freedom of the press and the many obstacles to a free press including external pressures.

The history of the press in Jordan is dealt with in an MA thesis entitled "The Press in East Jordan from 1920 to 1950" (Obiedat, 1983). It is a historical study of the printed press in Jordan between 1920 and 1950. The introductory chapter, which includes the problem of the research, thoroughly discusses the problems that faced the researcher more than his discussion of the research problem. He investigated five different questions whose answers would represent the completion and perfection of the research. Then he discusses the methodology of the research followed by the problems of the research. He also goes back to discuss the problems he faced and about his personal experience. He did not follow any clear approach in his research, as his aim was not clear from the beginning. This thesis can also be criticised on the following grounds:

Firstly, it was prepared in the department of Arabic language in the faculty of Arts, which is not related to the subject of the thesis.

Secondly, the author concentrated on the importance of the press in raising public awareness, the development of intellectual thinking, the

importance of the press in publishing and spreading the Arabic language and literature. In other words he neglected the major aspects of modern media and put emphasis on peripheral issues.

Thirdly, he included the actual text of the press and publication laws in the body of the research, although they were expected to be in the appendix.

Fourthly, the researcher relied on very weak sources such as political figures who were known to be biased and authors known to be loyal to the government. The thesis sounds like a body without a soul.

#### ***4.2 Periodical articles***

There are a number of articles in this regard, most of them written by two different authors. Both authors are lecturers at the School of Journalism in Yarmouk University. Following are the main articles.

The first article, entitled "The New Trends in the Press and Publications Law of 1993" (Ziadat, 1995), examines the suitability of this law to the democratic reforms which Jordan embarked upon in 1989. The author was very concerned about controversial articles in the law and he attempts to identify the basis on which the law was introduced. He then goes on to point out to what extent it was successful in meeting the

aspirations of journalists throughout the country and abolishing controversial articles in the 1973 press law.

The article accentuates on the components of a free press and its ownership. It goes on to make a comparison between the 1973 and 1993 press laws. The author analysed some of the vagueness in the 1993 press and publications law and the fact that some articles are open to many interpretations, which impose a regime of self-censorship on journalists. This article is very objective in its analysis and has some valuable suggestions in its conclusion to improve the law. These suggestions also included the importance of lifting all restrictions imposed on the press, whether by law, or by other government practices.

The second article is written by the same author and is entitled "The Relationship between Partisan Press, Legislations and Press Laws in Jordan from 1989 to 1995" (Ziadat, 1997). The study aims to clarify the legal framework for Partisan press in Jordan between 1989 and 1995 and highlights the major obstacles responsible for the discontinuation of this type of press. The author concentrates on the analysis of some court rulings against various Partisan newspapers that were in breach of the 1993 press publication law. The importance of this study is highlighted by the fact that Partisan press wasn't permitted until 1992, after political parties were allowed to reform. The study concludes by emphasising the

importance of financial help, from the government, to all parties' newspapers to enable them to play the required role.

In a joint article, entitled "The Legal Environment of the Press in Jordan" (Armotti & Ziadat, 1989), the legal environment of the press in Jordan is discussed. This article attempts to explain the relationship between the press and publications department and Jordan newspapers under the 1973 press and publications law. It also deals with applications and interpretations of the provisions of the law by legislators, judges and high executive officers.

At the centre of this study, the practice of the executive authority in controlling the press in cases of Press Law violations is discussed. These practices include oral and written warnings, fines, closures and suspensions of licenses. In certain cases, the Ministry of Information has also practiced another method of control by evoking certain provisions of Jordan's Marshall Law of 1967.

The study also deals with a recent case, which laid emphasis on "the right to criticise in journalism" (Jordan Medical Association v Hani Saudi). The study also provides extensive analysis of several cases and examples of other court rulings pertaining to the freedom of the press.

Press laws from 1953 to 1989 are discussed and analysed in an article entitled "The Press in the Jordanian Press & Publication Laws" (Musa, 1991). The author compares the laws of that period in a historical, legal and analytical method. The comparison concentrates on a number of articles in each law, type of penalty and fine, the forbidden articles and any other similarities or differences. The author is very defensive of the government throughout the article. He contradicts himself by emphasising the importance of the last two laws in organising the profession and consolidating the structure of journalism.

He concludes by stressing the need for a new press and publications law that would meet the needs of the society and he advances a number of suggestions for the envisaged law. It was noticed that his writings in this article, or in other works, are pro-government or at least trying to justify the governments' actions. It was very clear that he tried to make a balance between pleasing the state and keeping the reader convinced.

Another article entitled "Jordanian Press: A Critical Study to its Development & Legislations 1920 – 1988" (Musa, 1989), discusses the development of the press in Jordan. This article, which followed on the development of the press in the specified period, highlights some of the socio-political conditions prevalent during this period. Apart from that it

is a very descriptive article concerned with giving the impression that the state promoted this development.

The article called upon journalists in Jordan to be socially responsible. At the time, journalists did not have any freedom to practice such responsibility. In fact, such demand by the author reflected the fact that he acted as a spokesman for the government who always made such requests, especially during situations of crisis. When the government, in any Arab country, asks journalists to be socially responsible it generally implies a government warning about the dangers of straying into critical territory.

#### ***4.3 Documents and reports***

The first paper is entitled "Press Freedom in Jordan from a Human Rights Perspective" (Shuqayr 2003). The author of this paper is the president of the freedoms committee in the JPA. This is probably why it was analytical, critical and objective. It was new as to its method, direction, aim and result. The paper revolved around two major aspects; the conception of freedom of expression and censorship. It is generally expected that journalists lobby for free press and governments lobby to restrict it. The author gave detailed analysis of major laws and principals, which guarantee freedom of expression, such as the constitution. He



highlighted some of the obstacles to a free press in Jordan including restrictions in the press publication law and other related laws.

He also highlighted the daily practices of the government which restrict freedom of the press. These restrictions included the government ownership of daily newspapers and its practice to choose and appoint their editors. This paper also touched on some of the weaknesses of some journalists such as fear of speaking the truth and the greed of other journalists to get some government grants or favours. The low salaries were considered as a major obstacle in preventing journalists from fulfilling their duty.

The article mentions some of the international standards in journalism, which are usually ignored by the government in Jordan.

Freedom of expression in Jordan was discussed in a seminar paper entitled "Freedom of Expression: Theory & Practise" (Abu-Arja, 2003). This paper was discussed during a meeting organised by the National Centre for Human Rights in Jordan. The author of this paper is a professor at the School of Journalism, Al-Petra University in Amman, Jordan, which was established as one of the many private and commercial universities in the aftermath of the gulf war in 1991.

The paper begins by describing freedom of the press as guaranteed by international laws and confirmed by the Jordanian constitution,

especially in article 15. It discusses the different theories of the press with particular emphasis on the social responsibility theory, which justifies pressures and restrictions imposed by the government on the press.

The second chapter discusses the role of mass media in enhancing and increasing freedom of the press. It also touches on obstacles facing journalists to reach their sources of information. The issue of forbidden areas were highlighted as servants of the best interest of the ruling elite. These forbidden areas are also found to protect the best interest of Western powers, which exercise a lot of unseen pressures on most Arab countries including Jordan.

The third chapter discusses the conflict between the press and publication laws, and the fact that some of these laws are unstable and unconstitutional. The author highlighted some setbacks to freedom of expression as a result of the introduction of the much legislation including the 1999 amendments and the temporary law of 2001, which was introduced as a result of orders from the USA in the aftermath of September 11th. This law was used as an excuse to protect the national security of Jordan. The overwhelming control of the government to the only association in Jordan representing journalists was also highlighted.

In the last chapter of the paper, the author discusses problems faced by journalists in Jordan, most notably reaching their source of

information, financial problems – such as low salaries, the exploitation of journalists by the owners of different newspapers, and problems regarding acquiring a license to start a newspaper.

"Clarifications on the two paragraphs – 22 and 24 – of the Jordanian Report to the Human Rights Committee" (Arab Organisation for Human Rights, 1994). This report is a composition of comments made by the organisation on all of the restrictions contained in the JPA law and press publication law. The report also explains the allegations that were filed against different weekly newspapers. It lists a number of examples of journalists being imprisoned and the story behind their imprisonments. It gives many examples as to the restrictions imposed on freedom of expression in Jordan. The report concludes with a number of requests including a request to improve the press publication law of 1993 by revoking some articles that were very restrictive to free expression and the circulation of information. It also suggested the abolishment of articles that forced journalists to reveal their sources of information to the courts.

This report is about democratisation and press freedom and is entitled "Jordan: Democratisation without Press Freedom" (ARTICLE 19, 1994). In this report, ARTICLE 19 highlighted all major steps taken by

the government since 1989. They also devoted a section to media structure in Jordan including radio and television. The report discusses access to information and government secrecy policies, such as the panel code restrictions on press freedom. The report gave a brief idea about the practice of censorship in Jordan in relation to newspapers, books and imported publications.

Although ARTICLE 19 recognised recent political reforms in Jordan, it concluded, among many conclusions, that the right to freedom of expression in Jordan remained strictly controlled and that the 1993 press law enactment did not meet the aspirations of Jordanian writers and journalists to freely express their views and to inform the public without fear.

In another report entitled "Freedom of Expression & Information in Jordan" (ARTICLE 19, 1991), constitutional provisions on freedom of expression were discussed, together, with other emergency provisions including the 1935 defence law, the 1967 martial law, and the revision of the state of emergency in the country. The report goes on to discuss the panel code provisions, which are limiting freedom of expression. These included the following; prohibition of criticism of the head of state, incitement of racial and ethnic hatred, crimes against religions, crimes against the external security of the state, war propaganda and

dissemination of false news, defamation, innuendo and affronts against public officials, and attacks on morals and good behaviour: obscene publications.

The report also discusses issues related to the licensing of journalists, newspapers, printing facilities and prior censorship. It then discusses the media structure in Jordan, self-censorship, government interference, and censorship of foreign publications. It concludes with a number of recommendations aimed at improving the current situation as far as freedom of expression in Jordan is concerned.

#### **4.4 Books**

This book is a very useful source of information and probably the most comprehensive work related to our research. It contains the full deliberations of the seminar entitled "Press and Media Freedom in Jordan" (Hourani & Hawatmeh, 1998), which was organised by Al-Urdun Al-Jadeed Research Centre (UJRC) and ARTICLE 19 (The International Centre Against Censorship) in collaboration with the Arab and International Centre for Media Studies. The seminar was held in Amman on 28 and 29 October 1997.

The seminar consisted of 150 participants and the submission of 16 working papers. The seminar concluded with an extensive roundtable discussion. The participants represented many different backgrounds in

the media, the press, the judiciary, universities, research centres, NGO's, international organisations, and even members of the Jordanian parliament, and representatives of the various departments in the Ministry of Information.

During the seminar; the progress of the media and the press in Jordan during the era of democratic transformation (initiated in 1989) was assessed. The participants expressed their views concerning the introduction of a modern press and publications law and called for a press law that would achieve the following:

- Uphold the freedom of expression and opinion
- Professionally and legally protect journalists and press institutions
- Ensure the independence of press institutions
- Protect these institutions from an attack, on their freedom or rights, by the government intervening

The fact that the deliberations of this seminar were published following the Supreme Court ruling that the provisional Press and Publications Law was unconstitutional; therefore, making all the decisions based on this law null and void, was probably a coincidence.

A number of issues were highlighted during the seminar, which included the importance of international solidarity with the Jordanian press as well as the importance of action by human rights organisations,

such as ARTICLE 19, in support of the press institutions that were suppressed by the provisional Press and Publications Law of May 1997.

The need to adhere to international law criteria was stressed by the participants. This would protect the freedom of expression and opinion. The seminar was held a few days prior to the Jordanian parliamentary elections, which took place on 4 November 1997. This reminded the various parties, concerned with the suffering of the Jordanian press, of Jordan's need for a press and publications law that was committed to the basic principles of human rights, particularly the freedom of expression and publication.

The roundtable had adopted some recommendations at the end of the seminar, which were sent to the Council of Ministers, the House of Representatives and the Upper House of Parliament. They stressed that freedom of expression was established by the Jordanian Constitution, the International Declaration on Human Rights and other international conventions and agreements, which Jordan had consented to. The recommendations focused mainly on the need for freedom of the press, viewing it as the cornerstone of all other freedoms and emphasising that Jordanians are entitled to have the benefit of these freedoms.

Other issues highlighted in the seminar included the need for the formulation of political, legal, and economic frameworks for the protection of the freedom of press and expression, and the independence

and multiplicity of the press. The participants in the seminar called for the adoption of a number of practical measures, most importantly the following:

- To annul the recent amendments to the Press and Publications Law.
- To encourage the rise of independent institutions engaged in research and to upgrade the conditions of the press and the media in accordance with the Sana Declaration.
- To repeal the censorship imposed on the press and the different publications, including imported material.
- To appeal to the Jordanian government and parliament to agree to the international protocols that they had signed.
- To stop the harassment and arresting of journalists.
- To transform the media institutions from government institutions to state institutions and to enact the necessary laws that would govern radio and television broadcasts.
- To encourage cooperation between the journalists and their organisations on the Arab level and on international levels.
- To work for and encourage the independence of the judiciary and the establishment of a constitutional court as the only safeguard of all controversial matters related to freedom of expression.



- To exempt from custom duties the raw materials imported by the press and to use the profits made in the training of newsmen with a view to raising their professional standards.
- To start a serious dialogue between the governments and the civil society with a view to reaching a national formula for the protection of individuals and their reputation, and to strike a balance between the freedom of the press and human rights.

The second book, which is called "The Democratic Process in Jordan" (Hourani & Abu-Rumman, 1996), contains the research papers, interventions and discussions that took place at the conference entitled "The Jordanian Democratic Process" that was organised by Al-Urdun Al-Jadeed Research Centre (UJRC) in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Amman on 31 May to 2 June 1994.

During the conference 14 discussants commented on the 22 papers that were submitted. Among the participants in the conference were former ministers, parliament deputies, senators, party leaders, journalists, women activists, academics and other public leaders. In addition, a number of Arab researchers and academics also participated in the conference.

The importance of this book stems from the fact that all chapters deal with the press in Jordan directly and indirectly with the exception of

one chapter, which concentrates directly on media performance in the democratic era. It is a valuable reference for the evaluation of the Jordanian democratic process and a quality addition to the Jordanian research library.

The book starts with the speech delivered at the opening ceremony by Taher Al-Masri, who is the speaker for the House of Representatives – the sponsor of the conference. This is followed by six chapters that deal with prominent topics such as the international and local circumstances affecting the Jordanian democratic process, the evaluation of governmental and parliamentary performance, the conditions of the judiciary, human rights, the performance of political parties, unions and professional associations, and cultural and media organisations. The book also deals with other important issues such as women, political Islam and economic reform. It concludes with a roundtable discussion on the prospects for the democratic process in Jordan, emphasising many issues and aspects of the press in Jordan after 1989.

The Partisan press is discussed in a book entitled "Islamic Press & Political Pluralism in Jordan in the Last Decade of the 20th Century" (Karino, 2002). The main aim of the book is to analyse the behaviour of Islamic press in Jordan in relation to political pluralism from 1990 to 2000. The term Islamic press refers to three specific weekly newspapers;

Al-Ribat, Al-Sabeel and Al-Liwaa. The book begins by defining political pluralism and its relationship with democracy. It discusses the development of Islamic press in Jordan through the examination of the three newspapers.

The author concentrates on the position of the Islamic movement in Jordan, which continuously shifts from a peaceful opposition to a loyal supporter of the government, according to the coverage of these three papers. The author also highlights some statistics, which explain the nature of subjects covered in these newspapers in relation to matters related to Jordan, Palestine, the Arab world, and the rest of the Muslim world.

The book concludes that Al-Ribat newspaper is the only newspaper representing the Muslim Brotherhood party and is fully supported by it. It also concludes that Al-Sabeel newspaper functions under the umbrella of the Islamic front in Jordan, whereas it is difficult to associate Al-Liwaa newspaper with any particular group despite allegations that it is linked with Iran. These allegations are usually based on the nature of this paper to be defensive of the Iranian government.

Freedom of the press is also discussed in a book entitled "Press Freedom in Jordan: A Comparative Study in Legislations" (Shuqayr, 2001). The author is a well-known journalist in his objectivity,

impartiality and integrity. His characteristics are reflected in all his works including this one. It is an attempt to explain the position of press freedom in Jordan, legal guarantees, obstacles facing journalists, and the need for journalists to understand the legal environment of the press to enable them to defend themselves and to express their views within the limit of available laws.

The book begins by discussing laws, freedoms and the court system in Jordan. It also discusses, with some emphasis, the huge external pressures on the Jordanian government from Israel and America to restrict freedoms through laws and legislations that are very restrictive. He introduces a number of comparisons in relation to freedom of the press between Jordan in one hand and other European countries in the other hand. These countries included France, Germany, Britain, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Austria and Holland. Such comparisons were introduced to illustrate the role of the press as a fourth authority in the West, compared to its role in Jordan and indeed in the rest of the Arab world as a cosmetic instrument for the authority and the ruling elite.

It discusses with some analysis numerous controversial articles in the 1998 PPL and the 1998 JPA.

The legal dimension of the press in Jordan was covered in a book entitled "Legal Protection to Journalists and the Ethics of Press Work"

(Khalil, 2001). This book was published by the Jordanian Centre to Protect Journalists (JCPJ). It starts with a brief description of press theories. It is a list of most of the legislations related to the press in Jordan, although the main aim of this book is educational and was originally designed to help in training journalists in the many legal issues seen necessary by the author. The book failed to present these legislations in a way that would meet the purpose of the book; rather it was more of a list of abstract legislations with insufficient analysis and clarification. It would be hard for any journalist to use it as an educational reference, apart from using it to refer to the abstract law or an article in a certain law or legislation.

The progress of the press in Jordan is covered in a book entitled "The Development of the Jordanian Press (1920 – 1997)" (Musa, 1998). This book can be described as an academic contribution with a specified aim and methodology. It is the most comprehensive work covering the development of the press in Jordan. The publisher is also a respectable scientific organisation, known for its support for serious and critical academic contributions.

The book is divided into three different sections covering three periods of time as follows; the first extend from 1920 to 1946, the second is from 1946 to 1970, and the third is from 1971 to 1997. The first period

was known as the Beginnings of the Press, the second as the Press of Independence, and the third is the Press of Big Institutions. The book analyses the content of newspapers in each period. It also discusses and documents cases of interference, harassment or other pressures and restrictions exercised by the state against some newspapers.

The book highlights gaps and weaknesses in press laws and the fact that these laws are vague and left open for many interpretations. This vagueness in interpretations was purposely left to serve the government in its use and abuse of these interpretations when needed. The book criticises the way in which the government amalgamated newspapers and took control of their finances, which gave the government the right to appoint their editors. The book classifies the press in Jordan into official, partisan or independent; however, his classification of certain newspapers as independent, especially prior to 1989, is questionable.

#### ***4.5 Global and Arab Perspective***

It was necessary to view the related literature from a global perspective to acquire better understanding of the subject. The global literature also is useful in certain critical parts of the thesis mainly the theoretical framework and the legislative section of the thesis.

Since Jordan is part of the Arab world and its' press, to a large degree, it was essential to review some related literature. It would be

noticed, however, that there is an overlapping between the Arab and the global literature.

ARTICLE 19 is probably the most active organisation. It produced many invaluable books, reports and other publications. The most notable in this regard is "Information Freedom and Censorship World Report 1991" (ARTICLE 19, 1991), which covers a remarkable period of extremes in 77 countries worldwide. It covers the crumbling of authoritarian rule in Eastern Europe, the end of emergency rule era in South Africa and the return to civilian rule in four countries in Latin America. Although the report did not include Jordan in particular, it did include other Arab countries including Algeria and Egypt.

The report provides important censorship statistics, mechanisms and elaborates on the culture of secrecy in all countries. This invaluable report was extremely enlightening as it came at a turning point in history for most countries including Jordan, which started its political experiment in 1989.

The report contains many themes and issues related to freedom of information and censorship discussed comprehensively in 500 pages.

The major theories of mass communications, well known as the four theories of the press, were also reviewed through the examination of some of the literature covering these theories, such as the section entitled "Normative theories in the mass media in the society" (McQuail, 1983).

McQuail's work is a useful template in explaining which – if any – model fits the Jordanian media best? Since McQuail's work was very general other works, most notably William Rugh's book on the Arab press and another two books in Arabic; Freedom of the press in Lebanon (No'aimy, 1989) and Press Systems in the Arab World for (Abu-Zaid, 1986) should also be taken into account. No'aimy's book is very analytical and critical on the subject of freedom of the press. Despite the fact that it is concerned with Lebanon, it had some reflections on freedom of the press in the wider context. The author discusses the relationship between the state and the press and vice versa. He covers most relevant issues related to the press in Lebanon including the role of the parliament, the nature of the political system, the tribal system, the ethnic influences, the role of political parties and the role of the Journalist's Association.

These works, in their discussion of the different theories of the press, in general agreed that the Arab press, or any particular Arab country, did not fit in any of the four international systems or theories of the press. However, William Rugh was the most notable researcher who classified the Arab press into a new kind of classification. His new classification divided the press in the Arab world into loyalist and revolutionary. Jordan was classified under the loyalist media system. This classification, however, is very superficial despite his attempt to give an accurate and analytical picture of all influences on the Jordanian press.



The word loyalist is very misleading and gives the impression of a loyal press. In the Western system, for example, the king does not possess all the powers, whereas in the Arab system the ultimate power is in the hand of the king as is the case in Jordan. This is why his classification was very cosmetic.

The literature review revealed that a considerable body of the literature existed on the historical aspect of the Arab Press; most of it by Arab authors. The most obvious countries covered in some details by sources of works dealing with particular periods, specific newspapers and the careers of individual journalists are Lebanon and Egypt. A great many of these studies, often inspired by Philip di Tarrazi's pioneering *Tarikh Al-Sihafa Al-'Arabiyya* (The History of Arabic Press, 1933, 4 volumes), follow a somewhat mechanical pattern of chronological enumeration of the appearance and disappearance of the many periodicals in one place or another. Seldom do they conceptualise the press as being a novel social institution whose evolution reflected complex political and cultural developments. A few works, however, are more analytical – notably "The History of Syrian Press" (Al-Rifaai, 1969) and "The Development of Syrian Press in 100 Years (1865 – 1965)" (Iliyas, 1982), which are both studies of the Syrian press, and "The Development of News in the Egyptian Press" (Jayyid, 1985), which discusses the Egyptian press.

Al-Rifaai's book comprised of two parts and covers the Syrian press from 1800 to 1947. It covers the development of the press in Syria during the Ottoman era when Jordan was a province of greater Syria. This book was originally submitted as a PhD thesis at the School of Journalism in Cairo University. It is very factual and contains accurate data and statistics, particularly on printing presses, schools, associations, and clubs. It also has a bibliographical list of all periodicals published in that period in addition to appendices. Among these appendices there is one that lists the names of famous figures and writers and a second, which covers the administrative divisions of the country. The third and most important is a comprehensive list of all periodicals published in this period. The book is very descriptive work and avoids any critical or analytical treatment. This is likely to be due to restrictions imposed by the authorities.

Iliyas' book, however, is well organised in its methodology and content. Other than that it is very similar to Rifaai's book. It describes newspapers, classifies them into official and popular. This book covers the development of the press in Syria up to 1965. The author discusses each newspaper and provides details on the following aspects: their addresses, date of publication, place of publication, organisation and advertisements. The book also deals with the political, social and military conditions in this period. This work can be criticised on the basis

that it contains whole articles from different newspapers and these articles form a substantial part of the book. The book, however, includes some appendices, one of which is a bibliographical list of all newspapers, and the other which is a photo of the first page of each newspaper or periodical published in this period.

In all that has been published so far there is no paucity of information and detail in terms of the historical aspects of the press. Indeed the abundance of details is sometimes so overwhelming as to blur the story's main contours.

The substantive changes in the Jordanian media can also be viewed in the context of changes elsewhere in the world most notably as transitional media emerge from totalitarian or post-totalitarian societies and cultures, as they occurred in Post-Mao China. These changes, have been discussed in a systematic and academic manner in an article entitled "The Development of a Semi-Independent Press in post-Mao China: An Overview and a case study of Chengdu Business News" (Chengju, 2000). What is relevant here is that changes in both countries allowed the appearance of semi-independent media, but not a Western style media as was hoped at the beginning of these changes. The changes which took place in China about 20 years ago, together with changes in Jordan since 1989, have in some sense shared significant structural and operational characteristics in the printed press.

Changes in East Europe in the post-communist era are also relevant in this context. In an article entitled "New Relationships: Eastern Europe media and the post-Communist political world" (Gross, 2000), the relationship between post-Communist Eastern European media and politicians and political elites, on the one hand, and between media and politics and political systems, on the other hand, are examined. Among many issues raised in the article, the author highlighted the need for well-defined and universally accepted journalism standards.

An MA thesis, entitled "Limitations on the constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression in Irish law" (Hart, 1996), was reviewed to enlighten the researcher as to the dimensions and issues raised in the thesis. It was also necessary and helpful in understanding the constitutional guarantees enshrined in the Jordanian constitution. Such information and research did not exist in the case of Jordan. The thesis examined the limitations on the said constitutional guarantees, with particular reference to the common and statute law. Jordan, however, does not have a common law tradition as is the case in some Western countries. The thesis also aimed at examining specific problems that were posed by the new form of communication of opinion and information provided by the recent rapid development of the Internet.

## **5.0 General and Historical Background**

Freedom of expression in Jordan, like any country around the world, cannot be understood nor talked about without the proper framework. Such framework is extremely important in the debate concerning freedom of expression in a country that has its own unique characteristics.

In order to understand the status of the weekly newspapers and how the press developed in Jordan, we need to know the factors that have had an important influence on them. Although the following factors would be discussed as separate entities, the relationship between such factors is very difficult to separate; in other words each factor affects another.

All the factors would be too numerous to list, but the main factors that will be considered are:

- Historical and Political background
- Development of Printing Presses
- Geography and Population
- Development of Education
- Development of Libraries
- Religion and Language
- Economic and Social conditions

## **5.1 Historical and Political background**

What is known today as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a land rich in history, referred to in many ancient scripts including the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. Historical sites such as Petra and Jerash prove the value placed on it by Nabateans and Romans.

Other civilisations that have left marks on Jordan include the Amorites, Moabites, Ammonites, Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians and Greeks (Shubbak, 1971: 8-9).

Jordan has been at the cross-roads of many different cultures: The development of Christianity in the 'Holy Land' centred in Jerusalem, which remains a holy city of the Jewish faith; the establishment of the Islamic faith over 1400 years ago made Jordan even more important and the fact that Jerusalem (part of Jordan until 1967) is one of the most Holy places in Islam underlines this.

The intervention of the crusaders in the 12th and 13th centuries was the first occasion of Christian military incursion into the area. Their influence lasted just over 100 years until the rise of Saladin who initiated a peaceful and prosperous era that lasted until the annexation of Jordan as a province of Syria by the Ottoman Empire from 1517 to 1917.

Since the rule of the Turks in 1516, Jordan remained as a neglected province of the Ottoman Empire. The significance of East Jordan to the Turks was only as a road from Damascus to Medina and Mecca for

Pilgrimage. The signs of destruction and negligence throughout Jordan during the Ottoman rule are numerous. These included severe shortage of capital, manpower, high taxes, bad agriculture, corruption, and the absence of road and transport infrastructure (Al-Musa & Muneeb, 1959: 5-7).

The modern history of Jordan started from the First World War and the post war settlements. The Ottoman Turks entered the war taking the side of Germany and Austro-Hungary. Britain encouraged and supported an Arab revolt against Ottoman rule. In 1915 dialogue began between Sir Henry McMahon (British high commissioner in Egypt) and Sharif Hussein bin Ali (Grand Sharif of Mecca). During the course of this dialogue McMahon promised general British support for the Arabs to achieve their aspirations including the establishment of an independent Arab state in return for a strong Arab stand against the Ottoman Empire. It was these promises that encouraged Sharif Hussein to raise the flag of the Arab revolt in June 1916 by proclaiming the independence of the Arab Nation from the Turks (Al-Musa & Muneeb, 1959: 30-32).

The Arab army played a very important role in the subsequent defeat of the Turks. The Army was led by Faisal (Sharif Hussein's third son).

In 1918 Faisal entered Damascus. This signalled the end of four centuries of Ottoman domination. Greater Syria was subdivided into



occupied enemy territory administration. Trans-Jordan remained under Faisal's control. The British did not fulfil their promises as the agreement between Sharif Hussein and McMahon was vague, with prior intention of Britain to mislead Sharif Hussein. Also the agreement between Hussein and McMahon conflicted with other undertakings by Britain: Firstly, the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement for the division of those provinces into British and French colonies; secondly, the Balfour Declaration in 1917, which Britain undertook to assist in the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

In the immediate post-war years Faisal and the Arab nationalists pursued their attempts to establish an independent Arab kingdom in greater Syria. In March 1920 the General Syrian Congress proclaimed the independence of Syria (including Palestine and trans-Jordan) under Faisal. France and Britain moved rapidly to oppose the Damascus resolution and in April 1920 the associated and allied powers, meeting at San Reno, approved the partition of greater Syria into French (Syria and Lebanon) and British (Palestine and Iraq) mandated territories; a decision confirmed by the League of Nations two years later. By July 1920 French troops had occupied Damascus and forced Faisal into exile (Al-Musa, S. & Muneeb, 1959: 120-122).

The fall of the Arab government in Damascus left the political future of the trans-Jordan area highly uncertain. Trans-Jordan could not

be occupied by French troops since it lay south of the agreed Sykes-Picot line and had been assigned to Britain as part of the Palestine mandate. Conditions in trans-Jordan had by this time deteriorated into almost complete lawlessness and the area was rapidly becoming a haven for Arab nationalist raids on French-controlled Syria.

Jordan remained under British military mandate until full independence was acknowledged in 1946. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was admitted to the United Nations in December 1955 and has been a very active member state since then. In 1948 Abdullah bin El Hussein was made king. The late King Hussein is his grandson and has ruled since 1952.

The system is a hereditary monarchy incorporating a parliamentary system with a house of representatives (Majlis Al-Ummah – Council of the Nation) with 80 members elected by universal suffrage and a Senate (Majlis Al-Ayan – Council of Elders) appointed by the Monarch (UNDP, 1989: 7).

To understand the development of the press in Jordan and the reasons behind strict censorship laws, and other laws which restricted free expression, we need to review the historical and political events in Jordan since 1948 as briefly as possible. In this year the Jordanian army had lost part of Palestine as a result of the first Arab/Israeli war which resulted in the establishment of the state of Israel. In 1950 King Abdullah annexed

Palestinian territories in the West Bank of the river Jordan and proclaimed the state of Jordan rather than trans-Jordan. On 20th July 1951 King Abdullah was assassinated while visiting Jerusalem; his son Talal succeeded him, but his rule only lasted one year for medical reasons. His son, the present King Hussein, assumed the throne in 1953 aged 17 years.

The policies of King Hussein of cultivating a close relationship with the West resulted in resentment in some Arab countries, but they have enabled Jordan to ride-out some of the worst political storms over the period of his reign. Jordan has played and continues to play a key role in the Arab/Israeli conflict. In the 1967 war against Israel, known as the Six Day War, the Israeli state managed to occupy all Jordanian territory on the West Bank. As a result thousands of Palestinian refugees flooded into Jordan. During the seventies many events followed, especially the guerrilla war by the P.L.O. and their supporters from other Palestinian groups against the state of Jordan and its army. In this hostile turgid political environment King Hussein is thought to have survived 15 assassination attempts and a number of attempted coup d'etat. As the country had been continually under martial law from 1967 until 1991, the apparatus of strict state control and press censorship has been prevalent. However, Jordan has continued, through war and peace, to play a leading role in trying to find a solution to the Palestinian problem.

During the 1980s Jordan also played an important role in supporting Iraq in its war with Iran, although the King always tried to bring the two sides to a peaceful settlement. In 1989, elections to a new parliament took place, followed by the announcement by the King in 1990 to form a royal Commission to draft a National Charter which would lead to the legalisation of political parties previously outlawed.

However the Gulf war boosted the King's reputation at home and in many Arab countries sympathetic to Saddam Hussein; but the price in terms of disaffection with Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and their Western allies was severe in economic terms (Ministry of Information, 1995: 12 -15).

## **5.2 Development of Printing Presses**

The rule over Jordan by the Ottoman Empire from 1517 to 1917 had a profound effect, with the exclusion of printing presses from this part of the Turkish Empire entirely. This is why a historical review of the arrival and development of printing presses in the neighbouring countries and cities is important in considering the overall development of the press in modern Jordan.

Bearing in mind that the art of printing books began in Europe in mid-14th century it was to take over 300 years before Muslims, with reservations, began to adopt this European innovation. In the meantime from the 15th century, many books were printed in Arabic in European cities notably Rome, Paris, Oxford, Genoa, Venice, and Bucharest.

The Turkish Sultan introduced bans on the possession of printed matter in 1485 and the same was done by Selim I in 1515 just as he had conquered Egypt, Syria and Jordan. The Ottoman Sultan feared the power of the printed word among his subjects. The hesitation of the Turkish sultan to allow this new technology is best described in the following quotation:

"The Turkish sultan, who was not only the nearest but also the most powerful Muslim ruler, was quick to realise what was happening in Europe, and he feared the consequences this new activity might have among his subjects. A ban on the possession of printed matter was proclaimed by Sultan Bayazid II as early as 1485, and was repeated and enforced in 1515 by Selim I, who shortly thereafter became the conqueror of Egypt and Syria, the central lands of Islam and at the same time master of the holy places in Arabia (Pedersen, 1984: 133)."

This political fear was powerfully reinforced by religious reservations on the printing of the name of God which appears on each page of the Quran. This fear and suspicion of the printed word in the Islamic Arab World thus became ingrained in the culture of the people and to some extent remains to this day (Pedersen, 1984: 131-135).

It is worth noting that the ban did not affect the Jews who printed a number of Hebrew books as early as 1490. Printing presses were in use by them in Syria, Lebanon and Turkey, printing Hebrew and Arabic texts for use by non-Muslims.

In 1798, Napoleon brought an Arabic printing press to Egypt for the production of army and government orders issued to the local people. After the departure of the French in 1801 and the British soon afterwards, the Egyptian leader Muhammad Ali continued with printing and established the government printing press at Bulaq, Cairo 1821. For a long time this was the most important Arabic press.

As a result of the long established Christian presses in Syrian Beirut, the Syrians operated presses and wrote for the daily newspapers that were established in Egypt, starting with Al-Muqattam (1889). The influence of European culture on Arab people studying in Europe and at Christian institutions of learning such as those in Beirut resulted in the translation of many works into Arabic in a wide variety of subjects, such as industrial and agricultural development, and science.

By the mid 1920's there were approximately 80 printing presses established in Syria (Pedersen, 1984: 136-138).

The first printing press in Jordan was established in Amman in 1922 by its owner Khalil Nasser after being transferred from Jaffa where it had been since 1909. This long delay in the arrival of printing presses in Jordan has caused the relatively weak position of the press industry there, compared to some of its longer established neighbouring Arab states (Al-Amad, 1979: 16).

With the establishment of the separate emirate of trans-Jordan under the British mandate came the stimulus to establish the country's first newspaper. This was called Al-Haqqu Ya'lo (Right is Superior) by Khalil Nasser in 1921 – written by hand until the arrival of his printing press from Jaffa in 1922.

A further five printing presses or more were established in the 1930's and 40's through to the time of full independence in 1946. With the establishment of a truly autonomous state the press industry was no longer subject to the restrictions of colonial masters such as was experienced during the Turkish and British eras.

The early honeymoon period of the new kingdom was very free of restrictions and censorship. This led to a relative boom in printing with the total of presses reaching 13 in the 1950's and by 1970 the total was 55. Much of this growth mirrored the growth of educational institutions

at all levels including the establishment of Jordan's first University in 1962 and its first national public library system in the 1950's (Al-Amad, 1979: 54).

However, in 1953 a special department was established by the Jordanian Government to regulate the licensing and production of printing presses including all printed matter. Due to the importance of these regulations and acts a special section is devoted in this study to review all of these acts since 1909 when the first Ottoman Publications Act was passed with respect to East Jordan (Shraim, 1984: 14).

From the 1970s through to the present day the printing press industry entered a more mature stage in terms of quality and quantity. According to the Department of Press and Publications database in Jordan the number of printing presses up to August 1997 reached more than 250. It should be noted that most of these presses are concentrated in the urban areas of Amman, Irbid and Zarqa.

Printing facilities in Jordan are not allowed without authorisation from the government. All press and publication law in Jordan, including the 1973 law, prohibit ownership or management of printing facilities without authorisation from the Minister of Information. It is even restricted to Jordanian nationals who are over the age of 21 years and have not been convicted by crime against public morality. The owner of a printing press must deposit two copies of any printed material before



distribution to the Ministry of Information. The Minister of Information has the powers to ban any printed material if he considers that its publication could harm the general public interest. Article 70 of the PPL 1973, as amended in 1988, also requires the deposit of two copies to be checked by the DDPP before distribution. The DDPP can stop the distribution of any publication if he considers it to be harmful and against government guidelines (ARTICLE 19, 1991: 10).

### **5.3 Geography and Population**

The name Jordan was given to the area located east of the river Jordan. The word Jordan in the Arabic language means strength and dominance.

Jordan is a small country on the eastern edge of the Mediterranean. It stretches from the Yarmouk River in the north to the Gulf of Aqaba in the south, where it borders the northwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula, and Syria. To the west are the West Bank and Palestine, and eastwards the boundaries merge into the deserts of Iraq and Saudi Arabia. A 40-kilometre coral-bordered stretch of coast on the Red Sea at Aqaba prevents Jordan from being entirely land-locked.

The total area, including the Dead Sea, is 89,297 square kilometres. In July 1988, Jordan renounced its claim to approximately 7,000 square kilometres of land from the West Bank, held by Jordan from 1949 until occupied by Israel in June 1967.

Now left with the East bank of the Jordan River, the country is split into eight governorates: Amman, Irbid, Balqa, Zarqa, Karak, Mafrq, Ma'an and Tafiela. The city of Amman is the capital.

The country can be divided into three distinct regions; the fertile Rift Valley, the East Bank plateau and mountains, and the deserts and semi-deserts that make up more than 80% of the territory.

Only 5% of the total land area is arable and even that is heavily dependent upon irrigation. The distribution of vegetation follows the pattern of rainfall: pine and oak forests where rainfall is heaviest, grass and shrubs in the semi-arid steppes, thorn and sparse shrubs in the driest regions. The Dead Sea is 392 meters below sea level (Ministry of Information, 1995: 17-19).

According to the Department of General Statistics in Jordan, the country's inhabitants up to 1994 reached about 4.2 million people. This is excluding another 800,000 people living in the occupied West Bank. The population growth rate is estimated at a high 3.4% per annum, while the density of population is approximately 37 per square kilometre. At least 50% of the total population lives in the Amman governorate.

The Gulf War of 1991 brought Jordan a severe refugee problem. Around 300,000 Palestinians fled to Jordan from Kuwait and several thousands of other Jordanian nationals who had been employed as expatriate workers were also forced to return home in the regional disruption. Before the conflict, approximately 60% of Jordanians were of Palestinian descent and this figure now looks set to increase as an estimated 250,000 of these refugees now seem likely to remain in Jordan.

Now 1.4 million people in Jordan have officially been designated as refugees from Palestine. Their fate will depend on the ongoing talks

about Palestinian self-government in the West Bank (Ministry of Information, 1995: 20).

The total estimated number of population in Jordan in 2003 is 5,460,000 with a growth rate of 2.1%, a birth rate of 23.7 per 1000 infants, and a mortality rate of 18.9 per 1000 (Department of General Statistics).

## **5.4 Development of Education**

The importance of education in understanding freedom of expression issues is very clear. Whether in Jordan or any other country the relationship between education and freedom of expression is very important; therefore the development of education in Jordan must be reviewed briefly.

Education during the Ottoman era was very basic and the memorisation of the Noble Quran was at the centre of that system with secondary emphasis on reading and writing. Female education was not considered important that time and very little attention was given to it. Students were very much discouraged by physical punishment and this punishment was fully supported by parents as they believed that would better discipline their children. Prior to 1914 only 25 religious schools existed in the country. During the 1920s the entire schools system, including 44 elementary schools, had 21,316 students and 81 teachers. Only four secondary schools existed in the country during the 1920s. The whole curriculum was based on memorisation with very little emphasis on reading and writing. This situation contributed badly to the development of the printing industry because printed material was not needed and not seen as very important.

However, the 1930s witnessed a more rapid development of education. The Amman secondary industrial school was established in

1930. In 1932 the Ottoman elementary education act was modified to meet new changes and developments. The Ministry of Education was established in 1939. This brought new legislation which would meet new changes. The idea of compulsory education appeared for the first time, at least verbally among people (Dirani, 1977: 32-33).

A dramatic increase in the number of schools, students, and teachers has been registered from 1948 until the present date. The first Arab-Israel war was the main factor in the increase in the number of educated and politically active population.

However, it was not until the 1960s that education, from age 6-15, became compulsory for both boys and girls. Thorough examination of statistics provided by UNESCO Statistical yearbook regarding education in Jordan provided a very clear picture as to the number of students and teachers over the years since 1967 up to the present. Nonetheless the following examples of these numbers are just an indication of these developments. The number of students at this level had increased from 11,571 in 1967 to 49,422 in 1992.

The number of students at the primary level increased from 207,606 in 1967 to reach 1,014,295 in 1992. The term primary education in Jordan refers to students between the age of 6-16 (UNESCO, 1969) and (UNESCO, 1994).

The previous examples are just a quick indicator of the level of education, at least in terms of numbers, at school levels.

The move towards universal primary education has been dramatic. The literacy rate in the younger generation is very high. As you will see six-state University and more than fifty tertiary-level colleges have been established since 1963. This resulted in an explosive demand for information of all types including newspapers and in turn put pressure on authorities to censor some of the information (UNDP, 1989: 9).

Investment in the education of the people has been a priority in developing Jordan socially and economically. Al-Shorbaji did a comparative study at all school levels. He found that the total number of students at all levels increased from 101,763 students in 1952 to 1,214,064 in 1993. This triggered more demand for printed material accompanied by growing awareness of basic rights and freedoms (Al-Shorbaji, 1994: 104-105).

Education was also expanded to higher levels and since 1951 the idea of establishment of teacher training colleges were founded. Three of them in the West Bank and only one in East Jordan (Hiwarah Teachers College) which was established in Ajloun in 1964. In the seventies another five colleges were established around the country. Two of them were female colleges and three were male. The number of these colleges reached 52 in 1985 and the number of students enrolled at these colleges

reached almost 30,000 students. The number of educated students and teachers in the country helped to further raise the awareness of Jordanians of their right and increased the demand on printed material including newspapers.

These different colleges were also very active and published a lot of periodicals and reports concerned with local and international issues related to these colleges themselves. Many examples can be given of these periodicals such as:

Al-Qalam (The Pen ) a half yearly journal published by the Amman Teachers College in 1957, and the Arab Society College in 1983, and many others attached to these different colleges. A university was established in Amman in 1962. Although it started with one faculty and only 167 students and eight lecturers, it now has 13 faculties and many centres and institutes of research attached to it. Today it is considered to be one of the best universities in the Middle East and it caters for more than 15,000 students. Yarmouk University in the north of Jordan was established in 1976 and has grown dramatically to compete at all levels with the University of Jordan. The third university which was established in Jordan is Mu'tah University, which is in the southern city of Karak. It started as a military university and then was expanded to become a civil and military university. The fourth university was the University of



Jordan for Science and Technology, which was established in the early 1980s, also in the north (Zubidi, 1996: 29-35).

Since 1990 and as a result of the pressure on existing universities in Jordan and also as a result of the huge number of Jordanians going abroad to get a university degree the government, for political and economical reasons, allowed the establishment of private universities. Ever since, the number of universities in Jordan has reached eighteen universities in total. This number is very high for a population of less than five million; nonetheless it is a reflection of the direction the society is heading and as far as this research is concerned these factors are part of the reasons behind the government's decision in 1989 to give better freedom of expression and to allow a more free flow of information for a population which became highly educated. In fact, the government is well aware that education is the most decisive factor in the way people think; therefore government policies are shaping the curriculum directly and indirectly at all levels. The government's interference in what should be taught started to be more active in the 1990s especially after the peace process. It might be said that the government does not interfere in the curriculum of universities but no lecturer would take the risk and teach what he believed, especially in areas related to the politics and economy of the country. Many lecturers lost their jobs over the years because of their beliefs. Many examples can be given, most notably the expulsion of

Professor Ali Al-Utum from the department of Arabic Language at Yarmouk University and the expulsion of Professor Na'im Nosayr from the department of Mathematics at Yarmouk University. These are just two among many others.

### ***5.5 Development of Libraries***

The development of a library system in Jordan suffered from the Ottoman Empire's neglect of the whole country. This reflected their fear of libraries as repositories of the printed word used as a political weapon, particularly in the format of newspapers, journals and pamphlets.

The situation was little improved under the British mandate over Palestine and trans-Jordan from 1917 to 1946. The new colonial power was just as worried about the impact of newspapers in particular and the access to them and all printed information that might be available from libraries. At first, only poor collections of current material existed in the mosques which were, however, rich in historical and holy literature.

It was not until 1926 that the first library was established in Jordan. School libraries started to develop in the 1930's and 40's, totalling 14 by 1950. The modern library movement did not really get under way until the first decade of full independence in the 1950s (Younis, 1985: 341).

Pressures from academics in Jordan caused the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Affairs to make early use of their recent entry into the UN by initiating a UNESCO study of the library's needs in 1956. As a result of this study Jordanians were sent abroad to study library sciences. Major developments followed in the 1960s such as the establishment of the University of Jordan complete with library in 1962; the formation of the Jordan Library Association (JLA) in 1963; the

publication by the JLA of *Rissalat Al-Maktaba* (Message of the Library) – the first proper library periodical for Jordan in 1965; and finally the inclusion of library science in the curriculum of the Teachers' Institute in Amman, as a specialisation for the first time in 1966/1967 (Younis, 1985: 342).

The massive investment in people's education by successive Jordanian governments led to the establishment of 15 Universities (private and public) by 1993. Each of these incorporates a library. In addition ordinary school libraries totalled 3,623 by 1990/1991 including kindergarten, primary, secondary and vocational levels. A total of 752 full-time professional librarians were employed overall in the school library system (Al-Shorbaji, 1994: 116-119).

It would be very difficult to cover the development of all kinds of libraries, i.e. public, private, university and other types of libraries, within the terms of reference of this study, but the fact that great improvements in the library system in Jordan have taken place has been shown.

Many problems remain in the Jordanian library service including limited financial resources, a shortage of degree-level staff trained in library science, lack of cooperation and organisation within public and municipal authorities, many schools lack full-time staff dedicated to the library which in many cases result in books and periodicals being stored in locked cupboards and boxes with limited access and little cataloguing.

A major problem facing the library system in general is censorship of all material including newspapers through government regulations, religious censorship and self-censorship by librarians in fear of offending the political establishment.

## **5.6 Religion and Language**

The official religion of Jordan is Islam and 94% of Jordanians are Sunni Muslims. Christians make up 5%, mainly in urban areas spread between Roman and Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox plus various Protestant churches. Very small numbers are Armenian-Orthodox and Catholic, Nestorians and Chaldeans. Other minority ethnic/religious groups include Turkomans and Circassians (who migrated from the Russian Caucasus) who are Sunni and Shia Muslims and there are also some Druze peoples. Ethnically 98% of Jordanians are Arab (UNDP, 1989: 6).

Religion is a very important factor in understanding the culture of censorship in a predominantly Arab Islamic country. In addition to the usual forms of state censorship there is a long tradition of religious and moral censorship which is supported by the majority of Muslims and Christians.

The official language in Jordan is Arabic. English is widely used especially in urban/commercial sectors. The signs are in Arabic and English throughout the country, and English has been actively encouraged in education and government to open the country up in terms of its position with the dominant cultures of the West. French is sometimes spoken among the educated classes. People in the Jordanian media almost all speak English in varying degrees and Jordan has two

English language newspapers; one daily – The Jordan Times, established in 1975, and the other one weekly – The Star established in 1990 (Ministry of Information, 1995: 10).

Over the last 10 years the English language became even more important for the younger generation due to the widespread of internet services in schools, colleges, universities, homes, and other places. Additionally the widespread of Internet cafes throughout the country helped to strengthen the language.

## **5.7 Economic and Social conditions**

The Jordanian economy is mainly dependent on Agriculture as a main pillar of the economy. It is a source of employment for only about a third of the working population, contributing about one-fifth of GDP.

The main crops are wheat, barley, vegetables – including tomatoes, eggplant, lentils, cucumbers, lentils, and onions. A very small part of the total land area can be considered cultivatable. Most of the land that is used for agriculture stretches from the Yarmouk River in the north to the Dead Sea in the south, and is located east of the River and is provided with water from the tributaries of the Jordan River. In the Jordan valley, 58,000 acres are irrigated by the East Ghor canal and that was the first stage in a major irrigation project designed to irrigate 2 million acres. Such irrigation projects managed to increase agricultural production substantially. This exceeded the needs of the country and left a considerable surplus for export.

The animal husbandry in Jordan can be classified as a nomadic and semi-nomadic type indigenous to the area. Large tribes in Jordan take so much pride in their animals, especially camel breeders who take their herds into the desert in the winter and return to the cultivated areas during the summer. Sheep and goats are widely bred in rural areas throughout the country and many families are dependent on them.



Since 1970 industry has become a major player in the Jordanian economy. It is increasingly becoming the dominant factor of the economy. It has forced a lot of people to leave the agricultural form of work and migrate to work in a developing industrial state. There are 47,000 people working in approximately 6200 industrial companies around the city. Factories such as marble factories, cement factories, vegetable/oil refineries, petroleum refineries, phosphate processing plants, cigarettes factories, battery factories, textile factories, and many other factories are all included in the industry.

Jordan exports many products, mainly phosphate potassium, agricultural products, marble, and textile products. Jordan launched an ambitious economic plan in order to enhance its development. The five-year plan that extended from 1981 to 1985 was aimed at realising a high annual growth in gross domestic products, the creation of more jobs for Jordanians, and the reduction of trade deficit (UNDP, 1989: 8-9).

The Jordanian economy, which is mainly dependent on Western aid, suffered many major blows over the last 15 years.

In 1989 the Jordanian Dinar collapsed and its value was reduced to almost half; the economy reached its worst stages and debts reached soaring levels. Even before the collapse of the Jordanian Dinar, Jordan was suffering from a decrease of money sent by Jordanians working abroad due to bad economies in host countries. The amount of aid that

Jordan was receiving from all producing countries in the Gulf was reduced because of low oil prices. This situation was not helped by high public spending and the increase in the budget deficit (Hamad, 1992: 7).

This was followed by the tragic invasion of Kuwait in 1990 which resulted in 300,000 refugees coming into the country. In addition, the recent Intifada in the West Bank over the last few years has crippled the Jordanian economy and almost destroyed the tourism industry which in turn affected other aspects of life.

The occupation of Iraq by the United States led army in 2003, together with de facto circumstances, brought the Jordanian economy to a standstill and the state is now dependent on Western aid.

## **6.0 Overview of the Media Structure in Jordan**

This chapter will give a brief idea about the main elements of Media structure in Jordan. Such idea is vitally important in understanding how the media functions, who was behind it when it was established, and the regulations governing each type of media. The chapter will also include an explanation of the two major players in the structure of the media. These are the Jordan Press Association, and the Department of Press and Publications (DPP). Our discussion in this chapter will also include radio and TV, the Internet, Petra – The National News Agency, and daily newspapers. Weekly newspapers published in Jordan from 1989 until the present date will be designated a special section due to their importance, as they are the main focus of this thesis.

### **6.1 *Jordan Press Association***

The Jordan Press association was established in 1953. Prior to this date there was no organisation or department concerned specifically with the press. In 1953 the Arab Press Conference, which took place in Cairo, recommended the establishment of Press Associations in Arab countries including Jordan.

Since 1953 the JPA started to develop with tremendous difficulties due to confrontations, competition, and personal differences between the

owners of the different newspapers. These differences were related to the laws of the association.

The Press Association Law – Number 17, which was issued in 1953, was the basis on which the JPA was established. This Law also specified the purposes of such association by setting clear objectives such as the protection of journalist rights, improvement of their circumstances, specifying their duties, and organising the relationship between the press and the government on one side and the press and public on the other side. It also required the association to enhance the relationship between the JPA and other associations in Arab countries. The law also required the association to lay out the rules of practising journalism, including membership rules and punishment for not adhering to the rules. The law clearly states that freedom of the press is sacred and it's the duty of the association to defend it, and to defend the views and freedom of its members in expressing their opinions.

This law is one of a few laws that have not been modified since it was passed in 1953 until 1983, and Hamad rightly argues that legislature have already interfered with the association through changes in press and publication laws during the last 50 years. Such changes and interference are well illustrated in the chapter covering press and publication laws (Hamad, 1992: 194).

A council consisting of nine members manages the JPA. It comprises of three journalists from the private-owned press, three journalists from state-owned media, and the remaining three are members representing the publishing industry. The JPA council is dominated by pro-government journalists due to that fact that the majority of JPA members work in state-controlled newspapers, the national news agency (Petra) and the broadcasting media, which is also owned by the state.

Most journalists in Jordan consider the JPA as a state-run body with one major aim to the state, which is to keep most journalists in line with its policies. Since early 1990 and with the emergence of multi-party systems, the existence of the JPA was challenged by a growing number of journalists who want an independent organisation, free of government or partisan. In fact journalists working for newspapers owned by political parties and journalists working in newly emerging independent weekly press represent a minority and have very little influence in the JPA compared with pro-government journalists. The JPA is seen by many as the only professional organisation that is out of line with other professional organisations. Its history shows very little achievements for the profession when it comes to press freedom or defending its member's rights (ARTICLE 19, 1997: 34-35).

The first elections of the JPA were held in 1969 in the professional associations centre in Amman and resulted in Ibrahim Shanty, who was

the chief editor of Al-Deefa' (The Defence) newspaper, being elected as president. He said at the beginning of the meeting that day: "We are meeting after fifteen years of struggle in order to organise the profession, after losing a big number of our experts, to assert and prove our presence and existence. We are also here to assert our rights and organise ourselves in order to protect our future and the sacred nature of the word which we carry (The Defence, 15/03/69)."

In 1983 a royal decree was issued to approve the 1983 JPA law; therefore it was only since 1983 that the JPA was established as a statutory body during the martial law period. Up to 1989 all media in Jordan was under direct state censorship. A committee, presided over by the DDPP, was formed with four journalist members. Such a committee was established in accordance with article 62 of the 1983 JPA Law, which states that "After the approval of the law the Minister of Information should form a committee by the DDPP and the membership of four practising journalists (ARTICLE 19, 1997: 43)."

State influence on the JPA caused it to be out of line with other associations in the country such as the Lawyers Association, Engineering Association, Doctors Association, Writers Association, etc. Very little was achieved by the JPA in terms of enhancing press freedom, freedom of expression or defending the rights of its members. These professional associations have shown remarkable and outstanding achievements in

defending freedom of expression and other human rights issues in comparison to the JPA's efforts. The role of professional associations with the exception of the JPA manifested itself in the annoyance and the dissatisfaction of the late King Hussein. As the leaders of Jordan's independent and non-governmental associations had joined to criticise the 1997 press and publication law amendments, human rights watch sighted the following quotation by King Hussein in his speech on May 27 1997:

"Let us hope that the time will come when everybody will confine their activities to their work, so that the person who is responsible for the union of veterinarians [one of the professional associations in Jordan] will not threaten or announce resignation in protest against the press law amendment. I do not understand the connection between veterinary work and the press. What is the link between them? Why don't he and his colleagues work in their profession? (Human Rights Watch/Middle East, 1997: 8)"

The king, in this speech, wanted to send a message to these associations, but he seemed to ignore the role of the JPA or he purposely left out mentioning that as he was probably very happy with their non-constructive role.

As a matter of fact, Lathe Shubaylat – the head of the Engineering Association and a well-known parliamentarian – was imprisoned a few times as a result of his attempts to defend freedom of expression. Tujan Faisal – a female parliamentarian and a well-known writer – was imprisoned as well. She is a member of the Jordan Writers Association. JPA was held responsible for limiting press freedom through its attempts to control and pressurise the written press. Its membership terms and

requirements were the reason of restricting press freedom because of the many obligations and requirements of such a membership. Every member joining the JPA must take an oath, which in itself is an acceptance by those who take it, to adhere to the very restrictive laws governing the profession. Any journalist who refuses to take this oath will be automatically expelled from the association and prohibited to practice journalism, and that in itself is a method of blackmail against journalists who have no choice but to accept to take the oath.

Prohibitions and restrictions imposed on journalists are clearly illustrated in the JPA Law, especially in article 15 which prohibits the press from employing anyone to be a journalist unless he is a member of the JPA. Article 18 also punishes any person who claims to be a journalist by fining him from 100 JD to 500 JD, imprisonment from five days to two months or both. Article 46 prohibits journalists to be engaged in any other profession or become a member of other unions. These are just examples of how the JPA Law itself is a major obstacle to free press.

When these restrictions are joined together with other restrictions imposed by other press and publication laws, one can imagine the hardships that journalists face. Examples of press publication law restrictions are too vast to discuss here, but will be discussed later. One of them is worth mentioning now, which is in the PPL of 1993 in article 2(c), which requires all journalists to become JPA members before they



are recognised as journalists. The JPA imposes a number of tough conditions on journalists if they wish to become members of the association. These conditions include a third level degree or complete training in a Jordanian publication, i.e. recognised newspaper for at least three years or one year full-time experience in a Jordanian newspaper. Some writers in Jordan are not members of the JPA; therefore they are not formally recognised as journalists. They are excluded on many grounds, namely because they are freelance writers or they work for political party newspapers, and also act as correspondents to foreign newspapers based in Jordan. Despite the fact that some writers are not formally recognised as journalists they consider themselves to be journalists (ARTICLE 19, 1997: 36).

The most recent law of the JPA is law number 15 for the year 1998. The law and the practice of the JPA reflect its weaknesses and its clear cooperation with the state to suppress free expression. In an article published by the association entitled "Readings on the attacks on the profession," the importances of punishing those who attack the profession from its viewpoint are emphasised. It also gives examples of attacks on the profession, by considering those who are practicing journalism outside the JPA in breach of the law, instead of defending their rights to express themselves. At that time, to become a member of the JPA was difficult (JPA, 2001: 1-2).

## **6.2 Department of Press and Publications**

All aspects of communications in Jordan have always been a matter of concern for the political administration, whether during the British mandate in Jordan or after its independence. Therefore it would be unfair to always put the blame on the Ottoman Empire and the British Government. The DPP, which is an organ of the Ministry of Information and probably the most important department, had been in existence since 1927, although under different names, and worked to organise the cultural and journalistic life. Although the publication reflects the services, which are provided through it to researchers and other citizens, did not mention anything about its major function throughout the previous seven decades which is the censorship of all printed material.

The Department has three major duties to deliver in accordance with article 4(a) from the regulation governing the DPP. They are:

1. To apply the laws related to press and publishing and to cooperate press and public institutions, to facilitate their duties in accordance with the press and publication law number 8 for 1998 and its amendments.
2. To supervise the press publications, books, manuscripts and audio-visual material, in addition to imported material.

3. To publish books, leaflets and other publications periodically or yearly regarding all aspects of development and progress in Jordan to meet the needs of Jordanians and journalists.

(Ministry of Information, 2002: 3-4)

The DPP's work became more important and was needed by the political establishment after the unification of the East and West Banks in the post war of 1948. At the beginning it was attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was followed by the office of the Prime Minister in 1964, when the Ministry of Information was established.

The importance of the DPP, as one of the oldest media institutions, which was in charge of direct censorship of Newspapers, publishing a daily publication covering local news, the facilitating of Journalist affairs, and the distribution of news about Jordan containing political, economical, social, and other aspects of life in the country. The publications of the department are numerous and are an important source of information for researchers concerned with general Information.

The first press publication was published by the department in 1958, under the title: 'Jordan Journalist's Guide'. It also published a Journal entitled: 'Jordan's Message'. This explains the Jordanian viewpoint, internally and externally, and covers cultural, scientific, social, and economic issues. The Department also publishes The Jordan yearly

book since 1963, which is still being printed until the present day, in addition to booklets and leaflets in Arabic and English.

In fact, the Department managed to publish more than seventy different publications since its establishment. Many of these publications are in English, which document for important events such as the official speeches of his late Majesty King Hussein, and the political history of Jordan. Its main publication, Press and Publication Law of 1993, the Elections Law of 1986 and its amendments, and the Law of Political Parties in Jordan for the year 1992 (Ministry of Information, 1995: 102-103).

According to the deputy director of the department, in 2002 the DPP inspected 5500 journals, 1943 books, 2892 manuscripts, and dealt with 30 to 40 visitors daily. He stated that: "we are not capable as a society to sustain a Western style free press, taking into consideration our socio-economic background," and he added, "therefore, it is the duty of the government to keep balance by legislating to regulate what can be written and published in the written press."

It is obvious that the DPP is playing a much smaller role in direct censorship, but that's not to say that the situation is better than the pre 1989 period. The DPP is trying hard to present itself as a modernised, civilised department concerned with the free flow of information, which

can be noticed in its published literature and was admitted by its deputy director as mentioned earlier (Ministry of Information, 1995: 105).

### **6.3 Radio and TV**

The broadcast of radio in Jordan started in 1956. Jordanian radio service, which used to broadcast from its studios in Umm-el-Hiran, on the road between Amman and Na'oor, is still broadcasting from this location since 1959 (Ministry of Information, 1995: 109).

The current radio service is part of a fully state owned Jordan Radio and Television Corporation. The TV service existed since 1962 and operates one national station with two services, one in English and other in Arabic, broadcast from studios in the capital city of Amman. A significant proportion of its programming is allocated to issues of local and social dimensions. It also introduced a number of talk shows that gave the listeners the chance to call in and speak to Government Officials regarding current issues under discussion.

The radio service improved in terms of quality and capabilities to convey the voice of Jordan to a wider population and other Arab listeners around the world. It broadcasts 24 hours in Arabic and twelve hours on short wave to the Arab countries. Broadcasting includes News, Discussions, Private Events, Religious Programs, Cultural issues, and specialized issues to do with Family, Children, Farmers, Military, and Educational activities and programs attached to the school curriculum; Whereas the English Programs broadcast about 100 hours weekly on

short-wave which includes News, Music, and other Cultural and Documentary programs.

There are three different broadcasting stations. The first being Amman Broadcasting Station; the second, Ajloun Broadcasting Station, was installed and put into operation in 1980. The third station is Al-Harana Broadcasting Station, which was started in 1988, and was considered as one of the most modern and widely broadcast stations in the world. The Jordanian radio started a new stage using the FM system of broadcasting.

Radio services in Jordan operate under very strict state censorship and are only used to propagate their policies. Real political issues are absent in this medium and any credible debate was not allowed. In fact radio was seen by the state until recent years as a very dangerous medium and should be under restrictive surveillance and heavily guarded in case of a military coup.

TV services in Jordan is also fully owned and run by the state. It is subsidised and financed entirely by public money through the ministry of finance. The service started on the 20 April 1968, when the JTV transmitted in black and white. A second channel was introduced in 1973, which included a number of foreign languages broadcast, mainly English and French. Most Jordanians nowadays avail of the service. However the last ten years have seen the introduction of few controversial

programs on JTV such as 'Welcome Government'. This show was suddenly discontinued because it was designed to criticise senior public figures, which did not like the idea and pressurised the TV to stop such programs.

Since the introduction of regional satellite channels such as Al-Jazeera, JTV became less capable to meet the expectations of its viewers and to compete with more open and free channels which are invading the private rooms of most Jordanians (ARTICLE 19, 1997: 21).

In recent years many people have argued and have pushed to allow the private sector to own and run audio-visual media. Such attempts, however, have been hampered by the state and are still very far from becoming a reality. The whole political system throughout the Arab world is like a volcano about to erupt and governments think they can delay this eruption by restricting freedom.



## **6.4 The Internet**

Jordan was very quick to respond to the technology revolution and was probably the quickest in the Arab world. It was also one of the first countries in the Middle East to allow the private sector to provide the Internet service. In April 1996, Jordan came on-line and since that time the Internet has become very popular with hundreds of Internet cafes established in the country including small towns and villages. While the Internet service is growing in Jordan, the cost of subscription is very high and the cost of the phone call time is also very high compared with European prices, especially if we take into consideration that people are getting low pay.

The first Internet café was established in 1997, giving those without a PC and telephone landline the chance to access the Internet and use email. It used to cost up to 5JD per hour to use the Internet, however, the average cost is going down to almost 1JD per hour in Internet cafes, which is also still expensive compared with the level of earnings. Many Jordanian newspapers are on the Internet including 'The Jordan Times', 'Al-Rai', 'Al-Dustour', 'Al-Sabeel', 'Shihan', 'The Star', and many others. JRTV and PETRA – the national news agency, are also online (Al-Sharif, 1998: 119-120).

Although Jordan is believed to have a street containing the most Internet café's in the world, they are still at their early stages. The

Internet connections aren't as fast as those available in Western countries and flat screens in an Internet café are unheard of! A simple explanation for this would be the low income that the Internet café's receive. The rates charged are reasonable and usually depend on the quality of the computers provided. Taking this into account, we can conclude that if there was an Internet café in Jordan which provided flat screens it would most probably charge very high rates for someone on a Jordanian salary.

### **6.5 Petra – The National News Agency**

On 16 July 1969 a royal decree was passed to establish a national news agency as an independent department attached to the ministry of information. Its duties were specified mainly to achieve the national media objectives of Jordan through the coverage, retrieval, dissemination of news, internally and externally. It is a state-owned agency, similar to the JRTV, it's governed by the 1995 law (Ministry of Information, 1995: 114-115).

Despite government announcement in 1996 to transform Petra to become a semi-state body and to allow it more financial and professional independence, it is still fully controlled by the government (Al-Dustour, 5 January 1997).

A computer system was introduced into the news agency in 1992 to receive, edit and send news.

Petra services are extended to many subscribers in Jordan such as embassies, newspapers, and foreign news agencies as well as to many Jordanian embassies abroad. It has 16 offices in Jordan alone. Currently Petra provides free services to the following: JRTV, Arab and foreign news agencies in Amman and agencies which have bi-lateral cooperation agreements with the agency such as the Qatari news agency and many others (Ministry of Information, 1995: 114-115).

## **6.6 Daily Newspapers**

All daily newspapers are published and based in Amman. The main two newspapers in Jordan are Al-Rai and Al-Dustour, but there are other areas which will be mentioned briefly.

(1) Al-Rai, which was established on 2 June 1971 and owned mostly by the state. It is considered the leading daily newspaper in Jordan. The number of copies sold daily is ranging from 70,000 to 100,000. Prior to 1989, Al-Rai suffered from government interference and harassment.

Most prominent writers and journalists contribute in its comments columns and give their opinions and analysis in a highly intellectual manner. The board of directors was resolved in 1988 and was replaced by government representatives and remained under direct governmental control until 1989, reflecting the government position and policies. In 1989 the board of directors was restored by the government and the government retained 60% of the newspaper shares. Al-Rai is seen by most people as a state newspaper, especially in matters concerning foreign policy and other sensitive issues. It always tries to justify government actions and inactions (ARTICLE 19, 1997: 24).

It has a team of 79 journalists between those working in its headquarters and other correspondence elsewhere. George Hawatmeh, a

well-known journalist, is the chief and responsible editor (Ministry of Information, Information Guide, 2003: 22).

(2) Al-Dustour, which was the second leading daily newspaper, at least in terms of circulation, which was established in 1967. It has a team of 89 journalists in total and a circulation of 50,000 copies. It is a pro-government newspaper, very interested in the coverage of royal family and senior government figures, not in a critical way but rather in a flattering way. Very little critical reporting is published in it compared to Al-Rai which is also pro-government.

(3) Jordan Times is the only daily newspaper published in English. It is almost a summary or an abstract of Al-Rai newspaper. They are both published by the same publishing foundation. It has been published since 1975. It has a team of 37 journalists and specialists working for it. Jennifer Hammerneh is the acting chief editor.

The newspaper is not interested in national news, but rather political development throughout the Arab world. It is also a pro-government newspaper and very interested in presenting Jordan as a stable pro-Western democracy, which should be an example to other Arab countries. It doesn't reflect in a genuine way the artificial and cosmetic nature of what's known as the democratic process of Jordan. The people would not allow critical political articles to be published, especially those criticising senior public figures (Ministry of Information, 1995: 107).

(4) Al-Arab Al-Youm is the most recently established daily newspaper, which began in May 1997, the same day as the 1997 Amendments to the PPL of 1993. It started with a huge capital estimated at 8 million JD owned by the private sector, which became as a positive indication as to the willingness of Jordanians to invest in the press. Being a privately owned paper, it was subject to a lot of harassment and pressurising from the government and the restrictions applied through press and publication laws. These pressures are manifested in the many lawsuits filed against the paper. However, There will a detailed discussion of such lawsuits but would be restricted to those filed against weekly newspapers (Al-Edwan, 1998: 69).

## **6.7 Partisan Newspapers**

The history of partisan newspapers goes back to the 1950's. Many publications were published during this period and some of them have continued to be published until the present date. Since 1989 Jordan experienced an increase in the number of published partisan newspapers. This increase continued until 1994, then witnessed some decline again. This dramatic increase in the number of partisan newspapers came as a result of the 1992 law on political parties, which gave each party the right to issue a periodical publication or more, to reflect its views. The PPL of 1993 was also a major incentive to this increase. It didn't put any major obstacles for the publishing of partisan newspapers. On the contrary, it encouraged political parties to publish its own periodicals by excluding partisan newspapers from the minimum capital requirements, which apply in other weekly newspapers. Such exemption is clear in article 24 of the law which exclude partisan newspapers from such requirements. This exemption was extremely important because most political parties were suffering financially or were not capable to meet financial requirements applied to other newspapers.

The following are some of the partisan newspapers published after 1989: Al-Ahali – Democratic People's party; Al-Masira – Jordanian Democratic Progressive party; Al-Fajr Al-Jadeed – The Jordanian

Socialist Democratic Party; Al-Asr Al-Jadeed – Democratic Islamic Arab movement party; Al-Jamaheer – Jordan Communist party.

However, the PPL of 1993, which was very advanced and flexible, did not last long and was severely affected by the 1997 amendments, which brought back many restrictions against partisan newspapers and cancelled most exemptions and exclusions stated in the 1993 PPL. It is worth mentioning that the requirement of minimum capital was not changed in the amendments (Al-Rimawy, 1998: 79-80).



## **7.0 Press Development in Jordan**

The general consensus is that media systems play a significant role in the politics of developing countries, Jordan being one of them.

However, the role of the media in national integration extends not only into developing countries, but to developed ones as well. However universal this importance may be, the media is different in the developing countries. It is far more a part of the control apparatus and occupies a significant position in the state's policy of national integration (Stevenson, 1988: 66-68). Jordan provides still another example of the state's reach into the media and its efficiency in promoting integration.

The history of the press in Jordan, like the history of Jordan itself, is brief. The Jordanian press has undergone several phases of development. The first phase began with the establishment of the Kingdom in 1920 and the recognition of the Emirate of Trans-Jordan as an independent constitutional state by Britain on 15 May 1923. Full independence, however, was not granted for over 20 years. This phase ended on May 1946, when the full independence of Jordan was announced for the first time.

The second phase extends from 1946 until 1952; a phase which witnessed some major events and turning points in the history of Jordan. The third phase began in 1952 and finished in 1967. The inauguration of

King Hussein of Jordan marked the beginning of this phase, and the six-day war with Israel took place at the end of this phase. The fourth phase, which started in 1967, ended with the political reforms towards democratisation in 1989. The fifth phase begins with the start of political transformation towards democratisation and ends with the death of the late King Hussein of Jordan in 1998. This marked the end of King Hussein's era, which lasted almost half a century. This phase is the main emphasis of this research.

It should be noted that the reason for dividing press development in Jordan into five different phases is only to facilitate the discussion and to clarify the wider picture of the printed media in Jordan. Some overlapping, however, is unavoidable from phase to phase due to the complicated nature of the subject at hand.

### ***7.1 Press Development from 1920 to 1946***

The evolution of the press in Jordan is very recent compared with other Arab countries; mainly Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. The starting date for the press was 1920; therefore this phase of development is referred to as the press of the beginnings (Al-Musa, 1998: 83). The 1920s witnessed the publishing of the first newspaper in the newly born country. This paper was Al-Haqqu Ya'lo (Right is Superior). It appeared in Prince Abdullah's camp in Ma'an, a city in southern Jordan, during

autumn of that year. Prince Abdullah published four issues of this newspaper in his camp prior to his movement to Amman a year later to establish the Trans-Jordan Emirate where he published the remaining issues of the newspaper. It was distributed freely to the leading figures of the great Arab Revolt (who accompanied the King), to his officers and to citizens in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine.

This kind of distribution reflected the Prince's interests in reaching a wider audience and his realisation of the importance of the press. This start for the press in Jordan coincided with the establishment of the Emirate in April 1921, the selection of Amman as a capital and the appointment of Abdullah as Prince of East Jordan. The Prince's interest in the Press did not come from a vacuum. He was well educated – a man of letters, a poet, and a journalist. He wrote many articles in the newspapers of Hijaz and Egypt; therefore he took special care in the press and encouraged the intellectual and literary movement. *Al-Haqqu Ya'lo* was published with a slogan representing 'Arab Revolt' and concentrated on political news, war matters and the activities of the Prince (Al-Musa, 1998: 37).

In the post-Emirate foundation period, the first newspaper was *Al-Sharq Al-Arabie* (The Arab East), which was a government publication. In the first six years this newspaper published literary and political articles, national and international news, and official announcements. In

1929, this newspaper became the official bulletin of the government of Trans-Jordan. It first appeared in 1923, followed in 1927 by three weeklies: Jazeerat Al-Arab (The Arab Peninsula), Al-Shari'a (Islamic Law) and Al-Urdun (Jordan). Some historians, however, referred to 1939 as the starting date of press development in Jordan (Kurian, 1982: 563). In that year the daily newspaper Al-Jazeera appeared in Amman. It was the first daily newspaper, thus the Jordanian press is less than a century old, even with 1920 as a starting date. However, 1927 was considered by Al-Musa as the real date for the birth of private press in Jordan (Al-Musa, 1998: 89).

During this phase many newspapers and magazines were published. They were literary in nature and committed to the pan-Arab nationalist, anti-colonialist line which called for independence, unity and liberation. The press at that time had very meagre resources and was governed by laws, which were enforced in the Ottoman era or during the British mandate.

Ever since Jordan's birth in 1922, the lack of natural resources has placed it at the mercy of external revenues of one sort or another. This revenue usually resulted from various alliances or depended on particular foreign policy stances. The way in which the press was directed, and the many legislations and provisions which were introduced, reflected the influence of many external factors. This also manifested itself in the fact

that official press was the first to appear and proved its ability to survive through reliance on public money.

The naming traditions of the early papers in Jordan exemplify the state's identity crisis. With the exception of Al-Urdun, which did not become daily until 1948; the newspapers' names reflected the interest in larger geographical areas beyond the borders of Jordan as it stands today. Al-Sharq Al-Arabie (The Arab East) and Jazeerat Al-Arab (Arab Peninsula) offer clear examples of the external focus of the media in its early years (Hamad, 1992: 3).

The introduction of new names for newspapers such as Philistine (Palestine) expressly indicated an emphasis on another identity and the title Al-Deefa' (The Defence) was rooted firmly in the Arab-Israeli dispute. The subsequent entry of the state into the newspaper industry saw the emergence of seemingly neutral names, like Al-Rai (The Opinion), Al-Dustour (The Constitution) and Al-Akhbar (The News) (Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 1980: 13-15).

Other newspapers published in Jordan included, Al-Hamamah (The Pigeon), Al-Sadah Al-Arabie (The Arab Echo), Al-Akhbar (The News). The 1930s period also noticed a few new weekly titles, which included Al Hikmah (Wisdom), Al-Mithaaq (The Trust), and Al-Wafaah (The Fidelity).

The only daily newspaper published in the 1930s was Al-Jazeera (The Peninsula). It started in Damascus but moved to Amman and began to publish daily as of 27 October 1939. The first newspaper in the 1940s was Al-Raaid (The Pioneer), which started to publish weekly on June 1945.

The development of the press in Jordan was influenced by the unstable socio-political economic conditions prevalent in that period. The Prince had to deal with a few revolts and unrests in different parts of the country. These revolts came from areas such as Al-Kura, Al-Karak, and Wadi-Musa. He also had to deal with a few invasion attempts by the Saudi forces.

The British did not recognise the Prince formally until 25 May 1923. Even after this date Jordan remained under British control. The British provided some financial assistance in return for full obedience. The British were in full control of the army, the economy, and were in charge of all government departments. The worst and probably the most notable event in the 1920s was the signing of the 1928 agreement between Jordan and Britain. This agreement handed practically everything to do with sovereignty to the British. It was a clear phenomenon, during this period, that Britain interfered directly with the press and all other liberties in a negative way so as to strengthen its control over the country. This led to closure and suspension, especially

when a newspaper tried to treat the political situation in a constructive manner and in the best interest of Jordanians (Shraim, 1984: 13).

In 1928, the basic law of East Jordan was introduced, which is similar to a constitution. This law was designed to further serve the best interest of Britain. It was amended in 1939, 1940, and 1946. The election law was also introduced in 1928 prior to February elections in 1929. Opposition and many political parties boycotted these elections. The first elected council, however, was resolved in 1941 because it protested against the establishment of Badiah (Desert) Forces led by John Glubb. The elected council remained until 1946.

In conclusion, the press in this period witnessed the publication of fourteen different newspapers as well as other periodicals. Three of these newspapers were official publications, four were Partisan newspapers and represented the opposition, and seven were privately owned and could be labelled as independent. Two of the seven private papers represented religious trends. Most newspapers in this period faced closure for different periods, or had their licences revoked. The editors of these papers also faced imprisonment and exile from time to time by orders from the British authorities.

The press in this period was regulated and controlled by five different legislations, including administrative and emergency provisions. All these legislations were introduced to restrict press freedom in Jordan

as will be discussed in later chapters. With the exception of Al-Jazeera which was daily and sometimes published three times weekly, all newspapers in this period were weekly newspapers. All newspapers were published in Amman except for Al-Haqqu Ya'lo, which started publishing in Ma'an, but eventually moved to Amman (Shraim, 1984: 14).

Most journalists in this period had acted in a responsible way. It was an observable fact that most newspapers were not published regularly in this period, and were short-lived due to financial problems, restrictions and pressures from the British authorities, due to their anti-colonial stance. These restrictions and pressures from the British authorities were due to the crucial role these newspapers used to play in influencing the people.

Newspapers in this period, including the official ones, were concerned with literary, short stories, poetry, and other creative works. They attracted famous writers from Jordan and other neighbouring countries, including famous publishers and editors who had settled in Jordan. The number of copies published for each issue was limited to a few hundred during the 1920s until the beginning of the Second World War, which witnessed the publishing of a few thousand issues from 1939 to 1945.



The technical aspects of press production were very old and primitive. Foreign news was almost non-existent. Official press started before Partisan press, and Partisan press started before independent press. Most editors in this period were non-Jordanian and came from Syria and Lebanon, due to the fact that older press traditions existed in these countries.

During the Second World War only one weekly newspaper started to publish, probably due to a shortage in paper supplies and high prices. The 1939 Press Law and its amendments in 1945 also restricted this period. Even newspapers from neighbouring Arab countries which used to be distributed in Jordan, were banned in 1928. These newspapers included *Miraat Al-Sharq* (Mirror of the East), *Philistine* (Palestine), *Sawt Al-Haqq* (The True Voice), *Al-Sha'b* (The People), and *Sawt Al-Arab* (The Arab Voice) (Shraim, 1984: 15).

## **7.2 Press Development from 1946 to 1952**

Although this phase of development is short in terms of the number of years covered, it witnessed a number of dramatic events and changes at the socio-political level. These events, however, affected all other aspects of life including press development.

A series of treaties gradually allowed the Jordanian government more and more autonomy until the treaty of London on 22 March 1946 finally declared Trans-Jordan a fully independent state. In May 1946, Abdullah Ibn Al-Hussein was proclaimed King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Trans-Jordan (from "Hashim", family of Muhammad, claiming direct descent from the Prophet) and a new constitution was promulgated and announced in 1947.

The treaties, and the positive aspects they had, were not to be achieved without the proper and active role which was played by the press, despite all the restrictions enforced by the British.

The press in the post-independent era faced many challenges due to many developments including the migration of some newspapers from historical Palestine to relocate to Jordan after the 1948 war with Israel. In this period the press functioned under Press Law No. 20 for the year 1945. In 1948 a provisional law of press inspection was introduced. According to this law the inspector of publications had absolute power to cease any published material if he thought such material would be

harmful or unsuitable. In other words, he could cease any material for whatever reason he thought necessary. This situation continued until the introduction of the 1952 constitution which guaranteed freedom of expression in general and freedom of the press in particular (Shraim, 1984: 48-51).

Even whilst it was waiting to secure its full sovereignty, the young kingdom had still been actively involved in regional affairs. It had been one of the founding members of the Arab League in 1945 and there was little doubt that, small and young as it was, Jordan was ready to assume the greater responsibilities and opportunities of its strategic position.

King Abdullah made little secret of his plans for a "Greater Syria" which would be a union of Trans-Jordan, Syria and Palestine. Some in Iraq, Syria and Palestine supported his aspirations, but Syria nationalists, Egyptians, Saudi Arabians, Zionists and the French were less impressed. It wasn't long before the early peaceful days of Jordan's independence were complicated by the thorny Israeli issue. In the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, Jordan's army, well developed during the years of the British mandate, secured considerable territorial gains.

In April 1950, King Abdullah annexed Palestinian territories on the west bank of Jordan and declared that his country would be known as Jordan rather than Trans-Jordan from then on. Jordan's gains were merely to add to its long-term problems in terms of the Palestinian

refugees, the status of Jerusalem and the West Bank, and disputes with other members of the Arab League.

On 20 July 1951, Abdullah was assassinated whilst on a trip to Jerusalem. His son, Talal, succeeded to the throne, but abdicated a year later following concern about his mental health. His son, Hussein – then aged only 17, in turn assumed the throne in 1953. The calm succession of two monarchs amid such unsettling circumstances only five years after full independence was a welcome and timely indication that the young state apparently enjoyed greater stability than many had believed possible (Ministry of Information, 1978: 7).

The press in this period was dominated by the private sector. Some of the first phase newspapers continued to be published during this period, although most of these newspapers ceased to publish. After the Second World War some of these newspapers were closed down by government orders (Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 1980:23).

The issuing of licences to some political parties such as the Jordan People party contributed to the emergence of Partisan newspapers. This period witnessed the publishing of a number of daily newspapers. The first Partisan newspaper to appear in this period was Al-Jihad (The Struggle) and the first issue was published in Amman on 25 November 1947. It was the mouthpiece of the Arabic Development party, which

was headed by Nazmi Abdul-Hadi. It was published bi-weekly in the first three months and then began to publish weekly.

The second Partisan newspaper was Al-Nahdah (The Progression) and the first issue was published in Amman on 16 June 1949. It represented the views of the Arabic Development party. The third Partisan newspaper was Al-Mithaaq (The Convention). It was a political, social and literary newspaper, published weekly in Amman. The first issue appeared on 25 June 1949. It continued to publish until 1951 and restarted in 1955 on behalf of the Social National party.

During this phase and the previous phase, the press in Jordan was characterised by some historians as courageous in the vigorous and responsible manner that they handled social and political affairs. The press in this period was very eager to raise national awareness regarding all-important issues of concern to Jordanians including full independence from the British and the need for a permanent constitution which recognises the rights of Jordanians and reflects their aspirations in all aspects of life (Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 1980: 20).

A thorough examination of the press in this period reveals a number of facts. In brief, the press in this period was Partisan or independent and not a single newspaper could be classified as official, despite the inauguration of three kings in this period. Three newspapers out of all were daily, ten were weekly, and only one was bi-monthly.

Three of these papers were Partisan, whereas the rest were privately owned and independent. The general trend of the press in this era concentrated on political and social dimensions and less emphasis was placed on other aspects.

It was also evident that some Palestinian newspapers chose to relocate to Amman after the occupation of Palestine in 1948. Most newspapers in this period started to publish more regularly compared with the irregular publishing of the press in the previous era. Some of these newspapers faced closure or suspension through government orders, such as Al-Raa'id, Al-Jihad, Al-Haq, Al-Yaqdha, and Al-Hawadeth. Some newspapers witnessed changes of publishing periods from weekly to daily and from bi-weekly to weekly. Amman continued to be the central location for all newspapers. Four newspapers were published in 1947, two in 1948, and five in 1949.

### ***7.3 Press Development from 1952 to 1967***

This phase begins with the inauguration of his late majesty King Hussein in 1953 and ends with the occupation of the remaining parts of historical Palestine, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It witnessed a series of political events which left their mark on press development and vice versa. Among these events, the Arabisation of the Jordanian army in March 1956 was considered the most crucial. This included the dismissal of Sir John Glubb, the British General, who was in charge of the army prior to that date.

The affairs of the wider Arab world, alongside internal developments, affected the way in which the printed media developed. The emergence of many ideologies and political parties – accompanied by national improvements in education, health, culture and other services – influenced the development of the press. Jordan was strongly tied with British influence. Britain tried to create an alliance against the liberation movement lead by Jamal Abdul-Naser, President of Egypt at the time. But Britain's attempt failed to get Jordan to join its alliance in 1954, due to the strong resistance and efforts of the opposition movement in Jordan. The alliance which was established in 1954 was called the Baghdad Alliance.

During this phase many newspapers appeared in Jordan and Palestine. The 1950s of this phase was described as the decade of

modern Jordanian press. The press in this period became mature, particularly after the unity of the two banks of Jordan. The establishment of the Jordanian Press Association (JPA), as an umbrella to look after and support the profession of journalism, marked a new start for the printed media. This phase also witnessed the introduction of the first Press and Publication Law (PPL 1953).

In the 1960s the habit of publication of daily newspapers became deeply entrenched in the Jordanian culture, while weekly newspapers were on their way to demise. However, the main daily newspapers of that period also suffered from the same complaint: lack of resources because of the few advertisements and the limited circulation of some of the newspapers. One could also add the fact that most people did not have the money to spend on newspapers.

Most researchers concerned agree that the 1950s witnessed a mushrooming of publications with mostly a political orientation as a result of a growing liberal atmosphere in the country. During this period more than 40 newspapers and magazines appeared in Jordan, but most of them could not last long for many reasons, namely financial and later political. Most prominent among these publications were Al-Jihad (The Struggle) (1953) and Akhbar Al-Usbou' (News of the Week) (1959). The latter continues to publish to this date. Newspapers were known during this phase for their party affiliations and their advocacy of foreign



interests and ideologies. This resulted in forcing the government to revoke their licences (Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 1980: 30).

Partisan newspapers played a distinguished role during this period and represented different ideologies and loyalties. Among these newspapers were Al-Jabhah (The Frontline), Al-Kifah Al-Islami (The Islamic Struggle), and Al-Raayah (The Banner).

Al-Jabhah was a political, economical, social and literary newspaper. It was published weekly in Amman. Its first issue was published in May 1954. It was suspended by the government on 16 August 1954 for six months, and then its suspension period was extended for another six months starting on 16 February 1955. Finally the paper was closed down completely according to the publications law of 1955. Al-Jabhah newspaper was re-published after changing its licence to a new owner, Hasan Al-Nabils, in the period from January to May 1957 and then its licence was revoked. We can note that the government restricted many newspapers through a six-month suspension, extended later by another six-month suspension, followed by complete closure according to the publications law of 1955. Strange enough, this law came into effect not long after the introduction of the first constitution which clearly protected freedom of the press in article No. 15.

Al-Kifah Al-Islami was a comprehensive, Islamic newspaper, published weekly in Amman. It represented the ideas and attitudes of the

Muslim Brotherhood party. Its slogan was "The Voice of the Struggling and Faithful People." This newspaper was published in two periods. The first period was from 21 July 1954 to 1 August 1954. Its publisher and chief editor in this period was Muhammad Abdul-Rahman Khalifah. Only three issues were published during this period. The second period was from 3 January 1957 to 17 October 1957. During this period it was edited by Yusuf Al-Adham. Thirty-eight issues were published during this period before the newspaper was closed down. Like many of the newspapers during this period it was subject to a six month suspension period starting on 24 August 1954, a further six months extended suspension on 24 February 1955 and then it was closed down according to the publications law of 1955. In 1957, the newspaper was published again, but this time it was under government supervision. This supervision required that all materials prepared for printing were presented to the supervisor of publications to permit and stamp the materials with a publications supervision seal. The newspaper was completely closed down by the government on 17 October 1957.

Al-Raayah was a weekly newspaper published first in Amman on 28 July 1954. The publisher was Muneer Al-Shuqayr and the chief editor was Abdul-Qadeem Zalloom followed by Adel Al-Nabulsi. It was the mouthpiece of the Islamic Liberation (Hizb Al-Tahrir) party. It called for the establishment of an Islamic community under Islamic law, which

meant ruling according to what has been revealed by Allah in the Noble Quran. The newspaper was closed down on 27 October 1954 after publishing thirteen issues.

Most newspapers in this period belong to the category of privately owned and independent. These newspapers included Al-'Awda (The Return), Al-Rai (The Opinion), Al-'Ahd Al-Jadeed (The New Covenant), Al-Nidhal (The Struggle). On the other hand, the loyalist press category included only a single newspaper entitled Al-Dustour, which was established on 28 March 1967. The establishment of this newspaper was due to the merging of two newspapers. These were Al-Manar – originally published in Amman, and Palestine – which was originally published in Jerusalem.

Thorough examination of the press during this period reveals the following facts:

1. Nineteen different newspapers were published, one governmental, four partisan, and fourteen private and independent newspapers.
2. Each political party published its own newspaper, designed to promote its ideas amongst readers. These publications were: Al-Jabhah – published by the Communist party, Al-Rai – published by the Ba'thist party, Al-Kifah Al-Islami – published by the Muslim Brotherhood party, and Al-Raayah – published by the Hizb Al-Tahrir party.

3. Five of the nineteen newspapers were published daily and fourteen of them weekly.
4. All newspapers were temporarily suspended or stopped and their licences were revoked as a result of external pressure on the government, mainly from Britain and Israel, or because these newspapers refused the line taken by the government during this period.
5. The government used unprecedented and excessive powers to restrict and terrorise journalists and all other people working in the press, including printing presses. These measures included arrests, abductions, attacking people at night and terrorising their families, newspaper suspensions, revocation of licences, and dissolving political parties and thus the newspapers representing them.
6. A common practice of the government became to suspend any newspaper not wanted by the government for six months and this suspension was automatically renewed for another six months under the excuse of the law.
7. Jordan faced intensive foreign pressures and interference after the Triple Aggression – the war waged against Egypt by France, Britain and Israel. These pressures were mainly from Britain and France. They manifested themselves in government pressures on

the press as early as 1957 and resulted in the resolve of the Sulaiman Al-Nabils government that year.

8. The government was very creative in restricting all kinds of freedoms, especially the printed media, through a number of methods and techniques such as:
  - a. Pre-censorship of materials already prepared for publication, and stamping the material with a supervisor's seal of approval (if approved).
  - b. Confiscation of some pages of the newspapers before going to print, or confiscating the published issues prepared for distribution.
  - c. Complicating the financial conditions for the attainment of a newspaper licence.
  - d. Pre-approval of chief editors and publishers by the security departments.
  - e. Adding the condition that the chief editor must be a university graduate, when at that time university education was very rare.
9. The Publication Act 1955 ended the last limited area of freedom of the press. This Act was introduced as a result of external pressures from Britain.

10. The printed press industry in Jordan became an attraction and a target for senior statesmen, including past prime ministers such as Hazza'a Al-Majali, Ahmed Trawnah, Sulaiman Al-Nabils, and Sa'ad Ghuma'a, who wanted to become publishers and editors of some of these newspapers
11. The number of printed and distributed copies of these newspapers increased dramatically compared with the previous period.
12. Sources of information were limited to Arab News Agency (ANA), personal contacts, and newspapers of neighbouring countries – especially from Egypt.
13. Amman remained the main centre of printed media until the end of this phase, with a clear neglect of other towns and cities. Few newspapers were published in Jerusalem. The first newspaper to be published in English was published in Jerusalem. It was entitled Palestine Daily News and started publishing in March 1967.

#### ***7.4 Press Development from 1967 to 1989***

The development of the press in this period was a reflection of many social and political events. Amongst these events were the relationship between the Jordanian public and the Jordanian government on one side, and the relationship between Palestinians and the PLO on the other. It is extremely important to understand this relationship if we are to form a wider perspective of the press in this period. Of course there were other developments which were also important, but the extraordinary effect of the 1967 war and its consequences which are still existent to this date should be given a higher priority.

During the Six Day War with Israel in 1967, Israel's troops occupied all of Jordan's territory on the West Bank sending hundreds of thousands of refugees flooding into East Jordan. The makeshift camps which the refugees established brought further problems as they gradually became the domain of Palestinian guerrilla groups, particularly the Al-Fatah group, led by Yasser Arafat. Israeli forces targeted these camps for reprisal raids.

Amongst the Jordanian people, the unpopularity of these guerrilla groups soon resulted in the camps forming a state within a state. The tensions which arose nearly split over into civil war in November 1968 when the demonstrations marking the anniversary of the Balfour

Declaration erupted into riots and then fighting between guerrillas and the army.

King Hussein and Yasser Arafat made several attempts to secure a settlement between the two sides, but in August 1970 after Jordan had accepted American proposals for a Middle-East peace plan, tensions erupted into full civil war, which left thousands dead and injured. The large number of casualties brought a fierce response from Jordan's neighbours and allies, many of whom threatened direct intervention. The threat prompted both sides to return to the negotiation table. Although several settlements of a sort were agreed, occasional fighting between Palestinian guerrilla groups and Jordanian forces continued.

By July 1971, government forces had gained enough of an advantage from these skirmishes to push for a final offensive. Amman proudly announced that all guerrilla bases had been knocked out and 2,300 of the 2,500 rebel fighters had been captured. They were soon released and all PLO members were expelled from the country. Once again Jordan's approach was strongly criticised by neighbours, some of whom closed their borders. Despite Saudi Arabia's attempt to mediate between the Palestinian groups and Amman their differences continued to spill over into violence. A Palestinian splinter group, Black September, made several assassination attempts on key figures and in September



1971 succeeded in murdering the then Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Al-Tal.

During the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, Jordan sent troops to support Syrian forces on the Golan Heights, but otherwise played no active part. It was only after the Rabat Summit in October 1974 that Jordan's estrangement eased. At the summit, leading Arab nations formally recognised the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of Palestinian interests. King Hussein had little option but to support the resolution, apparently bringing to an end his aspirations to be the Palestinians' top champion and of reincorporating the West Bank into Hashemite kingdom, if and when it was liberated from Israeli control (Ministry of Information, 1994: 13).

The press was also influenced by Jordan's relations with other neighbouring Arab countries including Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, although it is very hard to separate the impact of these events from one country to the other.

In the early 1980s, relations with Syria deteriorated again and there was a build-up of troops and hostilities between the two. Syria was annoyed by Jordan's active support of Iraq in the Iraq-Iran war and suspected the Muslim Brotherhood of plotting against the Damascus government. During the Iraq-Iran war, Jordan supported Iraq and built up significant trade links with its neighbour.

King Hussein publicly severed links with the PLO in February 1986. PLO offices were closed and some officials expelled. Jordan's efforts at improving Arab unity secured some measure of success in November 1987 when the first Arab League for eight years was held in Amman. Only Egypt was excluded. Arab states agreed to Jordan's urging to renew relations with Cairo and soon afterwards Amman resumed cooperation with the PLO (Ministry of Information, 1994: 14).

The Jordanian government first attempted to place limits on the number of publications and on the margin of freedom accorded to them in the year 1967. Six newspapers were dominant in that year. These were: Philistine (Palestine), Al-Deefa' (The Defence), Al-Manar (The Minaret), Al-Jihad (The Struggle), Al-Urdun (Jordan), and the Jerusalem Star. After newspapers criticised the Jordanian Army for its poor responses to Israeli border raids, an order was issued to reorganise the press. The June 1967 war broke out and interrupted the reorganisation process. This led to the Jerusalem newspapers being transferred to Amman as a result of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Holy City (Rugh, 1979: 78).

A brief summary of each newspaper would be difficult to include, however, a selective sample of newspapers published in this period would shed some light on the nature of the printed media. Partisan press in this period represented different Palestinian liberation organisations, which

differed in terms of ideologies ranging from Islamic organisations, to Communist and social organisations.

The first newspaper to be published in the 1970s was Fateh. It represented the Islamic trend. It was a daily newspaper published in Amman by the Central Committee of the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation). Its first issue appeared in Amman in 1970. Its publication came as a response to a government decision to suspend Al-Dustour (The Constitution) and Al-Deefa' (The Defence) and to establish in their place the state run newspaper Al-Rai (The Opinion) in 1971 (Rugh, 1979: 76). This action by Fateh organisation to publish this daily newspaper encouraged other Palestinian organisations to publish their own newspapers. Details of these newspapers and the organisations that published them are found in the Appendix of Newspapers.

The second category of newspapers in this period is the loyal or governmental publications. This category includes three newspapers. Amongst them is Al-Rai which is still publishing until the present date. It is the most read and distributed newspaper in the country. By 1983 Al-Rai was circulating 65,000 copies, respectively (El-Sarayrah, 1984: 13). The second daily newspaper is the Jordan Times. This was the first Jordanian newspaper to be published in English. More details of the two newspapers can be found in a later section dealing with media structure in Jordan. The third newspaper in this category is Al-Ithnayn (Monday). It

was the fifth newspaper to be published during the 1970s as a political publication.

The third category is the privately owned and independent press. This category includes Al-Sabaah (The Morning), Al-Akhbar (The News), Al-Sha'b (The People), Ufuq Al-Iqtisadi (Economic Horizon), Shihaan (a town in southern Jordan), and Al-Hasaud (The Harvest).

Al-Sabah was the second newspaper to be published in the 1970s as a political, illustrated, weekly newspaper. Its first issue appeared on 14 August 1971. It was composed of eight pages and priced at 2 cents. It was printed at the printing house of Al-Dustour newspaper. It subscribed to four different news agencies in Switzerland, France, Britain, and Argentina. The opening article of its first issue concentrated on the liberation of Palestine. It published the opinions and contributions of well-known intellectuals at the time. It was suspended after three issues on 28 August 1971. The suspension lasted for six months. On 16 July 1973, Al-Sabaah became an independent, political, daily newspaper. In 1974, it was the first newspaper to allocate a special page for the Palestinian refugees, their problems and their conditions. It also allocated a special page for the economy. After mid-1973, Al-Sabaah newspaper focused on family and community matters such as women's problems through a special page which was designated to women and the

community. The newspaper also allocated a page for culture and literature.

The fourth category of newspapers in this period is the Islamic newspapers. This category of newspapers continued to be represented until the end of this period by Al-Liwaa (The Banner), which is still being published until the present date. It was the fourth newspaper to be published in the 1970s. It started as a weekly newspaper in 1973 with strong emphasis on religious and political topics from an Islamic viewpoint. It attracted a number of well-known Islamic writers who published their ideas through this paper. It concentrated on current issues throughout the Arab Muslim world, but at the same time managed to keep its confrontation with the authorities to the minimum until the present date, despite accusations against the paper that it receives funds from Iran.

The fifth category in this period is the educational press which was represented by Sahaafat Al-Yarmouk. This publication was established by the school of journalism at Yarmouk University in 1982. It was a university and a community type publication. It was rarely interested in political news, locally or internationally. This was probably due to the fact that it belonged to a state university which relied solely on state funding, and therefore was extremely careful as to what was published on its pages. Nonetheless, this newspaper played an important role in

training students of journalism at Yarmouk University throughout their studies in all aspects of press needed for beginners.

We can conclude a number of facts about the press in this era. The total number of newspapers published reached sixteen; four of these were Partisan, three governmental, seven independent and privately owned, one Islamic, and one educational. This, of course, did not include other types of publications published in this period, although, some factual details of all periodical publications are located in the designated Appendix.

In the years 1970/1971 this phase witnessed the appearance of newspapers representing Palestinian organisations. It is evident that most newspapers published in the 1970s faced suspension or closure under strict martial law. Many weak and unconvincing reasons were advanced by the state to justify its restrictions and actions in limiting free press. The government often interpreted the laws that it used in different ways to suit its own objectives. For example, the government's closure of Al-Sha'b newspaper was justified by the government as an action which is in return for an article which was published in the newspaper and was exploited by Israel and therefore undermined the Jordanian official line.

The 1970s witnessed the establishment of some daily newspapers which stood firmly and objectively in tackling national and general issues in a courageous and honest manner. These daily newspapers formed

close relations with opposition newspapers such as Al-Sabaah, Al-Akhbar and Al-Sha'b. The three papers published for a few years before disappearing. By the early 1980s, the Jordanian press consisted of three daily newspapers: Al-Rai, Al-Dustour, and the Jordan Times. A fourth newspaper, Sawt Al-Sha'b, was also introduced that year (El-Sarayrah, 1984: 13).

Many improvements happened to the newspaper industry in terms of approach, organisation, and production. The number of distributed copies also increased, together with a noticeable increase in advertising. Each newspaper began to allocate a space for comics. This helped in the development of the art as a new medium of expression. Comics faced less restrictions and obstacles from the government due to their light-hearted nature. Many intellectuals in this period also resorted to the art of poetry and story to express their views without in a less noticeable way.

The government decided through its Prime Minister at the time, Wasfi Al-Tal, to restructure the media by demanding the merger of a number of newspapers. This decision came as a response to certain actions of Palestinian newspapers that objected to state policy with regard to the Palestinian question. This decision, however, proved to be naive and was abandoned by the government itself to be replaced with a more direct interference in the printed press by appointing editors and managers loyal to the government.

Prior censorship was imposed in 1973 and 1974. The government appointed an inspector of publication in each newspaper who was authorised to inspect all material and allow only information which did not conflict with government policies. He had the right to repeal any sentence, paragraph, or even a whole article if he thought it was unsuitable from a government viewpoint. Shihaan was the first newspaper to play an important role in dealing with issues regarded as taboos in the Jordanian society such as corruption. This put the newspaper in the frontline to face restrictions and other punishments from the government including its suspension and imprisonment of its owner.

During the 1970s and the early 1980s the press in Jordan was characterised as loyalist even though it had some features of a free press such as private ownership. It wasn't long, though, before the government interfered in this private ownership (El-Sarayrah, 1984: 15).

The 1980s of this phase witnessed the publishing of one daily newspaper. This paper was Sawt Al-Sha'b. It began publishing after the government's action to dissolve Al-Sha'b. It started as an independent newspaper but the government interfered in its ownership, editors and subjects, therefore it did not achieve the objectives it had laid down in its mission.

In 1982 a new magazine was published titled Ufuq Al-Iqtisadi (Economic Horizon). It formed a major crack in the state's control of the



media (Satloff, 1986: 71). This was because its principle founders were Muraywid Al-Tal, a relative of the Prime Minister who increased state control, and Tariq Masarwa. The magazine called for democratic rights and argued for the economic revitalisation of Jordan, the refocusing of resources on the East Bank, and the assertion of Jordanian economic and foreign policy independence.

During this period seven daily newspapers were published which was the highest figure for daily press compared with nine weekly newspapers. The limited margins of freedom given to the printed media were also affected by other legislations introduced in this period. These legislations and other practices which restricted press freedom will be discussed in the chapter designated to press and publication laws.

This phase of development was briefly summarised in the following quotation by a well-known journalist and a media specialist in Jordan:

"Modern daily newspapers were published, witnessing a transformation from profession to industry. The press of this phase was institutional, balanced and committed to the issues of the nation. They were also widely circulated. The newspapers also adopted modern methods of printing and layout. However, they continued to be subject to the Publication Law of 1973, which was similar to the publications law rejected by parliament in 1968. The 1973 Press and Publications Law placed severe restrictions on the freedom of the press, curtailing its ability to get genuinely involved in national issues and the problems of its own society. The freedom of expression was also severely restricted by this law (Al-Qudah, 1996: 233)."

### ***7.5 Press Development from 1989 to 1998***

The turbulent history of the press in Jordan is a reflection of the turbulent history of the country itself. Printed media flourished briefly in the late 1950s and again in the early 1990s. Apart from these periods, the press has always been controlled by the government – directly or indirectly.

December 1989 was a turning point in the modern history of Jordan and its ambition to embark on a new reform towards democracy and freedom of expression. In this month, the first parliamentary elections in Jordan took place after more than two decades of martial rule. The election of eighty members of the parliament marked a fresh beginning for press development and the opening of a new chapter in the subject of public liberties. Freedom of expression in general, and press freedom are essential factors for the conduct of fair elections.

Despite the elections and the formation of a new government under Prime Minister Mudar Badran with a programme that included a significant range of human rights reforms, the king continued to hint and remind Jordanians not to take these freedoms for granted and that they were conditional. The following quotation highlights the king's major concerns at the time, and what he was prepared to give:

"In his speech from the throne, delivered to the opening session of the Jordanian Parliament on 27 November, King Hussein outlined the new programme,

emphasising the importance of protecting Jordan's external and internal security and the consequent need to support the armed forces and security services. He said that his government had "not found a contradiction between protecting national security and giving the utmost care to the matter of public liberties", and added that this was rooted in his government's "faith in the principles of human rights".

The King also said that the government "will review the legislation which has become an obstacle to the progress of the society", and will aim "to gradually reduce the need to resort to exceptional and special courts". The King's letter appointing Mudar Badran as Prime Minister on 4 December suggested principles and guidelines for his attention. In the letter King Hussein reaffirmed the importance of both national security and of democracy and human rights – in particular public liberties:

"... the issue of public liberties, which is at the core of human rights, should enjoy the same measure of respect, concern, protection and care as that due to public order, because their harmony and integration [of both public liberties and order] constitute an important pillar of our national security and a protective armour for democracy" (Amnesty International, 1990: 1)."

Shortly after the elections the Prime Minister issued his instructions to all official departments to resolve all problems of journalists who were not allowed to write and stressed that this solution is within the context of responsible freedom. These instructions to ease the pressure placed on the printed media came as a response to King Hussein's desire to allow the press more freedom and pluralism (Al-Musa, 1998: 167).

In this new environment of relative political openness, a huge number of publications appeared in Jordan to reflect the popular desire in expressing itself through this medium. Most of these publications are weekly newspapers which started to publish under the 1993 PPL. This law, which will be discussed in later chapters in more detail, was the most liberal press law in the history of Jordan. The press started to play its role

as a fourth authority, at least in the first half of the 1990s. This role was played mainly through weekly newspapers that had become very popular due to their courage and honesty. This courage manifested itself in reporting and publishing material related to issues which were never discussed on the pages of printed press over the last three decades. Some of these issues were corruption, honour-killing, and foreign policy issues. The chapter which covers lawsuits against different newspapers will clarify the nature and types of these taboos.

In November 1989 the democratisation process had started and led to a new journalistic atmosphere taking shape. In a letter to the Prime Minister in April 1989, King Hussein stated:

"With respect to the field of communication, emphasis should be placed on fostering the relationship between officials and citizens within the framework of a quiet dialogue, either through interpretation or mass communications (Badran, 1998: 335-340)."

By the end of 1992, the total number of daily newspapers published in Jordan had reached four. Al-Rai and Al-Dustour were the most prestigious of these in terms of the number of readers they attracted and the number of copies distributed. This was due to a number of reasons, mainly the government's policy to advertise in these newspapers. Al-Rai is believed to be the most influential publication in Jordan, with a daily circulation of 90,000 copies, whereas Al-Dustour's circulation ranged between 75,000 and 80,000 copies daily in the year 1992. At the same

time, the third largest daily newspaper, Sawt Al-Sha'b, was circulating between 25,000 and 30,000 copies a day. It faced many hardships, mainly financial, which resulted in a total loss of five million JD by early 1995. This situation forced the Minister of Information to close the newspaper on the 12 February, 1995. It was auctioned and bought by Press Investment Company, the owners of Al-Aswaq newspaper, for 2.8 million JD. Sawt Al-Sha'b was first issued in 1983 with 60% of its capital from official institutions. 22 top officials were appointed to run the newspaper during 12 years of its existence. This contributed to its loss and proved the failure of official press despite the huge amounts of money invested (Al-Rimawy, Al-Rai, 18/2/1995). Last of these newspapers was the Jordan Times. It was the only political English-language newspaper in Jordan, established in 1975 by Jordan Press Company, publisher of Al-Rai newspaper. It has a circulation of no less than 12,000 copies daily.

The government initially considered daily newspapers as being more influential than weekly newspapers and so they paid more attention to what the dailies published. This led to weeklies gaining more freedom than dailies. Weekly newspapers became the major source for stories on human rights abuses, official corruption, and mismanagement. Even state ministers chose weeklies to publish information, such as the Minister of Health at the time, Abdul-Rahim Malhas, who chose the weekly Shihan

when he wanted to publish information concerning corruption in the health sector. The weeklies began to attract more attention from the government due to their anti-government stance. This caused the government to file a number of lawsuits against weekly newspapers (ARTICLE 19, 1997: 24).

By 1993, the total number of weeklies published in Jordan had reached twenty. As is evident from the numbers, weekly newspapers in Jordan were more dominant than dailies. This was mainly due to the costs related to the management of daily newspapers. The most successful weekly newspapers were the tabloids. In turn, the most prominent of these weekly tabloids was, without a doubt, Shihaan (named after a town in southern Jordan). Proof of this fact is in its weekly circulation of 100,000 copies. It dealt with issues, both social and political, in a unique satirical and critical manner which distinguished it from other papers. It first began publishing in 1984. A year later it was suspended by the government after it had supposedly gone beyond its authorised mandate. It resumed publishing in Jordan in 1991 and is classified as a liberal paper. Other successful tabloids included Al-Bilaad, Hawadeth Al-Sa'ah, Sawt Al-Maraah and Al-Haqiqah, which all appeared during the year 1993. These tabloids covered socio-political issues, as well as playing the part of watchdog of the government's performance.

Al-Liwaa is a political weekly established in 1973. It is classified as an Islamic publication and was very influential. Another weekly, Al-Sabeel, which was established in 1993, was also categorised as Islamic in its orientation. Unlike Al-Liwaa, which was independent, Al-Sabeel was associated with the Muslim Brotherhood movement (ARTICLE 19, 1997: 25).

A new weekly newspaper, Abed Rabbah, appeared in August 1996. It was Jordan's first satirical weekly. Its first issue reached a circulation of 10,000 copies and its highest rate of circulation was 26,000 copies. It contained portraits of officials, parliamentarians and well-known personalities in a satirical manner. After the 1997 PPL, Abed Rabbah announced its closure (Mansour, 1998: 72).

Al-Hayat and Al-Sayyad, both established in 1996, added to the growing number of tabloids during this period. The only English-language newspaper among the weeklies was the Star. It covered political and economic issues. It is believed to have a circulation of 10,000 copies. Another important newspaper established in 1994 was Al-Majd for its quality coverage of human rights issues. Other weeklies prevalent during this period included Akhbar Al-Usbou', established in the year 1960, and Al-Urdun, established in the year 1995 (Mansour, 1998: 74).

Weekly newspapers faced strict restrictions by the government, especially prior to the legislative elections in November 1997. These restrictions were interpreted by some analysts as a response to increasing criticism of the government and its policies through Jordan's newly emerging weekly newspapers. Unlike daily newspapers, the independent weekly press have been outspoken in criticising the different aspects of the government's domestic and foreign policy. This situation left the weekly press coverage open to criticism, not only by the authorities, but also by some parliamentarians who were loyal to state policies and sometimes by some opposition parliamentarians who were angered by the content of some published articles. The Jordan Press Association also voiced its opposition to such articles and clashed with many newspapers at a time when the JPA was supposed to be representing the interests of all journalists. More details of all restrictions facing weekly newspapers will be discussed in a later chapter. Some bibliographical details of all newspapers published in this period can also be found in the designated appendix.

Most weekly newspapers in Jordan are owned by individuals or historical families, known for their interest in printed matters, except for a few. The capital of these newspapers is limited and they function under severe financial circumstances, unlike daily newspapers which have huge capitals. Despite the limited resources and the financial hardships the



owners of these weekly newspapers are always striving to keep their papers in operation. In fact the limited financial resources forced many of these newspapers to rely on volunteers and members of their wider families, who wouldn't normally expect much in return. Others even subsidised the losses of these newspapers just to keep them alive.

There is no specific study as to what Jordanians prefer to read in weekly newspapers, but some journalists in the field believe that coverage of crimes and sexual related issues are the major concern of most readers in Jordan, followed by coverage of political corruption and foreign policy issues (Mansour, 1998: 75).

Demand increased for the weekly press with the return to parliamentary life in 1989. Prior to this date no permits or licenses were issued for the publishing of new newspapers. Different views were given on the assessment of the weekly press. Most of these views, however, were opposed to the suspension of weekly newspapers. Some ordinary readers state that weekly newspapers lie, exaggerate, use deceptive headlines and do not comply with issues of public ethics; whereas the majority of readers say that weekly newspapers are daring, they report what daily newspapers do not report, they expose corruption, and they oppose the government. The politicians' view on weekly newspapers is two-sided. On one hand they say that weeklies lack credibility and accuracy, and use deceptive headlines to mislead the public, and on the

other hand they will admit that the amount of freedom in these newspapers is high, that they attract writers from various political leanings, that they have benefited from the democratic experiment more than the dailies, and that their readers encompass all social segments of society.

The information revolution had a strong influence on the development of the press in Jordan. Jordanian publishers made the right move when they chose to take advantage of the opportunities arising as a result of this revolution. Consequently, most Jordanian newspapers now have websites, making their newspapers available online. Owing to the success of the Internet in the past few years, having a website for your newspaper would surely increase the number of readers and the newspaper's scope with the least effort. Having a website and email services would also allow for easier and faster communication between Jordanian companies and their business partners abroad. Recently, many new technologies have been introduced which would allow Jordanian companies to offer web-TV or web-casting services to Arab viewers. To complement the growing use of Internet resources used by Jordanian companies there has been a steady increase in the number of Internet cafes in Amman and other Jordanian cities. All of this would not have been possible without the democratic changes and economic reforms that took place in Jordan in 1989. Information technology has had a strong

effect on Jordanian media. Newspapers sought to improve the quality of their news and picture services and most of them are now connected to the best sources of news and graphics available. It has also led to newspapers investing in faster and more powerful printing presses (Al-Sharif, 1998: 119-123).

The number of Partisan publications increased in the phase of democratic transformation beginning in 1989 as political parties became licensed and new political parties emerged. This marked a new era for Partisan publications as it was the era when political parties were given real credibility. This phase saw the publishing of Al-Ahali (The People), which represented the Jordanian People's Democratic, and Al-Ribat (The Steadfast), which later came to be known as Al-Sabeel (The Way) and represented the Islamic Action Front. After 1990, a number of newspapers were published, such as Al-Mustaqbal (The Future) by the Al-Mustaqbal party, Al-Ahed (The Pledge) by the Al-Ahed party, Al-Masirah (The March) by the Democratic Progressive party, and Al-Ba'th (The Resurrection) by the Arab Socialist Ba'thist party. Most of these newspapers are no longer published today. A number of Partisan newspapers were introduced since 1993, the most recent of these being Al-Nahdah (The Progression). It was established in 1997 and represented the National Constitutional Party. Some others included Al-Asr Al-Jadeed (The New Era), Al-Fajr Al-Jadeed (The New Dawn), and Al-

Jamaheer (The Masses) – which is published once fortnightly. They all represented various political parties of some sort or another and they did not achieve any significant commercial success (ARTICLE 19, 1997: 27-28).

The overall number of Partisan newspapers was very high; approximately 18 newspapers were published in the 1990s. They were in direct competition with private weekly newspapers and this was one of the main reasons why most Partisan newspapers stopped publishing or received little or no success. Another reason may have been their lack of financial resources, made worse by the fact that advertisers did not want to advertise in political party newspapers. In brief, the problems faced by Partisan newspapers were brought about as a result of the problems faced by the political parties themselves (Al-Rimawy, 1998: 79-84).

## **8.0 The Development of Press Laws in Jordan**

This chapter will attempt to discuss and analyse the development of press and publication laws in Jordan since 1909 until 1998. To facilitate this discussion the chapter is divided into four different phases. The first phase extends from 1909 to 1953, the second phase covers the period from 1953 to 1993, and the third phase covers the period from 1993 to 1998. The third phase, however, is the main period of emphasis and most of the discussion in this chapter will revolve around the laws of this phase. The main characteristics of the media and the different socio-political conditions which influence the printed press in Jordan were discussed in the previous chapter; hence this chapter will highlight the main features of the law and indicate how the law functioned in practice.

Before we start analysing press laws during the different phases it is important to keep in mind many issues. Press freedom has major conditions and components, and restrictions and limitations. Therefore, to achieve such freedom the requirements which should exist include: freedom to receive, send, and publish information and news, freedom to publish newspapers, freedom of opinion, and all other personal freedoms. In other words, information should not have to be subject to prior censorship before publishing and nothing should restrict or ban the publishing process, except in extremely exceptional circumstances,

regardless of the justifications or excuses which are usually advanced by governments in favour of censorship. The press laws, together with other legislations, should try to avoid such restrictions.

The major known impediments to press freedom in general include: prior administrative restrictions on issuing a newspaper licence, restrictive laws and penalties associated with these laws, financial restrictions as evident in advertisements and other sources of funding, the ownership of press institutions (privately, semi-private, governmental, etc.), and the governments' direct or indirect influence on the media or the journalists working in it, pressure groups and their impact on press freedoms. Such restrictions and pressures would relatively vary from one country to another according to the conditions and circumstances of each country (No'aimy, 1998: 20-21).

It is essential to keep in mind that press and publication laws in Jordan, and in all other Arab countries, do not reveal all the details of who decides the content of printed media and why? In fact a thorough examination of press laws in Jordan may obscure the real dynamics of the system, because the laws tend to imply that the press is freer than it really is. The laws avoid mentioning many extra legal influences and circumstances. The law itself is applied in different ways at different times. Such application is usually governed by many factors, including socio-political and religious factors prevalent during the different periods.

Nonetheless, written laws are the only evidence or criteria against which one can examine press freedom in any country (Rugh, 1979: 24-25).

The powers given to the watchman to control printed or published material in Jordan are enormous. This watchman would be referred to as the Director of the Press and Publications Department (DPPD). While editors, publishers, writers and journalists are required to have certain qualifications for holding their posts, there are no specific requirements or qualification needed to become the DPPD. This man, who has no specific qualifications, has been entrusted to shape the minds of the people, and assess and decide what they should be allowed to read. He bans almost all books that speak of Jordan's contemporary history because they are incompatible with the official version (Masanat, 1996: 248).

### **8.1 The Development of Press Laws in Jordan from 1909 to 1953**

The development of press laws in Jordan during this period began with the introduction of the Ottoman publications law, which was introduced on 16 July 1909 and continued to be the major press law until it was revoked after the introduction of the first Jordanian press and publication law in 1953 (Al-Musa, 1998: 48). Thus, Jordan's first press legislation is more than ten years older than the publication of the first newspaper in the country. Therefore, the Ottoman law was adopted as the only legislation to regulate the printed media in the first half of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, the Ottoman publication law was interfered with through the introduction of ordinary and emergency legislations which will be mentioned briefly in a chronological manner after stating the main features of the Ottoman publication law.

The Ottoman publication law contains 37 different articles. It is divided into four different chapters. The first chapter deals with publishing issues. It contains 7 different articles. The requirements state that each newspaper should have a chief editor, who must be a Jordanian over the age of 21, responsible before the courts. He must also have a good reputation, i.e. no criminal records. It also requires the publisher of a new newspaper to deposit 100 Palestinian pounds or a bond equivalent to this amount of money. This money would be used to cover the



expense of court cases, fines imposed by the courts, compensation for people who are victims of published materials.

The second chapter is about the legal punishments for violation of the law. This chapter contains 17 different articles, each of them state the kind of penalty whether imprisonment, fine or both for the specified violation of the law. The third chapter on slander and libel contains 6 different categories. The most notable are articles 27 and 28 which are still implemented in all press and publication laws in Jordan until the present date. Although the penalty for violating these articles was made more severe. Article 27 states that "if a newspaper published what is considered slander and libel against kings or heads of state that it would suffer an imprisonment penalty from 1-6 months and a fine from 1-25 pieces of gold." Article 28 states that "Any slander of the Sultan or his family is punishable with a sentence of 15 days to six month imprisonment or 5-15 pieces of gold or both punishments."

The fourth chapter contains 7 articles dealing with various matters such as the type of court which should deal with certain types of criminal publications and matters related to material published about the armed forces and navy. The last article authorises the Ministers of Interior and Justice to implement the law; at the time Jordan did not have any ministers and was a neglected province of the Ottoman Empire.

The local government in East Jordan and since the establishment of the Emirate relied on the Ottoman publications law and its major amendments until the introduction of the 1953 press publication law. These amendments were introduced in 1927, 1928, 1933, 1935, 1939, 1945, and 1948. The following section is designated to briefly shed light on these amendments and other provisions introduced during this period until 1953.

In 1927 the first amendment was introduced. This amendment was the first press legislation to be introduced by the government of East Jordan. It was designed to create the Department of Official Gazette and Publications. According to his amendment, the new department was empowered to watch the content of publications. However, this amendment could be described as ambiguous, vague, and was not very specific (Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 1980: 11). This ambiguous and vague nature was of this amendment was also repeated in the second amendment which was introduced in 1928. This amendment was concerned with amending article 2 of the Ottoman publications law. The amendment required the chief editor of each newspaper to have at least a qualification from a high school or should have finished secondary school. Also, the owner of a newspaper was required, according to this amendment, to deposit 150 Palestinian pounds for publishing a daily newspaper or 100 Palestinian pounds for publishing as weekly

newspaper. This amendment was behind the suspension of some newspapers, especially those critical of the 1927 treaty between Jordan and Britain (Al-Musa, 1998: 48-49).

The third amendment was introduced in 1933. It reduced the financial deposit to 100 Palestinian pounds or a bond equivalent to this amount for publishing a daily newspaper. It is worth noting that the local government of East Jordan also relied on the Palestinian publications law no. 3 for the year 1933 until 1953 together with all its amendments. This highlights the confusing affect of having numerous amendments and legislations (Izzideen, 1998: 27).

In the year 1935, provision for a defence law was established in Jordan. A decree stating that there was a public emergency which made the defence of the state necessary was required to bring the law into force. In 1939, the defence law was issued and remained until 1992. It was revoked in 1992 along with the Martial Law which was instated in 1967. Under the regulations of the defence law, anyone specified therein to take measures was given extensive powers. They could even suspend ordinary laws to ensure the defence of the kingdom. Other powers given to them included total censorship of all printed material, censorship of communications such as radio, and the power to arrest and deport anyone whose actions were considered harmful to the safety of Jordan. The law

also gave military governors absolute power over civil and executive procedures without any legal liability (ARTICLE 19, 1991: 2-3).

The fourth amendment was introduced in 1939. It was called Publications Inspection Law. It was introduced in accordance with the 1939 defence law. In this amendment many legal obstacles were introduced to restrict press freedom and the publishing of newspapers. Many believed that such obstacles to printed press freedoms in particular were introduced due to the exceptional circumstances which resulted from the Second World War. This amendment empowered the inspector of publications, without conditions or restrictions, to seize, open, and examine all correspondence, telegrams, and other parcels or printed material if it was considered harmful to general safety, ethical standards or any other reason. In brief, the inspector of publications was granted unlimited and unconditional powers to censor and interfere with all kinds of communications including the printed media. His power also extended to all kinds of communications coming from abroad. Although very little documented evidence exists as to how these different amendments worked out in practice, one could conclude that the printed media was a major target for such restrictive legislations, especially between 1935 and 1953.

The fifth provisional legislation was introduced in 1945. It amended article 20 of the Ottoman publications law. It required each

publication to state at the bottom of the last page, the name and address of the owner of the printing press, and the place of printing. This amendment also imposed a penalty of 3 months imprisonment and 25 Palestinian pounds or both for those who do not comply with the law. The law also authorised the council of ministers to suspend any newspapers found in violation of the law.

The last amendment which also came in accordance with the 1939 defence law was introduced in 1948. It was called the Publications Inspection Law. This law was just a reiteration of the restrictions and the unlimited powers granted to the publications inspector. The law did not require the inspector to have a good reputation, character, and did not require him to have any qualifications whatsoever, unlike Editors and Publishers, who were required to have good character and certain qualifications. Al-Musa argues that press legislations in Jordan up to 1953 were introduced mainly to help Britain in achieving its goals and interests; therefore it was necessary for the legislator to introduce such restrictive legislations, denying Jordanians their basic rights to express themselves through the printed media. He also argues that British policy in that regard was not better than that of the Ottoman Empire which also aimed to keep the Arab world in the dark.

Several press and publication laws have been introduced since 1953. The introduction of so many press legislations in Jordan prior to

1953 and after 1953 until the present date is a clear indication of the socio-political instability in the country. It is also a clear indication of the important role of the media and the fear of the ruling power in Jordan from the printed word. Other factors which contributed to the introduction of these legislations will be mentioned throughout this chapter.

## **8.2 The Development of Press Laws in Jordan from 1953 to 1993**

Jordan witnessed the introduction of four different laws during this phase. With the exception of the first law in 1953, they were all very restrictive, authoritarian, and were designed to grant the executive authority unlimited powers, however, the variations between these laws will be illustrated in the following sections. Each section will be designated to briefly discuss each law in turn. The laws will include the 1953, 1955, 1967, and 1973 laws.

### **8.2.1 The Press and Publication Law of 1953**

Freedom of the press has been subject to restriction by the regulatory body of the state. The Department of Press and Publications in Jordan is an official department which is empowered to regulate the printed press and other audio-visual materials. It was created under this name in 1953 for the purpose of endorsing the press law which was first enacted in 1953. The 1953 press and publication law is considered the first modern press law in Jordan. It was enacted shortly after the announcement of the 1952 constitution. In practice the introduction of this law ended a period of foreign influence on printed media in Jordan. It was the first genuine attempt to get rid of the Ottoman and British influence regarding press legislations. This law reflected the spirit of the

constitution as government decisions became open to challenge in the courts regarding the decision to grant or refuse a newspapers' publishing licence. All other government decisions in relation to printed matters became open to challenge through the judiciary system. Although Jordan was living under a state of emergency since 1939, the government in effect froze this law until the introduction of the 1955 law which will be discussed later (Armotti and Ziadat, 1989: 267-269).

The law was a comprehensive set of legislations which contained 64 articles and covered the duties and responsibilities of the press towards the government and the society and vice versa. It also covered all kinds of press publications, the profession of journalism, owners of printing presses, bookshops, publishers, distributors and advertising offices. Article 2 of this law states that the press, libraries, and printing presses are free. It also states that each person should be allowed to express themselves freely, without any restrictions except those specified in the law.

Article 4 covered the owner of press publications, the responsible editor, other editors, and administrators. It required the owner of any press publication to be a Jordanian. In the case of non-Jordanians only citizens from other countries who don't discriminate against any Jordanians in this regard can own a press publication. Non-Jordanians also required the approval of the council of ministers. This article also



required the owner of a printing press to be a permanent resident of the country and to have a good character and reputation. He should also be clear of any criminal records and should not be suspended from practicing medicine or law. He must not be already employed by a foreign state, and he should have a minimum qualification equivalent to GCSE.

Article 5 required each press publication to have a responsible editor, but it only allowed the owner of the publication to become an editor if he fulfilled the requirements of article 6. Article 6 required the responsible editor to be Jordanian over the age of 23 and a resident of the city in which the publication would be published. It also required that he should not have parliamentary immunity and should not have another profession besides journalism.

Article 7 of this law required the publisher of a periodical to make an application to the Minister of Interior with detailed information as to the name of the applicant, the title of the application, its address, place of editing and printing and whether it was a weekly or monthly publication (Shraim, 1984: 139-147).

Article 8 stated that, "It is the duty of the Minister of Interior to issue the licence within a month from the date of application if all requirements are met and the refusal should be issued within a month from the date the application is lodged, with justification of refusal and the entitlement of the applicant to appeal the decision in the high court."

The law also determines accurately, "all cases which entitle the Minister of Interior to revoke the licence of a newspaper in cases such as if it was not issued within a month or if it stopped publishing before a known period of time or if it became clear that the owner of the publication or the responsible editor does not fulfil the conditions required in the law anymore." Article 8 of the law requires the Minister of Interior to pass the newspaper application to the council of ministers which has the right to issue the licence or refuse, when the application for a newspaper is completed. The decision of the council is final and cannot be appealed. It is clear from this law that the authority which is given to the council of ministers excluded the role of the courts and is a clear breach of the Constitutional rights of the citizens to go to the courts.

Article 43 gave the Minister of Interior the right to suspend publication for a period of three days if it published material against the safety and unity of sovereignty. In this case, the minister should refer the publication to the courts which has the right to continue the cancellation until a decision is made by the court. In the case of a guilty verdict, the court is entitled to totally terminate the publication and punish the publication in whatever way deemed relevant by the court; however this law, which was passed on 26 September 1953, did not last long after another publication law was issued on 30 March 1955, which gave the administration its previous authorities in areas related to the licence of

newspapers or the refusal of such licence without mentioning the reasons or without giving any chance for legal appeals.

Prohibited material or forbidden subjects that were not allowed to be published were also accurately defined and specified. The 1953 law also indicated the applicability of the panel law in crimes of publications. The law, for example, gave the minister the right to suspend a newspaper for only 3 days if it published harmful material or information punishable by law, but such suspension cannot continue without referring the accused publication to the court within the specified 3-day period.

The 1953 press law was a direct result of the positive attitude of the first Prime Minister Fouzi Al-Mulqy, who took his position shortly after King Hussein became King of the country. The Prime Minister did not achieve the success which was expected from this law due to many reasons including the attitude of conservative opposition groups in Jordan which strongly opposed such liberal laws. The concept of freedom and democracy were not mature amongst the majority of the population, in addition to the behaviour of some newspapers in exploiting such liberal laws and the free atmosphere which prevailed in the first two years. All these factors together, with the repeated aggressions of Israel on frontline villages in the West Bank led to a state of anarchy and instability which in turn caused the collapse of this short liberal press period. Al-Musa noted that the market in Jordan was full of newspapers representing

different directions and ideologies from Jordan and abroad. Each newspaper had its own agenda which did not help to keep this law intact. He also noted that a number of newspapers continued to publish with respect and a strong commitment to the profession.

During this period Jordan became a target for media campaigns by newspapers published in Arab countries, foreign countries and also Jordanian newspapers. Jordan was also a subject of media campaigns from broadcasting services based in neighbouring Arab countries. These broadcasting campaigns aimed to destabilise the country and divide the public opinion on almost every important issue. All these circumstance forced the second government, led by Prime Minister Tawfeeq Abu-Al-Huda, to dissolve the parliament on 4 May 1954. The government was also forced to suspend a substantial number of newspapers from publishing from six months followed by a further six months extended suspension. These newspapers included Al-Rai, Al-Yaqdhah, Al-Kifah Al-Islami, Al-Jabhah, Al-Watan, Al-Ahed Al-Jadeed, and Sawt Al-Sha'b. These newspapers represented a rainbow of ideologies. We can conclude that the keenness of the legislator to have a liberal press law was confronted by many obstacles because the legislator did not take into consideration all socio-political factors which prevailed in such a turbulent period of history.

### **8.2.2 The Press and Publication Law of 1955**

Just less than two years from the introduction of the 1953 PPL the government found itself in urgent need of introducing a more restrictive press law. On 30 March 1955 a new law was enacted which reinstated all restrictive powers to the government, previously taken from the government in the 1953 press law. These powers included the absolute discretion of the government to grant a license, suspend it revoke it or refuse issuing such license. These powers were not subject to appeal or challenge in the courts. Al-Musa rightly argues the main objectives of introducing such law. He stresses the desire of the government to fully control the publishing of newspapers and therefore allow only those publications which are considered socially and politically responsible from the government viewpoint. As a result, press freedom in this law was less than most had expected. Nonetheless the 1955 PPL was a more comprehensive law. It connected freedom of the press with publishing accurate and responsible information. It required journalists to be precise and accurate. The law also required any person wishing to publish a new newspaper to devote full time for such profession. The law was stricter with violations than the previous one.

Article 8 of the 1955 PPL stated that, "When the minister of interior receives an application for a new publication licence, he should send the completed application to the council of ministers who have the

absolute authority to grant or refuse such licence and the decision of the council is final. Therefore, this law limited all authorities in the council of ministers without any considerations to the citizens rights enshrined in the constitution to resort to courts."

Paragraph (a) of article 20 imposes censorship on newspapers despite the continuation of the defence law, which is in itself more than enough to restrict press freedom. Censorship powers in this law imposed on newspapers were given to the DDPP. (Izzideen, 1998: 28)

In conclusion, a comparison between the 1953 PPL and 1955 PPL, which focuses on punishments and fines, can be seen in Table 8.1 below.

Number of Article	1953 PPL	1955 PPL
8	The decision to refuse to issue a press publication licence is authorised by the minister of interior. Such a decision should include justifications and his decision is open for appeal in court.	The decision to refuse to issue a press publication licence is given to the council of ministers without any possibility of appeal or judicial review.
9	Each offence related to changes or amendments of the contents of a press publication licence is punishable by suspension of the newspaper and each issue published after such a suspension would be subject to a fine from 5JD - 25JD.	Each offence related to changes or amendments of the contents of a press publication licence is punishable by suspension of the newspaper and each issue published after such a suspension would be subject to a fine from 20JD – 50JD.
11	A newspaper which is published in	A newspaper which is

	contradiction with article 8 is to be suspended immediately and its copies should be withdrawn and the owner fined from 5JD –30JD and the licence to be suspended for a year	published in contradiction with article 8 is to be suspended immediately and its copies should be withdrawn and the owner fined from 20JD–50JD and imprisonment from 2 – 6 months
20	Each person who publishes or distributes a prohibited publication or a supplement of it is punishable by imprisonment from 8 days – 3 months or a fine from 10JD – 50JD or both.	Each person who publishes or distributes a prohibited publication or a supplement of it is punishable by imprisonment from 1 – 3 months or a fine from 10JD – 50JD.
27	The prohibitions in this article are seven, which include: news about the king and royal family except by prior permission; the minutes of the closed sessions of the parliament; news, reports, or materials regnant to morals or ethics; articles and materials which entail contempt of any of the religions or faith whose freedoms are secured by the constitution; and finally, any news related to the movements of the armed forces unless it had permission to be published.	All these prohibitions remained the same with one slight addition to the movement of the armed forces, which prohibited the publishing of the number of the armed forces and its weapons.
33	Offences which were mentioned without clear punishments are to be punished by a fine of up to 50JD.	Offences which were mentioned without clear punishment are to be punished by a fine of up to 50JD or imprisonment from 1- 3 months.
35	The publishing of intended false accusations is punishable by imprisonment by 1-day – 1 month or	The publishing of intended false accusations is

	a fine from 5JD – 25JD or both.	punishable by imprisonment by 1 – 3 month or a fine from 10JD –50JD.
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**Table 8-1: A comparison between the punishments and fines of the 1953 PPL and the 1955 PPL**



### **8.2.3 The Press and Publication Law of 1967**

On 10 February 1967 a third press and publications law was enacted to replace the 1955 press and publication law. This law contained 73 articles covering many aspects of the press and publishing. The general features of the law included a definition of the profession of journalism, requirements of a chief editor, requirements to publish a newspaper – e.g. capital required, prohibitions, penalties for violations, and others. This law remained in operation for only one year before it was refused by the council of the nation on the basis that it was too even more restrictive to press freedom than the 1955 press law and it imposed severe financial and procedural restrictions for the publishing of new newspapers. Accordingly the 1955 PPL was reinstated and continued to be in operation until 1973.

This law was introduced due to the difficult circumstances which prevailed during the 1960s. Press campaigns against the country with more determination to destabilise the country which was already hanging onto the edge due to the loss of the West Bank to Israel. The state's only option in facing such embarrassing campaigns from neighbouring Arab countries was to introduce this restrictive law to further its control and grip on all printed material and hence marginalise the role of the private sector in the printed media.

Article 3 of this law emphasised that press, printing presses, bookshops, publishing houses and distributors are free and that such freedom cannot be restricted except through the general laws and the limits of this law. It defines the press as the profession of publishing newspapers. The law required the responsible editor to be at least 23 years old and have minimum qualification of GCSE, in addition to five years experience or holds a university degree. The law also required the editor to practice his job on a full-time basis. The authorities of the council of ministers were extended in this law to revoke the licence of any press publication without any accountability or justification as to why such a decision was made (Izzideen, 1998: 28-29).

Article 71 states that, "once the law comes into affect and approved by the council of ministers, all press licences which were granted will become obsolete and those wishing to publish a press publication must apply in accordance with the rules of this law." Article 72 stated that, "The 1967 law revoked the 1955 PPL and any Jordanian or Palestinian legislation contradicting it." As a result of this law many daily newspapers were suspended and ceased from publishing. However, they were all published in historical Palestine and only one weekly newspaper was published in Amman by the name 'Al-Urdun' meaning Jordan (Hamad, 1992: 142-143).

In 1967 the Ministry of Information was established and shortly afterwards the press and publication law was issued, and the situation went from bad to worse. The authority given to the Council of Ministers to terminate the licence of a newspaper or to stop the publishing of it, was extended without any chance for court appeals, especially if the press publication behaved in a way interpreted as a threat to national security or to the Constitutional foundations of the state or public and national feelings and safety. This law was short lived, and on 15 February 1968 the official gazette published the cancellation of this law and the reinstatement of the publication law number 16 for the year 1955; however some academics consider the 1967 law as one of the decisive laws in the history of the press in Jordan.

Article 71 of the law states that when this law comes into effect, all licences issued to press publications will be cancelled and those wishing to publish any press publication will have to re-apply in accordance with this law. Article 72 also states that the press publication law number 16 for the year 1967 cancels the press and publication law for 1955, and Palestinian and Jordanian legislation contradicts this law. As a result of this law all daily newspapers which were published in Jerusalem stopped and some of them moved to Amman, and only one weekly newspaper was published in Amman at the time when the amalgamation of Palestinian and Manaar newspapers became known as 'Al-Dustour' (The

Constitution) daily paper. In addition, Al-Jihad and Al-Difa' amalgamated to form Al-Quds, which continued to be published until the six-day war. Because the law contradicted the Constitution the House of the Nation at the time did not approve it and reinstated the 1955 law instead. A royal decree was issued to enforce the Council of Ministers' decision number 539 on 8 January 1968, which included the invalidation of the law.

#### **8.2.4 The Press and Publication Law of 1973**

The fourth press and publications law was introduced on 1 July 1973. This law remained in practice until 1993, but was amended twice in 1978 and 1988. This law defined the journalist as any person who practices journalism as a profession and that such a profession is the only source of income. It also defined journalism as the profession of issuing publications. The law required the chief editor to be at 23 years of age. It allowed all persons working in governmental media institutions to become journalists and members of the JPA.

The law made a clear distinction between those holding a degree in journalism and those holding a degree in other qualifications. This was that holders of a BA in journalism became no longer in need of experience to become recognised journalists, but holders of a degree in another field did. To publish a new newspaper the law required financial

and editorial experience in addition to a financial bond to cover any imposed fines. In brief, it is a very restrictive law, which led a number of officials and journalists to lobby strongly for its amendment.

This new law granted the Council of Ministers further powers including the power to grant a licence to issue a press publication, to reissue a licence, refuse granting a licence and the withdrawal or cancellation of a licence. However the law required the Council to get a royal decree when a new licence was approved or a renewal of a licence is sought. Article 16 of the 1973 law grants immunity to the Council of Ministers by disallowing the citizens any kind of appeal or challenge through the courts. Article 23 of the law also grants the Council of Ministers the right to withdraw the licence of any press publication and such decision of withdrawal is not subject to any challenge through the courts (Izzideen, 1998: 29).

Paragraph 1 of article 23 states that "If a press publication publishes what is considered to be a threat to the national unity or the safety of the state and to the Constitutional foundations of Kingdom, the Council of Ministers can decide to revoke the licence of a press publication or stop it for a period not less than a week or a fine decided by the Prime Minister not less than 150 JD and not more than 500 JD."

Paragraph 2 of article 23 states that, "The decision of the Council of Ministers is final and is not open for any challenge by anybody."

Paragraph 3 of article 23 states that, "No consideration will be given to any application to renew a cancelled licence of any publication before one year has elapsed from the date of the cancellation of the licence. As a result of these articles, many newspapers faced the cancellation of their licence, the suspension of publishing, with the addition of large fines (Shraim, 1984: 173-174).

It is noteworthy to highlight the fact that the restrictions which are attached to the 1973 law were not included in the law when it came before the Parliament and it was the Parliament which added some restrictions to the law, especially those which prohibit the journalist from going to court to challenge decisions related to the refusal of the licence or to revoke the licence of a publication. The parliament at that time, which was supposed to be a representative of the will of the people and was supposed to safeguard the Constitution, added these restrictions without any consideration for the Constitution.

Journalists and the JPA were surprised at the extent of such restrictions, which were surprisingly approved by the House of Senates. The president of the JPA at that time expressed his surprise and anger at the restrictions and the behaviour of the parliament, which resulted in many contradictions which did not even exist in the 1955 law. The new law was supposed to fill gaps and modernise the 1955 law, and to get rid of the restrictions which were imposed on the journalists and not to

impose more restrictions. It is by all means the most restrictive law that was used by the state until 1993 to deny citizens their basic right to print, publish, and access information. Such a law in conjunction with martial law and other emergency provisions became a sword directed at all citizens as well as journalists (Shuqayr, 2001: 251).

### ***8.3 The Development of Press Laws in Jordan from 1993 to 1998***

This phase of press law development is the most important phase due to a number of factors which will be discussed and analysed throughout this section. The political decision in Jordan to embark on fundamental reforms towards democracy after 1989 necessitated thorough review of many laws and legislations including press and publication laws. Such review was very essential for any genuine and fundamental changes (Ziadat, 1995: 75).

Prior to reviewing such legislations it is vitally important to raise the following question: What caused the authoritarian regime in Jordan to embark on such serious reforms? The answer to this question is without a doubt a complicated one, but amongst the many interrelated reasons which influenced the move for such reforms were the tensions caused by economic stress which became apparent when riots developed out of public dissatisfaction with recently decreed price increases. Further

motives were public frustration over government corruption and its seeming inattentiveness to domestic conditions. The most unsettling aspects of these riots were its participants. The riots occurred in traditional strongholds of Hashemite support in the south of Jordan.

The collapse of the Soviet Union block, together with threats from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) threatened the very legitimacy of the Hashemite regime. The downturn in the oil economy executed a second effect on the Jordanian standard of living by decreasing the employment of Jordanians abroad. Remittance from Jordanians working in the Gulf States declined and a big number of Jordanians returned home sparing an increase in unemployment and exacerbating tensions between Jordanians and Palestinians.

Some experts in Jordanian political affairs, most notably Laith Shubailat and Tojan Faisal, believed that the most genuine reason for such cosmetic reforms, as they described it, was the governments' secret intention to sign a peace treaty with Israel. They believed that such artificial reforms were just a clever manoeuvre by the state to rally the public opinion behind the most unpopular step by the government which took place in 1994 in Wadi Arabah in southern Jordan when a peace accord was concluded with Israel after half a century of a state of war. However, their view was strongly supported by government interference, harassment, and pressure on all kinds of freedoms which reached its peak



through the introduction of the 1997 amendments of the 1993 PPL. Also, the many lawsuits which were filed against the different newspapers were another proof of the validity of Shubailat and Faisal's assumption.

To meet the requirements of this new era, the government organised the first parliamentary elections for the first in more than three decades. It also froze the Martial Law imposed since 1967. To consolidate the democratic process, the King called for a national conference representing different ideologies and trends. This conference resulted in the introduction of the National Charter in 1999 followed by the legalisation of political parties and the introduction of the political parties' law in 1992 (Ziadat, 1995: 78).

The National Charter which was approved in 1990 was a major foundation of the announced political reforms. It regulated and organised political pluralism and therefore protected democracy. It should be noted that the National Charter was a social contract between the nation on one hand and the government on the other hand; however, it was not legally binding. Paragraph 4 of Chapter 6 of the National Charter stressed that all Jordanians have the right to freely express themselves through the national media and the state was required to introduce policies to guarantee such right (Shuqayr, 2001: 26).

In addition to the 1993 PPL and its amendments in 1997, this chapter will include all other press legislations and issues related to press

freedom including the 1998 PPL and its amendments in 1999. The purpose of including all legislations outside the period of the study is to bring the reader to the most up to date picture regarding press legislations in Jordan and to highlight the impact of other overlapping issues and legislations.

### **8.3.1 The Press and Publication Law of 1993**

As part of the legal and institutional reforms by the Jordanian government since 1989, a new press and publication law was introduced in 1993. The press law was approved by Parliament in March 1993, ratified by King Hussein in April 1993 and took affect in May 1993 as PPL No. 10 of 1993. There are so many laws in Jordan that contain overlapping restrictions and remain untouched by government reforms. The combined affect of such laws grant the government wide powers to restrict press freedom, prosecute and harass journalists. The most dangerous affect of such laws is that they institute a system of censorship that denies all citizens their fundamental right of access to information necessary to participate in the building of a democratic society. It should be noted form the start that despite all its shortcomings, the 1993 Press and Publications Law is still seen by most Jordanians concerned with press freedoms as the most liberal press law until the present date (ARTICLE 19, 1994: 1).

A revised version of the 1973 Press and Publications Law was submitted to the Council of Ministers for approval in 1991. The proposed law ensured the right to protect the confidentiality of a journalist's source and also guaranteed the right of access to information. Then again, the law had its drawbacks, as did most laws introduced to regulate the media in Jordan. Firstly, it required a high capital investment, affordable only

by well-off Jordanian citizens; and authorised political parties, as they were exempt from this financial requirement. A minimum capital investment of 100,000 JD was required for the publication of a daily newspaper and 30,000 JD for the publication of a weekly newspaper. This drawback would somewhat contradict the law itself as it proposed to guarantee the right to publish. Second on the drawback list were the prohibited and permitted topics. Among the 12 prohibited subjects was unauthorised news about the King, the royal family, the armed forces or public morals. The law also set out to establish a High Press Council. This council would essentially supervise the exercise of freedom of expression and information by ensuring respect for press freedom, but at the same time enforcing the limits of press freedom. These limits were in cases of national defence and the higher interests of the state. The council would also be responsible for ensuring the right of access to information, guaranteeing the confidentiality of a journalist's source, organising the accessibility of the media to political parties during election campaigns, and determining policy on the subject of reporting activities of the Parliament by the media (ARTICLE 19, 1991: 16-17).

This law is the fifth press and publications law in Jordan since its independence. It was introduced to replace the 1973 press law, which was very restrictive and lasted for almost 20 years. The new law was hoped to better organise the relationship between the government on one

hand and the printed media on the other. It was also hoped that such a relationship would take into consideration the wishes of the majority of Jordanians in the way the media should function. This law contained 54 different articles which covered the duties and responsibilities of the press towards the society and the government. The law laid down the rights and duties of the owners of printed presses, bookshops, publishing houses, distributors, and advertising agencies. The law distinguished, for the first time, between specialised publications and other press publications. The law also introduced for the first time new definitions and concepts such as centres for evaluation of public opinion and research and study centres, etc.

The 1993 Press and Publications Law guarantees freedom of the press and freedom of opinion for every Jordanian to express their views and opinions freely in speech, writing, pictures, drawings and in all mediums of expressions and information. However, these declarations of principles are severely undermined by wide ranging restrictions in the law itself and in other laws which also include overlapping restrictions.

Under this law the government issued publishing licences to 6 daily publications, 24 weekly publications, and almost 200 specialist bulletins and periodicals. The three leading daily newspapers were controlled by the state through public institutions; among these was the Social Security Corporation.

Among the issues covered in this law is the licensing of publications. Article 5 defines freedom of the press as the rights of citizens, political parties, cultural and social organisations, and associations to own and publish press publications in accordance with the provisions of this law. Article 6 asserts that any person or political party has the right to own and publish newspapers or magazines according to this law. The law also requires that the publisher or owner is a Jordanian national, resident in the Kingdom and a member of the JPA. It also requires a high capital investment to acquire a publishing licence. Although admittedly not as high as the revised version of the 1973 Press and Publications Law, the investment was still beyond the means of common citizens. It began at a minimum capital investment of 15,000 JD for a periodical and went as high as 50,000 JD for a daily newspaper. Although several new publications were licensed since the law came into force, the primary obstacle that Jordanians who wanted to publish faced was the minimum capital investment. Some individuals even went as far as producing their own newsletters and bulletins and distributing them by themselves in their own private circles free of charge. Like the revised version of the 1973 Press and Publications Law, article 24 of this law exonerated authorised political parties from this financial requirement. Article 20 states that the decision to issue a licence is taken by the

Minister of Information and the Council of Ministers, which may be appealed against in the High Court (Ziadat, 1995: 85-90).

Another issue covered in the law is control of state advertising in the press. The government uses its three state-controlled newspapers to publish all advertisements. These three newspapers are the most successful because they have the highest circulation and so most businesses also advertise in them for this reason, beside the fact that they do not want to be seen supporting opposition newspapers. Most newspapers have no revenue except that the income received from newspaper sales, which is hardly enough considering the costs involved in publishing the newspaper. Article 49 of this law affirms that newspapers are not allowed to receive support from any foreign state or outside authority, and journalist are prohibited from receiving assistance or gifts without the approval of the Minister of Information. Any violation of this provision is punishable by imprisonment and a fine. The excuse given by the Ministry of Information for introducing such restrictions is to prevent hostile countries from dominating the Jordanian press and manipulating its journalists.

The law tries to put some control on journalists through defining certain issues such as licensing, codes, and protection. It defines a journalist as any person who is a member of the Jordanian Press Association and who abides by its rules.

Since the introduction of this law, many organisations highlighted and pinpointed some of the articles which are considered a violation of international agreements in relation to press freedom. The most notable of these organisations are ARTICLE 19 and The Arab Organisation for Human Rights. These reservations and observations can be summarised in the following:

The issues that were highlighted included the definition of a journalist in the 1993 law. Article 2 states that a journalist is “Every person who satisfies the conditions prescribed in the press association law in effect and adopts journalism as his profession in accordance with its provisions.” Such a definition violates article 22 of the ICCPR, which grants each person the right to form associations with other people, including the establishment of such organisation and joining it protect their interests. In addition to that, the JPA law was introduced during the martial law period, 1967 – 1992. This put very difficult conditions to limit the number of persons wishing to join the JPA. This difficult situation forced a number of journalists to form a new association that was officially licensed under Jordanian Media Association. The question, which is still posing, is do those members have the right to be journalists recognised by the JPA. In fact, the two organisations are against one another. Although it is a common practice in many advanced countries that a practicing journalist can join any other association while keeping



his membership in his own journalism association. The situation in Jordan is different due to the fact that the JPA does not allow its members to join any other professional associations.

Article 5/D of the 1993 PPL states that “journalist freedom shall include the right of the journalistic publication, the news agency, the editor and the journalist to keep the sources or the news acquired as confidential, unless the court decides otherwise while examining criminal cases for the sake of preserving state security, prevention of crime or realisation of justice.” Forcing journalists to reveal their sources of information before the courts constitutes a genuine threat against each journalist keen to publish truthful and critical material gained to confidential channels and private contacts. ARTICLE 19, the international centre against censorship, which is based in London, commented on the above paragraph by saying, “if such paragraph was implemented it would severely restrict freedom of expression, especially for official civil servants who have or possess important information related to public interests. The fear of being punished in accordance with this article, which may be classified as secret information by the government, would force such officials to keep silent just to avoid punishments of all kinds. What is noteworthy here is that government punishment can be exercised through other legislations and mechanisms

including illegal actions such as beatings, harassments, threats, intimidation, and other methods.

Article 8, 9, and 40 are worded in a very vague and generalised manner, which leaves them open to many interpretations and gives the government the upper hand to exploit them and interpret them in different ways that would serve the governments' interests. Such generalised and vague articles were purposely introduced to form a sword pointing at the heads of journalists. The vague wordings of these articles can be seen in article 8, for example, which states that, "publications shall avoid publishing what is repugnant to freedom, national responsibility, human rights respect for truth and the values for the Arab and Muslim nation. And shall consider the freedom of thinking, opinion, expression, and appraisal to be the right of citizens, as well as its own." This kind of wording indirectly requires journalists to expect a number of interpretations. This in turn indirectly sends a message to each journalist that their difference of opinion might be used against them through implementing such articles. This wording is also a message to journalists requiring them not to upset the general rules applied in Jordan regarding printed media in general. Nonetheless it is a well-known principle in all legislations including press legislations that the law should be clear, accurate and does not permit many interpretations, especially when such

law was revised, amended, and changed many times over the last fifty years.

The high financial requirements to license a new publication were another obstacle for a free press. As a requirement in article 24, the daily newspaper was required to have a registered capital not less than 50,000 JD and the paid up capital not less than fifty percent thereof. Paragraph B of article 24 also stated that, “it shall be a condition for licensing the non-daily journalistic publication that its registered capital shall not be less than 15,000 JD and the paid up capital not less than fifty percent thereof.”

ARTICLE 19; together with other organisations concerned with press freedom believe that no financial conditions should be imposed which would restrict the right of citizens to express their opinions through any medium including the printed press.

Articles 50, 51, and 52 are concerned with fines and penalties which the law imposes on those violating it. It is clear that such penalties are severe and high. They range from fines between 500 to 6,000 JD. Such high fines would automatically restrict freedom of expression and force many journalists to abstain from publishing much information even if they are sure about its credibility. This situation enforces self-censorship culture and institutional censorship imposed by top officials at each newspaper (Arab Organisation for Human Rights, 1994: 2-6).

The government answered to such observations and criticism that the law was passed by the Parliament and therefore the government does not take responsibility for such shortcomings. It should be noted however, that the government alone drafted the original draft together with a strong public relations campaign in support of the draft through the Minister of information at the time. The first year after the introduction of this law was very disappointing as many journalists were harassed, tortured, jailed, and beaten. Such failure of the law is illustrated in the chapter dealing with lawsuits during this period. In fact, many people in Jordan and abroad lobbied strongly to introduce a new law amending the 1993 PPL to deal with all the shortcomings raised in theory and in practice. They hoped that such amendments would be in conformity with international agreements and human rights principles in relation to press freedom and freedom of expression to create a more open society encouraging the free circulation of information.

In brief, this law was intended to provide liberal protections to journalists, but was significantly changed in the legislative process. In the end, the law contained a number of oppressive provisions including a limited definition of “journalist” and a list of fourteen restrictions on the press.

Despite these problems, the law was generally considered to be an improvement over the previous regulatory scheme. In the relatively open

environment that existed after enactment of the 1993 law, several controversial newspapers received licenses, and criticism of government policies – such as opposition to peace negotiations with Israel and the adoption of economic reforms recommended by the IMF – began to appear in print.

The government responded to opposition press by using the 1993 law to bring actions against journalists. Between 1993 and 1997, the government filed 66 cases against individuals and newspapers for violations of the press law and penal code. This law facilitated the emergence of partisan press as a pioneering example throughout the Arab world. However, it is still controversial if the changes brought about by the 1993 PPL are fundamental or cosmetic. This law is a landmark between two eras: the martial law era and the democratic era which is still at its experimental stage and struggling against government pressures and interference (Shuqayr, 2001: 7).

### **8.3.2 The 1997 Amendments to the Press and Publication Law of 1993**

Despite all the shortcomings and reservations in the 1993 PPL, the government felt that it was not in its interest to leave some of the positive aspects of the 1993 PPL. In fact, the government was deceiving Jordanians through the 1993 PPL by giving some margins of freedoms in order to conclude the peace deal with Israel, which was signed in 1994 at

Waadi Arabah in Southern Jordan. Shortly after this peace deal was concluded and enforced by the Parliament, the government started to filter information through many channels about its intention to tighten the rules and change the law to a more strict and restrictive one.

Taher Al-'Idwaan, a well-known journalist, wrote about the speculations to amend the law and stated that if such speculations turn out to be true it would be the duty of all journalists to stand up against such amendments and defend press freedom. He argues strongly that defending press freedom is more important than defending democracy itself (Al-Dustour, 7/12/1995).

Despite the opposition of most journalists and intellectuals to the proposed amendments, some Jordanians supported the government's intention and tried to justify its actions. Sameer Al-Ihyari, a journalist at Al-Rai daily newspaper, commented on such proposed amendments by assuring the leaders that the government is committed to democracy and freedom of expression. He added that the government's intention to embark on an open dialogue indicated the dangers of such issues. He further emphasizes the importance of a quite dialogue to resolve all outstanding matters in relation to any future legislation (Al-Rai, 6/12/1995).

Regardless of the fact that daily newspapers are pro-state, many journalists, from all dailies published in Jordan, strongly opposed the

proposed amendments and raised many concerns about the timing and the benefit of such amendments. Muhammad Al-Subayhee, a journalist at Al-Dustour newspaper, argued that the proposed amendments need to be discussed in a comprehensive dialogue between the press on one side and the government on the other. He also argued that such proposed amendments should not be left to be discussed and agreed upon behind closed doors prior to referring them to the Parliament. This practice of trying to pass legislations in such a secretive way by not giving the wider society, including the Parliament, enough time to reflect on the cornerstone of any democracy, i.e. freedom of the press and freedom of expression, explains the governments' intention to go back on its word regarding its plans for a democratic society. Al-Subayhee touches on a number of issues in the proposed amendments such as the requirement of chief editors and the minimum capital needed to license a newspaper. The proposed law tightens punishments, especially in relation to article 40. The violation of this article could lead to imprisonment from 1 to 3 years and a double punishment in case the violation was repeated. The major problem in relation to these amendments is that they were proposed a short period after the signature of the Waadi Arabah peace deal with Israel. The other problem is that such amendments were proposed just over a year from the introduction of the most liberal press law in Jordan in 1993. This confusion in the press environment in Jordan put so much

pressure on all people involved in the printed media, especially those who chose to be independent from the government (Al-Dustour, 15/12/1995).

The numbers of articles published in all newspapers in Jordan against the introduction of such amendments are numerous. Most of these articles warned the government against taking such a hasty step, which would categorically topple all positive steps taken to advance democracy and freedom of expression since 1989 (Al-Dustour, 5/12/1995).

Many professional organisations, political parties, and other institutions condemned the proposed amendments in advance. They argued that the government already restricted freedom of expression in the 1993 PPL and now it's trying to expand these restrictions to suit its needs in order to cover-up official corruption and mishandling of sensitive issues. Weekly newspapers were also at the forefront in opposing such amendments as they were strongly targeted by these amendments. In fact the announcement of the proposed amendments by the government in December 1995 was seen as reinstating martial law (Karino, 2002: 12). After this brief introductory stage which preceded the amendments the state finally introduced the amendments as expected. The following section is allocated to examine the amendments in more detail.



After trying to persuade the Parliament to amend the 1993 law to limit what it perceived as journalistic excess, the royal regime took advantage of the fact that Parliament was not in session to issue Provisional Law Number 27 in 1997. Under the Constitution, the government may issue temporary laws if necessitated by urgency. The amendments were finally enacted on May 15, 1997 by the Council of Ministers. The government expanded the restrictions in the 1993 PPL to include prohibitions on publishing government documents and news about security services. The amendments enforced more restrictions on all forms of published information, such as news, analyses, opinions, reports, drawings, and photographs. The amendments also introduced a minimum capital requirement to license a newspaper – an astounding minimum capital requirement of 600,000 JD for daily newspapers and 300,000 JD for weekly newspapers. The amendments also introduced steep fines, and even more severe punishments, such as the suspension or closure of publications violating any of the bans. The increased restrictions were met with outrage, not only by journalists and opposition leaders, but also liberals within the regime. The government used the provisions of the decree, and in particular the increased capital requirements, to close most of Jordan's weekly newspapers. Legislators who opposed the 1997 royal decree boycotted the November 1997

parliamentary elections, and a case was filed in court to overturn the temporary law (Human Rights Watch, 1997: 13-14).

Al-Bilaad was one of the first newspapers to come under attack for violating the amendments. The newspaper was fined 15,000 JD for publishing news about the security forces. Other cases involved weeklies: Al-Mithaaq and Al-Hadath, dailies: Al-Arab Al-Youm, Al-Rai, and the English-language daily: The Jordan Times.

The negative effects of the amendments were not only seen through the numerous prosecutions taken against newspapers, but also through media coverage. For example, the weekly satirical newspaper Abed Rabbah had to be closed down. The paper closed down because of the many fines it was likely to face had it continued publishing under the new amendments and also because the amendments provided no protection for satirical newspapers. Journalists and editors had to practice self-censorship more frequently for fear of incurring heavy fines. In some cases newspapers barred columnists from writing about any sensitive political topic or simply rejected columns that were deemed too risky. Some critical writers, such as Toujan Faisal and her sister Layla, were told that their articles could no longer be published due to government pressures.

Some journalists argued about the law prohibiting the publishing of government documents of a classified nature as having a worrying effect

on weekly newspapers, as a lot of weeklies were in the habit of publishing government documents to demonstrate official corruption. Al-Hayat, a leading London-based Arabic daily, was confiscated twice within one week. It was seized on August 10, 1997 for undisclosed reasons and again on August 16, 1997 because of an article by a Kuwaiti columnist who alleged that Jordan's Rotary Club, whose president is Crown Prince Hassan, is a front for the Freemasons. Al-Hayat was again confiscated on September 17, 1997 for no official reason. The Jordan Times reported that two other issues of Al-Hayat were confiscated in October of 1997, as well as several issues of the London-based dailies Al-Quds Al-Arabi and Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, and of the independent Lebanese daily Al-Nahar.

Raising the capital requirement for weekly newspaper to 300,000 JD (\$422,700) from 15,000 JD (\$21,135) proved to be a very effective way to close down the smaller, more critical newspapers in accordance with article 8/B. According to this amendment, the government suspended 13 weekly newspapers on September 24, 1997. These were Al-Majd, Al-Mithaaq, Al-Hadath, Sawt Al-Maraah, Al-Sayaad, Al-Bilaad, Hawadeth Al-Sa'ah, Al-Urdun, Tareeq Al-Mustaqbal, Fares, Al-Najem Al-Arabi, Al-Umma, and Al-Hadaf. Publisher and editor of Al-Majd newspaper, Khaled Al-Rimawy, stated that he had gathered two thirds of the required capital when his newspaper was shut down. The

Ministry of Information informed the newspapers that their suspension was in accordance with article 24 and 51 of the amended law. The newspapers were given three months to comply with the requirements otherwise their licenses would be revoked. This measure left only five weekly newspapers still publishing in Jordan: Shihan, The Star, Al-Sabeel, Al-Liwaa, and Akhbaar Al-Usbou (Human Rights Watch, 1997: 15-16).

Government officials attempting to justify the amendments gave their explanations as to why they have enforced these measures against the press. They asserted the measures were necessary because of the unethical and exploitative content of the sensationalist weekly tabloids. In an official statement, broadcast on state radio on July 14, 1997, the government dismissed demands for the repeal of the press law amendments. The government said that the measures had been passed in response to "a state of deterioration in the work of the press." The statement continued:

"Had the defect not been addressed, there would have been a collapse in the community's values, sensitivities would have been triggered, and the prestige of the state and its institutions would have been undermined. The government does not agree that this temporary law muffles freedoms. On the contrary, the only effect of this law is to upgrade the press, and, consequently, to preserve responsible freedom. The government is convinced that the overwhelming majority of the Jordanian people do not want their values violated, or the Jordanian community being depicted as one that lacks morals, or their country's foreign relations being harmed for the sake of material profits for a few beneficiaries (Human Rights Watch, 1997: 17)."

Some journalists admitted that there were newspapers that published offensive stories, and thereby gave the government an excuse to crack down on the press as a whole. Mahmoud Al-Shareef, chief editor of Al-Dustour daily newspaper and former Minister of Information, agrees that the government's measures against the press are too harsh, but at the same time he blames this on the weekly newspapers. He was quoted as saying, "By constantly publishing stories that affront the morals of our conservative society, these papers created too many enemies among the people and in Parliament (Human Rights Watch, 1997: 7)."

A coalition of newspapers filed a lawsuit charging that the 1997 amendments were unconstitutional. In January 1998, the high Court of Justice ruled that the 1997 temporary law was unconstitutional, holding that no necessitating circumstances existed to give the government authority to issue a temporary law under article 94 (Shuqayr, 2001: 41).

### **8.3.3 1998 Press and Publication Law**

Although the 1997 royal decree and the oppressive restrictions contained in it were overturned, the boycott of the November 1997 elections by the more liberal members of parliament resulted in the installation of a very conservative parliament. In 1998, the government proposed a press law with restrictions and penalties similar to those in the

1997 royal decree. In particular, the 1998 law contained the following provisions:

- Articles 2 and 9 call for professional requirements for journalists, including mandatory membership in the Jordan Press Association.
- Article 13 stipulates capital requirements for newspapers ranging from 5,000 to 500,000 JD.
- Article 17 grants the cabinet the authority to approve licenses for publications. The same clause existed in the 1993 press law but required the government to provide justification for their decisions and also made provisions for citizens to sue the government if denied a license. In the 1998 version the government's decision is final.
- Article 23 requires that chief editors have eight years experience as full time journalists and three years as members of the press association.
- Article 31 empowers authorities to pre-censor any foreign publication entering the kingdom. It states that distributors or printers of foreign publications are required to submit two copies of each publication to the DDPP before distribution, and the DDPP has the power to ban a publication's distribution if its contents are judged to violate any provision of the law.

- Article 35 allows the Press and Publications Department to censor the publication of any books in the kingdom.
- Article 37 bans the publication of any news or information that relates to the armed forces and security forces; “infringes on the independence of the judiciary”; “defames the heads of Arab, Islamic or friendly states”; contains “false rumours”; “disseminates information on deviation or moral corruption”; or “instigates strikes, sit-ins or public gatherings in violation of the law.” Any violations could lead to fines as high as 10,000 JD for individual offences and up to 20,000 JD for repeat offenders.
- Article 39 authorizes censorship on court proceedings and criminal investigations. It states that publications may not report on “what the investigative authorities or court are assigned if it influences the investigation, the court proceedings, or the status of the people involved.” It also empowers the judiciary to censor news coverage on criminal investigations or trials.
- Article 50, permits the judiciary the power to indefinitely close down publications that are the subject of litigation for matters of “public interest” or “national security” (Shuqayr, 2001: 73).

#### **8.3.4 1999 Amendments to the 1998 Press and Publication Law**

King Hussein's death in 1999 led to the ascension of this son, King Abdullah II, to the throne. In his attempts to consolidate his authority, the new king promised to reinstate political liberties and submitted to the parliament a new bill to amend the 1998 press law.

The amendments that were passed after a legislative debate removed a number of the restrictions that were present in the 1998 press law. In particular, the amendments removed the list of fourteen restrictions on journalists that had been included in the press law since 1993, reduced the minimum capital requirements, and provided journalists with greater access to government information.

The newly amended law, however, still failed to address a number of issues important to proponents of free expression. For example, the amendments did not restore the requirement that government newspapers would be privatised, did not remove the requirement that all journalists belong to the Jordan Press Association, and did not eliminate a ban on reporting secret sessions of parliament. In addition, journalists worry that, even with the removal of the fourteen restrictions on journalists from the press law, they may be prosecuted for these same activities under the Penal Code and may receive life imprisonment in connection with such prosecutions (Obiedat, 2003: 138).



### **8.3.5 July 2001 Decision to Delay Parliamentary Elections**

In July 2001, one month after the previous parliament was dissolved, the government announced that it would postpone elections until at least 2002, indicating that it would be difficult to hold elections given the circumstances engulfing the Middle East. This action was purportedly taken pursuant to article 73 of the Constitution, which provides that “the King may postpone the holding of general elections if a *force majeure* has occurred, which the Council of Ministers considers rendering the holding of elections impossible.” Critics argue that the government did not comply with article 73 in postponing elections (Arab Organisation for Human Rights, 2003: 5).

### **8.3.6 October 2001 Royal Decree**

On October 8, 2001, King Abdullah issued a royal decree with a temporary law amending the Penal Code to add certain content restrictions and increase punishments for violations. In particular, article 150 of the Penal Code was expanded to include a number of vaguely-defined offences such as harming national unity; harming the prestige, integrity and reputation of the state; inciting disturbances, sit-downs and unauthorized public meetings; harming the dignity, reputation or personal freedom of individuals; destabilizing society through the promotion of

deviance and immorality; and disseminating false information and rumours.

Under the royal decree, violations are punishable by imprisonment of three to six months, a fine of up to 5,000 JD, or both. They can also lead to the closure of newspaper offices found to have published offensive materials. Moreover, violations of the newly amended article 150 of the Penal Code can be prosecuted in a State Security Court.

These amendments were purportedly in response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States. However, this explanation is questionable, as temporary laws restricting civil liberties had been issued as early as June 2001, including August 2001 laws limiting the right of free assembly and the right of access to legal counsel for political appointments. Ten such temporary laws were enacted between June and October 2001 (Abu-Arja, 2003: 27).

The Jordan Press Association called for a repeal of the amendments in the temporary law issued in the October 2001 royal decree and, together with editors-in-chief and owners of three weekly newspapers, filed a suit challenging them as unconstitutional. The Jordan Press Association claimed that the restrictions in the temporary law violated the right to freedom of expression set forth in article 15 of the Constitution. In addition, it claimed that, as was the case with the 1997 royal decree, the government lacked the authority to enact the temporary law under

article 94 of the Constitution because there was no state emergency justifying the government's actions. The court ruled, in a decision that could not be appealed, that it did not have jurisdiction to hear the case.

In August 2002, King Abdullah II declared that parliamentary elections would be delayed for a second time, because of difficult circumstances facing Jordan. The Minister of Interior indicated that the elections would occur between March and May 2003 (Arab Organisation for Human Rights, 2003: 37).

### **8.3.7 Press Laws in Effect Today**

Today, the press is regulated pursuant to the 1998 Press and Publication Law, as amended in by the Royal Decrees issued in 1999 and October 2001 (the most significant provisions of which are set forth above). In addition, provisions of certain other laws provide the government with a legal justification for restricting media. For example, the 1971 Law on Protecting State Secrets and Documents No. 50 limits access to information, and provides for penalties such as up to ten years of hard labour, for the possession of any document classified as "highly confidential, confidential, or restricted." Additionally, the Martial Law of 1967 allows for censorship in times of martial law, and Penal Code No. 16 of 1960 provides that charges of libel and slander can be brought

against media professionals (Arab Organisation for Human Rights, 2003: 8).

The environment of press legislation in Jordan can be described as unstable, confused, and mistreated. As seen from our discussion of press laws in Jordan during the 6-year period from 1993 to 1999, one can notice the sorry state of the media due to the large number of laws and amendments in such a short period of time. These changes in the law were not justified by the government's claim that it was starting a new phase to embark on political reforms which would take into consideration the aspirations and considerations of Jordanians to freely express themselves. These changes and restrictions on press freedom were introduced after the peace treaty with Israel which was supposed to be the major impediment preventing the government from giving fundamental freedoms and rights to Jordanians who lived under martial law and military rule. The government's excuse was that this was due to the state of war which existed since the 6-day war in 1967. Apparently, the attack on the rights of Jordanians to freely express themselves is a government aim in itself – to further its control and by doing so preventing Jordanians from discussing fundamental issues and concerns through the printed media, in particular the weekly press.

## **9.0 Statistical Analysis of the Interviews**

The nature of the subject necessitated the selection of this type of interview and interviewees. The 52 propositions which were put before journalists in Jordan are self-explanatory and were designed to gather first hand information on a wide range of issues affecting press freedom in Jordan. The propositions were carefully designed and worded to find as much information as possible from practising journalists of all backgrounds in Jordan. Each proposition was multiple-choice and there were four possible answers. These choices were: Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, and Strongly Agree.

The propositions were grouped into different domains to facilitate their analysis, and therefore Appendix 1 was prepared to facilitate cross-referencing and comparisons if and when needed. It should be noted that the propositions used in these interviews covered many important issues which can be seen in the analysis. To give a more specific and accurate picture, the interviews were designed to reflect important variables such as gender, qualifications, experience, and type of newspapers. The analysis of the interviews will include the responses of 156 journalists.

Analysis of the interviews revealed a wide number of interesting findings in relation to many issues not known before. Different tables were created to illustrate these findings. Most of the tables are also

accompanied by charts to give a better illustration of their content. This chapter shows the findings that the study reached after collecting and analysing the necessary data. The results are illustrated according to a number of study questions followed by their answers.

### ***Results and main findings of the analysis***

The distribution of sample subjects according to the study variables are illustrated in Table 9.1. This table contains five different variables, each one carefully selected and analysed. These variables are gender, specialty, academic qualifications, experience, and type of newspaper. To better understand this table, an analysis of each variable is provided, followed by a chart which puts the information into a better perspective.

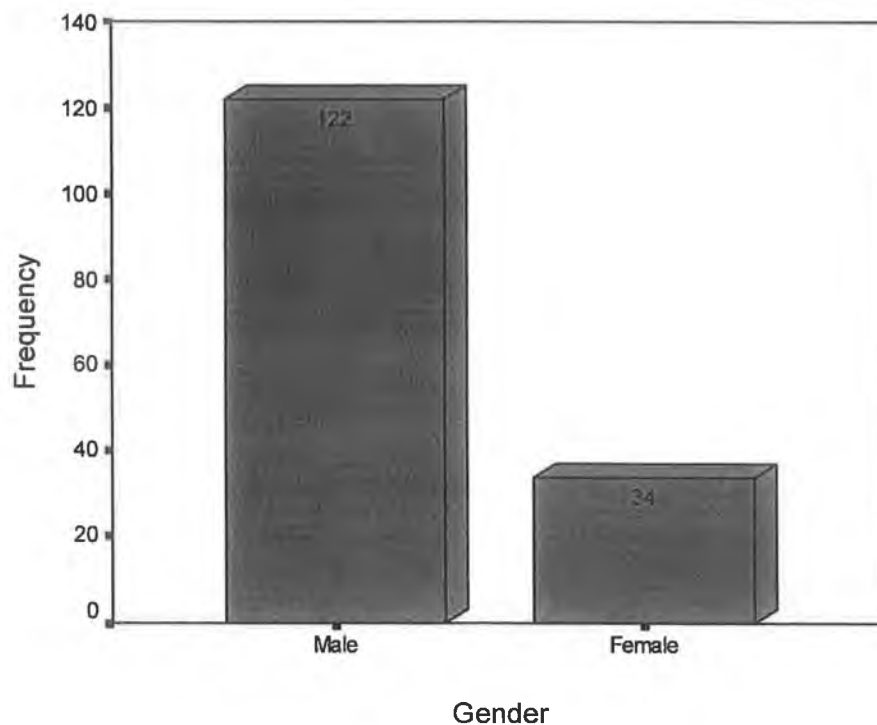
<b>Variables</b>	<b>Levels</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
<b>Gender</b>	Male	122	78.2%
	Female	34	21.8%
<b>Specialty</b>	Journalism	67	42.9%
	Other	89	57.1%
<b>Academic Qualifications</b>	Below Bachelor	64	41.0%
	Bachelor	76	48.7%
	Above Bachelor	16	10.3%
<b>Experience</b>	1 – 5 years	47	30.1%
	6 – 10 years	74	47.5%
	More than 10 years	35	22.4%

<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily	72	46.2%
	Weekly	84	53.8%

**Table 9-1: The distribution of sample subjects according to the study variables**

## **Gender**

We will now take a closer look at each individual variable. The first variable is gender. This variable shows that male journalists formed the majority as opposed to female journalists. This reflects the weak involvement of females in the printed media in Jordan. This is probably due to many reasons, mainly the recent involvement of females in education compared to the involvement of males which was not only earlier, but also more socially acceptable. It may also be caused by the negative attitude of the wider society regarding the involvement of females in work which would necessitate them to mix with males. Religion is also another decisive factor in this matter, but the impact of each factor would require a separate investigation.

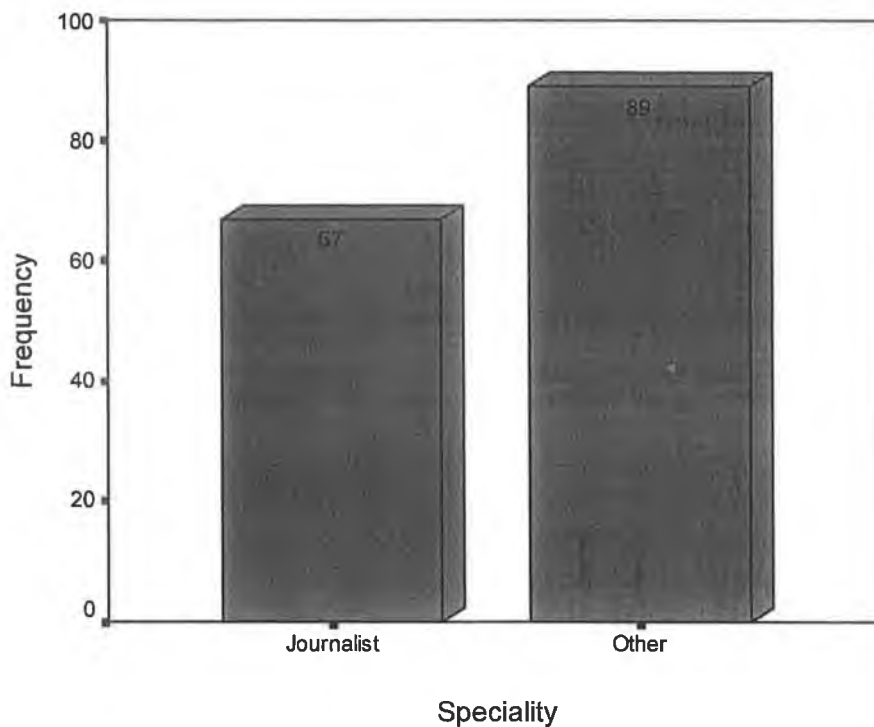


**Figure 9-1: A bar chart illustrating the number of male journalists compared to female journalists**

### **Specialty**

It is clear from the numbers shown in Table 9.1 that most journalists in Jordan possess qualifications other than journalism and only 42.9% of them hold a journalism qualification. This is due to the fact that, until recently, journalism was taught in one Arab country, i.e. Egypt. That made it difficult for many Jordanians to acquire a Journalism qualification. It is also due to the fact that the printed media in Jordan was either a family run business or a governmental establishment – not concerned with qualifications as much as profit. It was not until 1980 that the first school of journalism started to accept students at Yarmouk University in Jordan.

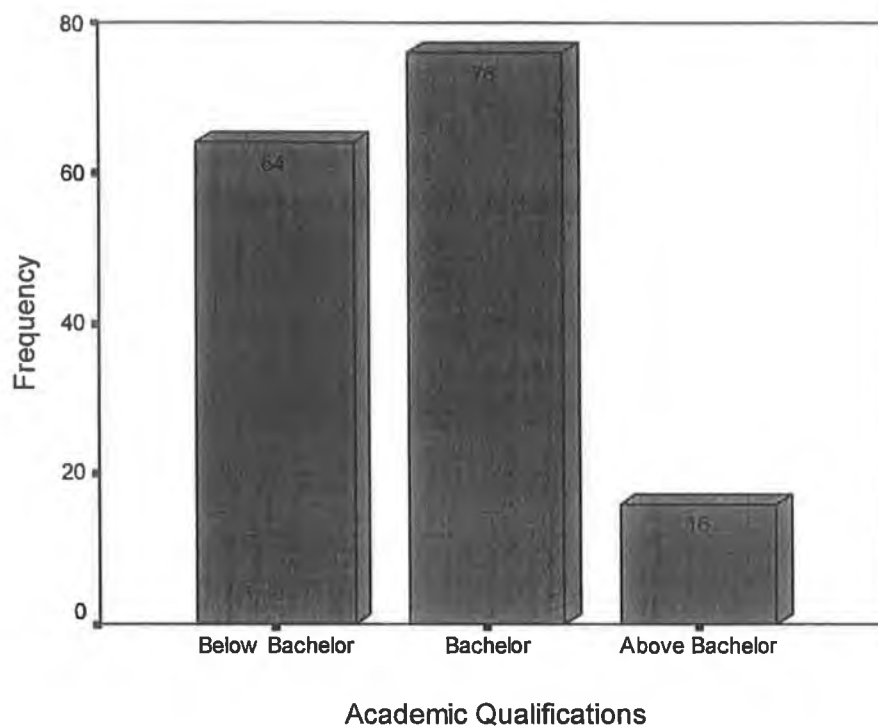




**Figure 9-2: A bar chart illustrating the number of journalists specialised in journalism compared with other journalists holding other qualifications**

### **Academic Qualifications**

Figures in the table also show that 59% of journalists in Jordan hold a BA in degree or above, whereas only 41% hold a qualification which is below a degree. This finding is extremely important if we take into consideration the fact that, until recent years, most journalists in Jordan were not in a position to avail of the opportunities which are available today. University education began to spread widely and the number of existing universities is above 20, with more than another 20 universities under construction.



**Figure 9-3: An illustrated comparison between the number of journalists holding below bachelor education, bachelor degrees and above bachelor degrees**

## **Experience**

The fourth variable illustrates that most journalists in Jordan possess more than 5 years of experience. This can be seen by the figure which states that only 30.1% of journalists possess less than 5 years experience. This is a reflection of an important finding which reflects the fact that the profession of journalism is relatively well established and most journalists are settled in it despite all the difficulties facing them.

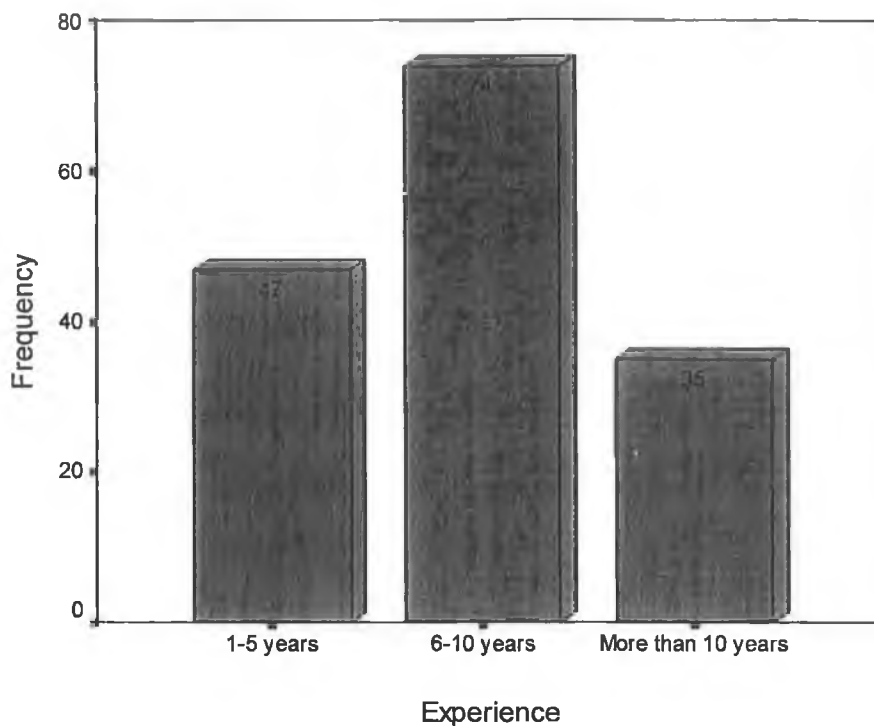
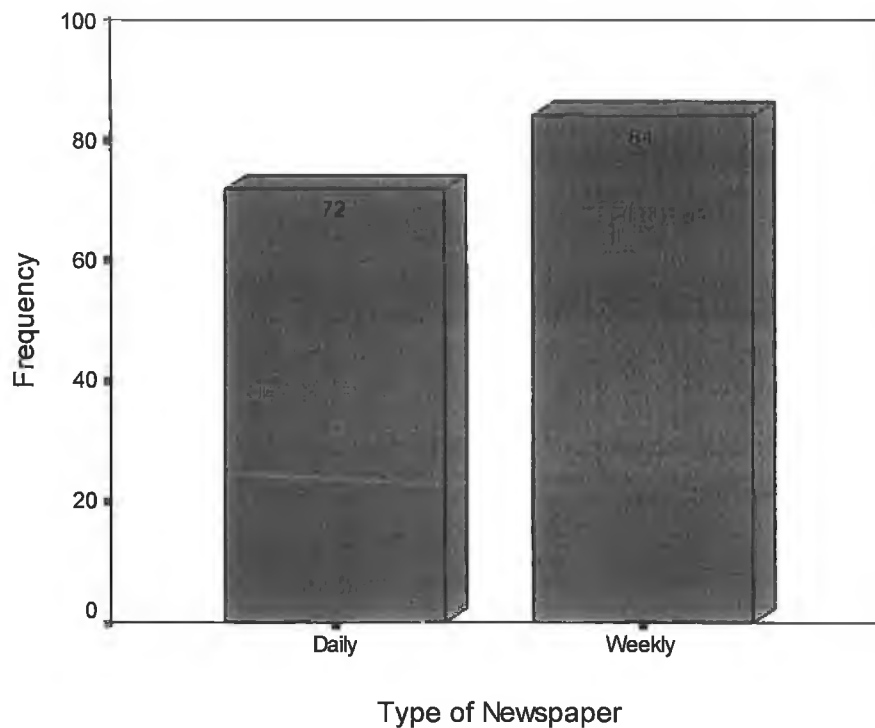


Figure 9-4: An illustrated comparison between the amounts of experience held by journalists

### **Type of Newspaper**

The last variable illustrates that there are two different types of newspapers: the daily and the weekly. The figures show that 83.8% of all journalists are involved in the weekly press, whereas 46.2% are working in the daily press. This finding is important due to the fact that until early 1990, most journalists were working in daily newspapers and very few were involved in the weekly press. This is reflected by the fact that most weekly newspapers began to publish after the start of the so-called democratisation era in the aftermath of the 1989 Parliamentary elections and other government reforms which were touched on earlier. This probably explains the governments' fear of a growing presence of weekly

newspapers and a growing number of journalists working in them. It also reflects the fact that many journalists are very keen on working in the independent weekly media despite all kinds of pressures harassments, and intimidation facing them, unlike their colleagues working in other daily newspapers in general.



**Figure 9-5: An illustrated comparison between the number of journalists working in daily newspapers and the number of journalists working in weekly newspapers**

## 9.1 Cross Tabulations

Also carried out were a number of cross tabulations to find out the number of males compared with females in relation to each variable.

### Gender \* Specialty

A cross tabulation was created to see the number of males who specialised in journalism compared with those specialised in something other than journalism and the number of females specialised in journalism against those specialised in something other than journalism. The table gives a clearer representation of the numbers followed by an illustration of these numbers in Figure 9.6.

Count		Specialty		Total
		Journalist	Other	
Gender	Male	41	81	122
	Female	26	8	34
Total		67	89	156

Table 9-2: The number of males and females and their corresponding specialty

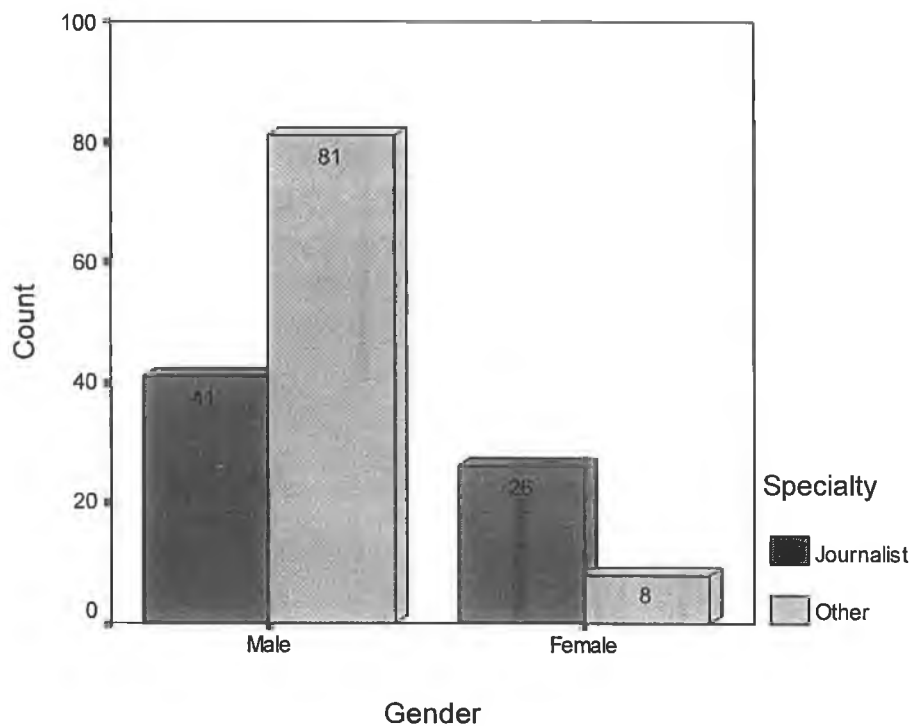


Figure 9-6: A bar chart illustrating a comparison between the number of journalists working in daily newspapers and the number of journalists working in weekly newspapers

### Gender \* Academic Qualifications

Table 9.3 shows the number of academic qualifications of male journalists versus the academic qualifications of female journalists. The table is also followed by a chart to better illustrate the figures.

Count		Academic Qualifications			Total
		Below Bachelor	Bachelor	Above Bachelor	
Gender	Male	36	70	16	122
	Female	28	6		34
Total		64	76	16	156

Table 9-3: The number of males and females and their corresponding academic qualifications

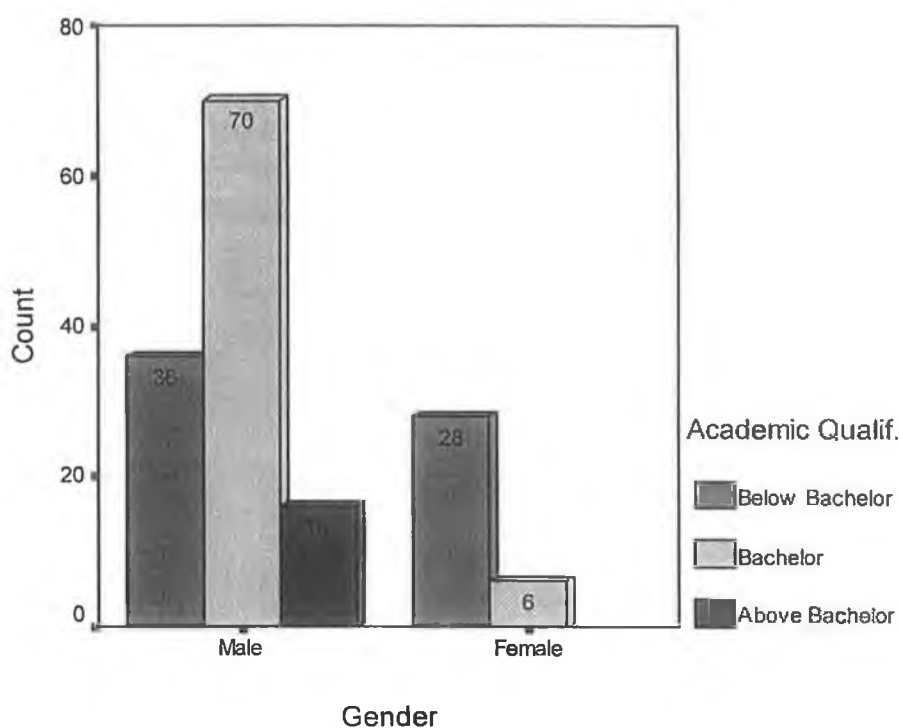


Figure 9-7: A chart illustrating the academic qualifications of male journalists versus those of female journalists

### Gender \* Experience

Table 9.4 represents the number of years of experience held according to three categories of criteria, i.e. less than 6 years experience, 6-10 years experience, and above 10 years experience. For a better illustration, accompanying the table is Figure 9.8.

Count		Experience			Total
		1-5 years	6-10 years	More than 10 years	
Gender	Male	25	62	35	122
	Female	22	12		34
Total		47	74	35	156

Table 9-4: The number of males and females and their corresponding years of experience in the profession of journalism

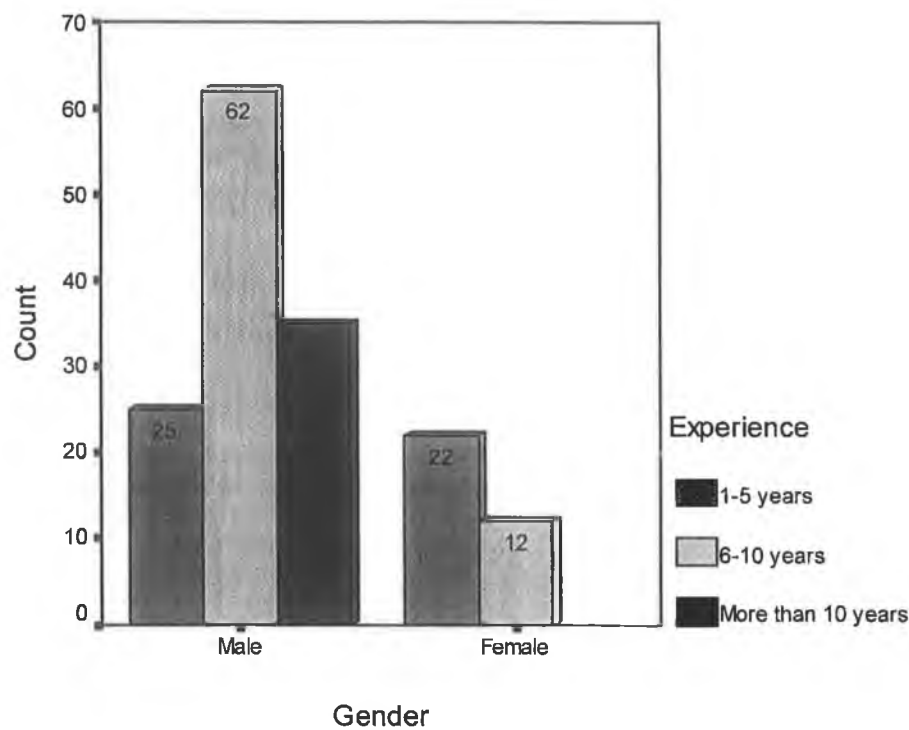


Figure 9-8: A chart illustrating the various years of experience of male journalists versus that of female journalists

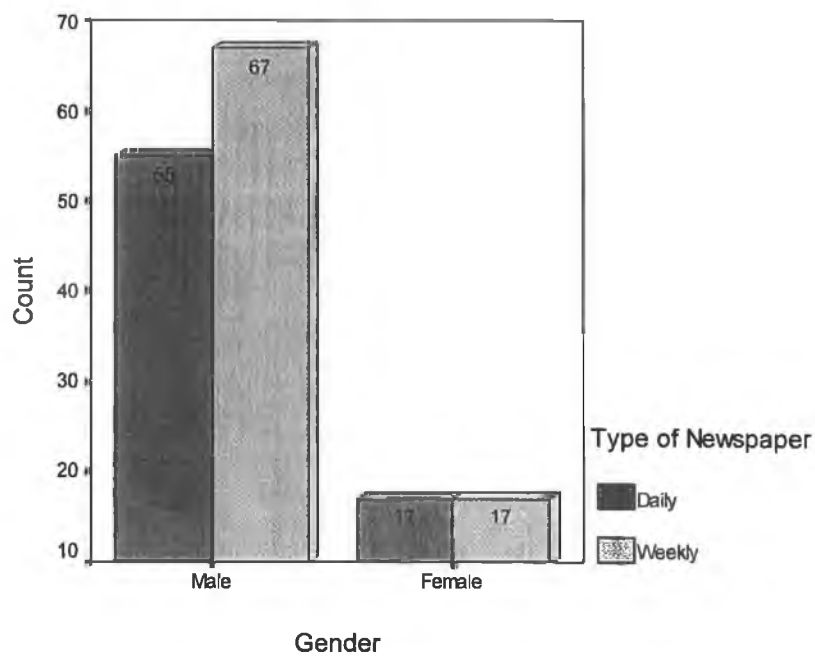
### Gender \* Type of Newspaper

Table 9.5 compares the number of male journalists working in daily and weekly newspaper with the female journalists. These numbers are better illustrated in Figure 9.9 which follows the table.

Count		Type of Newspaper		Total
		Daily	Weekly	
Gender	Male	55	67	122
	Female	17	17	34
Total		72	84	156

Table 9-5: The number of male journalists and female journalists working in daily and weekly newspapers





**Figure 9-9: A chart illustrating the number of male journalists working in daily and weekly newspapers versus the number of female journalists working in daily and weekly newspapers**

## **9.2 Research Questions**

A number of research questions were formulated to help in the analysis of the interviews. We will go through these questions individually. The answers to these questions necessitated the creation of tables such as Table 9.2 which illustrates the means and standard deviations for the different domains of the study.

**Question 1:** What are the views of journalists regarding obstacles facing them and their profession in general?

To answer this question the means and the standard deviations for the domains of the study were calculated as shown in Table 9.6. This table was created to help in answering the first question. The table was also designed to facilitate the analysis by dividing the propositions into roughly 5 different domains.

The table shows that most journalists confirm that laws are the most restrictive factor to press freedom in Jordan, followed closely by censorship. It is worth noting that the less the standard deviation is the more homogeneity exists in the opinion, regardless of the mean. The fact that the standard deviation is less than 1 indicates that agreement of most journalists regarding the 5 different domains. Journalists confirm that the

role of the JPA in restricting press freedom in Jordan is the least compared with all other domains.

No.	The Domains	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank
1	Laws	2.69	0.29	1
2	Censorship	2.56	0.22	2
3	Freedoms	2.49	0.33	3
4	Prohibitions	2.47	0.27	4
5	Jordanian Press Association	2.25	0.21	5
6	Total	2.52	0.18	-

Table 9-6: Means and standard deviations for the domains of the study

For a clearer picture of the propositions of each domain the means and standard deviations for each proposition of the study were calculated in accordance with their respective domains. Table 9.7 relates to the first domain, i.e. Laws.

Table 9.7 illustrates that Proposition 18, which says, “The absence of any mention in the 1998 law to what was mentioned in the 1993 law (government cannot own more than 30% of newspaper shares) means the government turned back on its word and wanted to keep control on daily newspapers”, is ranked first with a mean of 2.73 and a standard deviation of 0.66. Proposition 24, which says, “The condition of capital in the previous statement of license publications limits the press to rich people

and indirectly excludes most people”, is second in rank with a mean of 2.70 and a standard deviation of 0.61. Proposition 5, which states, “The Press and Publication Laws of 1998 are quite similar to the 1997 amended laws”, is last in rank with a mean of 2.21 and a standard deviation of 0.88.

This means that journalists in Jordan confirmed the content of Proposition 18. Journalists in Jordan also confirmed Proposition 24, as it was second in sequence, followed by Proposition 23, 40, etc. as illustrated in the table. In other words, the strength of confirmation for each proposition relies on the rank it is given in Table 9.7. The fact that Proposition 5 is the last in rank tells us that journalists are least agree upon it.

No.	Proposition	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank
18	The absence of any mention in the 1998 law to what was mentioned in the 1993 law (government cannot own more than 30% of newspaper shares) means the government turned back on its word and wanted to keep control on daily newspapers.	2.73	0.66	1
24	The condition which required that publishers have a minimum capital to license publications (in the previous	2.70	0.61	2

	statement) limits the press to rich people and indirectly excludes most people.			
23	The condition of a minimum capital of 500,000 JD to establish a daily newspaper and 100,000 JD to establish a weekly newspaper restricted the opportunities of investment in the press of Jordan.	2.64	0.52	3
40	Many of the amendments, especially the increase in punishments, capital, and experience of chief editors, are meant to suppress weekly newspapers in particular.	2.63	0.48	4
25	A minimum of 100,000 JD to license a weekly newspaper is mainly designed to limit the establishment of new weekly newspapers.	2.62	0.66	5
19	The condition that was mentioned in 1993 that the decision of the council of ministers is open for challenge by the court, made the press more capable to do its job probably and reduce its fears.	2.61	0.79	6
17	The condition that came in the 1993 Press and Publication Law, which said that the state cannot own more than 30% of newspaper shares, was to restrict government control on the press.	2.60	0.71	7
21	The closure of 15 newly established	2.60	0.77	8

	weekly newspapers, after the introduction of the 1997 amendments, was a strong slap across the face to press and freedom of expression.			
20	The absence of any mention of what was stated in 1998 gives the government free hand to practice its pressure on newspapers, especially newly established ones.	2.59	0.53	9
13	All articles included in press and publication laws are clear and are not open for more than one interpretation.	2.58	0.53	10
16	The 1993 Press and Publication Laws are considered the best laws which went in compliance and compatibility with democracy.	2.51	0.82	11
7	Weekly newspapers face more pressures than daily newspapers.	2.47	0.66	12
1	The Press and Publication Laws of 1998 provide a high ceiling of freedom for the press and journalists.	2.38	0.99	13
6	The absence of any mention that the decision of the Council of Ministers or the Minister of Information is final leaves a lot of ambiguity in the law and indicates the intention of the state to control journalists.	2.37	0.79	14
39	Weekly newspapers are more concerned	2.28	0.75	15

	with the treatment and wrong practices within the country than daily newspapers.			
5	The Press and Publication Laws of 1998 are quite similar to the 1997 amended laws.	2.21	0.88	16

**Table 9-7: Means and standard deviations for the first domains' propositions**

Table 9.8 relates to the second domain, i.e. Censorship. The table shows that Proposition 32, which says, "The subject of censorship makes the journalists live in constant fear and instability to what he writes", is ranked first with a mean of 2.78 and a standard deviation of 0.57.

Proposition 30, which says, "To compel journalists to reveal their source of information before the courts reduces the possibilities of getting information in special and sensitive cases such as corruption and briberies", was ranked second with a mean of 2.69 and a standard deviation of 0.58. Proposition 2, which states, "The Press and Publication Laws of 1998 provide the minimum requirements of press freedom", was ranked last with a mean of 2.13 and a standard deviation of 0.78.

This shows that Proposition 32 is the most agreed upon followed by Proposition 30. Proposition 2 is the least agreed upon amongst all the propositions in this domain. The tables, however, are self-explanatory as

each proposition is ranked in accordance with the strength of agreement upon it.

No.	Proposition	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank
32	The subject of censorship leaves the journalist living in constant fear and instability about what he writes.	2.78	0.57	1
30	To compel journalists to reveal their source of information before the courts reduces the possibilities of getting information in special and sensitive cases such as corruption and briberies.	2.69	0.58	2
26	Official advertisements of the government in weekly newspapers are the same as those in daily newspapers.	2.61	0.56	3
34	It is possible for a journalist to reach his source of information in public institutions with absolute ease.	2.59	0.78	4
10	The increase in the number of prohibitions in the press and publication laws is due to the wrong practice of journalists and the press.	2.58	0.53	5
14	The increases in the number of punishments, especially fines, are justified because of the many laws broken by the press.	2.57	0.87	6
9	The lifting of Martial Law in 1992	2.53	0.90	7



	reversed things fundamentally in favour of press freedom.			
2	The Press and Publication Laws of 1998 provide the minimum requirements of press freedom.	2.13	0.78	8

**Table 9-8: Means and standard deviations for the second domains' propositions**

Table 9.9 represents the propositions of the third domain, which is Freedoms. The table shows that Proposition 41, which says, "Press institutions are still hoping to gain extra freedom", is first in rank with a mean of 2.67 and a standard deviation of 0.47. Proposition 15, which states, "All those people familiar with Press and Publication Laws can see that the limit of press freedom is increasing to go in harmony with democracy", is second in rank with a mean of 2.63 and a standard deviation of 0.57. Proposition 8, which states, "The lifting of Martial Law in 1992 did not bring any fundamental changes to the Press and Publication Laws", is last in rank with mean of 2.24 and a standard deviation of 0.57.

No.	Proposition	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank
41	Press institutions are still hoping to gain extra freedom.	2.67	0.47	1
15	All those people familiar with press and publication laws can see that the limit	2.63	0.57	2

	of press freedom is increasing to go in harmony with democracy.			
35	Journalists working on weekly newspapers face the same treatment as the correspondent daily newspapers when they try to reach their source of information.	2.62	0.63	3
29	Partisan citizens prefer to read weekly newspapers.	2.61	0.86	4
33	The level of freedom granted to the press through the Press and Publication Law is enough and gives journalists the security to deal with information with all freedom needed.	2.60	0.51	5
28	The ordinary person prefers to read daily newspapers.	2.56	0.56	6
38	The peace treaty between Jordan and Israel restricted, to a large extent, the possibilities of criticising the Israeli Authorities.	2.55	0.72	7
22	The major restriction in press freedom and freedom of expression was the condition that the chief editor should have eight years experience.	2.54	0.78	8
37	Press and Publication laws in Jordan provide a margin of freedom similar to that of advanced countries.	2.53	0.67	9
3	Press and Publication laws issued in	2.29	0.72	10

	Jordan, even up to the present day, are not able to provide the minimum requirements of free expression and free press.			
8	The lifting of Martial Law in 1992 did not bring any fundamental changes to the Press and Publication laws.	2.24	0.74	11

**Table 9-9: Means and standard deviations for the third domains' propositions**

Table 9.10 is associated with the fourth domain, i.e. Prohibitions.

This table shows that Proposition 31, which says, "The decision of the government to prohibit state officials from writing to any newspaper is incompatible with the rights of citizens to freely express themselves", is ranked first with a mean of 2.70 and a standard deviation of 0.61.

Proposition 11, which states, "The prohibition of state employees to write in newspapers deprived the citizen of his basic rights", is ranked as second with a mean of 2.65 and a standard deviation of 0.52. Proposition 12, which states, "The prohibition of state employees from writing in newspapers may lead to leave many wrong practices and issues outside the circle of accountability", is last in rank with a mean of 2.31 and a standard deviation of 0.99.

Again, this means that most journalists are in agreement with Proposition 31, followed by Proposition 11, whereas they are least agreed upon Proposition 12.

No.	Proposition	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank
31	The decision of the government to prohibit state officials from writing to any newspaper is incompatible with the rights of citizens to freely express themselves.	2.70	0.61	1
11	The prohibition of state employees to write in newspapers deprived the citizen of his basic rights.	2.65	0.52	2
42	The condition to practice journalism only through membership of the JPA represents a breach of human rights law.	2.48	0.72	3
27	The percentage of advertisements in daily newspapers is much more than those in weekly newspapers.	2.47	0.75	4
4	The decision of the court to declare the 1997 amendments of the 1993 Press and Publication Law as unconstitutional indicates the intentions of the state to restrict and oppress freedom of press.	2.39	1.00	5
36	The prohibition of newspapers from receiving any grants or helps from within Jordan or abroad is mainly intended to protect the neutrality and openness of the press.	2.32	0.73	6

12	The prohibition of state employees from writing in newspapers may lead to leave many wrong practices and issues outside the circle of accountability.	2.31	0.99	7
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Table 9-10: Means and standard deviations for the fourth domains' propositions

Table 9.11 illustrates the strength of agreement upon the propositions of the fifth and final domain, which is the JPA. This table shows that Proposition 47, which says, "The government does not have a role in the election of the president of the JPA and its members", is first in rank with a mean of 2.69 and a standard deviation of 0.54. Proposition 45, which says, "The conditions attached to the membership of the JPA to have a university degree and experience puts barriers in front of those who want to join the profession and newly graduated individuals", is ranked as second with a mean of 2.63 and a standard deviation of 0.48. Proposition 43, which states, "The existence of the JPA is a positive step for freedom of the press", is last in rank with a mean of 2.34 and a standard deviation of 0.76.

No.	Proposition	Mean	Std. Dev.	Rank
47	The government does not have a role in the election of the president of the JPA and its members.	2.69	0.54	1

45	The conditions attached to the membership of the JPA, i.e. to have a university degree and experience, place a barrier in front of those who want to join the profession and newly graduated individuals.	2.63	0.48	2
44	The structure of the JPA, which gives two thirds of the votes to the government, puts the government in full control of the association and its direction.	2.62	0.49	3
50	There is a necessity to amend the JPA law in order to get rid of the period of experience required in the law as a condition of membership.	2.56	0.60	4
49	To make it a compulsory condition for the journalist to become a member of the JPA in order to practice the profession of journalism contradicts human rights and article 22 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).	2.54	0.50	5
51	Journalists should have the right to practice Journalism without the need to become a member of the JPA.	2.53	0.67	6
46	The JPA proved that it is capable of defending journalists and their freedoms and helping them to develop	2.50	0.57	7

	the profession.			
48	Nothing would change regarding free press in Jordan, even if the JPA did not exist.	2.40	0.61	8
43	The existence of the JPA is a positive step for freedom of the press.	2.34	0.76	9

**Table 9-11: Means and standard deviations for the fifth domains' propositions**

The remaining questions of the study are designed to gauge the differences in the views of the study sample in relation to all variables.

**Question 2:** Are there any differences in the views of the study sample, which can be related to gender?

To answer this question it was necessary to calculate the means and standard deviations of the study sample estimations according to gender on all domains as illustrated in Table 9.12. Table 9.12 illustrates that there are significant differences between the means of males and females for almost all domains. The table also shows that the majority of journalists with the view that laws are the most restrictive to press freedom are male. The values of the standard deviation as shown in the table confirm that all journalists are in agreement in general regarding all domains of the study. It can be noted from the table that a higher

percentage of females are agreed that the JPA is against press freedom.

The table also shows that there are differences in the views of journalists according to the gender variable.

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>
<b>Laws</b>	Male	122	2.75	0.22
	Female	34	2.50	0.39
<b>Censorship</b>	Male	122	2.60	0.21
	Female	34	2.40	0.15
<b>Freedom</b>	Male	122	2.52	0.34
	Female	34	2.37	0.28
<b>Prohibition</b>	Male	122	2.52	0.27
	Female	34	2.30	0.17
<b>JPA</b>	Male	122	2.24	0.21
	Female	34	2.27	0.21
<b>Total</b>	Male	122	2.56	0.15
	Female	34	2.39	0.22

**Table 9-12: Means and standard deviations of the study sample views in all domains of the study according to the gender variable**

In order to determine the level of significance of these differences a t-Test was used as illustrated in Table 9.13 below. Table 9.13 illustrates the difference between the averages of sample estimations on the study domains according to the gender variable. The table shows that there are differences that are statistically significant ( $\alpha \leq 0.05$ ) in all domains of the study. These differences are attributed to gender in favour of male



journalists, except in one domain, which is the JPA domain, as there is no statistically indicative difference at  $\alpha \leq 0.05$ . These figures mean that there is a consensus of opinion between males and females regarding the JPA, whereas females have more reserved opinion regarding other domains of the study.

Domain	Gender	Mean	Std. Dev.	df	t	Sig.
Laws	Male	2.75	0.22	154	4.78	0.000*
	Female	2.50	0.39			
Censorship	Male	2.60	0.21	154	4.98	0.000*
	Female	2.40	0.15			
Freedom	Male	2.52	0.34	154	2.39	0.018*
	Female	2.37	0.28			
Prohibition	Male	2.52	0.27	154	4.60	0.000*
	Female	2.30	0.17			
JPA	Male	2.24	0.21	154	0.88	0.383
	Female	2.27	0.21			
Total	Male	2.56	0.15	154	5.23	0.000*
	Female	2.39	0.22			

Table 9-13: Results of t-Test for the differences between the means of the study sample views in all domains of the study according to the gender variable. \* Significant at ( $\alpha \leq 0.05$ )

**Question 3:** Are there any differences in the views of the study sample, which can be related to the type of newspaper, i.e. daily, weekly?

To answer this question, the means and standard deviations of the study sample views were calculated according to the type of newspaper. Table 9.14 illustrates the means and standard deviations of the study sample views in all domains of the study. The table shows that there are clear differences between the means of the study sample views in the study domains.

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>
<b>Laws</b>	Daily	72	2.59	0.19
	Weekly	84	2.81	0.32
<b>Censorship</b>	Daily	72	2.50	0.18
	Weekly	84	2.61	0.23
<b>Freedom</b>	Daily	72	2.40	0.34
	Weekly	84	2.56	0.31
<b>Prohibition</b>	Daily	72	2.31	0.18
	Weekly	84	2.62	0.25
<b>JPA</b>	Daily	72	2.24	0.18
	Weekly	84	2.26	0.23
<b>Total</b>	Daily	72	2.51	0.10
	Weekly	84	2.54	0.23

**Table 9-14: Means and standard deviations of the study sample views in all domains of the study according to the type of newspaper variable**

To determine the level of statistical significance of such differences a t-Test was used as illustrated in Table 9.15. The table illustrates the results of the t-Test for the differences between the means of the study

sample views in all domains according to type of newspaper. The table illustrates that there are differences of significant statistical value at  $\alpha \leq 0.05$  as shown in the last column on the right in all domains of the study, according to the type of newspaper variable. This statistical indication is in favour of journalists working in weekly newspapers. It also illustrates that in the JPA domain there are no significant statistical indications.

Domain	Type	Mean	Std. Dev.	df	t	Sig.
Laws	Daily	2.59	0.19	154	4.98	0.000*
	Weekly	2.81	0.32			
Censorship	Daily	2.50	0.18	154	3.12	0.000*
	Weekly	2.61	0.23			
Freedom	Daily	2.40	0.34	154	3.03	0.003*
	Weekly	2.56	0.31			
Prohibition	Daily	2.31	0.18	154	8.77	0.000*
	Weekly	2.62	0.25			
JPA	Daily	2.24	0.18	154	0.56	0.574
	Weekly	2.26	0.23			
Total	Daily	2.51	0.10	154	1.05	0.297
	Weekly	2.54	0.23			

Table 9-15: Results of the t-Test for the differences between the means of the study sample views in all domains of the study according to the type of newspaper variable. \* Significant at ( $\alpha \leq 0.05$ )

**Question 4:** Are there any differences in the views of the study sample, which can be related to specialty?

To answer this question, the means and standard deviations of the views of the study sample according to their specialty were calculated. Such calculation was done in relation to the different domains. Table 9.16 illustrates the means and standard deviations of the views of the study sample in relation to the study according to specialty. The table also illustrates that there are clear differences between the means of the study sample views in the different domains.

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Specialty</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>
<b>Laws</b>	Journalism	67	2.53	0.35
	Others	89	2.82	0.14
<b>Censorship</b>	Journalism	67	2.53	0.22
	Others	89	2.58	0.22
<b>Freedom</b>	Journalism	67	2.55	0.28
	Others	89	2.50	0.36
<b>Prohibition</b>	Journalism	67	2.41	0.22
	Others	89	2.52	0.29
<b>JPA</b>	Journalism	67	2.21	0.21
	Others	89	2.28	0.21
<b>Total</b>	Journalism	67	2.47	0.20
	Others	89	2.57	0.15

**Table 9-16: Means and standard deviations of the study sample views in all domains of the study according to the specialty variable**

To determine the levels of statistical significance a t-Test was used as illustrated in Table 9.17. Results of the t-Test show the differences

between means of the study sample views on the domains according to specialty. The table shows that there are differences of significant statistical values at  $\alpha \leq 0.05$  in all domains of the study with the exception of two. These differences are attributed to specialty and in favour of those who are specialised in subjects other than journalism. The two domains that had no differences of significant statistical values are freedom and censorship.

Domain	Specialty	Mean	Std. Dev.	df	t	Sig.
<b>Laws</b>	Journalism	2.53	0.35	154	6.98	0.000*
	Others	2.82	0.14			
<b>Censorship</b>	Journalism	2.53	0.22	154	1.26	0.210
	Others	2.58	0.22			
<b>Freedom</b>	Journalism	2.55	0.28	154	1.13	0.134
	Others	2.50	0.36			
<b>Prohibition</b>	Journalism	2.41	0.22	154	2.47	0.015*
	Others	2.52	0.29			
<b>JPA</b>	Journalism	2.21	0.21	154	2.12	0.036*
	Others	2.28	0.21			
<b>Total</b>	Journalism	2.47	0.20	154	3.42	0.001*
	Others	2.57	0.15			

Table 9-17: Results of the t-Test for the differences between the means of the study sample views in all domains of the study according to the specialty variable. \* Significant at ( $\alpha \leq 0.05$ )

**Question 5:** Are there any differences in the views of the study sample that can be related to the level of qualifications, i.e. less than BA, BA, above BA?

To answer this question, the means and standard deviations of the views of the study sample according to the academic qualification variable of each journalist were calculated in relation to the study domains as illustrated in Table 9.18. This table illustrates that there are clear differences between the means of the study sample views in the study domains.

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Academic Degree</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>
<b>Laws</b>	Bachelor	64	2.66	0.34
	Higher studies	76	2.79	0.16
	Below Bachelor	16	2.77	0.05
<b>Censorship</b>	Bachelor	64	2.59	0.20
	Higher studies	76	2.63	0.21
	Below Bachelor	16	2.56	0.19
<b>Freedom</b>	Bachelor	64	2.45	0.31
	Higher studies	76	2.43	0.23
	Below Bachelor	16	2.39	0.21
<b>Prohibition</b>	Bachelor	64	2.31	0.23
	Higher studies	76	2.64	0.22
	Below Bachelor	16	2.35	0.07

<b>JPA</b>	Bachelor	64	2.10	0.22
	Higher studies	76	2.29	0.22
	Below Bachelor	16	2.42	0.07
<b>Total</b>	Bachelor	64	2.46	0.18
	Higher studies	76	2.59	0.14
	Below Bachelor	16	2.47	0.03

**Table 9-18: Means and standard deviations of the study sample in relation to study domains and according to the qualification variable**

To determine the indicative statistical level of these differences, a 1-Way Nova test was used to analyse individual variations as illustrated in Table 9.19. This table illustrates that there are differences of indicative statistical values at  $\alpha \leq 0.05$  only in two domains, which are Prohibitions and JPA. These differences are attributed to the level of academic qualification.

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Sum of Square</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>Mean of Square</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
<b>Laws</b>	Between groups	1.98	2	0.99	1.926	0.162
	Within groups	78.64	153	0.51		
	Total	11.15	155			
<b>Censorship</b>	Between groups	3.84	2	1.920	1.982	0.157
	Within groups	148.24	153	0.969		
	Total		155			
<b>Freedom</b>	Between groups	2.48	2	1.24	0.929	0.261
	Within groups	204.19	153	1.335		

	Total		155			
<b>Prohibition</b>	Between groups	5.32	2	2.66	6.850	0.000
	Within groups	59.37	153	0.388		*
	Total	64.69	155			
<b>JPA</b>	Between groups	6.27	2	3.135	5.185	0.002
	Within groups	92.51	153	.605		*
	Total	98.78	155			
<b>Total</b>	Between groups	3.18	2	1.090	1.095	0.271
	Within groups	152.24	153	0.995		
	Total	155.42	155			

**Table 9-19: Results of the analysis of individual differences between the means of the study sample views according to the qualification variable**

To determine the sources of these differences, a Newman-Kuels test was used as illustrated in Table 9.20. This table illustrates that there are significant differences between the mean of those holding qualifications less than BA and the holders of a BA. This difference is in favour of holders of a BA qualification. The table also illustrates the difference between those holding a BA qualification and the holders of qualifications at Post-graduate level. However, the JPA domain shows that there are differences, between holders of a BA and a Post-graduate qualification holder, in favour of BA holders.

Domain	Levels		Below Bach.	Bachelor	Above Bachelor
		The mean	2.31	2.64	2.35



<b>Prohibition</b>	<b>Below Bachelor</b>	2.31		0.33*	0.04
	<b>Bachelor</b>	2.64			0.29*
	<b>Above Bachelor</b>	2.35			
		<b>The mean</b>	2.22	2.29	2.16
<b>JPA</b>	<b>Below Bachelor</b>	2.22		0.07	0.06
	<b>Bachelor</b>	2.29			0.13*
	<b>Above Bachelor</b>	2.16			

**Table 9-20: Results of Newman-Kuels to determine the differences that are attributed to academic qualification. \***  
Significant at ( $\alpha \leq 0.05$ )

**Question 6:** Are there any differences in the views of the study sample, which can be related to the years of experience held by each journalist?

To answer this question, the means and standard deviations of the views of the study sample were calculated according to the experience variable in the study domains as illustrated in Table 9.21. The table illustrates that there are clear differences between the means of the study sample views in all study domains.

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Experience</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>
<b>Laws</b>	1 – 5 years	47	2.70	0.23
	6 – 10 years	74	2.69	0.34
	> 10 years	35	2.76	0.19
<b>Censorship</b>	1 – 5 years	47	2.51	0.14
	6 – 10 years	74	2.54	0.19

	> 10 years	35	2.60	0.25
<b>Freedom</b>	1 – 5 years	47	2.42	0.22
	6 – 10 years	74	2.53	0.29
	> 10 years	35	2.39	0.37
<b>Prohibition</b>	1 – 5 years	47	2.47	0.23
	6 – 10 years	74	2.50	0.27
	> 10 years	35	2.57	0.23
<b>JPA</b>	1 – 5 years	47	2.29	0.17
	6 – 10 years	74	2.32	0.24
	> 10 years	35	2.25	0.21
<b>Total</b>	1 – 5 years	47	2.49	0.13
	6 – 10 years	74	2.53	0.15
	> 10 years	35	2.54	0.15

**Table 9-21: Means and standard deviations of the views of the study sample in all domains of the study according to the experience variable**

To determine the level of indicative statistical values of such differences, a 1-Way Nova test was used as illustrated in Table 9.22.

This table illustrates that there are no significant differences ( $\alpha \leq 0.05$ )

for all study domains according to the years of experience variable.

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Sum of Square</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>Mean of Square</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
<b>Laws</b>	Between groups	3.48	2	1.740	1.581	0.201
	Within groups	168.24	153	1.099		
	Total	171.72	155			

<b>Censorship</b>	Between groups	3.59	2	1.795	1.515	0.208
	Within groups	181.36	153	1.185		
	Total	184.95	155			
<b>Freedom</b>	Between groups	4.27	2	2.135	1.987	0.155
	Within groups	164.34	153	1.074		
	Total	168.61	155			
<b>Prohibition</b>	Between groups	3.84	2	1.92	1.513	0.209
	Within groups	194.21	153	1.269		
	Total	198.05	155			
<b>JPA</b>	Between groups	4.22	2	2.110	1.275	0.254
	Within groups	253.14	153	1.655		
	Total	257.36	155			
<b>Total</b>	Between groups	3.21	2	1.605	1.244	0.259
	Within groups	197.35	153	1.290		
	Total	200.56	155			

**Table 9-22: Results of the analysis of individual differences between the means of the study sample views according to the experience variable**

In conclusion the following would be a brief summary of the most noticeable findings of the statistical analysis and a direct examination of the responses of journalists on all propositions which can be found in Appendix 1.

## **10.0 Court Cases against the Press in Jordan**

Press freedom in Jordan is restricted by many laws and provisions, most notably the PC, besides the PPL. The discussion and analysis of lawsuits filed against the press in Jordan will help to illustrate the wider picture of restrictions faced by the printed media in Jordan. PC restrictions included matters dealing with external security of the state, dissemination of false news, defamation, innuendo and affronts against public officials, crimes against religions, and attack on morals and good behaviour.

Criticism of the head of state is strictly prohibited and protected by not only the PC, but also the Jordanian constitution. Articles 30-40 thoroughly describe his powers. The articles state that the head of state is the Supreme Commander of the Land, Naval and Air Forces. He declares war, concludes peace, and confirms treaties and agreements. He appoints the Prime Minister, dismisses him, or accepts his resignation. He has the power to dissolve the House of Deputies and the Senate. He exercises the power vested in him by means of royal decrees. It is also established in article 98 that he appoints judges of the Civil and Islamic Courts and dismisses them. As the head of state, the King is immune from any liability or responsibility, as stated in article 30 (Jordanian Constitution, 1952).

External security of the state is protected by article 118 of the Code. It is punishable by imprisonment for at least five years. Article 118 states that anyone who, by writing or speech not authorised by the government, exposes the Kingdom to the danger of hostile actions, disturbs its relations with foreign states, or exposes Jordanians to physical or material retaliation. Article 122 states that anyone who provokes incitement within the Kingdom, or any Jordanian who provokes incitement inside or outside the Kingdom by writing or speech may be sentenced to a prison term not exceeding two years and a fine of no more than 20 JD. Incitement is defined as humiliation of a foreign country, its dignity, its flag, or its national anthem. It is also forbidden, under article 122, to insult or humiliate a head of state, its ministers, or its political representatives in the Kingdom and it specifies that truth cannot be used as a defence to charges under this provision.

Dissemination of false news is discussed in article 132 of the Code. It states the deliberate dissemination of false or exaggerated information outside the country which attacks the dignity of the state is punishable by a prison sentence of at least six months and a fine of up to 50 JD. If the false or exaggerated news concerns the King, his successor, or the guardian of the throne, he or she may be sentenced to no less than one year in prison.

Articles 188-190 of the Code deal with defamation, innuendo and affronts against the public officials. In article 188 defamation is defined as the imputation of a specific fault to a person, in a sceptical or interrogative manner, in such a way as to detract from his honour and dignity or expose him to hatred and contempt, regardless of whether the said fault constitutes a punishable offence. Innuendo is defined in article 189 as an attack on the dignity, honour or standing of another person, in a sceptical or interrogative manner, without specifying a particular fault. An affront is, according to article 190, any contemptuous insinuation or invective, other than defamation and innuendo, which is directed against the victim by word of mouth in his presence, by way of abuse, in writing or graphic form that is not made public, in telegraphic or telephone communication or by callous treatment.

Article 191 goes on to clarify that defamation is punishable by imprisonment for a term of three months to two years if it is directed against the Parliament or its members in the course of their work, or if it is directed against an official body, a court of law, a public institution, the army or any public servant in the discharge of his functions or as a result of action taken by virtue thereof. As indicated by article 193 innuendo is punishable by imprisonment for a term of one to six months or a fine of 10-50 JD if it is directed against any of the bodies or persons mentioned in article 191. In article 196 it is stated that the punishment for affront is

imprisonment for a term of two weeks to six months and/or a fine of 5-30 JD if it is directed against a public servant in the discharge of his functions or as a result of action taken in his official capacity. If the public servant is a person vested with public authority, the penalty is enhanced and the perpetrator may be imprisoned for up to one year.

Article 273 prohibits crimes against religions. It states that anyone who publicly attacks the Prophets of any religion may be sentenced to a prison term of between one and three years. Article 319 prohibits attack on morals or obscene publications by stating that a prison term of at least three months or a fine of up to 50 JD is imposed on anyone who:

1. Sells, possesses, prints or reprints with the intention of selling or distributing, any obscene publication, photograph, drawing, or anything which causes the degradation of morals.
2. Exhibits any obscene photograph, drawing, or anything that may cause degradation of morals in a public place.
3. Manages or co-manages a locale at which obscene materials are sold, published, or exhibited.
4. Advertises for the sellers of obscene material or prints, reprints, exhibits, or distributes the obscene material.

We can notice from the above that the legislator exploited the nature of the Jordanian society as an Arab Muslim one which is very conservative and introduced such vaguely worded legislation intimidating people of all classes whenever they think of expressing their views. The constitution and the PC in addition to other legislation constitute a sword on all Jordanians, including Prime Ministers, Ministers, Parliamentarians, and not least the Judges, who are required to apply these laws. The prior knowledge that the King is entrusted with all these powers leaves in practice very little, if any, room for argument or freethinking. This would be evident in the analysis of a lawsuit sample prior to 1993 and after (Jordanian PC, 1960).



## 10.1 Lawsuits from 1993 to 2003

The following section will give a general overview of the overall scene regarding lawsuits with all available data. This section however will be followed by a more specific section analysing the period of emphasis in this thesis in relation to lawsuits filed against newspapers.

The analysis of the database of lawsuits reveals the following facts: The total number of lawsuits filed against the different newspapers in Jordan between 1993 and 2003 was no less than 142. This number is extremely high in a period which was supposed to be a genuine move towards democratisation and press freedom. To shed more light on the different variables a number of tables were prepared. Each of them will deal with a particular subject.

Figure 10.1 shows the pattern of lawsuits from 1993 to 2003:

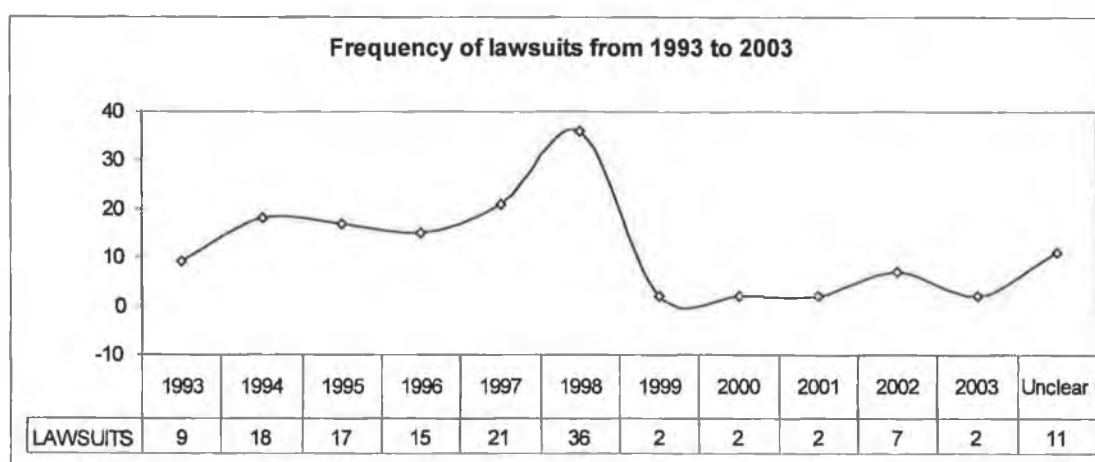


Figure 10-1: The number of lawsuits for each year from 1993 to 2003

We can see from the above table that the number of lawsuits reached its peak in 1998 then dropped sharply in 1998 to its lowest since the year in the year 1998. This trend continued until the year 2003. The unstable and changeable figures shown in the chart reflect the unstable legislative environment of the printed media in Jordan. In regards to the cases whose year is unclear, it was not possible to trace the exact year of these cases.

Table 10.1 shows how many lawsuits were filed against each individual weekly newspaper from 1993 to 2003:

WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS	LAWSUITS
Al-Bilaad	25
Al-Ahali	14
Al-Majd	14
Abed Rabbah	8
Al-Mithaaq	7
Al-Ba'ath	6
Al-Haqiqah	6
Al-Hadath	5
Shihan	5
Al-Shaahid	4
Al-Sabeel	4
Sawt Al-Mara	4
Akhbar Al-Usbou	3
Al-Jazeera	2
Al-Quds	2
Al-Urdun	2
Al-Raseef	2
Al-Diyar	1

Al-Arab Times	1
Al-Badeel	1
Al-Hilal	1
Al-Hiwar	1
Al-Liwaa	1
Al-Mustaqbal	1
Al-Sayyad	1
Hawadeth Al-Sa'ah	1
Majalat Al-Ufuq	1
Majalat Nida Al-Watan	1
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>124</b>

**Table 10-1: Lawsuits filed against each individual weekly newspaper from 1993 to 2003**

Lawsuits were filed against a total of 28 weekly newspapers during the 10-year period. It is clear from the above table that Al-Bilaad had the most lawsuits filed against it, followed by Al-Majd and Al-Ahali who both had 14.

Table 10.2 shows the amount of lawsuits filed against each daily newspaper from 1993 to 2003:

<b>DAILY NEWSPAPERS</b>	<b>LAWSUITS</b>
Al-Dustour	7
Al-Arab Al-Youm	7
Al-Rai	3
Jordan Times, The	3
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>20</b>

**Table 10-2: Lawsuits filed against each daily newspaper from 1993 to 2003**

The total number of daily newspapers who had lawsuits filed against them was 4 – a stark contrast to the number of weekly newspapers that were brought to court. The two newspapers that were involved in most of the lawsuits against dailies were Al-Dustour and Al-Arab Al-Youm who both had 7 lawsuits filed against them. The other two, Al-Rai and The Jordan Times, each had only 3 lawsuits filed against them.

The total number of lawsuits filed against both daily and weekly newspapers was 144, whereas the total number of lawsuits was 142. This is because sometimes a lawsuit involved more than one newspaper such as lawsuit number 946/98. This court case involved the newspapers Shihan, which was a weekly newspaper, and Al-Arab Al-Youm, which was a daily newspaper.

Table 10.3 shows a list of plaintiffs who were responsible for filing lawsuits against newspapers from 1993 to 2003 and the number of lawsuits they filed:

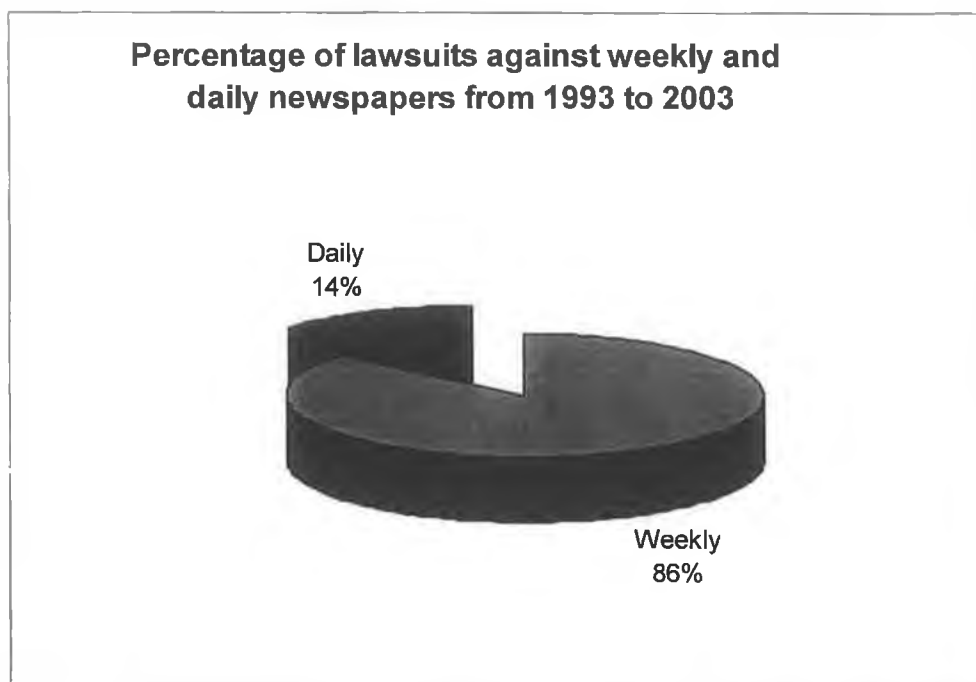
PLAINTIFF	LAWSUITS
DPP	131
Ministry of Justice	3
Ministry of Interior	2
Al-Aqaba Authority	1
Chief Justice	1
Governor of the Capital	1
Ministry of Health	1
Ministry of Religions	1

Ministry of Water & Irrigation	1
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>142</b>

**Table 10-3: List of plaintiffs responsible for filing lawsuits against newspapers from 1993 to 2003 and the number of lawsuits they filed**

The total number of plaintiffs involved in filing lawsuits in this period was 9. Out of the 142 lawsuits, 131 were filed by the Department of Press and Publications (DPP). This was followed by the Ministry of Justice who filed a meagre 3 lawsuits in comparison to the DPP. It is worth noting that all the plaintiffs in the above table are government departments and none of the lawsuits were filed by an individual or a private association. This just shows how the government feared the printed media by at filed lawsuits to keep it at bay, especially when the DPP itself declared that only 10% of the newspapers involved in these lawsuits were convicted and the rest were declared innocent and charges were dropped against them due to a lack of evidence.

Figure 10.2 illustrates:



**Figure 10-2: The percentage of lawsuits against daily newspapers and weekly newspapers**

An analysis of the above pie chart shows that weekly press was targeted by the government through lawsuits more often than the daily press, which should have been the opposite in normal circumstances. There is a simple reason for this: the dailies tend to take the governments' side or sometimes they just decide don't allow the publishing of critical articles which might expose the paper to a lawsuit even with independent daily newspapers such as Al-Arab Al-Youm. Isn't it ironic that the total number of lawsuits against daily newspapers, despite the fact that they were published more frequently and they had a wider circulation, would not even add up to the amount of lawsuits filed against the weekly newspaper Al-Bilaad alone? These figures echo the views of weekly newspapers. Most lawsuits were filed against them with prior intention to

put them out of business, not to mention the commercial war which was being waged against them by depriving them of advertisements.

Table 10.4 is in relation to the nature of charges and the number of occurrences for each charge:

NATURE OF CHARGE	LAWSUITS
Inaccurate reporting	39
Publishing a statement for an illegal party	17
Publishing false news	16
Insulting the president of an Arab country	14
Infringing on morals and ethics	9
Instigating crime	8
Publishing news that harms the Security Apparatus	7
National responsibility and human rights	5
Publishing news repugnant to freedom	5
Harming national unity	4
Harming the reputation of people	4
Publishing news that offended the king and the royal family	4
Slandering and inflicting harm on the dignity of the government	4
Degrading the national flag	3
Publishing material contradicting the rules of the courts	3
Slander and libel	3
Infringing on general morals	2
Publishing an advertisement for a medical product without prior permission from the Ministry of Health	2
Publishing an advertisement for cigarettes and tobacco	2
Publishing court cases before a judgment is reached	2
Publishing material that encourages violence, fanaticism and hatred	2
Publishing material that offends civil servants	2
Publishing materials that entailed contempt of one of the religions whose freedoms are secured by the constitution	2
Publishing news that infringes on morals	2

Slander and libel of Parliament	2
Article meant to discredit the national currency	1
Cartoon that inflicts harm on Parliament	1
Casting doubts on judicial procedures and court proceedings	1
Harming the Ministry of Supply and its employees	1
Harming the relations between friendly states	1
Harming the society	1
In breach of article 5/7 of publications	1
In breach of articles 188 and 189 PC	1
Inciting sectarianism and harming the Bedouins	1
Inciting sedition	1
Inciting sedition and instigating riots	1
Inflicting harm on the Jordanian people	1
Infringing on the dignity of people	1
Lese-majesty	1
Offending the armed forces and the Jordanian Radio and TV Corporation	1
Offending the dignity of people	1
Offending the king	1
Personal insult to the president of Palestine	1
Published without a license from the DPP	1
Publishing a painting and a comment that harmed the armed forces	1
Publishing articles promoting homosexuality	1
Publishing court procedures	1
Publishing government documents of secret nature	1
Publishing inaccurate news on the national currency	1
Publishing incorrect news outside the kingdom	1
Publishing material offensive to public institutions	1
Publishing material related to the armed forces	1
Publishing material that advocates racism	1
Publishing material that contradicts the principles of freedom and national responsibility which harms individuals and their liberties	1
Publishing news on armed forces and the security authorities without prior permission	1
Publishing the minutes of the closed sessions of Parliament	1
Undermining national unity	1



<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>195</b>
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**Table 10-4: The nature of charges and the number of occurrences for each charge**

We can notice from the above table that the total number of lawsuits is less than the total number of charges. This is because some cases involved newspapers being charged with more than one offence. In total there are 57 different types of charges. The most frequent charge against newspapers was that of inaccurate reporting. Out of the 142 lawsuits against newspapers, 39 cases involved inaccurate reporting.

## 10.2 Lawsuits from 1993 to 1998

A more specific picture of the period of this study, which is 1993 to 1998, will be illustrated in this section. It should be noticed from the start that all lawsuits filed against the different newspapers relied on violations of the following articles in the PPL of 1993 and the PC of 1960. These included articles 8, 9, 29, 40, and 46 of the PPL, and articles 118, 150, 152, 159, 163, 188, 189, 191, 195, 224, 255, and 319 PC. The most used article against the press was article 40 of the PPL, or articles 159 or 163 PC which was for publishing a statement for an illegal party.

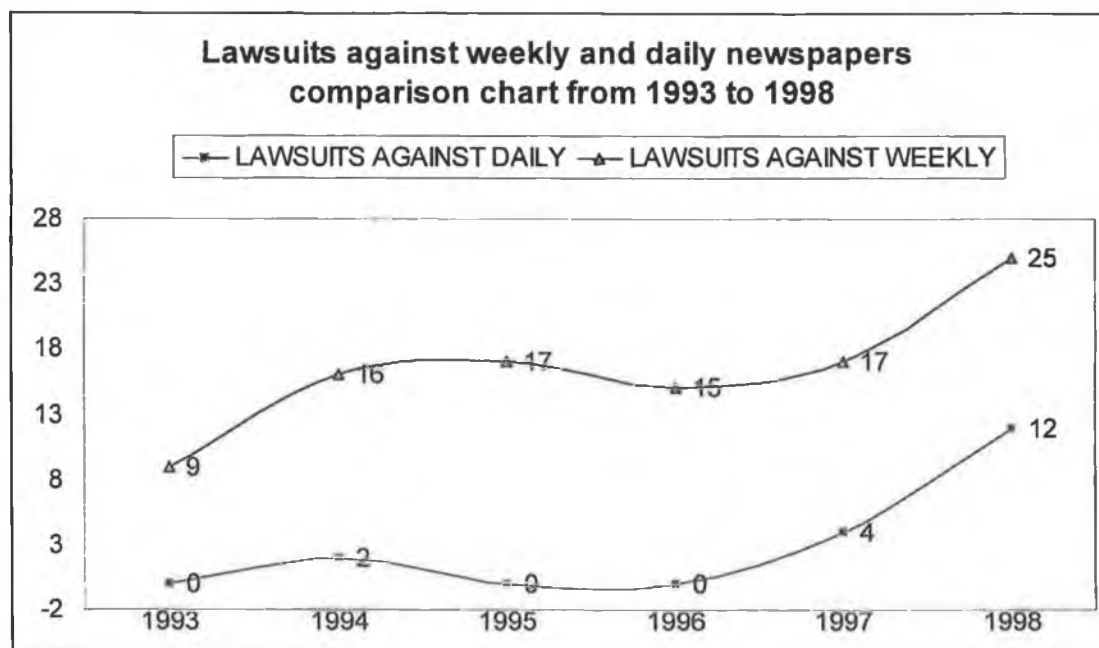
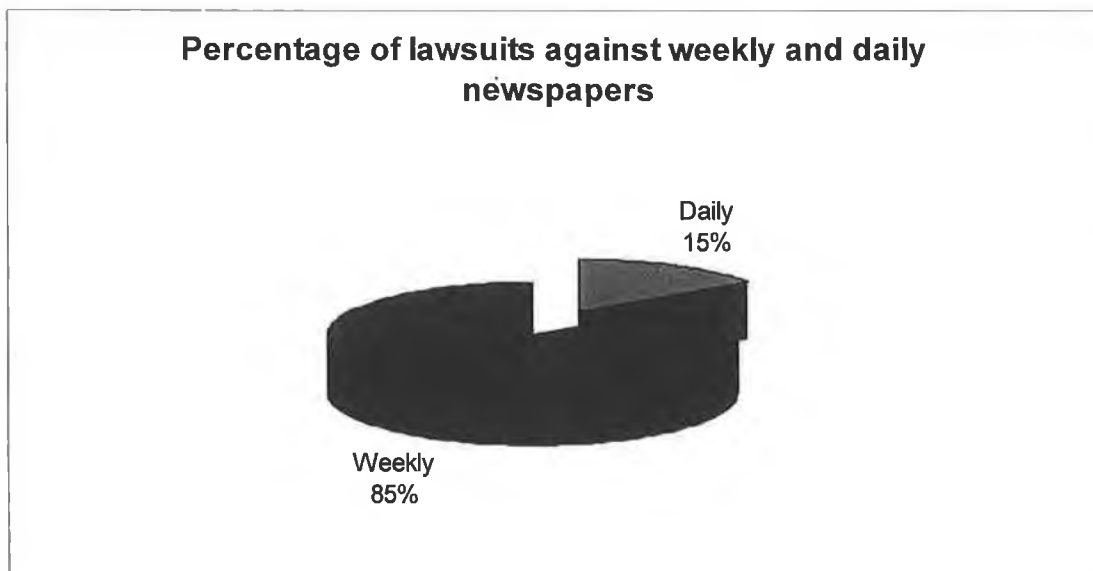


Figure 10-3: The number of lawsuits filed against daily and weekly newspapers from 1992 to 1998

Figure 10.3 above shows that not even a single lawsuit was filed against daily newspapers in 1993, whereas 9 different lawsuits were filed

against the weekly press, which was just at its beginning stages. As can be seen from the chart, this trend of targeting the weekly press continued. Out of the 18 lawsuits filed against newspapers in 1994, 16 of them were against weeklies and only 2 were against dailies. Again in the years 1995 to 1996 not even one lawsuit was filed against a daily newspapers, whereas the total number of lawsuits filed against weeklies in the years 1995 to 1996 was 32. Since 1996 there has been a slowly rising rate of lawsuits filed against dailies, even reaching its highest rate of 12 lawsuits in 1998. The same can be said about weeklies who faced 17 lawsuits in 1997 and 25 in 1998.



**Figure 10-4: The percentage of lawsuits against weekly newspapers versus the percentage against daily newspapers from 1993 to 1998**

Figure 10.4 clearly shows how weekly newspapers were targeted through lawsuits 85% of the time during the period 1993 to 1998, whereas dailies were only targeted 15% of the time.

Table 10.5 shows the number of lawsuits filed against each individual weekly newspaper from 1993 to 1998:

WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS	LAWSUITS
Al-Bilaad	21
Al-Ahali	12
Al-Majd	11
Abed Rabbah	8
Al-Mithaaq	7
Al-Haqiqah	6
Shihan	5
Al-Ba'ath	4
Al-Hadath	4
Akhbar Al-Usbou	3
Sawt Al-Mara	3
Al-Quds	2
Al-Urdun	2
Al-Raseef	2
Al-Sabeel	2
Al-Diyar	1
Al-Badeel	1
Al-Hiwar	1
Al-Liwaa	1
Al-Mustaqbal	1
Al-Sayyad	1
Hawadeth Al-Sa'ah	1
Majalat Al-Ufuq	1
Majalat Nida Al-Watan	1

<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>101</b>
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**Table 10-5: The number of lawsuits filed against each individual weekly newspaper from 1993 to 1998**

It is very obvious from Table 10.5 that certain critical and analytical weeklies were at the top of the governments' target list through lawsuits. For example Al-Bilaad, this faced 21 different lawsuits during this period, whereas the last 9 were only subject to one lawsuit.

Table 10.6 shows the number of lawsuits filed against each individual daily newspaper from 1993 to 1998:

<b>DAILY NEWSPAPERS</b>	<b>LAWSUITS</b>
Al-Arab Al-Youm	7
Al-Dustour	6
Jordan Times, The	3
Al-Rai	2
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>18</b>

**Table 10-6: The number of lawsuits filed against each individual daily newspaper from 1993 to 1998**

Table 10.6 again shows that daily newspapers were less targeted by the government in terms of the number of lawsuits filed against them. It also shows that Al-Arab Al-Youm, which is the only privately owned daily newspaper, faced most of the lawsuits, whereas the other 3 dailies, despite their wider range of circulation faced only a total of 11 lawsuits,

apart from the fact that most lawsuits against these dailies are not as serious as those filed against the independent press.

### ***10.3 The Government's Strategy for Filing Lawsuits***

In view of these factual figures in relation to lawsuits, it is important to explain and analyse the reasons behind the government's action to file such a huge number of lawsuits against the printed media, targeting weekly newspapers in particular.

Most journalists in Jordan understand government hesitation and reservation in allowing printed media to function freely as part of its policy to cover up for corruption. They think that the government is very keen to deceive its Western allies by claiming that the Jordanian government created an environment for free press and any violation made by the press is referred to the courts of justice like any Western country.

This deceitful picture is contradicted by the very nature of these lawsuits, as most of the cases were referred because of trivial matters. The government, however, managed to keep away from Western pressures and Human Rights organisations.

The Jordanian government's main targets, as seen from all the previous tables, were weekly newspapers. This type of pressure on weekly press came as a result of the unexpected role of these weeklies in tackling and dealing with some taboos in a very courageous manner.

These taboos included the reporting of news reflecting the popular rejection of the peace treaty with Israel which was signed in 1994, the official corruption at high levels in the political establishment, although the coverage of such corruption always avoided criticising or reporting negative news about the royal family as a whole for clear reasons.

The taboos also included many issues at the national and international level including high rates of unemployment, distribution of wealth, bribes and theft from public funds, The Palestinian Intifada, the unstable situation in Iraq, and Jordan's dependency on Western mercy and funds. This manifested itself in strong criticism of the foreign policy of the state. Therefore it was unavoidable for the state to continue to silence this newly emerging and highly enthusiastic press in relation to complex issues at home and abroad.

The government used everything possible including illegal means to make the continuation of this press impossible. The government is also fully aware that the Jordanian law has no provision which would allow any newspaper to seek compensation or damages regardless of the amount of damage or losses inflicted on these weekly newspapers or the journalists working for them.

The government knows that suspending a newspaper for a month or more carries with it financial and moral damage, because most of these newspapers have no financial resources to enable them to pay for lengthy

legal action to defend themselves against the state which, in contrast, has unlimited resources.

The wages of journalists in these circumstances, together with other expenses, are also another burden which has to be carried by these weekly newspapers. It is clear from the above that such lawsuits are a direct and clear message that if you exceed the limits of freedom given by the state you will have to face the consequences. In doing so, the government also pleases many of its allies in the region and at the international level, mainly Israel and Arab states in addition to world powers such as the UK and the US.

In fact the Jordanian government is keener on suppressing freedoms in relation to certain issues, such as the occupation of Iraq, more than the US suppresses the printed press in their own country, even though it is US's own forces that are being criticised. Israel is usually very pleased to see that the Jordanian officials are very keen to reflect a better picture in the Jordanian press about Israel. These policies are usually exploited by Jordanian officials to get loans and other kinds of aid using the Jewish and Israeli lobby in the UK and the US.

The press in Jordan is being denied the right to report the way in which Arab leaders and officials including those in Jordan are being treated like slaves to serve their masters in the West. The strategy used to restrict printed media is well illustrated in the various figures and tables



found in Chapter 10. For example, Figure 10.1 shows that 1998 witnessed the highest number of lawsuits since 1993. This is due to the fact that the government could not cope with critical and courageous reporting anymore, especially after the ratification of the peace treaty with Israel, together with other hot issues in Palestine, Iraq and the economy.

The Jordanian government's strategy should be seen in the wider context of other Arab countries as there are so many declared and undeclared agreements between these countries that restrict the media by making it very difficult to publish any information which is considered unacceptable by each member state of the Arab league. Therefore lawsuits are the main legal instrument in the hands of these governments which would make them appear democratic, giving them the ability to hide behind such legal actions.

It is also clear from the number of lawsuits related to leaders of other Arab countries or lawsuits alleged to harm relations with other Arab countries, that the Jordanian government intended to prove to these Arab states that they are doing everything they can to protect the leaders and interests of these states, so in turn they expect them to restrict the printed media in their countries so as to protect themselves from the media in those countries.

#### ***10.4 Analysis of a Selective Sample of Lawsuits***

This section will concentrate on analysing and discussing a sample of lawsuits filed against individual weekly newspapers. This analysis is intended to give a clear idea of the details and nature of lawsuits filed against the printed media in Jordan and the difficulties faced by these newspapers. The culture of restricting freedoms in general and freedom of the press in particular will be clearly illustrated in the lawsuits discussed. These cases are just examples of the institutional pressures placed on journalists and on the freedom of expression in Jordan.

Calculations of the number of lawsuits filed against the different weekly newspapers between 1993 and 1998 reveals that Al-Bilaad faced 21 lawsuits followed by Al-Ahali, which faced 12 lawsuits, then Al-Majd faced 11, Abed Rabbah faced 8, Al-Mithaaq faced 7, Shihan faced 5, Al-Hadath faced 4 and the remaining 15 newspapers faced a total of 23 lawsuits altogether. This order may clarify why most lawsuits were chosen from certain newspapers which are very critical and analytical in their treatment of the different issues facing the Jordanian society. The discussion of lawsuits will be ordered beginning with the papers which faced the most lawsuits then working downwards from there. These specific cases have been carefully chosen for discussion to illustrate the wide variety of government actions against the press.

#### **10.4.1 Al-Bilaad (The Homeland)**

On 18 August 1998, the DDPP, Bilal Al-Tael, asked the general prosecutor to charge Al-Bilaad, its editors and writers, for violating article 40/8, and article 8 of the 1993 PPL, and article 191 PC. This lawsuit was in response to an article published on page 5, Issue No. 263, 12 August 1998. The article, entitled 'The Government', was written by Yousef Gheeshan who described the government as a sewage government on page 10. This article was in response to the heated debate in the Jordanian society regarding the scandal of sewage-polluted drinking water. The carelessness of the Prime Minister at the time was one of the reasons for such articles. The writer of the article used a pun to liken the word 'Majali', which was the proper family name of the Prime Minister at the time, to the word 'Majari', which in Arabic means sewer or sewage. This was interpreted by the DPP to be a case of defamation and degradation of the government in violation of article 191 PC.

Another article was published in the paper entitled 'The Minister should be put to death and thrown in a pool of urine'. The article was essentially an interview with a previous Parliamentarian – Abdul-Min'am Abu Zanat, who was a well-known Parliamentarian in the opposition represented by the Islamic Front. Abu Zanat goes on to say that the second step should be the execution of the Minister of Health for covering up the crime of sewage-polluted drinking water and he stresses

that such punishments should be inflicted only on those proved to be guilty of knowing about such a crime and covering it up. The title of the article is a quote from the interview with Abu Zanat. The DPP and the general prosecutor maintained that the publishing of such expressions formed an insult to the integrity of individuals and violated human rights and Arab-Islamic values. All of this was deemed to be in violation of article 8 and article 10/8 of the 1993 PPL. The case was dismissed and the newspaper was declared not responsible.

It should be noted that the term ‘not responsible’ just falls a little short of the term innocent or not guilty. In other words, defendants who are declared ‘not responsible’ by the courts cannot seek damages.

Whereas the term innocent or not guilty gives the defendant the right to file a lawsuit seeking damages and costs. It was noticed throughout the examination of all lawsuits in Jordan that judges deliberately avoided rulings that would enable defendants to take legal action against the DPP or any other government department.

#### **10.4.2 Al-Ahali (The People)**

A number of lawsuits were filed against Al-Ahali newspaper during this period. One of the lawsuits filed against it was for publishing an article entitled ‘The accused in Mu’tah case were severely tortured’. The article, written by Ramadan Al-Rawashdeh and published on 13

September 1993, stated that the intelligence department tortured those accused in this case. This case refers to those accused in attempting to assassinate King Hussein of Jordan in 1993 during his visit to Mu'tah University located in Southern Jordan. The article claimed that the investigators in the intelligence department severely tortured the accused by taking off their nails, and beating them on their heads and private parts. The article continues to state that there are traces 'in the behind' of one of the accused known by the name Hussein as a result of inserting a stick in his behind. The court felt that the article was some kind of an insult directed against one of the security institutions and this was a violation of article 40 of the 1993 PPL, which prohibits the publishing of any information related to the armed forces, their weapons, ammunitions, locations or movements unless it is permitted by a higher authority in the armed forces. It also prohibits the publication of any news, names or comments harming the armed forces or the security forces. The attorney general accused the chief editor of Al-Ahali and the writer of the article for the crime of defaming an official institution in violation of article 191 PC.

Al-Rawashdeh stated to the court that he wasn't guilty because he was only doing his job as a journalist and was allowed to attend the court hearing on the 9 September 1993 as a journalist who summarised what had happened in the court. Al-Rawashdeh stated that he interviewed the

father of one of the accused, together with the lawyer of his son. The father told Al-Rawashdeh that his son was severely tortured. The views of the father were echoed by his son's lawyer. Al-Rawashdeh stated to the court that he only quoted what the father and the lawyer told him and did not interfere with their opinions. He also told the court he believed that his quotations were justified within the limits of press freedoms given to journalist in the 1993 PPL, the National Charter and article 15 of the Jordanian Constitution, in addition to the International Convention ratified by Jordan in 1977.

The court found that there was a clear necessity to apply the PPL rather than the PC in this case. The final decision of the court was in reference to article 57/2 PC, which states, "If a general description and a specific description apply to a certain act, the specific one should be applied". The PPL is a specialised law specifically for publications unlike the Penal Code which was applicable to all kinds of crimes. Therefore article 40/1/2 of the 1993 PPL was the description that should be applied and the PC was excluded in this case. The decision of the court on 14 January 1994 was to indict the chief editor according to article 40 of the 1993 PPL and article 14, which states that the chief editor is responsible for what is published in the paper. At the same time the owner of the publication and the writer are responsible for what is published. In this connection article 51 of the 1993 PPL stipulates that

violators are to pay a fine of 300 JD in addition to fees and a prison sentence of one day for each 2 JD in case the fine is not paid.

The writer of the article was also indicted and had to pay a fine of 300 JD according to article 51 of the 1993 PPL. It can be concluded from this court ruling that the application of the PPL to this kind of case and the exclusion of the PC can be considered as an appropriate step towards the application of a specialised law concerned with media and the printed word. It is worth noting that through this case a decision had been taken by the President of the Circuit Court to appoint a specialised judge in crimes related to publications. Such a decision had a positive impact on media cases and the way the court should deal with them.

Another case was also raised against Al-Ahali for publishing an article entitled 'The Family of Mohammad Askar explains the case of their son'. This article was published on the 11 October 1993. The article quotes the family of Mohammad Askar, who maintain that despite the fact that their son had been arrested for 85 days during which he had not confessed to anything though he was beaten and severely tortured and any confessions recorded and signed by him were taken after he was threatened by means damaging his integrity and religion. The publishing of these expressions lead the DDPP to file a lawsuit against the newspaper. It was charged of the crime of defaming security forces which was in violation of article 40/1/2 of the 1993 PPL. The court

convicted the chief editor and he was sentenced to three months imprisonment and ordered to pay the fees in accordance to article 125 PC. The court decided to combine the two penalties and sentence the chief editor to three months imprisonment and 1000 JD in fines and fees.

The third lawsuit filed against Al-Ahali was after it published an article entitled 'Opposition and the new Parliament'. This article was published on 15 November 1993. The writer used some phrases and expressions that were claimed to be in violation of the 1993 PPL. The DDPP filed a lawsuit charging the paper with defaming and insulting the Parliament and the Jordanian state in violation of articles 188, 190, 358, and 360 PC. Some of the phrases published in the article are: "The Jordanian state is undemocratic and its Parliament is a tool for fraud", "Real democracies unlike Jordan have a Parliament which ensure to take the government into account for their actions in the best interests of the nation", "The Parliament of democratically distorted states like Jordan use the Parliament as a tool to cover-up corruption among officials".

In general the article was just a straightforward and honest account of the Parliament compared with Parliaments in advanced democracies. The court decided that these expressions were not directed at the Parliament, as there was no Parliament in session at the time; therefore, in accordance with article 178 PC, the accused was declared not responsible. This case was the subject of extensive commentary and analysis in



Jordanian newspapers. One of the journalists asserted that the DPP, in its attempt to file lawsuits against opposition newspapers aimed to confuse and panic journalists and owners of these newspapers to the limit of terrorising them. Another journalist added, "May God help Al-Ahali", using a pun to make Al-Ahali mean both the newspaper itself and the people (which was the meaning of Al-Ahali) and "May Allah help Al-Bilaad", which again meant both the newspaper itself and the homeland, and then further adds, "May Allah help democracy, which is claimed to be defended by the DPP in the name of justice and law".

#### **10.4.3 Al-Majd (Honour)**

A number of lawsuits were filed against this newspaper. One of these lawsuits was filed in 1994. The DPP asked the general prosecutor to file this case in response to an article it published on its first page on 15 August 1994. It was entitled 'Divisions amongst Ministers in relation to resolving the Muslim Brotherhood'. The government accused this paper of publishing inaccurate news and therefore caused unrest. The government alleged that the article violated the 1993 PPL, especially article 40/A/4. Another article on the last page of the same issue was also considered a violation of article 150 PC and article 40/A/4 of the 1993 PPL. It was entitled 'The Jordo-Palestinian opposition'. It stated that Jordanians with Palestinian origins should do their best in the opposition

movement and their role should shift from defence to attack when circumstances permitted.

It should be noted however, that the Muslim Brotherhood is the strongest opposition group, well organised and capable of dealing with emergencies. It is also considered the major opposition-political party throughout the Arab Muslim world. Nonetheless, the court, after hearing the views of a number of witnesses and experts, dismissed the case and declared Al-Majd and others accused in this case not responsible.

Another lawsuit was filed against Al-Majd in relation to an article published in Issue No. 46, 27 February 1995, entitled 'The worst evil that makes you laugh – a puzzle worth a million dirham written by Sheikh Zayed, the Amir of UAE'. This article was considered to be an insult to an Arab head of state – who were supposed to be protected by article 40/A/7 of the 1993 PPL. The article describes a funny puzzle which was believed to be authored by the Amir. The puzzle reflects the naivety and inexperience of Arab leaders and the fact that their role is confined to trivial matters such as puzzles and their concerns are very remote from the very real issues which are facing the Arab people. The court also found the paper and others accused in relation to this lawsuit not responsible and decided to dismiss it.

Another lawsuit was filed against Al-Majd due to an article it published on page 4, Issue No. 45, 20 February 1995. It was entitled

'Glubb Pasha of Al-Bahrain must leave'. The writer of the article is Abdul-Rahman Al-No'aimy, the general trustee of the Peoples' Committee in Bahrain. Following the publishing of this embarrassing article to both governments, the state of Bahrain wrote a formal letter to the royal courts in Jordan to protest against the content of the article. The complaint alleged that the material published in the article was inaccurate and a clear attack and insult against the ruling family of Bahrain, which was in breach of 118 PC and article 9/C of the 1993 PPL. The royal courts in Jordan wrote to the DPP to proceed with a lawsuit against Al-Majd. The general prosecutor responded by charging the newspaper with inaccurate reporting and insulting the ruling family in an Arab state in addition to harming Jordan's relations with other Arab states.

The court, however, could not convict anybody, including the chief editor, and declared the newspaper not responsible. This kind of reaction against the press reflects the vulnerability of the political systems throughout the Arab world. If the government of Jordan felt so threatened by this typical article, how would other governments throughout the Arab world react? Certainly the reaction in countries like Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria and many other countries would be more severe.

The following is just a brief description of the article which was the cause of this lawsuit. It revolves around the direct British influence and interference in the daily lives of the people of Bahrain. The writer gives

an example of such interference by naming the director of the security forces, Ian Henderson, who is a British national involved in almost all matters since 1966. He goes on to compare him with John Glubb, the British general who was in control of Jordan until the early 1950s. The writer cleverly played on the strong feelings of Jordanians in particular, by likening Henderson with Glubb Pasha.

The article accused Henderson of killing many people in Bahrain, including ten in one single incident, and exiling political activists in addition to arresting thousands of people amongst them women and children. He emphasised at the end of his article that Henderson is much worse than Glubb and that the people of Bahrain would be as happy as Jordanians about the departure of Glubb when Henderson departs. He also emphasised that the continuation of Henderson's job in Bahrain is a necessity for the ruling family of Bahrain if it is to continue in power and that the interest of Britain and the ruling family come before any interests of the Bahraini people. The views of the writer are echoed by many people in all Arab countries regarding western influence and interference in the daily affairs of Arabs, directly and indirectly, despite the clear public rejection and disgust at this interference.

#### **10.4.4 'Abed Rabbah (Slave of God)**

Some interesting examples of sarcastic and humorous publication come from this paper. The paper faced a lawsuit for publishing three satirical pictures in Issue No. 62, 13 June 1998. The three pictures were entitled as follows: Bilal and the Bananas, Bilal the Butcher, and Bilal and Censorship. Bilal refers to the real name of the DDPP at the time. In his letter to the general prosecutor, Bilal asserted that the publishing of these pictures violated article 40/A/8 of the 1993 PPL. He saw such publication as an insult to the integrity of individuals, harming their reputation, and therefore violating article 191 PC.

In the first picture, Bilal and Censorship, there is a pretty young lady wearing a swimsuit made of newspapers with a caption asking, "If this lady enters Jordan, how would Bilal censor the materials covering the body of this lady?" The next question asks, "Will he read all the sentences written on the swimsuit, or will he just concentrate on the main parts?" This second question implies that Bilal was not a decent person.

The second picture over stresses Bilal's love for bananas. The caption puts emphasis on Bilal's love for bananas over any prohibited publication, especially weekly newspapers. The caption says, "We found nothing better to offer you as a present, which is better than bananas... and nothing but bananas". The picture is of Bilal with bananas hanging

around his neck. Putting these bananas around his neck was another indirect insult to Bilal's decency.

The third picture, entitled **Bilal the Butcher**, shows a picture of skinned animals being hanged with a caption saying that journalists would be like these animals after the new press law is ratified. The caption goes on to say that it attended the rituals of skinning and it could identify which animals (meaning journalists) were skinned through examining the heads and the bodies of each journalist slaughtered by Bilal, the DDPP. The caption maintains that the person behind the skinning is Bilal and for each skinned animal shown in the picture, the paper gives the name of a real journalist. The names from left to right are: Taher Al-'Udwan, Fahad Al-Rimawy, Jamal Shawaheen, 'Atef Mu'tim, and Raja Talab. At the end of the caption there is a comment stating that these names were purposely mentioned including the name of the butcher Bilal Al-Tael.

This case illustrates the weakness of the DDPP to cope with criticism, even through satirical pictures. After a long hearing and a thorough consideration of the case, the court dismissed it and declared the defendant as not responsible.

#### **10.4.5 Al-Haqiqah (The Truth)**

A lawsuit was filed against this newspaper for the article it published on page 21, Issue No. 10, 25 May 1996. The article was entitled 'Temptations to trap young people through organised networks of prostitution by hunting people and renting girls for sex'. This article touched on one of the most sensitive social phenomenon which was unheard of in the Jordanian society prior to 1990. The spread of homosexuality and organised prostitution also made this article an important start for a wider debate concerning organised crime which is alleged to be protected and supported indirectly by the state. The government accused the newspaper of violating article 40/A/9 of the 1993 PPL which prohibited the publishing of any news, reports or information considered to be repugnant to public morals and ethics. The article was also considered to be in violation of article 9/C of the 1993 PPL which required journalists to fully comply with precision, honesty and objectivity on comments, news and events.

In relation to what was published about the police force and other security agencies, the government also accused the newspaper of violating articles 188 and 189 PC by defaming these forces and their men. The case was concluded by convicting the chief editor of the newspaper, Nayil Fallah Salaah, and the publishing company of the newspaper. The decision of the court read as follows: "To convict the two accused in

accordance to article 40/A/2 of the 1993 PPL and fine both of them a sum of 500 JD plus costs in accordance to article 51 of the same law. The court also decided to convict the two accused in accordance to article 188 and 189 PC with a six-month imprisonment for Nayil Fallah Salaah and fined Al-Haqqah weekly newspaper 200 JD. However, this decision was appealed to a higher court, who decided to replace the imprisonment with a fine.

#### **10.4.6 Al-Ba'ath (The Resurrection)**

On 6 October 1993, Al-Ba'ath published a satirical picture and two articles. The first article was entitled 'A Stand' and the second was entitled 'You received... Now Respond'. The picture included a drawing of the flags of Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan on playing cards. The picture also included an inverted picture of Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the Palestinian authority, and two people, one of them wearing a skull cap showing that he was Jewish and the other man putting the flags of the Arab countries in front of him. The DPP charged the chief editor of Al-Ba'ath newspaper with three violations and the case was referred to the general prosecutor to take the necessary steps. The chief editor was charged with violating article 40/A/7 of the 1993 PPL, as the publishing of Yasser Arafat's picture was considered an insult to an Arab head of state, although Yasser Arafat is not a head of a sovereign state. The



picture was also claimed to be in violation of article 195/2 PC because it exposed the kingdom to aggressive actions that could trouble relations with a foreign country.

The publishing of the Jordanian flag on a playing card was also considered to be an act of degradation to the Jordanian flag. The two articles published in the paper allegedly constituted an insult to some official institutions and the states of Palestine, Egypt and Lebanon. The two articles used expressions such as: "Those who were used to being insulted take insults easily" and the article talked about the meeting of humiliation and degradation in which the chairman of the Palestinian authority was insulted.

The Jordanian law penalises all crimes of defamation and degradation, even when it is done under the shadows of doubt and inquisitiveness. Thus the two articles were considered to be in violation of article 40/7 of the 1993 PPL in addition to violating many other articles in the PC. The courts' decision, however, read as follows: "In reference to article 188 PC and after reading the first and second articles, the court did not find the content of the two articles directed against a specific person. Accordingly, what has been stated in the two articles can be considered a speculation and a right for journalists to enjoy; therefore the chief editor of Al-Ba'ath is not responsible for all charges against him".

#### **10.4.7 Al-Sabeel (The Way)**

On 5 July 1997, the DDPP asked the general prosecutor to file a lawsuit against Al-Sabeel for publishing an article in Issue No. 181, 27 May 1997. The article was entitled 'Jordan extradites Abu Libdah to Israel and the Government denies its action'. The justification of the DPP to file this lawsuit against Al-Sabeel was that the article constituted a violation of the 1993 PPL, especially article 9/C, which stipulates that the journalist shall fully comply with precision, honesty and objectivity in comments, news and events.

The general prosecutor also considered the article in violation of article 40/A/8, which prohibits the publishing of articles and news that may constitute an offence to the dignity or personal freedom of individuals or affront on their reputation. After a full hearing the court decided to dismiss the case and declare the paper not responsible.

#### **10.4.8 Al-Urdun (Jordan)**

A lawsuit was filed against this weekly newspaper following an article published on the first page of Issue No. 16, 4 December 1995. It was entitled "Misleading TV pictures of Al-Aqaba earthquake". The article alleged that TV broadcast was distorted and it did not reflect the real losses, which exceeded what was shown on the TV, especially the

impact of the earthquake on tourism – which was severely affected after the earthquake for a long time after the earthquake.

The article accused the officials of negligence and corruption and therefore held them responsible for the consequences. The article makes a comparison between Israel and Jordan as this earthquake happened on the two sides of the border. Although the earthquake had the same power on both sides, it was clear that its impact in terms of damage and loss of life was much less on the Israeli side due to the enforcement of modern construction regulations. Jordan had to close some of its modern hotels such as Miramar Hotel.

The article went even further and accused the staff of Al-Aqaba Port Authority of controlling and misusing the aid which was sent to Jordan instead of distributing it to those most affected by the earthquake. The article exposed official and institutional corruption at times when one would expect those in charge not to use natural disasters as a means to increase their wealth. Despite the accusation of the newspaper for inaccurate reporting, the court declared the editor as not responsible and the case was dismissed.

What should be noticed in this regard is that despite such strong allegations, the court did not indicate in any way such allegations were incorrect, nor did the court declare the government innocent of such

charges. The government, however, refused to open an inquiry in relation to such allegations.

#### **10.4.9 Al-Hadath (The Event)**

On 4 August 1997, Al-Hadath weekly published a study on its first page entitled "A university study uncovered the secrets of the homeless in Amman". The study stated that 88% of those homeless are prostitutes and 28% are thieves. The DPP charged that the publishing of such articles constituted an insult to Jordan and its citizens and contradicts the ethics of the profession of journalism. Therefore the publishing of such material constituted a breach of article 40 of the 1993 PPL. The article, which was written by Jamal Al-Duwairy referred to a study prepared by a university professor at Ahl-ul-Bayt University in Jordan. The author of the study is Professor Muhammad Al-Dughmy.

The article summarised the study which was a reflection of well-organised statistics, properly analysed by Professor Al-Dughmy. It touches on the causes of homelessness, prostitution, and crime. It also questions the role of different institutions in tackling these problems including the mosques. The article reflects a very valuable study, most appealing to Jordanian readers concerned with such social phenomena. After a lengthy hearing of the case, the court decided to dismiss it and declared those charged as not responsible for any breach of law.

This continuous insistence and determination by the government to harass newspapers through such legal actions, with the sole intention of intimidating journalists and restricting freedom of expression, reflects the inability and readiness of the state to face up to the real issues raised by journalists and other intellectuals through the pages of newspapers – the only platform available at the national level to express the different views.

This case illustrates the fear of officials to face up to social problems which are becoming endemic in the society affecting those most vulnerable, such as children, women, the disabled and the poor. It might also be a reflection of a cover-up for many social problems caused by organised mafias such as drug dealers and other secret societies talked a lot about them in private circles, but never discussed openly and objectively through the pages of the printed media or the TV and radio due to government restrictions.

#### **10.4.10 Sawt Al-Maraah (The Voice of Woman)**

The embassy of Iraq in Jordan protested strongly through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jordan against an article which was published on 18 October 1995. The article was on page 9 and 10, but was also clearly highlighted on the front page. It was entitled "Saddam has beaten his competitors after much struggle... Al-Saadaat President of

Iraq". This article was considered by the government to be an insult to an Arab head of state and so it was in violation of article 40/A/7 of the 1993 PPL. It also constituted harm to the relationship between Jordan and Iraq which violated article 188 PC.

The article revolved around the difficulties which faced the Iraqis as a result of inaccurate and unreasonable policies controlled and executed by one person in Iraq, i.e. Saddam Hussein. It reflects the dissatisfaction of Iraqis although they are not allowed to express themselves freely and openly due to their fear of punishment. It touches on the elections in a country where no other candidates other than Saddam can dare to declare their names.

People involved in Arab politics, especially in Iraqi affairs would consider the article an honest expression to the reality of what is happening to Iraq. That is why the conclusion of the court, which had dismissed the case, considered the content of the article to be within the limits given in the law for journalists and other citizens to express their views. Nonetheless the court ruling was not a remedy to the suffering of the writer and the chief editor who were dragged along for hearing after hearing to end up with a decision which is almost expected by journalists and their lawyers at this stage. The expenses, legal costs, and mental pressures associated with each case are tremendous and require a separate investigation.

#### **10.4.11 Shihan**

On 10 December 1994, Shihan republished a number of morally low advertisements which originated from Israeli newspapers and published in both Arabic and Hebrew. These ads were accompanied by extensive explanations on page 21. The title of these ads is, "Imported phone sex". The DPP charged that such ads were in contradiction of our Arabic and Islamic morals in addition to our way of life. Such ads were alleged to be in violation of article 40 of the 1993 PPL and article 319 PC. The following paragraph was attached to the ads:

"Are you an Arab? Yes? And above all, you have normal relations with Israel. OK! Israel gives you the chance to entertain yourself with a beautiful girl, Arab or Jewish, as you request. It is for those who are fed up with direct sex. If you don't believe, just ring these phone numbers."

The writer and chief editor claimed that such ads were published to warn young people from falling victim to such ads and the intention was not to promote immorality or any indecent behaviour. However, in the course of the hearing the defence called on a previous DDPP to come as a witness and as an expert in publishing matters. The witness told the court that the publishing of such material constituted no harm to Jordan and helps to warn young people of the Israeli propaganda. He added if such case was referred to him while he was DDPP he wouldn't have pressed for charges and the matter would have never reached the court.

After a lengthy hearing and taking into viewpoint the opinion of many witnesses, the court decided that the accused are not responsible and they only exercised their right to freely express themselves in an era of free press. The court added that the publishing of such ads are to warn young people and the wider society from what is published in Israeli newspapers, i.e. the court reaffirmed the views of the defence and the previous DDPP, Eesa Al-Jahmanee. The court clearly stated that the publishing of such material is in the interest of the wider society and not vice versa.

#### **10.4.12 Akhbar Al-Usbou (News of the Week)**

The newspaper was faced with some lawsuits, amongst them was a lawsuit filed against them in relation to an article published on 13 June 1996 on page 3. It was entitled "Two criminals attack a bank". The DPP filed a lawsuit against the newspaper alleging that the newspaper violated article 9 of the 1993 PPL by not being accurate and honest in reporting such news. In fact, these charges were in response to formal request from the police department in Jordan which confirmed that such news was totally false.

The article alleged that the attack happened in the presence of a large number of clients. It also stated that minutes later the police arrived and spread tear gas to enable them to control the area. The article



concluded that the police finally arrested the two men. The bank was then closed temporarily to count the available currency and allow the police to complete their investigation the article alleged. However, the writer and chief editor wrote a letter of apology for the article as soon as they realised that the contents were not accurate regarding the controversial article.

The judge dismissed the case on the ground that the intention of the journalist and chief editor were good and the fact that their correction and apology were published in local newspapers reflected their good intentions. Therefore they could not be convicted for the alleged crime of publishing false news or inaccurate reporting. Hence, the judge declared them not responsible for these charges.

## **11.0 Censorship**

### ***11.1 Censorship Prior to the 1993 PPL***

Prior censorship is a common practice in Jordan since the 1920s. It went through many stages in relation to the strictness in its application. The political atmosphere in the country influenced this application from time to time. Unfortunately most of the Jordanian history over the last 80 years was influenced and directly affected by many wars and conflicts in the region. These included the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Gulf Wars, in addition to other less significant conflicts that took place over the last century. Press and publication laws in Jordan impose direct censorship prior to the publication of any printed material. Although the situation had eased a bit after the introduction of the 1993 PPL, the 1973 PPL as amended in 1988 required the editor of each newspaper to send copies of each issue to the DPP in the Ministry of Information in compliance with article 26 of this law. After reading the printed material, The Ministry of Information can authorise the distribution of such material. However, there are certain subjects that are prohibited by the censor or need special authorisation to be published. Such subjects are defined in article 38 of this law. These subjects which need special authorisation, include the following:

1. News about the King and the royal family requires authorisation by the place
2. News about the armed forces requires authorisation by the Defence Ministry
3. Letters, papers, dossiers, information, news and intelligence considered confidential by the Minister of information must be authorised by him
4. Political statements by foreign embassies require authorisation by the DDPP

The law prohibits the following topics:

1. Secret sessions of the Parliament
2. Reports, books, letters, articles, photographs and news contrary to public morals
3. Articles contemptuous of religions protected by the Constitution
4. News, plans, or comments which distort the truth about the armed forces, the security forces or the secret police
5. Articles attacking the leaders of friendly states

According to article 42 of the PPL, publication of the above-prohibited topics is punishable by imprisonment, not less than a year or a fine not less than 50 JD. Whereas, the publication of false news, which may disturb public security, is punishable under article 43, the

punishment is imprisonment for a term of three months to two years.

Censorship also extends to imported publications. Imported publications are also subject to strict censorship. The 1973 PPL requires that copies of any imported publication must be submitted to the Ministry of Information to be examined before its circulation is approved or its sale is authorised. The DDPP has the power to seize any imported publication if he believes that the circulation of such material may harm public interest as authorised by article 71.

There are many provisions in the 1973 PPL that overlap with the Defence Law No. 5 of 1948. Article 3 of the 1973 PPL states that the censor has the right to seize, open, and examine all messages, telegrams, parcels and printed or written material. He may then prohibit the dissemination of such material if it appears to contain anything which may harm public interests or the defence of Jordan. Furthermore, the censor may prohibit the transport of parcels by post and he may also order the seizure of prohibited publications. If the censor bans a publication, the following actions will be considered violations of the law:

1. Possession of any copies of a banned publication
2. Sending, distributing or receiving by post a banned publication with the knowledge that the publication has been banned

3. Sending a banned publication by means other than the post
4. Printing, publishing or distributing summaries of banned publications
5. Transporting any parcel by means other than the post in order to escape the censor

In addition to the prohibition of the above-mentioned actions, article 5 states that the disclosure of any information about censorship activities by the censor or any employee of the Censorship Department to an unauthorised person is considered a crime. Article 6 prohibits the violation of this law and states that anyone who resists the officer in the exercise of his duties according to this law is punishable according to the provisions listed in article 4 of the Defence Law of 1935. Article 4 of the Defence Law provides for a prison term of between three years to life of hard labour or a fine of no less than 500 JD.

Due to government pressures on the press, the Jordanian press practiced different kinds of self-censorship prior to the 1989 Parliamentary elections. In fact many commentators and observers believed that the practice of self-censorship is more pervasive than official censorship. Self-censorship was imposed on all journalists, writers, intellectuals and others, due to the vagueness of the laws and the way they were worded. This vagueness left them open to many interpretations without any clear boundaries, for example any negative reporting about Jordan was

deflected by journalists or by editors and only the positive aspects of the government were published. When it came to radio and TV broadcasts, the situation was much worse as direct and indirect censorship was in place in all programs and that has not changed until the present date.

Media specialists in Jordan practiced self-censorship in fear of losing their jobs or their credentials at any time for the slightest reason which would result in losing their livelihood, in a country which is suffering from a huge rate of unemployment amongst well-educated and well-qualified, as well as ordinary citizens with less qualifications. The Prior to 1989, Minister of Information in Jordan had the powers to dismiss or transfer any journalist and to prevent anybody from writing for any newspaper. The minister decided to prevent government officials, including journalists working in the state media, from writing to the national or international media.

It is a common practice in Jordan that the Minister of Information calls for a regular briefing to be held with chief editors in all newspapers in order to explain the governments' stand on sensitive and strategic issues, as well as foreign affairs or the Arab-Israeli conflict. During such briefings, direct and indirect messages are communicated to media personnel defining their boundaries and warning them against crossing these boundaries.

Despite Jordan's strong links with Western countries, mainly the US and the UK, it did not think for a moment to treat foreign publications in a different way when it came to imported foreign publications. Many newspapers and other press publications from different countries and in different languages were subject to the censor including newspapers published by Jordanians in countries like Cyprus. These publications include the Arabic independent weekly *Akhir Khabar* (The Last News), and the publications of the Muslim Brotherhood organisation, *Al-Ribat*, and the Democratic Party, *Al-Ahali*.

To sum up, every foreign publication that comes to Jordan is subject to strict censorship. The DPP is responsible for examining the content of such publications prior to their approval for circulation in the country. Copies of each publication coming from abroad must be censored in such a way that the information and views critical of the government and its policies do not pass the frontiers (ARTICLE 19, 1991: 12-14).

Censorship was not limited to newspapers and other periodicals; it was extended to books. According to the 1948 Censorship Regulations, many books have been banned. Most of these books were banned because they are connected with Israel or Islamic issues. The following list is a sample of banned books:

The Word of Allah, David Douglas Dunner; The Four Winds of Heaven, Monique Raphael High; Minorities in Israel, Heinz Kienzi and Walter Schwimme; The Prophet, Maghnia (Lebanon); Strategy of War, Akram Deery (Lebanon), The World Challenge, Jean Jacques Shreiber; The Arab Israeli War, Fallah Khaled Ali (ARTICLE 19, 1991:15-16).

### ***11.2 Censorship After to the 1993 PPL***

The Arab Organisation for Human Rights, based in Amman, documented a number of books which were prohibited from publication or distribution. It also documented newspapers and other publications which were subject to the same restrictions. The DPP took different actions in prohibiting the printing, publishing and distribution of the following publications:

1. Freemasons in Jordan by Fuad Hussein, a Jordanian Journalist and Member of the JPA. This was the first book to be prohibited and refused license to be published after the start of the democratic experiment in Jordan after 1989. It should be noted that most Jordanians believe that the secret society which is the subject of this banned book is accused of being responsible for most Arab and Muslim problems and perceived as a mafia-style organisation, which is endemic in the Jordanian society at a high level.



Nonetheless, most Jordanian members of this organisation, such as Prince Hassan of Jordan, would not declare their membership in the open, although they preside over well-known lodges in the capital – Amman. In fairness, the Arab-Muslim society, in particular the Jordanian one, believe in the conspiracy and try to refer most of their problems to this organisation without any solid proof (Akhir Khabar, 5/12/1993).

2. From A to Z Sorry Eve, Raaid Katow. The DPP prohibited the publishing of this poetry book. The poet was arrested from 26<sup>th</sup> September 1993 until 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1993, before he was released on bail costing him 5000 JD (Shihan, 9/10/1993).
3. The DPP seized a book entitled The Events of April 1989 (Al-Bilaad, 28/7/1993).
4. A book entitled Biographies of Bahjat Abu Gharibah was refused entry into Jordan by the DPP due to its factual evidence and critical facts related to the contemporary history of Jordan by a man who is well respected and known for his integrity and objectivity (Al-Rai, 4/5/1993).
5. The books entitled The Practical Development of the Jordanian Constitution and The Practical Development of the

Electoral System in Jordan are still ceased in the stores of the Jordanian Parliament by government order without explaining the reasons for the seizure (Sawt Al-Sha'b, 17/1/1994).

6. The DPP refused to allow the printing of a book about human rights in Jordan, composed of more than 1000 pages and written by a well-known lawyer named Ibrahim Bakar. Again, this lawyer seemed to document many extraordinary breaches of human rights in Jordan at the time Jordanian officials appear in all media channels in the West as peacemakers and defenders of human rights.
7. The DPP seized 14 different press publications in one single day on the 29th September 1993. These newspapers were Arabic and Foreign publications. Due to the fact that the published articles and comments which were seen by the government in Jordan as negative reporting in relation to the Jordanian government's sudden decision to hold the Parliamentary elections. The governments' sudden decision to hold the elections was criticised on the basis that candidates of different orientations who are opposed to government policies would not have enough time to campaign and convince voters, whereas, pro-government

candidates would take advantage of this government decision. Pro-government candidates would be given every opportunity to use radio and TV to support their campaign, in addition to other kinds of government support – direct and indirect (Al-Ahali, 4/10/1993).

8. The DPP seized issue 105 of Al-Ahali weekly newspaper which was published in the last week of 1992 (Arab Organisation for Human Rights, 1994: 7-8)

Censorship of newspapers after publication is also carried out by the DDPP. Mohammad Amin, DDPP at the time, was quoted by ARTICLE 19 as stating that he sees his role as that of an “intermediary between the newspapers and the courts.” According to the government the censorship of books is necessary so as to ensure national security and protect moral and religious values.

There are a number of procedures which the government has laid down to deter owners or printing presses from printing a banned publication. For example, anyone who prints a banned publication would face a fine of between 500 JD and 2000 JD in accordance with article 50 of the 1993 PPL. In order to discourage the black-market from printing material and the distribution of banned publications including books, the DPP launched a campaign directed at the owners of printing presses to warn them of the dangers of printing banned material or unauthorised

information. Advertisements were placed in newspapers to warn the owners of such facilities or any person involved about the dangers of facilitating the printing, publishing, copying, distribution, or reproduction of any banned or unauthorised material in any way or form. In February 1994, the DDPP wrote to the Jordan Printers' Union warning them against printing any unauthorised material.

Foreign publications are imported into Jordan from many different countries including Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, as well as England, France, Spain and Germany. Any publications containing critical information about the King are restricted entry into Jordan by the Jordanian government. On one occasion two London-based foreign newspapers were disallowed distribution in Jordan because they contained unconfirmed comments made by the King. On another occasion the International Herald Tribune that carried out a Washington Post editorial which questioned the future of Jordan as a state was forbidden distribution on September 1993. The Independent on Sunday was also banned in March 1996 because of a report by Robert Fisk wherein he condemned censorship in Jordan. However, despite a decision which was taken by prime Minister Abdul Kareem Kabriti in 1997 to lift censorship on foreign publications, his decision was reversed in less than a year and the DDPP continued to examine imported foreign

publications before allowing their distribution (ARTICLE 19, 1997: 46-48).

### **11.3 Film Censorship**

Censorship of information extended to all kinds of information and forms of expression including the content of films. On 17 March 1990, a number of directives were introduced by the Minister of Information at the time defining the activities of the film censorship board and the type of cinema and video films which are prohibited entry or distribution in Jordan. In a report prepared by ARTICLE 19, a list of justifications for refusal by the Board to grant a distribution licence and banning the showing of a film are taken from article 9 of the directives. Films were not allowed to contain the following:

1. Propagation of atheism which contradicts the teachings of Islam and incitement to revolts and sectarianism
2. Attacks on Arabs which aim to damage their reputation or which distort the truth about them
3. Publicity, defence and sympathy with Zionism and Israel
4. Names of producers, film-makers or actors who are black-listed because of their links with Israel
5. Anything which attacks standards of behaviour, social mores, or the public order

6. Encouragement to moral and social degradation,  
glorification of criminal activity, violence, or the spread of  
narcotics

7. Sexual scenes or promotion of adultery

Permission for advertising a film, for example putting up posters, had to be taken from the Film Censorship Board; posters contradicting any of the above stated conditions would be seized and destroyed. According to the directives, every district would contain a censorship committee to be directed by the governor with the assistance of the police director of the district, the director of education, the director of social affairs, the director of religious affairs, and two other members representing the private sector who would be appointed by the governor for two years. The committee had the power to inspect cinemas and video shops at any time and confiscate films which violated the directives (ARTICLE 19, 1991: 17).

#### ***11.4 Protection of State Secrets and Classified Documents***

The protection of state secrets and classified documents is amongst one of the most important priorities of the government. A special law was introduced to enable the state to perform this kind of censorship. The law is categorised into three classifications: top secret, secret, and restricted. There is also a fourth classification known as “ordinary”

which encompasses any official documents that do not belong to any of the three main classifications. Documents classified as ordinary are still classified documents and may not be disclosed to anyone without the required authorisation. The publication of information which could harm the reputation of public officials, the public morale, or the honour of the state is prohibited. Anyone who violates the law may be imprisoned for a period between 10 years to life and giving information to an enemy state is punishable by death. The next section lists the contents of the three main classifications.

#### **11.4.1 Top Secret**

Documents containing the following fall under this classification:

1. Information which, if disclosed, may result in grave damage to internal or external security of the state or may benefit a foreign state which may constitute a threat to the Kingdom
2. Information about military operations or civil security, including any economic, financial, urban or transportation plans which concern military operations or civilian security
3. Important political documents about Jordan's international relations and treaties, including discussion and research related to them

4. Information and documents about the methods of military intelligence, the secret police, or counter-intelligence, including methods of combating espionage or any other information which could reveal sources of military intelligence, the secret police or their personnel
5. Information about armaments which, if revealed, could represent a threat to internal or external state security

#### **11.4.2 Secret**

Documents containing the following fall under this classification:

1. Information which, if revealed, may harm the security of the state, damage its interests, or may be of great benefit to a foreign country or other parties
2. Information about the location of strategic military or economic institutions
3. Information about the movement of military forces or secret police forces
4. Information about the armaments and forces of Arab states

#### **11.4.3 Restricted**

Documents containing the following fall under this classification:



1. Information, the disclosure of which could result in harm to state interests, create economic or administrative difficulties for the country, or benefit a foreign country or any other party who could damage the state
2. Information, the disclosure of which is prohibited, concerning administrative or criminal investigations or trials, or any other economic or financial affair
3. Military intelligence reports
4. Reports which, if disclosed, may damage public morale
5. Communication frequencies of the military, intelligence service, the police security, or any government authorities
6. Information which may harm the reputation of officials or the position of the state.

The profound effect of censorship cannot be fully understood from one category or another. Such effect can only be realised if we take into consideration the impact of government regulations together with social pressures and religious teachings. It is within this context that censorship of ideas should be perceived as this kind of perspective may be very helpful in understanding the way censorship functions in the Arab-Muslim world compared with the rest of the world, especially the Western countries.

In brief, it is very clear that what was mentioned throughout this chapter confirms that access to information is strongly prohibited and restricted. It is also evident that publishing freely is strictly prohibited as a result of the many steps taken to make it very difficult to publish unwanted news.

One simply has to look at the different subjects which require special and prior authorisation to feel the harsh reality of government restrictions. The list of censored books and other material since 1993 is another example of the government's behaviour towards the free flow of information. It can be seen throughout this research that the government does not allow an acceptable margin of freedom in obtaining news or publishing this news.

### ***11.5 Social Pressures***

In addition to direct censorship and self-censorship the aspect of social pressure is another impediment to the free flow of information. In fact the force of the society can be more pervasive than direct government censorship in certain cases. The well-established social traditions and norms in the Jordanian society restrict the number of subjects that can be talked about safely and openly to the minimum. There are so many subjects which are considered taboo by Jordanians, therefore they are too difficult and dangerous for chief editors to approach them and consider

them for publishing in their newspapers. One of the most outstanding issues which was never discussed or talked about in the media is the crime of honour where a woman is killed by a relative if suspected of having a sexual relationship with a man outside marriage. In fact, many women were killed by a relative only on the basis of suspicion. It should be noted however that such practice violates the Islamic teachings and has nothing to do with the true understanding of Islam. Some top officials in Jordan have raised the alarm about this serious problem which still exists in the Jordanian society. Prince Hassan of Jordan, known for his courage in relation to discussing this problem in the open, warned of the serious implications of this problem. The point in this regard is that social pressure on journalists is too big to permit any journalist to bypass it. Mahmoud Kayed, Chairman of the Board of Director of the Jordan Press Foundation that publishes Al-Rai and the Jordan Times, commented on these pressures on journalists and stated that they range from telephone calls to furious restrictions. He also stressed that the Jordanian society is not tolerant of criticism due to the tribal and sectarian ideas. Some journalists, such as Mu'nes Razzaz, who was the most prominent columnist at Al-Rai and a novelist, was forced to stop writing for three years because he couldn't handle the pressures from the society because of his political views. The difference of opinion in Jordan cannot be tolerated when it comes to certain issues. Razzaz, who opposed the Iraqi

invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, was seen as a traitor to the national cause. This is not so strange if we take into consideration that most Jordanian welcomed the invasion of Kuwait in the 1990s due to the fact that Saddam was seen as a hero and a liberator for the whole Arab nation. In fact, the Jordanian media played an important role in making Saddam such an important leader in the eyes of the people. The point that should be emphasised is that the government itself plays on the weaknesses of the society and uses such endemic problems to advance its cause and to strengthen its grip on the majority of people. Certain articles exposed journalists to severe physical beatings by unidentified assailants.

The story of Basel Tallousi, a columnist at the weekly newspaper *Abed Rabbah*, is an illustration of the dangers which face journalists in a society where the interests of the state overlap with the interests of other pressure groups. Two masked men beat up Tallousi on 18 December 1996. He was on his way to the newspaper at night when the two men ambushed him and were joined by a third man. The man had been waiting for Tallousi in a car and attacked him after he had passed them. While they were beating Tallousi they warned him against publishing any more writings offending the government or the King.

A similar story, this time involving Yousef Ghishan, the editor of *Abed Rabbah*, occurred on 4 October 1996. He was approached by a man who pretended to show interest in the newspaper and later invited

Ghishan to take a look at a sensational story at the University of Jordan. Ghishan went with the man and was attacked by him as soon as they had walked a small distance from the newspaper's headquarters. Two other men were preparing to join the first man who was beating Ghishan, but they fled when a crowd filled the area. Ghishan later received a telephone call from a man threatening to kill him if he did not stop publishing satirical portraits of ministers and officials (ARTICLE 19, 1997, 95-96).

## **12.0 Conclusions & Recommendations**

### **12.1 Conclusions**

Many conclusions were reached during the course of this research; however, the emphasis in this chapter will concentrate on the most important findings only, whereas the less important findings and conclusions will be touched on briefly.

It should be noted from the start that the suppression of free expression has decreased in Jordan in comparison to the pre-1989 period. The reforms which started since the 1989 legislative elections are significant steps in the process towards achieving compliance with international standards of human rights including provisions of article 19 of the ICCPR which Jordan ratified on 28 May 1975.

It was clear from the literature review and the available sources of information in relation to this research that very little serious and critical literature is available. It was also clear that the most critical and analytical works were produced by international organisations such as ARTICLE 19, Human Rights Watch, and the CPJ. The role of the national and regional organisations and institutions seem to be very limited and peripheral in terms of the literature produced, especially in light of the real need for such genuine literature concerned with press

freedom and freedom of expression in general due to the many restrictions which are endemic throughout Jordan and throughout the entire Arab world.

The media system in Jordan does not fit into any specific classification system, such as the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility theory, soviet media system, totalitarian, or the development media theory. The media system in Jordan is a mixture of all known media systems. The level of freedom given to the press is shifting from time to time in accordance with many factors such as socio-political and economical factors, but overall the media system in Jordan is still far behind all media systems in Western Europe. Nonetheless, Jordan would rank very high amongst the Arab countries in terms of press freedoms and freedom of expression, but this comparison between Jordan and other Arab countries is very misleading as most Arab countries have no freedoms at all to compare with. This is why one should be very careful when reading international reports or any other reports comparing one Arab country against the others. It is also very clear that the Jordanian government has a monopoly over the media in Jordan because it owns almost all the forms of media in the country except for the newly emerging weekly newspapers.

The printed media in Jordan consists of approximately 20 weekly newspapers and 5 daily newspapers, including the Jordan Times which is

published in English. The 1990s witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of weekly newspapers due to the first flexible press law in Jordan which was introduced in 1993. The encouraging aspects of the 1993 PPL, which was seen as a law compatible with democracy, was reaffirmed by the responses of journalists to proposition 16 (see Appendix 1. However, this law did not last long and was amended a few years later to eliminate the many positive articles that were introduced by the law. These amendments were the 1997 amendments to the 1993 PPL. The highest court in Jordan declared the 1997 amendments as unconstitutional at a later stage.

The legislative environment for the printed media in Jordan is very unstable and confused, not only due to the different legislations which affect the media, but also due to other government practices outside the law, such as intimidation, threats, confiscation of materials, beating of journalists, and depriving independent newspapers of government advertisements which adds to the financial difficulties of weekly press.

Press development in Jordan is very recent compared with most Arab countries. The 1920s was the starting date of this industry in Jordan. The industry started as a very primitive attempt and developed in less than a decade to become one of the leading media institutions in the Arab world, in terms of quality and coverage. Press development went through a few phases – the most notable phase spanning from 1989 until



the present date. This phase witnessed the introduction of the largest number of independent weekly publications, together with the most liberal press legislation – the 1993 PPL – and its controversial amendments in 1997.

A comprehensive analysis of the lawsuits appendix reveals that the printed media in Jordan was faced with endless numbers of lawsuits which resulted in dragging journalists and those working with them to the courts only to hear the unbelievable outcome that the case was to be dismissed. This was the outcome for more than 90% of these lawsuits. In other words, these lawsuits were merely a method used by the government to intimidate newspapers and in some cases put them out of business. The year 1998 witnessed the highest number of lawsuits filed against newspapers. The number reached 36 in that year alone. However, from 1993 until the present date, there have been at least two lawsuits filed every year.

It was very obvious that independent weekly newspapers were being targeted through these lawsuits much more than the daily newspapers. For example, from the year 1993 to 1996, daily newspapers faced only 2 lawsuits whereas weekly newspapers faced 57. This is very high if you take into consideration the fact that daily newspapers are financially stronger compared to weekly newspapers and they would be more capable of covering the costs of a lawsuit. This is due to the fact

that weekly newspapers try to address the many socio-political issues, whereas daily newspapers do not really touch on any sensitive subjects and instead they try to avoid them as much as possible.

Some weekly newspapers were targeted more frequently than others. Al-Bilaad, for example, was the top target and faced 21 lawsuits from 1993 to 1998 and another 4 from 1999 to 2003, totalling 25 lawsuits altogether during this ten year period. Another very substantial finding is that most lawsuits were filed by the DPP. During the 10-year period between 1993 and 2003 the DPP filed 131 lawsuits, whereas the total number of lawsuits filed by other plaintiffs was only 11. The DPP lost the majority of these cases, yet it still persists in filing lawsuits against the different newspapers due to the fact that the legal system in Jordan does not have a provision through which these newspapers can sue the government or the DPP for damages caused by the lawsuits.

In relation to the interviews, the most important conclusions include the fact that most journalists in Jordan who are involved in the printed media are male. It was also clear that over 40 percent of them are specialised in journalism and more than half of them possess a university degree. The interviews also reveal that journalists working in the printed media are well settled in the profession and they possess experience of more than five years. The analysis also showed a strong agreement among journalists in Jordan that press laws are the most influential factor

affecting press freedoms, followed by censorship of the press as the second major factor in limiting press freedoms. It was clear from the answers of the interviewees that the following conclusions and findings are noteworthy.

1. Over 100 journalists in Jordan agree that the Jordanian government wants to keep a stronghold on newspapers by removing the condition which disallowed them from owning more than 30% of newspaper shares.
2. Most journalists agree that the high capital required to establish a newspaper limits the ownership of the printed media to rich people.
3. Most journalists agree that amendments to press laws, especially the 1997 amendment, were designed to suppress weekly newspapers and to limit their establishment. This can be seen by looking at the responses to propositions 40 and 25. This was also echoed by journalists through their responses to proposition 7, which confirms that weekly newspapers face more pressures than daily newspapers. In fact 88 journalists supported this view.
4. 115 journalists out of the 156 interviewed confirmed that the subject of censorship causes journalists to live under constant fear and instability regarding the content of their

written material; almost the same number agree that compelling journalists to reveal their sources of information before the courts reduces the possibilities of acquiring information in future cases.

5. One of the most important conclusions is the acceptance of journalists that the increase in the number of prohibitions in the press and publication laws is due to the wrong practice of journalists and the press. They also accept that the increase in the number of punishments is justified in light of the many breaches of the law by the press. This can be seen from the responses of journalists to proposition 10 and 14.
6. Journalists in Jordan agree that the limits of press freedom are increasing year after year and this is noticeable by all people familiar with press and publication laws. Such increase in the limits of freedoms is to go in harmony with democracy.
7. Journalists also believe that the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan in 1994 restricted the possibilities of criticising the Israeli authorities.
8. Journalists strongly supported the view that the decision of the government to prohibit state officials to write to any newspaper is incompatible with the rights of citizens to

freely express themselves. The same view was indirectly enforced again through the responses to proposition 11 which stated that the prohibition of state employees to contribute articles to newspapers deprived the citizens of their basic rights.

9. Regarding the JPA, journalists seem to be in strong agreement that the government does not have a role in the election of the president of the JPA or its members. This is very strange in light of the fact that most members of the JPA are employed by the government or by the daily newspapers which are partly owned and run by the government. This agreement to proposition 47 seems to be in contradiction to their strong agreement to proposition 44, which says that the JPA gives two thirds of the votes to the government thus giving them full control of the association. This kind of confused pattern of contradictory answers is reflected in more than one place throughout the questionnaire. However, they strongly agree that the conditions attached to the membership to the JPA, such as the requirement of a university degree, place barriers in front of those who want to join the profession and newly graduated individuals.

10. The positive view of journalists regarding the role of the JPA as a positive step for press freedom is very clear as more than half of the journalists interviewed agree with proposition 43. This is confirmed through the journalists' agreement to proposition 43 and 46, and their disagreement to proposition 48 which states that nothing would change concerning press freedom had the JPA not existed.

Despite all reforms and initiatives taken in Jordan, direct and indirect censorship continues to be practised as usual. The existing laws include many provisions which restrict freedom of expression. Censorship is not only enforced through press and publication laws, but also through other laws such as the Defence Law which permits the prior censorship, suspension, and banning of domestic and foreign publications and films. Self-censorship is a common phenomenon due to indirect government pressure. Many public servants are reluctant to pass on information to the public without authorisation because of the 1971 law on state secrets and classified documents.

## **12.2 Recommendations**

In light of what was mentioned earlier, a number of recommendations are believed to be essential and are hoped to be implemented by the Jordanian government through taking the following

steps to bring its law and practice into conformity with international standards in relation to freedom of expression and freedom of the press.

To introduce a liberal PPL accepted by the majority of Jordanians, especially journalists and other intellectuals throughout the country. This law should maximise free expression as guaranteed under international human rights law, and further ensure that the imposition of any restrictions on the exercise of freedom of expression are specific and well defined. These restrictions must also be persuasively justified by the government as necessary for the protection of national security, public order, public health or morals, or respect for the rights and reputation of others, within the strict limits required by international law. All of this cannot be achieved, however, unless the government embarks on a genuine national debate regarding all freedoms in general and freedom of the press in particular. The debate would have to involve all segments of the society, including political and religious intellectuals. This can only happen by revoking all press and publication laws which created a confused and unstable press environment.

The government should also review all other legislation directly or indirectly related to press freedoms and take the necessary steps to change these legislations so that they are in conformity with a modern press and publications law and they avoid any overlapping or loopholes in the legislation. All of this would be a waste of time and resources unless the

King himself, who has the ultimate powers and makes the final decisions, embraced such changes with a strong will.

Parliamentary elections should be regularly held, even in times of tension. The government should not be permitted to introduce press laws while the Parliament is not in session, such as the 1997 amendments to the 1993 PPL which were declared as unconstitutional by the High Court at a later stage.

Legislation should be introduced to compensate newspapers and other journalists involved as defendants and declared by the courts as not responsible or cases against them are dismissed by the courts. They should be entitled to damages and compensations to deter officials from abusing their powers by using the law as a method of harassment and intimidation. This would also ensure that cases are not brought against the media or individual journalists unless the evidence discloses a strong possibility of a breach having been committed.

An independent body, similar to an ombudsman of the press, should be established to monitor the way in which the press functions and to draw the balance between the rights of the wider society in receiving and transmitting information and the right of the government to restrict such information.

The JPA should exclude all government officials from being members and abolish all restrictions against other individuals who want



to become members. Members of the JPA should also be allowed to join other associations.

The qualifying language in article 15 of the constitution should be removed so that it provides unconditional free speech rights and thus a legal justification for bringing action against the government when such rights are infringed upon.

The government should stop the practice of pre-trial and other types of detention for publishing and other forms of expression. It should also implement concrete measures to end extra-legal forms of harassment against journalists and to facilitate the accreditation of foreign journalists. The government also needs to end its control over the Jordanian Radio and TV through amending the Jordanian Television Law to allow for the establishment and licensing of commercial and community broadcasters. The government should immediately pass a freedom of information law providing for a general right of access to information held by public authorities. The government should further ensure that the regulation of the printed media is applied on a non-discriminatory basis. This would require that financial requirements and penalties for violations do not reduce the diversity of the printed media or reduce journalists, editors or publishers to habitual self-censorship.

In relation to advertising; the government should review its policy regarding placing its advertisements in the press to ensure that

newspapers are not discriminated against on the basis of their editorial policies and the way they tackle the sensitive issues such as corruption and foreign policy matters.

Last but not least is the Western influence over all freedoms in the country. Western powers, mainly the USA and the UK, should stop their support for policies which restrict press freedom and they should be aware that Jordanians, like many nations in less developed countries, are well aware of Western influence which is usually directed against press freedoms in these countries in order to enable Western powers to continue their abuse and exploitation of the resources of these countries. Western powers should strike a balance between their interests and the wishes of the Jordanian people. Most Jordanians would blame the unconditional Western support of the regime for any breaches of human rights and other restrictions.

The following areas are possible avenues for further research into press freedom in Jordan:

- A. The impact of lawsuits on weekly newspapers and the journalists working for them requires thorough investigation as to the impact of such government actions on these papers and on their personnel, not only financially, but also morally, emotionally and professionally.

- B. It was evident from the analysis of the interviews and the contradictions in the answers of the journalists that there is an obvious lack of understanding of the Press and Publication Laws and other press legislations in Jordan. Therefore, there is a need to investigate the impact of this lack of understanding and how it affects the journalists and the different newspapers as institutions.
- C. The extra legal actions and pressures taken by the government against the press and active journalists in particular, including torture, harassment, illegal detainment, and other methods, needs to be documented and analysed. This can be done as a comparative study between Jordan on one hand and other Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, on the other hand.
- D. The influence of Western countries in supporting the restrictive legislations, directly or indirectly; and to what extent such influence and interference succeeds in persuading the Jordanian government to shape its legislations in such restrictive ways, in order to restrict press freedom. This can also be done as a comparative study with pressures exerted on other Arabic countries, such as those of

North Africa, where the French government has a strong influence.

- E. People throughout Jordan and the Arab world should play an important role in pushing for press freedom. Such a role needs to be examined in order to see what changes public opinion in this regard. This can be done by comparing Jordan with other Arab countries where people play a more active role in achieving press freedom such as Lebanon. This investigation could examine the role of civil institutions, non-governmental institutions, and any other individual roles by intellectuals or others.
- F. The world is going through big changes in terms of freedom of the press since the end of the Cold War as a result of many factors at global levels. The impact of such changes on speeding press freedom in Jordan and other Arab countries requires investigating.
- G. The Arab world in general including Jordan had witnessed an unprecedented rise in the number of TV channels targeting people 24-hours a day. Such satellite TV channels without a doubt played a big role in shedding light on different aspects of life including freedoms and liberties. The role of these channels in raising awareness and

informing people about their freedoms, including their right to read free press, need to be addressed.

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# APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for structured interviews, together with  
the answers

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Appendix 2: Lawsuits from 1993 to 2003

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Appendix 3: Newspapers & other press publications from 1920  
until present date

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***Appendix 1: Questionnaire for structured interviews, together  
with the answers***



1. The Press and Publication laws of 1998 provide a high ceiling of freedom for the press and journalists

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	36	23.1	23.1	23.1
	<b>disagree</b>	48	30.8	30.8	53.8
	<b>agree</b>	49	31.4	31.4	85.3
	<b>strongly agree</b>	23	14.7	14.7	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

2. The Press and Publication laws of 1998 provide the minimum requirements of press freedom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	39	25.0	25.0	25.0
	<b>disagree</b>	58	37.2	37.2	62.2
	<b>agree</b>	59	37.8	37.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

3. Press and Publication laws issued in Jordan, even up to the present day, are not able to provide the minimum requirements of free expression and free press

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	24	15.4	15.4	15.4
	<b>disagree</b>	62	39.7	39.7	55.1
	<b>agree</b>	70	44.9	44.9	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

4. The decision of the court to declare the 1997 amendments of the 1993 Press and Publication Law as unconstitutional indicates the intentions of

the state to restrict and oppress freedom of press

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	40	25.6	25.6	25.6
	<b>disagree</b>	34	21.8	21.8	47.4
	<b>agree</b>	63	40.4	40.4	87.8
	<b>strongly agree</b>	19	12.2	12.2	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

5. The Press and Publication laws of 1998 are quite similar to the 1997 amended laws

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	38	24.4	24.4	24.4
	<b>disagree</b>	56	35.9	35.9	60.3
	<b>agree</b>	53	34.0	34.0	94.2
	<b>strongly agree</b>	9	5.8	5.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

6. The absence of any mention that the decision of the Council of Ministers or the Minister of Information is final leaves a lot of ambiguity in the law and indicates the intention of the state to control journalists

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	30	19.2	19.2	19.2
	<b>disagree</b>	38	24.4	24.4	43.6
	<b>agree</b>	88	56.4	56.4	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

7. Weekly newspapers face more pressures than daily newspapers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	14	9.0	9.0	9.0
	<b>disagree</b>	54	34.6	34.6	43.6
	<b>agree</b>	88	56.4	56.4	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

8. The lifting of Martial Law in 1992 did not bring any fundamental changes to the Press and Publication laws

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	60	38.5	38.5	38.5
	<b>disagree</b>	18	11.5	11.5	50.0
	<b>agree</b>	59	37.8	37.8	87.8
	<b>strongly agree</b>	19	12.2	12.2	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

9. The lifting of Martial Law in 1992 reversed things fundamentally in favour of press freedom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	29	18.6	18.6	18.6
	<b>disagree</b>	31	19.9	19.9	38.5
	<b>agree</b>	81	51.9	51.9	90.4
	<b>strongly agree</b>	15	9.6	9.6	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

10. The increase in the number of prohibitions in the press and publication laws is due to the wrong practice of journalists and the press

	Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative
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				Percent	Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	3	1.9	1.9	1.9
	disagree	59	37.8	37.8	39.7
	agree	94	60.3	60.3	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

11. The prohibition of state employees to write in newspapers deprived the citizen of his basic rights

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	3	1.9	1.9	1.9
	disagree	49	31.4	31.4	33.3
	agree	104	66.7	66.7	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

12. The prohibition of state employees from writing in newspapers may lead to leave many wrong practices and issues outside the circle of accountability

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	48	30.8	30.8	30.8
	disagree	23	14.7	14.7	45.5
	agree	73	46.8	46.8	92.3
	strongly agree	12	7.7	7.7	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

13. All articles included in press and publication laws are clear and are not open for more than one interpretation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly	3	1.9	1.9	1.9

	<b>disagree</b>				
	<b>disagree</b>	59	37.8	37.8	39.7
	<b>agree</b>	94	60.3	60.3	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

14. The increases in the number of punishments, especially fines, are justified because of the many laws broken by the press

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	27	17.3	17.3	17.3
	<b>disagree</b>	26	16.7	16.7	34.0
	<b>agree</b>	90	57.7	57.7	91.7
	<b>strongly agree</b>	13	8.3	8.3	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

15. All those people familiar with press and publication laws can see that the limit of press freedom is increasing to go in harmony with democracy

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	29	18.6	18.6	18.6
	<b>disagree</b>	20	12.8	12.8	31.4
	<b>agree</b>	86	55.1	55.1	86.5
	<b>strongly agree</b>	21	13.5	13.5	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

16. The 1993 Press and Publication Laws are considered the best laws which went in compliance and compatibility with democracy

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	23	14.7	14.7	14.7

	<b>disagree</b>	39	25.0	25.0	39.7
	<b>agree</b>	85	54.5	54.5	94.2
	<b>strongly agree</b>	9	5.8	5.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

17. The condition that came in the 1993 Press and Publication Law, which said that the state cannot own more than 30% of newspaper shares, was to restrict government control on the press

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	18	11.5	11.5	11.5
	<b>disagree</b>	27	17.3	17.3	28.8
	<b>agree</b>	108	69.2	69.2	98.1
	<b>strongly agree</b>	3	1.9	1.9	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

18. The absence of any mention in the 1998 law to what was mentioned in the 1993 law (government cannot own more than 30% of newspaper shares) means the government turned back on its word and wanted to keep control on daily newspapers

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	10	6.4	6.4	6.4
	<b>disagree</b>	36	23.1	23.1	29.5
	<b>agree</b>	103	66.0	66.0	95.5
	<b>strongly agree</b>	7	4.5	4.5	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

19. The condition that was mentioned in 1993 that the decision of the council of ministers is open for challenge by the court, made the press more capable to do its job probably and reduce its fears

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	21	13.5	13.5	13.5
	<b>disagree</b>	28	17.9	17.9	31.4
	<b>agree</b>	98	62.8	62.8	94.2
	<b>strongly agree</b>	9	5.8	5.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

20. The absence of any mention of what was stated in 1998 gives the government free hand to practice its pressure on newspapers, especially newly established ones

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	3	1.9	1.9	1.9
	<b>disagree</b>	55	35.3	35.3	37.2
	<b>agree</b>	98	62.8	62.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

21. The closure of 15 newly established weekly newspapers, after the introduction of the 1997 amendments, was a strong slap across the face to press and freedom of expression

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	21	13.5	13.5	13.5
	<b>disagree</b>	27	17.3	17.3	30.8
	<b>agree</b>	102	65.4	65.4	96.2
	<b>strongly agree</b>	6	3.8	3.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

22. The major restriction in press freedom and freedom of expression was the condition that the chief editor should have eight years experience

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	24	15.4	15.4	15.4
	<b>disagree</b>	29	18.6	18.6	34.0
	<b>agree</b>	97	62.2	62.2	96.2
	<b>strongly agree</b>	6	3.8	3.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

23. The condition of a minimum capital of 500,000 JD to establish a daily newspaper and 100,000 JD to establish a weekly newspaper restricted the opportunities of investment in the press of Jordan

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	3	1.9	1.9	1.9
	<b>disagree</b>	53	34.0	34.0	35.9
	<b>agree</b>	100	64.1	64.1	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

24. The condition which required that publishers have a minimum capital to license publications (in the previous statement) limits the press to rich people and indirectly excludes most people

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	32	20.5	20.5	20.5
	<b>disagree</b>	3	1.9	1.9	22.4
	<b>agree</b>	106	67.9	67.9	90.4
	<b>strongly agree</b>	15	9.6	9.6	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

25. A minimum of 100,000 JD to license a weekly newspaper is mainly designed to limit the establishment of new weekly newspapers



		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	6	3.8	3.8	3.8
	<b>disagree</b>	56	35.9	35.9	39.7
	<b>agree</b>	85	54.5	54.5	94.2
	<b>strongly agree</b>	9	5.8	5.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

26. Official advertisements of the government in weekly newspapers are the same as those in daily newspapers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	6	3.8	3.8	3.8
	<b>disagree</b>	49	31.4	31.4	35.3
	<b>agree</b>	101	64.7	64.7	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

27. The percentage of advertisements in daily newspapers is much more than those in weekly newspapers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	24	15.4	15.4	15.4
	<b>disagree</b>	34	21.8	21.8	37.2
	<b>agree</b>	98	62.8	62.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

28. The ordinary person prefers to read daily newspapers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<b>strongly disagree</b>	6	3.8	3.8	3.8

	<b>disagree</b>	56	35.9	35.9	39.7
	<b>agree</b>	94	60.3	60.3	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

29. Partisan citizens prefer to read weekly newspapers

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	27	17.3	17.3	17.3
	<b>disagree</b>	19	12.2	12.2	29.5
	<b>agree</b>	98	62.8	62.8	92.3
	<b>strongly agree</b>	12	7.7	7.7	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

30. To compel journalists to reveal their source of information before the courts reduces the possibilities of getting information in special and sensitive cases such as corruption and briberies

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	6	3.8	3.8	3.8
	<b>disagree</b>	40	25.6	25.6	29.5
	<b>agree</b>	107	68.6	68.6	98.1
	<b>strongly agree</b>	3	1.9	1.9	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

31. The decision of the government to prohibit state officials from writing to any newspaper is incompatible with the rights of citizens to freely express themselves

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	6	3.8	3.8	3.8

<b>disagree</b>	41	26.3	26.3	30.1
<b>agree</b>	103	66.0	66.0	96.2
<b>strongly agree</b>	6	3.8	3.8	100.0
<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

32. The subject of censorship leaves the journalist living in constant fear and instability about what he writes

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	3	1.9	1.9	1.9
	<b>disagree</b>	38	24.4	24.4	26.3
	<b>agree</b>	106	67.9	67.9	94.2
	<b>strongly agree</b>	9	5.8	5.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

33. The level of freedom granted to the press through the Press and Publication Law is enough and gives journalists the security to deal with information with all freedom needed

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	3	1.9	1.9	1.9
	<b>disagree</b>	56	35.9	35.9	37.8
	<b>agree</b>	97	62.2	62.2	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

34. It is possible for a journalist to reach his source of information in public institutions with absolute ease

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	28	17.9	17.9	17.9

<b>disagree</b>	10	6.4	6.4	24.4
<b>agree</b>	118	75.6	75.6	100.0
<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

35. Journalists working on weekly newspapers face the same treatment as the correspondent daily newspapers when they try to reach their source of information

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	3	1.9	1.9	1.9
	<b>disagree</b>	63	40.4	40.4	42.3
	<b>agree</b>	81	51.9	51.9	94.2
	<b>strongly agree</b>	9	5.8	5.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

36. The prohibition of newspapers from receiving any grants or helps from within Jordan or abroad is mainly intended to protect the neutrality and openness of the press

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	21	13.5	13.5	13.5
	<b>disagree</b>	68	43.6	43.6	57.1
	<b>agree</b>	64	41.0	41.0	98.1
	<b>strongly agree</b>	3	1.9	1.9	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

37. Press and Publication laws in Jordan provide a margin of freedom similar to that of advanced countries

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	15	9.6	9.6	9.6

	<b>disagree</b>	44	28.2	28.2	37.8
	<b>agree</b>	97	62.2	62.2	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

38. The peace treaty between Jordan and Israel restricted, to a large extent, the possibilities of criticising the Israeli Authorities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	15	9.6	9.6	9.6
	<b>disagree</b>	47	30.1	30.1	39.7
	<b>agree</b>	88	56.4	56.4	96.2
	<b>strongly agree</b>	6	3.8	3.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

39. Weekly newspapers are more concerned with the treatment and wrong practices within the country than daily newspapers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	27	17.3	17.3	17.3
	<b>disagree</b>	52	33.3	33.3	50.6
	<b>agree</b>	77	49.4	49.4	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

40. Many of the amendments, especially the increase in punishments, capital, and experience of chief editors, are meant to suppress weekly newspapers in particular

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>disagree</b>	58	37.2	37.2	37.2
	<b>agree</b>	98	62.8	62.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

41. Press institutions are still hoping to gain extra freedom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	disagree	52	33.3	33.3	33.3
	agree	104	66.7	66.7	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

42. The condition to practice journalism only through membership of the JPA represents a breach of human rights law

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	21	13.5	13.5	13.5
	disagree	40	25.6	25.6	39.1
	agree	95	60.9	60.9	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

43. The existence of the JPA is a positive step for freedom of the press

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	27	17.3	17.3	17.3
	disagree	49	31.4	31.4	48.7
	agree	80	51.3	51.3	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

44. The structure of the JPA, which gives two thirds of the votes to the government, puts the government in full control of the association and its direction

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	disagree	59	37.8	37.8	37.8
	agree	97	62.2	62.2	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

45. The conditions attached to the membership of the JPA, i.e. to have a university degree and experience, place a barrier in front of those who want to join the profession and newly graduated individuals

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	disagree	57	36.5	36.5	36.5
	agree	99	63.5	63.5	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

46. The JPA proved that it is capable of defending journalists and their freedoms and helping them to develop the profession

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	6	3.8	3.8	3.8
	disagree	67	42.9	42.9	46.8
	agree	83	53.2	53.2	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

47. The government does not have a role in the election of the president of the JPA and its members

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	6	3.8	3.8	3.8
	disagree	36	23.1	23.1	26.9
	agree	114	73.1	73.1	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

48. Nothing would change regarding free press in Jordan, even if the JPA did not exist

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	10	6.4	6.4	6.4

	<b>disagree</b>	73	46.8	46.8	53.2
	<b>agree</b>	73	46.8	46.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

49. To make it a compulsory condition for the journalist to become a member of the JPA in order to practice the profession of journalism contradicts human rights and Article 22 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>disagree</b>	71	45.5	45.5	45.5
	<b>agree</b>	85	54.5	54.5	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

50. There is a necessity to amend the JPA law in order to get rid of the period of experience required in the law as a condition of membership

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	9	5.8	5.8	5.8
	<b>disagree</b>	50	32.1	32.1	37.8
	<b>agree</b>	97	62.2	62.2	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

51. Journalists should have the right to practice Journalism without the need to become a member of the JPA

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>strongly disagree</b>	15	9.6	9.6	9.6
	<b>disagree</b>	41	26.3	26.3	35.9
	<b>agree</b>	100	64.1	64.1	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	156	100.0	100.0	

52. The freedom given to Jordanian newspapers is much better than that



given to newspapers in neighbouring Arab countries

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	54	34.6	34.6	34.6
	disagree	44	28.2	28.2	62.8
	agree	58	37.2	37.2	100.0
	Total	156	100.0	100.0	

## ***Appendix 2: Lawsuits from 1993 to 2003***

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0066
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	1829/93
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1993
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Abed Rabbah
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	40
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0102
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2012/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Abed Rabbah
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	60
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing material that offends civil servants

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0103
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2229/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Abed Rabbah
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	62
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing material that offends civil servants

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0105
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2547/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Abed Rabbah
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	65
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0108
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2237/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Abed Rabbah
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	58
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Harming the reputation of people

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0109
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2771/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Abed Rabbah
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	59
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Harming the reputation of people

**Serial No** 0113  
**Lawsuit Number** 3050/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Abed Rabbah  
**Issue Number** 69  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Inaccurate reporting

**Serial No** 0116  
**Lawsuit Number** 3098/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Abed Rabbah  
**Issue Number** 70  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing false news, Inaccurate reporting

**Serial No** 0009  
**Lawsuit Number** 3253/93  
**Year** 1993  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Ad-Diyar  
**Issue Number** 2  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40  
**Nature of Charge** Insulting the president of an Arab country, Publishing news that harms the Security Apparatus

<b>Serial No</b>	0084
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	4445/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	Ministry of Health
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Ad-Dustour
<b>Issue Number</b>	10048
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing an advertisement for cigarettes and tobacco

<b>Serial No</b>	0086
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	7/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Ad-Dustour
<b>Issue Number</b>	10869
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing an advertisement for a medical product without prior permission from the Ministry of Health

<b>Serial No</b>	0104
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	2518/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Ad-Dustour
<b>Issue Number</b>	11079
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Inaccurate reporting

**Serial No** 0117  
**Lawsuit Number** 3116/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Ad-Dustour  
**Issue Number** 11036  
**Type of Newspaper** Daily  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Inaccurate reporting

**Serial No** 0118  
**Lawsuit Number** 3110/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Ad-Dustour  
**Issue Number** 11099  
**Type of Newspaper** Daily  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Inaccurate reporting

**Serial No** 0119  
**Lawsuit Number** 3104/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Ad-Dustour  
**Issue Number** 11072  
**Type of Newspaper** Daily  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0050
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	6595/96
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1996
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Akhbar Al-Usbou
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	1737
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Infringing on morals and ethics

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0061
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	6196/96
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1996
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Akhbar Al-Usbou
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	1763
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0098
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2720/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Akhbar Al-Usbou
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	18494
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing material contradicting the rules of the courts



**Serial No** 0024  
**Lawsuit Number**  
**Year**  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Ahali  
**Issue Number** 176  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PC 159, PC 163  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing a statement for an illegal party

**Serial No** 0040  
**Lawsuit Number**  
**Year**  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Ahali  
**Issue Number** 196  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40, PC 152  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing inaccurate news on the national currency

**Serial No** 0008  
**Lawsuit Number** 3126/93  
**Year** 1993  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Ahali  
**Issue Number** 140  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing news that harms the Security Apparatus

**Serial No** 0015  
**Lawsuit Number** 3601/93  
**Year** 1993  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Ahali  
**Issue Number** 144  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PC 188, PC 189, PC 191  
**Nature of Charge** Slander and libel of Parliament

**Serial No** 0004  
**Lawsuit Number** 1514/94  
**Year** 1994  
**Name of Plaintiff** Ministry of Interior  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Ahali  
**Issue Number** 136  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing news that harms the Security Apparatus

**Serial No** 0005  
**Lawsuit Number** 2902/94  
**Year** 1994  
**Name of Plaintiff** Ministry of Interior  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Ahali  
**Issue Number** 138  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing news that harms the Security Apparatus

**Serial No** 0019  
**Lawsuit Number** 00/94  
**Year** 1994  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Ahali  
**Issue Number** 174  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PC 159, PC 163  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing a statement for an illegal party

**Serial No** 0025  
**Lawsuit Number** 2582/94  
**Year** 1994  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Ahali  
**Issue Number** 177  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PC 159, PC 163  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing a statement for an illegal party

**Serial No** 0035  
**Lawsuit Number** 3567/94  
**Year** 1994  
**Name of Plaintiff** Ministry of Justice  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Ahali  
**Issue Number** 186  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PC 119, PC 224  
**Nature of Charge** Casting doubts on judicial procedures and court proceedings

<b>Serial No</b>	0006
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	61/96
<b>Year</b>	1996
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ahali
<b>Issue Number</b>	139
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40, PC 150
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Offending the king, Instigating crime

<b>Serial No</b>	0064
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	8797/96
<b>Year</b>	1996
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ahali
<b>Issue Number</b>	177
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Inciting sedition and instigating riots

<b>Serial No</b>	0071
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1788/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ahali
<b>Issue Number</b>	312
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing false news, Inaccurate reporting

<b>Serial No</b>	0100
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1369/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ahali
<b>Issue Number</b>	322
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing news on armed forces and the security authorities without prior permission

<b>Serial No</b>	0121
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3173/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ahali
<b>Issue Number</b>	342
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing material that advocates racism, Publishing news repugnant to freedom, National responsibility and human rights

<b>Serial No</b>	0076
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1992/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	Ministry of Justice
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Arab Al-Youm
<b>Issue Number</b>	37
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Inaccurate reporting

<b>Serial No</b>	0083
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3803/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	Ministry of Religions
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Arab Al-Youm
<b>Issue Number</b>	130
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 8, PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b> are	Publishing materials that entailed contempt of one of the religions whose freedoms secured by the constitution, Publishing news repugnant to freedom, National responsibility and human rights

<b>Serial No</b>	0091
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1160/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Arab Al-Youm
<b>Issue Number</b>	311
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing court cases before a judgment is reached

<b>Serial No</b>	0092
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1169/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Arab Al-Youm
<b>Issue Number</b>	312
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing court cases before a judgment is reached

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0097
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	1250/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Arab Al-Youm
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	329
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Daily
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing material contradicting the rules of the courts

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0122
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	3199/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Arab Al-Youm
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	455
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Daily
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing news repugnant to freedom, National responsibility and human rights, Publishing material that encourages violence, fanaticism and hatred

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0138
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	State Security Court 2002
<b><i>Year</i></b>	2002
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP (14/03/2002)
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Arab Times
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Slandering and inflicting harm on the dignity of the government

<b>Serial No</b>	0010
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3362/93
<b>Year</b>	1993
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ba'ath
<b>Issue Number</b>	17
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Degrading the national flag

<b>Serial No</b>	0014
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3514/93
<b>Year</b>	1993
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ba'ath
<b>Issue Number</b>	21
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 9
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Inaccurate reporting

<b>Serial No</b>	0003
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3433/95
<b>Year</b>	1995
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ba'ath
<b>Issue Number</b>	13
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Infringing on the dignity of people, Insulting the president of an Arab country,
Harming	the national unity



<b>Serial No</b>	0052
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3433/95
<b>Year</b>	1995
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ba'ath
<b>Issue Number</b>	
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country, Degrading the national flag

<b>Serial No</b>	0130
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1456/01
<b>Year</b>	2001
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ba'ath
<b>Issue Number</b>	
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country

<b>Serial No</b>	0131
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1612/01
<b>Year</b>	2001
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Ba'ath
<b>Issue Number</b>	
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country

**Serial No** 0132  
**Lawsuit Number** 541/02  
**Year** 2002  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Badeel  
**Issue Number**  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Published without a license from the DPP

**Serial No** 0021  
**Lawsuit Number**  
**Year**  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Bilaad  
**Issue Number** 81  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PC 159, PC 163  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing a statement for an illegal party

**Serial No** 0036  
**Lawsuit Number**  
**Year**  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Bilaad  
**Issue Number** 96  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40, PC 191  
**Nature of Charge** Inflicting harm on the Jordanian people

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0001
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	1073/93
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1993
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	27
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PC 150
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Instigating crime

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0002
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2738/93
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1993
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	28
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40, PC 150
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Personal insult to the president of Palestine, Instigating crime

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0013
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	3110/93
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1993
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	40
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country, Slander and libel of Parliament

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0011
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	113/94
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1994
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	39
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Article meant to discredit the national currency

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0017
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2103/94
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1994
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	71
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PC 159, PC 163
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0028
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	9910/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	85
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PC 159, PC 163
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0029
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	3175/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	86
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PC 159, PC 163
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0037
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	1046/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	100
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Infringing on general morals

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0045
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	8503/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	117
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0048
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	131/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	Ministry of Justice
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	131
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0049
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	9136/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	135
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PC 191
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Cartoon that inflicts harm on Parliament

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0041
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	9599/96
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1996
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	99
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country

<b>Serial No</b>	0057
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	9378/96
<b>Year</b>	1996
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Bilaad
<b>Issue Number</b>	166
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Infringing on morals and ethics, Inaccurate reporting

<b>Serial No</b>	0063
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	6802/96
<b>Year</b>	1996
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Bilaad
<b>Issue Number</b>	79
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 8, PPL 9, PPL 40, PC 150
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Inciting sedition, Instigating crime, Inaccurate reporting

<b>Serial No</b>	0067
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1786/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Bilaad
<b>Issue Number</b>	219
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing false news, Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0069
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2507/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	222
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing false news, Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0080
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	3153/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	230
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing articles promoting homosexuality

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0081
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	3460/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	232
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40, PC 150
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing news that offended the king and the royal family, Harming national unity, Inaccurate reporting



<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0094
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	798/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	240
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing news that offended the king and the royal family

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0112
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2829/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	259
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing false news

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0115
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	3073/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	263
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing false news, Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0137
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	State Security Court 2002
<b><i>Year</i></b>	2002
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	449
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Slandering and inflicting harm on the dignity of the government

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0140
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	State Security Court 2002
<b><i>Year</i></b>	2002
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Bilaad
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	470
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	In breach of article 5/7 of publications

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0125
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	
<b><i>Year</i></b>	
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Hadath
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	142
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing material offensive to public institutions

<b>Serial No</b>	0068
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1790/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Hadath
<b>Issue Number</b>	99
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing false news, Inaccurate reporting

<b>Serial No</b>	0079
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3154/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Hadath
<b>Issue Number</b>	106
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 8
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing material that contradicts the principles of freedom and national responsibility which harms individuals and their liberties

<b>Serial No</b>	0093
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1162/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Hadath
<b>Issue Number</b>	121
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Slander and libel

<b>Serial No</b>	0123
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3193/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Hadath
<b>Issue Number</b>	140
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Inaccurate reporting

<b>Serial No</b>	0053
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3507/96
<b>Year</b>	1996
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Haqqah
<b>Issue Number</b>	6
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Infringing on morals and ethics, Inaccurate reporting

<b>Serial No</b>	0054
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	4908/96
<b>Year</b>	1996
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Haqqah
<b>Issue Number</b>	7
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Infringing on morals and ethics, Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0056
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	5299/96
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1996
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Haqqah
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	8
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Infringing on morals and ethics, Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0058
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	5311/96
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1996
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Haqqah
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	10
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Slander and libel

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0060
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2242/96
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1996
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Haqqah
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	11
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Inaccurate reporting, Infringing on morals and ethics

<b>Serial No</b>	0062
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	8243/96
<b>Year</b>	1996
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Haqqah
<b>Issue Number</b>	13
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Offending the dignity of people, Infringing on morals and ethics

<b>Serial No</b>	0142
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	State Security Court 2003
<b>Year</b>	2003
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Hilal
<b>Issue Number</b>	111
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Slandering and inflicting harm on the dignity of the government

<b>Serial No</b>	0047
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3726/95
<b>Year</b>	1995
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Hiwar
<b>Issue Number</b>	4
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40, PC 159, PC 163, PC 195
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Lese-majesty, Publishing a statement for an illegal party

**Serial No** 0134  
**Lawsuit Number**  
**Year**  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Jazeera  
**Issue Number** 38  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing false news, Harming the reputation of people

**Serial No** 0139  
**Lawsuit Number** State Security Court 2002  
**Year** 2002  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Jazeera  
**Issue Number** 1272  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Inciting sectarianism and harming the Bedouins

**Serial No** 0120  
**Lawsuit Number** 3166/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Liwa  
**Issue Number** 1317  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Inaccurate reporting, Harming national unity

<b>Serial No</b>	0124
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	
<b>Year</b>	
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Majd
<b>Issue Number</b>	219
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing material that encourages violence, fanaticism and hatred

<b>Serial No</b>	0020
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	4213/94
<b>Year</b>	1994
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Majd
<b>Issue Number</b>	15
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PC 159, PC 163, PC 188, PC 191
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party, Slandering and inflicting harm on the dignity of the government

<b>Serial No</b>	0023
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1346/94
<b>Year</b>	1994
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Majd
<b>Issue Number</b>	16
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PC 159, PC 163
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party



<b>Serial No</b>	0026
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	5364/95
<b>Year</b>	1995
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Majd
<b>Issue Number</b>	18
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PC 150
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Instigating crime

<b>Serial No</b>	0042
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3753/95
<b>Year</b>	1995
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Majd
<b>Issue Number</b>	46
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country

<b>Serial No</b>	0043
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3064/95
<b>Year</b>	1995
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Majd
<b>Issue Number</b>	50
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0044
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	617/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Majd
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	45
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40, PC 188
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Inaccurate reporting, Insulting the president of an Arab country

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0065
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	1752/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Majd
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	160
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing news that harms the Security Apparatus

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0074
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2188/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Majd
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	169
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing materials that entailed contempt of one of the religions whose freedoms are secured by the constitution

**Serial No** 0089  
**Lawsuit Number** 1376/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Majd  
**Issue Number** 186  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing false news

**Serial No** 0090  
**Lawsuit Number** 1450/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Majd  
**Issue Number** 199  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing news that harms the Security Apparatus

**Serial No** 0114  
**Lawsuit Number** 3042/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Majd  
**Issue Number** 217  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Undermining national unity, Instigating crime

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0126
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	361/99
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1999
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Majd
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	241
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing material related to the armed forces

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0127
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	36/99
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1999
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Majd
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	243
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing news that offended the king and the royal family, Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0070
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2517/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Mithaq
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	12
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Harming the reputation of people

<b>Serial No</b>	0077
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	2018/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	Ministry of Water & Irrigation
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Mithaq
<b>Issue Number</b>	11
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Harming national unity, Instigating crime, Publishing false news

<b>Serial No</b>	0082
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3462/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Mithaq
<b>Issue Number</b>	19
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40, PC 150
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing news that offended the king and the royal family, Harming national unity, Inaccurate reporting

<b>Serial No</b>	0095
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1276/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Al-Mithaq
<b>Issue Number</b>	25
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0107
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2783/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Mithaq
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	35
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Harming the relations between friendly states, Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0110
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2753/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Mithaq
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	38
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0111
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2787/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Mithaq
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	39
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing false news, Inaccurate reporting

**Serial No** 0018  
**Lawsuit Number** 2433/94  
**Year** 1994  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Mustaqbal  
**Issue Number** 71  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PC 159, PC 163  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing a statement for an illegal party

**Serial No** 0087  
**Lawsuit Number** 4444/97  
**Year** 1997  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Quds  
**Issue Number**  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing incorrect news outside the kingdom

**Serial No** 0101  
**Lawsuit Number** 1478/98  
**Year** 1998  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Quds  
**Issue Number**  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing false news

**Serial No** 0136  
**Lawsuit Number**  
**Year**  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Shaahid  
**Issue Number**  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** National responsibility and human rights, Inaccurate reporting, Publishing news repugnant to freedom

**Serial No** 0133  
**Lawsuit Number** 542/02  
**Year** 2002  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Shaahid  
**Issue Number**  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Inaccurate reporting

**Serial No** 0135  
**Lawsuit Number** 2257/02  
**Year** 2002  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Al-Shaahid  
**Issue Number**  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** National responsibility and human rights, Inaccurate reporting, Publishing news repugnant to freedom



<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0141
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	State Security Court 2003
<b><i>Year</i></b>	2003
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Shaahid
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	143
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Offending the armed forces and the Jordanian Radio and TV Corporation

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0051
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	1545/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	Al-Aqaba Authority
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Urdun
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	16
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Inaccurate reporting, Slander and libel

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0078
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	3091/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Al-Urdun
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	97
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Insulting the president of an Arab country, Degrading the national flag

<b>Serial No</b>	0034
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3665/94
<b>Year</b>	1994
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Ar-Raee
<b>Issue Number</b>	8823
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	PC 159, PC 163
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party

<b>Serial No</b>	0088
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1253/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Ar-Raee
<b>Issue Number</b>	10030
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing an advertisement for a medical product without prior permission from the Ministry of Health

<b>Serial No</b>	0032
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	
<b>Year</b>	
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	Governor of the Capital
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Ar-Raee / Ad-Dustour
<b>Issue Number</b>	8816 / 9747
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily / Daily
<b>Violation</b>	PC 159, PC 163
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0016
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	619/94
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1994
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Ar-Raseef
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	2
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PC 189, PC 191
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Harming the Ministry of Supply and its employees

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0030
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	2633/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Ar-Raseef
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	9
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing a painting and a comment that harmed the armed forces

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0022
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	4524/94
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1994
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	As-Sabeel
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	39
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PC 159, PC 163
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0072
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	1789/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	As-Sabeel
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	181
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing false news, Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0128
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	441/00
<b><i>Year</i></b>	2000
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	As-Sabeel
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	318
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing false news

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0129
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	1699/00
<b><i>Year</i></b>	2000
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	As-Sabeel
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	324
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing false news

<b>Serial No</b>	0075
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	
<b>Year</b>	
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	Chief Justice
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	As-Sayyad
<b>Issue Number</b>	62
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing the minutes of the closed sessions of Parliament, Publishing false news

<b>Serial No</b>	0038
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	4317/94
<b>Year</b>	1994
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Hawadeth As-Sa'ah
<b>Issue Number</b>	21
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing news that infringes on morals

<b>Serial No</b>	0007
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1578/94
<b>Year</b>	1994
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Jordan Times, The
<b>Issue Number</b>	5432
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40, PC 225
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing court procedures, Publishing news that harms the Security Apparatus

<b>Serial No</b>	0073
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	2184/97
<b>Year</b>	1997
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Jordan Times, The
<b>Issue Number</b>	6566
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	PPL 40
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing government documents of secret nature

<b>Serial No</b>	0099
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	1251/98
<b>Year</b>	1998
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Jordan Times, The
<b>Issue Number</b>	6807
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Daily
<b>Violation</b>	
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing material contradicting the rules of the courts

<b>Serial No</b>	0033
<b>Lawsuit Number</b>	3664/94
<b>Year</b>	1994
<b>Name of Plaintiff</b>	DPP
<b>Name of Defendant</b>	Majalat Al-Ufuq
<b>Issue Number</b>	124
<b>Type of Newspaper</b>	Weekly
<b>Violation</b>	PC 159, PC 163
<b>Nature of Charge</b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party

**Serial No** 0027  
**Lawsuit Number** 2905/94  
**Year** 1994  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Majalat Nida Al-Watan  
**Issue Number** 48  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PC 159, PC 163  
**Nature of Charge** Publishing a statement for an illegal party

**Serial No** 0106  
**Lawsuit Number**  
**Year**  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Sawt Al-Mara  
**Issue Number** 157  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation**  
**Nature of Charge** Inaccurate reporting

**Serial No** 0046  
**Lawsuit Number** 4107/95  
**Year** 1995  
**Name of Plaintiff** DPP  
**Name of Defendant** Sawt Al-Mara  
**Issue Number** 54  
**Type of Newspaper** Weekly  
**Violation** PPL 40  
**Nature of Charge** Insulting the president of an Arab country

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0055
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	5183/96
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1996
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Sawt Al-Mara
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	84
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Infringing on morals and ethics, Inaccurate reporting

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0059
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	5938/96
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1996
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Sawt Al-Mara
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	86
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Harming the society, Infringing on morals and ethics

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0031
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	3556/94
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1994
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Shihan
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	520
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PC 159, PC 163
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing a statement for an illegal party



<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0012
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	6957/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Shihan
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	529
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40, PC 150
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Infringing on general morals, Instigating crime

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0039
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	1667/95
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1995
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Shihan
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	529
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing news that infringes on morals

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0085
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	3082/97
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1997
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Shihan
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	666
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PC 188, PC 189
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	In breach of articles 188 and 189 of the Penal Code

<b><i>Serial No</i></b>	0096
<b><i>Lawsuit Number</i></b>	946/98
<b><i>Year</i></b>	1998
<b><i>Name of Plaintiff</i></b>	DPP
<b><i>Name of Defendant</i></b>	Shihan / Al-Arab Al-Youm
<b><i>Issue Number</i></b>	689 / 289
<b><i>Type of Newspaper</i></b>	Weekly / Daily
<b><i>Violation</i></b>	PPL 40
<b><i>Nature of Charge</i></b>	Publishing an advertisement for cigarettes and tobacco

***Appendix 3: Newspapers & other press publications from  
1920 until present date***

<b>ID No</b>	0026
<b>Arabic Title</b>	عبد ربه
<b>English Title</b>	Abed Rabbah
<b>Meaning</b>	Slave of God
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	1996
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Jordan's first satirical weekly. Linked to Al-'Arab Al-Youm and Shihan. Announced its closure after the adoption of the May 1997 PPL.

<b>ID No</b>	0104
<b>Arabic Title</b>	افكار
<b>English Title</b>	Afkaar
<b>Meaning</b>	Ideas
<b>Established By</b>	The Department of Culture & Arts
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1966
<b>Publisher</b>	The Department of Culture & Arts
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Literary publication. Still published regularly.

**ID No** 0127

**Arabic Title** اجنحة

**English Title** Ajnihhah

**Meaning** Wings

**Established By** The Royal Jordanian Aviation Club

**Establishment In** Amman

**Year Established** 1966

**Publisher** The Royal Jordanian Aviation Club

**Type** Magazine

**Direction** Professional

**Current Status** Closed Down

**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Concerned with civil aviation issues. Stopped publishing December 1966, then reappeared under the new title 'The Royal Jordanian'.

**ID No** 0023

**Arabic Title** اخبار الاسبوع

**English Title** Akhbar Al-Usbou

**Meaning** News of the Week

**Established By** Abdul-Hafeedh Muhammad

**Establishment In** Amman

**Year Established** 1959

**Publisher** Abdul-Hafeedh Muhammad

**Type** Newspaper

**Direction** Privately Owned

**Current Status** Closed Down

**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Political publication. No accurate data exists about suspension dates, closure dates or the number of issues published. There is information, however, stating that it was re-licensed on December 1963 and bought in 1990 by 'Eesa Ar-Raymuni.

<b>ID No</b>	0094
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الخبير اليوم
<b>English Title</b>	Akhbar Al-Youm
<b>Meaning</b>	Today's News
<b>Established By</b>	'Arafat Hijazi & Muhsin Sa'eed Ishkantana
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1962
<b>Publisher</b>	'Arafat Hijazi & Mohsin Sa'eed Ishkantana
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. Stopped publishing in 1964. Jum'a Hammad became one of the owners/directors in 1963.

<b>ID No</b>	0080
<b>Arabic Title</b>	آخر خبر
<b>English Title</b>	Akhir Khabr
<b>Meaning</b>	The Last News
<b>Established By</b>	Ibraheem Sakijjha
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1950
<b>Publisher</b>	Ibraheem Sakijjha
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. This magazine did not last long. No accurate data exists as to the number of issues published or date it was closed down.

**ID No** 0009

**Arabic Title** الامالي

**English Title** Al-Ahali

**Meaning** The People

**Established By**

**Establishment In**

**Year Established** 1990

**Publisher**

**Type**

**Direction** Partisan

**Current Status**

**Chief Editor**

**Comments**

**ID No** 0048

**Arabic Title** العهد

**English Title** Al-'Ahd

**Meaning** The Pledge

**Established By** Sulayman An-Nabils

**Establishment In** Amman

**Year Established** 1947

**Publisher** Sulayman An-Nabils

**Type** Newspaper

**Direction** Privately Owned

**Current Status** Closed Down

**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Political publication. Closed down in 1948.

**ID No** 0051  
**Arabic Title** العهد  
**English Title** Al-'Ahed  
**Meaning** The Pledge  
**Established By**  
**Establishment In**  
**Year Established** 1993  
**Publisher**  
**Type**  
**Direction**  
**Current Status**  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

**ID No** 0087  
**Arabic Title** العهد الجديد  
**English Title** Al-'Ahed Al-Jadeed  
**Meaning** The New Covenant  
**Established By** Jamal Al-Hassan  
**Establishment In** Amman  
**Year Established** 1954  
**Publisher** Jamal Al-Hassan  
**Type** Newspaper  
**Direction** Privately Owned  
**Current Status** Closed Down  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments** Political, literary and social publication. Suspended by government order for six months starting from 16 August, 1954. The suspension was then renewed for another six months. The total number of issues published was 18. Closed down according to the publication law of 1955.



**ID No** 0144  
**Arabic Title** الاخبار  
**English Title** Al-Akhbar

**Meaning**

**Established By**

**Establishment In**

**Year Established**

**Publisher**

**Type**

**Direction**

**Current Status**

**Chief Editor**

**Comments**

**ID No** 0081

**Arabic Title** الاخبار

**English Title** Al-Akhbar

**Meaning** The News

**Established By** Akram Al-Khalidi & Zuhdi As-Saqqa

**Establishment In** Amman

**Year Established** 1950

**Publisher** Akram Al-Khalidi & Zuhdi As-Saqqa

**Type** Newspaper

**Direction** Privately Owned

**Current Status** Closed Down

**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Political and literary publication. Closed down six months after the first issue.

**ID No** 0050  
**Arabic Title** العمل الإسلامي  
**English Title** Al-'Amal Al-Islami  
**Meaning** Islamic Work  
**Established By**  
**Establishment In**  
**Year Established**  
**Publisher**  
**Type**  
**Direction**  
**Current Status**  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

**ID No** 0072  
**Arabic Title** الانباء  
**English Title** Al-Anbaa  
**Meaning** The Tidings  
**Established By** Mustafa Wahbi Al-Tael  
**Establishment In** Amman  
**Year Established** 1928  
**Publisher** Mustafa Wahbi Al-Tael  
**Type** Newspaper  
**Direction** Privately Owned  
**Current Status** Closed Down  
**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Supposed to be a weekly political publication, but the contents of the first issue were ceased before the second page was even published! Such drastic action was taken so soon due to the very critical views of the publisher/editor who was a well-known anti-British poet nicknamed 'Arar.

<b>ID No</b>	0121
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الأقصى
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Aqsa
<b>Meaning</b>	The Mosque of Al-Aqsa
<b>Established By</b>	The Jordanian Army
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1969
<b>Publisher</b>	The Jordanian Army
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Military publication. Started as a weekly newspaper, but changed to a weekly magazine in 1977.

<b>ID No</b>	0030
<b>Arabic Title</b>	العرب اليوم
<b>English Title</b>	Al-'Arab Al-Youm
<b>Meaning</b>	The Arabs Today
<b>Established By</b>	Dr. Riyadh Al-Hurub and others
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1997
<b>Publisher</b>	Al-Daar Al-Wataneeyah Press
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	At the beginnning it was owned mainly by Dr. Riyadh Al-Hurub then ownership was passed to Dr. Rajayi Al-Mu'ashar. Its chief editors were Taher Al-'Udwaan and Azzam Younis.

<b>ID No</b>	0036
<b>Arabic Title</b>	العرب تايمز
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Arab Times
<b>Meaning</b>	The Arab Times
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0066
<b>Arabic Title</b>	العصر الجديد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-'Asr Al-Jadeed
<b>Meaning</b>	The New Age
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Partisan
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0049
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الاسواق
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Aswaaq
<b>Meaning</b>	The Markets
<b>Established By</b>	Mustafa Abu Lubdah
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1993
<b>Publisher</b>	Mustafa Abu Lubdah
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	First established as a business weekly but turned into a political-economic daily six months later.

<b>ID No</b>	0085
<b>Arabic Title</b>	العودة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-'Awdah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Return
<b>Established By</b>	Mustafa At-Tahrir
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1952
<b>Publisher</b>	Mustafa At-Tahir
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political, cultural and economical publication. This newspaper was suspended because of the arrest of its owner. It stopped publishing in May 1956. Its name reflected its concern, which was the return of the Palestinian refugees to their occupied homeland, therefore one could imagine the difficulties under which it functioned.

<b>ID No</b>	0008
<b>Arabic Title</b>	البعث
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Ba'ath
<b>Meaning</b>	The Resurrection
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0033
<b>Arabic Title</b>	البديل
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Badeel
<b>Meaning</b>	The Alternative
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0007
<b>Arabic Title</b>	البلاد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Bilaad
<b>Meaning</b>	The Homeland
<b>Established By</b>	Naayif Al-Tura
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1992
<b>Publisher</b>	Al-Bilaad Publishing House
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	One of the most successful weekly newspapers. Tabloid publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0105
<b>Arabic Title</b>	البناء الاقتصادي
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Binaa Al-Iqtisawdee
<b>Meaning</b>	The Economic Construction
<b>Established By</b>	Fathi Sultan
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1965
<b>Publisher</b>	Fathi Sultan
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Economic publication. Closed down in June 1965.

<b>ID No</b>	0044
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الدفاع
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Deefa'
<b>Meaning</b>	The Defence
<b>Established By</b>	Mamdouh Al-Qutb
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1949
<b>Publisher</b>	Mamdouh Al-Qutb
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. Only 43 issues were published in Amman before it was stopped.

<b>ID No</b>	0010
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الديار
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Diyar
<b>Meaning</b>	The Homeland
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	



<b>ID No</b>	0018
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الدستور
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Dustour
<b>Meaning</b>	The Constitution
<b>Established By</b>	Jordan Press and Publishing Co.
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1967
<b>Publisher</b>	Jordan Press and Publishing Co.
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Semi-Private
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	The second leading daily newspaper in Jordan. The government holds 35% of shares in the publication. Suspended several times in the pre-democracy era for different reasons. Its circulation ranged between 75,000 to 80,000 in 1992 and over 100,000 by the year 2000.
<b>ID No</b>	0125
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الفيصلي
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Faisali
<b>Meaning</b>	Relating to Prince Faisal
<b>Established By</b>	The Al-Faisali Sports Club
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1953
<b>Publisher</b>	The Al-Faisali Sports Club
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Sports publication. Published 3 issues before it stopped in October 1953.

<b>ID No</b>	0065
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الفجر الجديد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Fajr Al-Jadeed
<b>Meaning</b>	The New Dawn
<b>Established By</b>	Hassan Mas'ud An-Nabils
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1951
<b>Publisher</b>	Hassan Mas'ud An-Nabils
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Socio-political publication. The second issue of this newspaper was published in 1953. It was not published regularly. It ceased to publish in 1953 by an order from the inspector of publications.

<b>ID No</b>	0122
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الفن
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Fann
<b>Meaning</b>	The Art
<b>Established By</b>	Zuhaer Al-'Aalim
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1954
<b>Publisher</b>	Zuhaer Al-'Aalim
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Artistic, literary and social publication. It covered news related to the cinema and artists. Its first issue appeared on 1 May, 1954. Its owner decided to stop its publication on 17 July, 1954. It closed down after 5 only issues.

<b>ID No</b>	0101
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الفكر
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Fikr
<b>Meaning</b>	The Intellect
<b>Established By</b>	Kamal Sam'an
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1950
<b>Publisher</b>	Kamal Sam'an
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Literary publication. Stopped publishing on May 1951 after publishing 24 issues.

<b>ID No</b>	0038
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الهدف
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Hadaf
<b>Meaning</b>	The Objective
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	1995
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

**ID No** 0027  
**Arabic Title** الحدث  
**English Title** Al-Hadath  
**Meaning** The Event  
**Established By**  
**Establishment In**  
**Year Established** 1995  
**Publisher**  
**Type**  
**Direction**  
**Current Status**  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

**ID No** 0069  
**Arabic Title** الحمامة  
**English Title** Al-Hamamah  
**Meaning** The Pigeon  
**Established By** Muhammad Subhi Abu-Ghaneemah  
**Establishment In** Berlin  
**Year Established** 1923  
**Publisher** Muhammad Subhi Abu-Ghaneemah  
**Type** Magazine  
**Direction** Privately Owned  
**Current Status** Closed Down  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments** Scientific and literary magazine. This magazine was issued by the publisher during his study in Germany and the second issue was published in 1924.

<b>ID No</b>	0047
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الحق
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Haq
<b>Meaning</b>	The Right
<b>Established By</b>	Sa'ad Jum'a
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1947
<b>Publisher</b>	Sa'ad Jum'a
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. It was against the Jordanian-British agreement and worked hard to amend the constitution and to establish democratic rule. It published in four pages and was considered as a critical and serious publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0025
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الحقيقة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Haqiqah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Truth
<b>Established By</b>	Naael Salaah
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1996
<b>Publisher</b>	Naael Salaah
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Social and political publication. One of the most successful weekly newspapers. Tabloid publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0001
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الحق يعلو
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Haqqu Ya'lo
<b>Meaning</b>	Right is Superior
<b>Established By</b>	Khalil Nasser
<b>Establishment In</b>	Ma'an
<b>Year Established</b>	1920
<b>Publisher</b>	Prince Abdullah
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political and literary publication. The first Jordanian newspaper. Published 4 issues in Ma'an and then it moved to Amman in 1921 and published 2 issues before it closed down in 1921. It was designed to reflect the views and ideologies of Prince Abdullah.
<b>ID No</b>	0084
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الحوادث
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Hawadeth
<b>Meaning</b>	The Events
<b>Established By</b>	Misalam Biseesu
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1951
<b>Publisher</b>	Misalam Biseesu
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. The general director of publications decided to stop the newspaper for six months in December 1954. The newspaper did not publish after that date.

<b>ID No</b>	0061
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الحياة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Hayat
<b>Meaning</b>	Life
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	1996
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Tabloid publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0037
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الهلال
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Hilal
<b>Meaning</b>	The Crescent
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

**ID No** 0022  
**Arabic Title** الحوار  
**English Title** Al-Hiwar  
**Meaning** The Dialogue  
**Established By**  
**Establishment In**  
**Year Established** 1995  
**Publisher**  
**Type**  
**Direction** Privately Owned  
**Current Status** Closed Down  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

**ID No** 0075  
**Arabic Title** الحرية  
**English Title** Al-Huriyyah  
**Meaning** Freedom  
**Established By** Abdul-Razaq Khalifah  
**Establishment In** Amman  
**Year Established** 1948  
**Publisher** Abdul-Razaq Khalifah  
**Type** Newspaper  
**Direction** Privately Owned  
**Current Status** Closed Down  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments** Patriotic publication.



<b>ID No</b>	0004
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الاستقلال العربي
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Isteqlal Al-Arabie
<b>Meaning</b>	The Arab Independence
<b>Established By</b>	Jawdat Shashaah
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1932
<b>Publisher</b>	Jawdat Shashaah
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0041
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الاتجاه
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Itijah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Direction
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0089
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الجبهة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Jabhah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Frontline
<b>Established By</b>	Abdul-Rahman Shuqayr
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1954
<b>Publisher</b>	Abdul-Rahman Shuqayr
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Partisan
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political, literary, social and economical publication. Closed down in 1955, then re-licensed under a new owner, Hassan An-Nablisi, in May 1957. Although this paper was privately owned, it represented the Communist party.

<b>ID No</b>	0040
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الجمهير
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Jamaheer
<b>Meaning</b>	The Masses
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	1993
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Partisan
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0091
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الجماهير
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Jamaheer
<b>Meaning</b>	The Masses
<b>Established By</b>	Bashir Al-Barghuthi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1957
<b>Publisher</b>	Bashir Al-Barghuthi
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political, literary, social, cultural and economic publication. Lasted from 25 January, 1957 until its license was revoked on 4 May, 1957.

<b>ID No</b>	0077
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الجامعة الإسلامية
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Jami'ah Al-Islamiyah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Islamic University
<b>Established By</b>	Haydar Al-Taajji Al-Farooqi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1949
<b>Publisher</b>	Haydar Al-Taajji Al-Farooqi
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. Started to publish in Jafa, Palestine since 1932. It was one of the biggest newspapers in Palestine in terms of distribution.

<b>ID No</b>	0118
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الجيش العربي
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Jaysh Al-'Arabie
<b>Meaning</b>	The Arab Army
<b>Established By</b>	The Jordanian Army
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1940
<b>Publisher</b>	The Jordanian Army
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Military publication. Closed down in 1949. It was published until it was replaced by Al-Wathbah.

<b>ID No</b>	0035
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الجزيرة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Jazeera
<b>Meaning</b>	The Peninsula
<b>Established By</b>	Tayseer Dhibyan
<b>Establishment In</b>	Damascus
<b>Year Established</b>	1939
<b>Publisher</b>	Tayseer Dhibyan
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political and literary publication. This newspaper moved to Amman in October 1939. It started under the name Al-Jazeera Al-'Arabia until issue 994 in August 1940. It stopped publishing in 1954 after it had published 2293 issues.

**ID No** 0052

**Arabic Title** الجزيرة

**English Title** Al-Jazeera

**Meaning** The Peninsula

**Established By**

**Establishment In**

**Year Established**

**Publisher**

**Type**

**Direction**

**Current Status** Still Published

**Chief Editor**

**Comments**

**ID No** 0045

**Arabic Title** الجهاد

**English Title** Al-Jihad

**Meaning** The Struggle

**Established By** Ghazi Khayr

**Establishment In** Amman

**Year Established** 1947

**Publisher** Ghazi Khayr

**Type** Newspaper

**Direction** Privately Owned

**Current Status** Closed Down

**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Political publication. Lasted less than a year. Stopped publishing in 1947. It had three different editors during this short period. The first editor was Ghazi Khayr, then Hani Khayr and the last was Nadhmi Abdul-Hadi.

<b>ID No</b>	0114
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الكفاح الإسلامي
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Kifah Al-Islami
<b>Meaning</b>	The Islamic Struggle
<b>Established By</b>	Muhammad Khalifah
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1954
<b>Publisher</b>	Muhammad Khalifah
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Partisan
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Religious publication. It represented the views of the Muslim Brotherhood political party. It faced suspension for six months in August 1954 and was later closed down by the government in 1955.
<b>ID No</b>	0032
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الليواء
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Liwa
<b>Meaning</b>	
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	1973
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Islamist publication. Year of establishment is unclear; some sources stated it was 1972, some 1973 and others 1974.

<b>ID No</b>	0120
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المجلة العسكرية
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Majalah Al-'Askariyah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Military Magazine
<b>Established By</b>	The Jordanian Army
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1955
<b>Publisher</b>	The Jordanian Army
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Military publication. Closed down in 1968. Was replaced by another military magazine called Al-Aqsa in 1969 .

<b>ID No</b>	0138
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المجلة القضائية
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Majalah Al-Qadhaeeyah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Judiciary Magazine
<b>Established By</b>	The Ministry of Justice
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1935
<b>Publisher</b>	The Ministry of Justice
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Legal publication. Closed down in 1936 after 13 issues.

<b>ID No</b>	0136
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المجلة الطبية الاردنية
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Majalah Al-Tubiyah Al-Urduniyah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Jordanian Medical Magazine
<b>Established By</b>	Wasif Kan'an
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1954
<b>Publisher</b>	Wasif Kan'an
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Medical publication. Started off publishing every two months.

<b>ID No</b>	0014
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المجد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Majd
<b>Meaning</b>	Honour
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	1994
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	



<b>ID No</b>	0130
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المجموعة الثانوية
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Majmu'a Al-Thanawiyah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Secondary School Group
<b>Established By</b>	Amman Secondary School
<b>Establishment In</b>	As-Salt
<b>Year Established</b>	1937
<b>Publisher</b>	Amman Secondary School
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	School publication. Covered social and cultural matters.

<b>ID No</b>	0133
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المنهل
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Manhal
<b>Meaning</b>	The Source
<b>Established By</b>	Islamic & Scientific College
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1948
<b>Publisher</b>	Islamic & Scientific College
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	School publication. Concerned with Islamic, social and educational subjects.

**ID No** 0057  
**Arabic Title** المشرق  
**English Title** Al-Mashriq  
**Meaning** The East  
**Established By**  
**Establishment In**  
**Year Established** 1995  
**Publisher**  
**Type**  
**Direction**  
**Current Status**  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

**ID No** 0064  
**Arabic Title** المسيرة  
**English Title** Al-Masirah  
**Meaning** The March  
**Established By**  
**Establishment In**  
**Year Established**  
**Publisher**  
**Type**  
**Direction** Partisan  
**Current Status**  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

**ID No** 0039  
**Arabic Title** المحور  
**English Title** Al-Mihwar  
**Meaning** The Dimension  
**Established By**  
**Establishment In**  
**Year Established**  
**Publisher**  
**Type**  
**Direction**  
**Current Status**  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

**ID No** 0028  
**Arabic Title** الميثاق  
**English Title** Al-Mithaq  
**Meaning** The Covenant  
**Established By** Shafeeq Arshaydat  
**Establishment In** Amman  
**Year Established** 1949  
**Publisher** Shafeeq Arshaydat  
**Type** Newspaper  
**Direction** Partisan  
**Current Status** Closed Down  
**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Political, literary and social publication. Closed down in 1951, then reappeared in 1955 under new ownership and a new editor. In its last days, in the year 1957, it was edited by Na'eem 'Awda Al-Uqsus. Its license was revoked in April 1957.

<b>ID No</b>	0070
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الميثاق
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Mithaq
<b>Meaning</b>	The Covenant
<b>Established By</b>	Adel Al-'Adhamah & Subhi Abu-Ghaneemah
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1933
<b>Publisher</b>	Adel Al-'Adhamah & Subhi Abu-Ghaneemah
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. This magazine did not last long due to its treatment of political subjects. It was forced to stop. It represented the views of the Jordanian National Conference Executive Committee.

<b>ID No</b>	0111
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المجتمع
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Mujtama'
<b>Meaning</b>	The Society
<b>Established By</b>	The Ministry of Social Affairs
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1958
<b>Publisher</b>	The Ministry of Social Affairs
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Social publication.

**ID No** 0013  
**Arabic Title** المستقبل  
**English Title** Al-Mustaqbal  
**Meaning** The Future  
**Established By**  
**Establishment In**  
**Year Established**  
**Publisher**  
**Type**  
**Direction**  
**Current Status**  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

**ID No** 0067  
**Arabic Title** النهضة  
**English Title** Al-Nahdah  
**Meaning** The Progression  
**Established By** Isma'il Al-Balbisi  
**Establishment In** Amman  
**Year Established** 1949  
**Publisher** Isma'il Al-Balbisi  
**Type** Newspaper  
**Direction** Partisan  
**Current Status** Closed Down  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

Political publication. The owner/editor of the newspaper was the leader of a political party. The paper was edited in the last two years by Akram Al-Khalldi, then followed by Mu'tasim Al-Balbisi. Closed down in 1950.

<b>ID No</b>	0058
<b>Arabic Title</b>	النداء
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Nidaa
<b>Meaning</b>	The Call
<b>Established By</b>	Hizb Al-Watan Party
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1995
<b>Publisher</b>	Hizb Al-Watan Party
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Its mission was to liberate Jordanians as the only way towards liberating the country.

<b>ID No</b>	0088
<b>Arabic Title</b>	النضال
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Nidhal
<b>Meaning</b>	The Struggle
<b>Established By</b>	Ahmed Al-Tarawneh
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1954
<b>Publisher</b>	Ahmed Al-Tarawneh
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. It represented in its political views a group of men in the field of Jordanian politics. The newspaper published 4 issues before it was forced to stop.

<b>ID No</b>	0046
<b>Arabic Title</b>	النسر
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Nlsir
<b>Meaning</b>	The Eagle
<b>Established By</b>	Muneer Al-Madhi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1947
<b>Publisher</b>	Muneer Al-Madhi
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	This political newspaper started as a weekly, then became daily. Closed down in 1950.

<b>ID No</b>	0135
<b>Arabic Title</b>	القلم
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Qalam
<b>Meaning</b>	The Pen
<b>Established By</b>	Amman Teacher's College
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1956
<b>Publisher</b>	Amman Teacher's College
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	School publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0102
<b>Arabic Title</b>	القلم الجديد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Qalam Al-Jadeed
<b>Meaning</b>	The New Pen
<b>Established By</b>	Eesa An-Na'uri
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1952
<b>Publisher</b>	Eesa An-Na'uri
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Literary publication. Closed down in 1953 after publishing 12 issues. This magazine is considered the first advanced magazine in the history of Jordan in the area of literature due to the standard of editing and contributions published on its pages.

<b>ID No</b>	0031
<b>Arabic Title</b>	القدس
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Quds
<b>Meaning</b>	Jerusalem
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	



<b>ID No</b>	0115
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الراية
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Raayah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Banner
<b>Established By</b>	Muneer Shuqayr
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1954
<b>Publisher</b>	Muneer Shuqayr
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Partisan
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Religious publication. It represented the views of the Hizb At-Tahreer political party. Stopped publishing in October 1954 after the first 13 issues.

<b>ID No</b>	0074
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الرائد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Raayid
<b>Meaning</b>	The Pioneer
<b>Established By</b>	Ameen Abu-Al-Sha'ar
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1945
<b>Publisher</b>	Ameen Abu-Al-Sha'ar
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political, literary and social publication. Started as an independent paper, then became the mouth-piece of the Jordan People's Party. Published 32 issues and stopped publishing in July 1947.

<b>ID No</b>	0103
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الرابطة الفكرية
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Rabitah Al-Fikriyah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Intellectual Connection
<b>Established By</b>	The Intellectual Connection Association
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1955
<b>Publisher</b>	The Intellectual Connection Association
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Literary publication. Closed down after four issues.

<b>ID No</b>	0097
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الرأي
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Rai
<b>Meaning</b>	The Opinion
<b>Established By</b>	Muhammad Al-Khateeb
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1965
<b>Publisher</b>	Muhammad Al-Khateeb
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Closed down in 1967 due to the press publication law of 1967 which required high capital for the issuing of a new license.

<b>ID No</b>	0017
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الرأي
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Rai
<b>Meaning</b>	The Opinion
<b>Established By</b>	The Jordanian Press Institution
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1971
<b>Publisher</b>	Al-Rai Publishing Company
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Semi-Private
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	The leading daily newspaper in Jordan. The government holds 60% of shares in the publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0086
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الرأي
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Rai
<b>Meaning</b>	The Opinion
<b>Established By</b>	Ahmed Tawalbeh
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1953
<b>Publisher</b>	Ahmed Tawalbeh
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political, literary and economical publication. Closed down in 1955. The government ordered the suspension of this newspaper for six months from 16 August, 1954. The government also ordered an extension to the suspension period from 16 February 1955. The newspaper was closed down according to the publications law of 1955.

<b>ID No</b>	0095
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الراقب
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Raqeeb
<b>Meaning</b>	The Observer
<b>Established By</b>	Milhim At-Tel
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1963
<b>Publisher</b>	Milhim At-Tel
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. Closed down in December 1964. Its ownership was transferred to Jaber At-Tel in 1963.

<b>ID No</b>	0012
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الرصيف
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Raseef
<b>Meaning</b>	The Pathway
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0132
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الرابطة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Rawbitah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Connection
<b>Established By</b>	Amman Secondary School
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1944
<b>Publisher</b>	Amman Secondary School
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	School publication. Closed down in 1946.

<b>ID No</b>	0063
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الرباط
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Ribat
<b>Meaning</b>	The Steadfast
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	Greece
<b>Year Established</b>	1993
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Closed down when the 1993 law came into force.

<b>ID No</b>	0143
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الصباح
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Sabah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Morning
<b>Established By</b>	'Arafaat Hijaazi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1971
<b>Publisher</b>	'Arafaat Hijaazi
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Was forced to close down for breaching press laws in the final months of 1973 and the early months of 1974. Began publishing again on 1 April 1974.

<b>ID No</b>	0015
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المسبيل
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Sabeel
<b>Meaning</b>	The Way
<b>Established By</b>	Daar Al-Sabeel
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1993
<b>Publisher</b>	Daar Al-Sabeel
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Partisan
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Islamist publication. Successor to Al-Ribat. Associated with the Muslim Brotherhood movement and its shareholders are Muslim Brotherhood political party.

**ID No** 0062  
**Arabic Title** السفير  
**English Title** Al-Safeer  
**Meaning** The Ambassador  
**Established By**  
**Establishment In**  
**Year Established** 1996  
**Publisher**  
**Type**  
**Direction**  
**Current Status**  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments**

**ID No** 0053  
**Arabic Title** الصحفي  
**English Title** Al-Sahafi  
**Meaning** The Journalist  
**Established By** Dhayf-Allah Al-Hamoud  
**Establishment In** Amman  
**Year Established** 1964  
**Publisher** Dhayf-Allah Al-Hamoud  
**Type** Newspaper  
**Direction** Privately Owned  
**Current Status** Closed Down  
**Chief Editor**  
**Comments** Political weekly publication. Has a low 1,000 copy circulation. Does not appear regularly at the newsstands.

<b>ID No</b>	0029
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الصياد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Sayyad
<b>Meaning</b>	The Hunter
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	1996
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Tabloid publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0140
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المساحة العربية
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Seeaha Al-'Arabiyah
<b>Meaning</b>	Arabic Tourism
<b>Established By</b>	The Arab Union for Tourism
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1969
<b>Publisher</b>	The Arab Union for Tourism
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Tourist publication. Concerned with Tourism matters.



<b>ID No</b>	0126
<b>Arabic Title</b>	المسابق
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Seebaq
<b>Meaning</b>	The Race
<b>Established By</b>	The Royal Racing Club
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1959
<b>Publisher</b>	The Royal Racing Club
<b>Type</b>	News Bulletin
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Concerned with horses and horse-riding.

<b>ID No</b>	0145
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الشعب
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Sha'ab
<b>Meaning</b>	The People
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0083
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الشعب
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Sha'ab
<b>Meaning</b>	The People
<b>Established By</b>	Muneeb Al-Madhi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1951
<b>Publisher</b>	Muneeb Al-Madhi
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. Closed down on the same year.

<b>ID No</b>	0034
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الشاهد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Shaahid
<b>Meaning</b>	The Witness
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0128
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الشباب
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Shabab
<b>Meaning</b>	The Youths
<b>Established By</b>	The Ministry of Culture & Youth
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1967
<b>Publisher</b>	The Ministry of Culture & Youth
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Cultural publication aimed at the youth.

<b>ID No</b>	0117
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الشريعة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Shari'a
<b>Meaning</b>	Islamic Law
<b>Established By</b>	Muhammad Tayseer Dhibyan
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1959
<b>Publisher</b>	Muhammad Tayseer Dhibyan
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Religious, scientific and literary publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0043
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الشريعة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Shari'a
<b>Meaning</b>	Islamic Law
<b>Established By</b>	Kamal Abbas & Mahmoud Al-Karmi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1927
<b>Publisher</b>	Kamal Abbas & Mahmoud Al-Karmi
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political, literary and religious publication. Closed down in September 1927 by decision of the Executive Council which ordered the suspension of this paper for six months.
<b>ID No</b>	0002
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الشرق العربي
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Sharq Al-Arabie
<b>Meaning</b>	The Arab East
<b>Established By</b>	Prince Abdullah
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1923
<b>Publisher</b>	Prince Abdullah
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	The first Jordanian newspaper in the post-Emirate foundation period. Sometimes bi-monthly, which concerned itself with official announcements. It was the first printed newspaper in Jordan.

<b>ID No</b>	0096
<b>Arabic Title</b>	السياسة
<b>English Title</b>	AlSiyasah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Politics
<b>Established By</b>	Kamal Al-Kaylani
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1964
<b>Publisher</b>	Kamal Al-Kaylani
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. Closed down on 7 August 1965.

<b>ID No</b>	0107
<b>Arabic Title</b>	التعاون في الأردن
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Ta'awun Fi Al-Urdun
<b>Meaning</b>	Cooperation in Jordan
<b>Established By</b>	The Ministry of Social Affairs
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1955
<b>Publisher</b>	The Ministry of Social Affairs
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Social publication. Closed down in March 1958.

**ID No** 0056

**Arabic Title** التقرير

**English Title** Al-Taqrer

**Meaning** The Report

**Established By**

**Establishment In**

**Year Established** 1995

**Publisher**

**Type**

**Direction**

**Current Status**

**Chief Editor**

**Comments**

**ID No** 0106

**Arabic Title** الثقافة والتعاون

**English Title** Al-Thaqafah Wa Al-Ta'awun

**Meaning** Cooperation & Culture

**Established By** Tawfiq Ka'war

**Establishment In** Amman

**Year Established** 1947

**Publisher** Tawfiq Ka'war

**Type** Magazine

**Direction** Privately Owned

**Current Status** Closed Down

**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Social publication. Closed down in May 1948.

<b>ID No</b>	0129
<b>Arabic Title</b>	التلميذ
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Tilmeedh
<b>Meaning</b>	The Student
<b>Established By</b>	Amman Secondary School
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1927
<b>Publisher</b>	Amman Secondary School
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	School publication. Considered the first school magazine in Jordan. It stopped publishing after 12 issues.

<b>ID No</b>	0054
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الأردن
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Urdun
<b>Meaning</b>	Jordan
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	1995
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0024
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الأردن
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Urdun
<b>Meaning</b>	Jordan
<b>Established By</b>	Khalil Nasr
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1927
<b>Publisher</b>	Khalil Faaris
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Sometimes published twice weekly and sometimes irregularly. Became daily at a later stage.

<b>ID No</b>	0079
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الأردن الجديد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Urdun Al-Jadeed
<b>Meaning</b>	The New Jordan
<b>Established By</b>	Abdul-Rahman Al-Kurdi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1950
<b>Publisher</b>	Abdul-Rahman Al-Kurdi
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political and economical publication. Closed down after 16 issues. The last 3 issues were published by Muhammad Ali Al-Kurdi. It was recognised for its courage in dealing with economical and social issues.



<b>ID No</b>	0098
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الاسبوع المصور
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Usbou' Al-Musawar
<b>Meaning</b>	The Week Illustrated
<b>Established By</b>	Hanna Khaleel Nasir
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1969
<b>Publisher</b>	Hanna Khaleel Nasir
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. Closed down in May 1970.

<b>ID No</b>	0112
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الاميرة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Usrah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Family
<b>Established By</b>	Huda Salaah
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1961
<b>Publisher</b>	Huda Salaah
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Female publication concerned with the social aspects of families. It provided women with information of concern to them. Closed down in 1967.

<b>ID No</b>	0113
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الوعي الجديد
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Wa'ee Al-Jadeed
<b>Meaning</b>	The New Awareness
<b>Established By</b>	Abdul-'Azeez Al-Khayyat
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1950
<b>Publisher</b>	Abdul-'Azeez Al-Khayyat
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Religious, literary and scientific publication. Closed down in May 1951.

<b>ID No</b>	0071
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الوفاء
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Wafa
<b>Meaning</b>	Fidelity
<b>Established By</b>	Subhi Zayd Al-Kaylani
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1938
<b>Publisher</b>	Subhi Zayd Al-Kaylani
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. The inspector of publications stopped this newspaper for a month in 1942 for its critical content. It finally stopped publishing in 1947. The owner of this paper later became Director of the Press and Publications Department and in 1950 he published a magazine called 'Around the World' which lasted until 1959.

**ID No** 0092

**Arabic Title** الوطن

**English Title** Al-Watan

**Meaning** The National

**Established By** Yahya Hamouda

**Establishment In** Amman

**Year Established** 1954

**Publisher** Yahya Hamouda

**Type** Magazine

**Direction** Privately Owned

**Current Status** Closed Down

**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Political publication. Closed down in 1959. Was suspended by government order from 15 August, 1954 and the suspension was renewed on 16 February, 1955. It then ceased to publish in accordance with the publications law of 1955. A new license was issued for this newspaper on 5 March, 1959 to its new editor/owner Subhi Zayd Al-Kaylani, but this time as a daily publication.

**ID No** 0003

**Arabic Title** الوطنيه

**English Title** Al-Wataneeyah

**Meaning** The Nationalist

**Established By**

**Establishment In**

**Year Established**

**Publisher**

**Type** Newspaper

**Direction**

**Current Status** Closed Down

**Chief Editor**

**Comments**

<b>ID No</b>	0119
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الوثبة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Wathbah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Jump
<b>Established By</b>	The Jordanian Army
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1949
<b>Publisher</b>	The Jordanian Army
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Military publication. Closed down in 1951. It was also published under another name which was Wathbat Al-Jaysh (The Jump of the Army). Then when it stopped it was replaced by Al-Majalah Al-'Askariyah (The Military Magazine).

<b>ID No</b>	0076
<b>Arabic Title</b>	اليقظة
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Yaqdhah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Awakening
<b>Established By</b>	Sulayman Al-Hadidi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1948
<b>Publisher</b>	Sulayman Al-Hadidi
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political, social and cultural publication. Published in Amman until 1955 and then it reappeared in Jerusalem in 1957. It was owned by Abdullah Ni'was who was also its editor, but its license was revoked shortly afterwards.

<b>ID No</b>	0141
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الزراعة الاردنية
<b>English Title</b>	Al-Zira'ah Al-Urduniyah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Jordanian Agriculture
<b>Established By</b>	The Ministry of Agriculture
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1956
<b>Publisher</b>	The Ministry of Agriculture
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Aimed at raising awareness in agricultural issues.

<b>ID No</b>	0093
<b>Arabic Title</b>	عمان المساء
<b>English Title</b>	Amman Al-Masaa
<b>Meaning</b>	Amman in the Evening
<b>Established By</b>	'Arafat Hijazi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1963
<b>Publisher</b>	'Arafat Hijazi
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. No accurate data about the closure date, but believed to be 1967.

<b>ID No</b>	0116
<b>Arabic Title</b>	هـدى الاسلام
<b>English Title</b>	Hadee Al-Islam
<b>Meaning</b>	Islamic Guidance
<b>Established By</b>	The Ministry of Religions
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1956
<b>Publisher</b>	The Ministry of Religions
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	***CHECK***
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Religious publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0020
<b>Arabic Title</b>	حوادث الساعة
<b>English Title</b>	Hawadeth Al-Sa'ah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Events of the Hour
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	1994
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	One of the most successful weekly newspapers. Tabloid publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0082
<b>Arabic Title</b>	حول العالم
<b>English Title</b>	Hawl Al-'Alam
<b>Meaning</b>	Around the World
<b>Established By</b>	Subhi Zayd Al-Kaylani
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1950
<b>Publisher</b>	Subhi Zayd Al-Kaylani
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political and critical publication. This magazine is managed to live longer than many other newspapers and appeared regularly, except in 1956 when the owner became the Director of the Press and Publication Department.
<b>ID No</b>	0123
<b>Arabic Title</b>	هنا عمان
<b>English Title</b>	Huna Amman
<b>Meaning</b>	Here is Amman
<b>Established By</b>	The Jordan Broadcasting Company
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1959
<b>Publisher</b>	The Jordan Broadcasting Company
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	This magazine was concerned with publishing news related to the broadcasting services in Jordan.

<b>ID No</b>	0124
<b>Arabic Title</b>	هوات الفنون
<b>English Title</b>	Huwaat Al-Funoon
<b>Meaning</b>	Art Lovers
<b>Established By</b>	Nayef Na'na'a
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1968
<b>Publisher</b>	The Club of Art Lovers
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Artistic publication. Concerned with publishing arts related news.

<b>ID No</b>	0142
<b>Arabic Title</b>	جريدة فتح
<b>English Title</b>	Jareedat Fateh
<b>Meaning</b>	
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	



<b>ID No</b>	0042
<b>Arabic Title</b>	جزيرة العرب
<b>English Title</b>	Jazeera Al-Arab
<b>Meaning</b>	Arab Peninsula
<b>Established By</b>	Husam Ad-Din Al-Khateeb
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1927
<b>Publisher</b>	Husam Ad-Din Al-Khateeb
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. Closed down 30 January, 1928. It published 35 issues in 1927 and 4 issues in 1928, then it stopped publishing.

<b>ID No</b>	0005
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الJordan Times
<b>English Title</b>	Jordan Times, The
<b>Meaning</b>	The Jordan Times
<b>Established By</b>	Jordan Press Company
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1975
<b>Publisher</b>	Jordan Press Company
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Semi-Private
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	The only English-language daily newspaper in Jordan. Circulation ranges between 15,000 to 20,000 daily. Read mainly by diplomats and foreigners in addition to some university academics.

<b>ID No</b>	0073
<b>Arabic Title</b>	مجلة الحكمة
<b>English Title</b>	Majalat Al-Hikmah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Magazine of Wisdom
<b>Established By</b>	Nadeem Al-Malah
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1932
<b>Publisher</b>	Nadeem Al-Malah
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political, literary and religious publication. The tenth issue of this magazine was published in 1933 and it stopped publishing thereafter.

<b>ID No</b>	0099
<b>Arabic Title</b>	مجلة المهندسين الأردنيين
<b>English Title</b>	Majalat Al-Muhamdas Al-Urdunie
<b>Meaning</b>	The Magazine of the Jordanian Engineers
<b>Established By</b>	Jordan Engineers Association
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1964
<b>Publisher</b>	Jordan Engineers Association
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Scientific and engineering publication.

**ID No** 0019

**Arabic Title** مجلة الافق

**English Title** Majalat Al-Ufuq

**Meaning** The Horizon Magazine

**Established By**

**Establishment In**

**Year Established**

**Publisher**

**Type**

**Direction**

**Current Status**

**Chief Editor**

**Comments**

**ID No** 0131

**Arabic Title** مجلة مدرسة المطران

**English Title** Majalat Madrasat Al-Matraan

**Meaning** Bishop School Magazine

**Established By** Amman Secondary School

**Establishment In** Amman

**Year Established** 1950

**Publisher** Amman Secondary School

**Type** Magazine

**Direction** Professional

**Current Status** Closed Down

**Chief Editor**

**Comments** School publication. Closed down in 1955 after publishing 12 issues.

**ID No** 0016

**Arabic Title** مجلة نداء الوطن

**English Title** Majalat Nida Al-Watan

**Meaning** The Nation Call Magazine

**Established By**

**Establishment In**

**Year Established**

**Publisher**

**Type**

**Direction**

**Current Status**

**Chief Editor**

**Comments**

**ID No** 0100

**Arabic Title** مجلة رسالة المكتبة

**English Title** Majalat Risalat Al-Maktabah

**Meaning** The Message of the Library

**Established By** Jordan Library Association

**Establishment In** Amman

**Year Established** 1964

**Publisher** Jordan Library Association

**Type** Magazine

**Direction** Professional

**Current Status** Still Published

**Chief Editor**

**Comments** Specialised in library and information issues in general.

<b>ID No</b>	0139
<b>Arabic Title</b>	نقابة المحامين
<b>English Title</b>	Naqabit Al-Muhameen
<b>Meaning</b>	The Lawyer's Association
<b>Established By</b>	The Lawyer's Association
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1953
<b>Publisher</b>	The Lawyer's Association
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Legal publication. Concerned with constitutional and legislative matters, in addition to court verdicts.

<b>ID No</b>	0055
<b>Arabic Title</b>	قف
<b>English Title</b>	Qif
<b>Meaning</b>	Stop
<b>Established By</b>	Mahaasin Al-Eeman
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1995
<b>Publisher</b>	Mahaasin Al-Eeman
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0109
<b>Arabic Title</b>	رسالة المعلم
<b>English Title</b>	Risalat Al-Mu'alim
<b>Meaning</b>	Teacher's Message
<b>Established By</b>	The Ministry of Education
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1956
<b>Publisher</b>	The Ministry of Education
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Educational, cultural and professional publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0110
<b>Arabic Title</b>	رسالة الأردن
<b>English Title</b>	Risalat Al-Urdun
<b>Meaning</b>	The Message of Jordan
<b>Established By</b>	The Department of Press & Publications
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1957
<b>Publisher</b>	The Department of Press & Publications
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	A government publication designed to publish information related to the history of Jordan and other developments from a governmental viewpoint. Closed in 1972.

<b>ID No</b>	0068
<b>Arabic Title</b>	صدى العرب
<b>English Title</b>	Sada Al-Arab
<b>Meaning</b>	The Arab Echo
<b>Established By</b>	Salah Asmadi
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1927
<b>Publisher</b>	Salah Asmadi
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. This newspaper was not published regularly. Issue 24 was the last to be published in April 1928.

<b>ID No</b>	0059
<b>Arabic Title</b>	صوت العرب
<b>English Title</b>	Sawt Al-'Arab
<b>Meaning</b>	The Voice of the Arabs
<b>Established By</b>	Hussein Al-'Umoosh
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1996
<b>Publisher</b>	Hussein Al-'Umoosh
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	

<b>ID No</b>	0134
<b>Arabic Title</b>	صوت الجيل
<b>English Title</b>	Sawt Al-Jeel
<b>Meaning</b>	The Voice of the Generation
<b>Established By</b>	Irbid Secondary School
<b>Establishment In</b>	Irbid
<b>Year Established</b>	1949
<b>Publisher</b>	Irbid Secondary School
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	School publication. Closed down in 1952 after 20 issues had been published.

<b>ID No</b>	0021
<b>Arabic Title</b>	صوت المرأة
<b>English Title</b>	Sawt Al-Maraah
<b>Meaning</b>	The Voice of Woman
<b>Established By</b>	Khaled Fakheedah & 'Atef 'Atmeh
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1995
<b>Publisher</b>	Khaled Fakheedah
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	One of the most successful weekly newspapers. Tabloid publication.



<b>ID No</b>	0108
<b>Arabic Title</b>	صوت التعاون
<b>English Title</b>	Sawt Al-Ta'awun
<b>Meaning</b>	Voice of Cooperation
<b>Established By</b>	The Ministry of Social Affairs
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1958
<b>Publisher</b>	The Ministry of Social Affairs
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Governmental
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Social publication.

<b>ID No</b>	0090
<b>Arabic Title</b>	صوت الأردن
<b>English Title</b>	Sawt Al-Urdun
<b>Meaning</b>	The Voice of Jordan
<b>Established By</b>	Haza' Al-Majali
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1956
<b>Publisher</b>	Haza' Al-Majali
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political, social publication. Started on 20 April, 1956 and closed down on 20 September, 1956.

<b>ID No</b>	0078
<b>Arabic Title</b>	شباب العرب
<b>English Title</b>	Shabab Al-Arab
<b>Meaning</b>	The Arab Youth
<b>Established By</b>	Bashir Al-Hattab
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1949
<b>Publisher</b>	Bashir Al-Hattaub
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Political publication. Forced to stop in 1950. The owner of the newspaper was unsuccessful in his attempts to restart the newspaper as it was opposed to government policies.

<b>ID No</b>	0011
<b>Arabic Title</b>	شيدان
<b>English Title</b>	Shihan
<b>Meaning</b>	A town in southern Jordan
<b>Established By</b>	Riyadh Al-Hurub
<b>Establishment In</b>	Cyprus
<b>Year Established</b>	1984
<b>Publisher</b>	Riyadh Al-Hurub
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	One of the most successful weekly newspapers. Tabloid publication. Started publishing in Cyprus, then later moved to Amman.

<b>ID No</b>	0006
<b>Arabic Title</b>	الستار
<b>English Title</b>	Star, The
<b>Meaning</b>	The Star
<b>Established By</b>	Osama Al-Shareef
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1990
<b>Publisher</b>	The Jordanian Press Publishing Company
<b>Type</b>	Newspaper
<b>Direction</b>	Privately Owned
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	The only English-language weekly newspaper in Jordan. Closed down for financial reasons and reopened with a French section.

<b>ID No</b>	0060
<b>Arabic Title</b>	طريق المستقبل
<b>English Title</b>	Tareeq Al-Mustaqbal
<b>Meaning</b>	Path of the Future
<b>Established By</b>	
<b>Establishment In</b>	
<b>Year Established</b>	N/A
<b>Publisher</b>	
<b>Type</b>	
<b>Direction</b>	
<b>Current Status</b>	Closed Down
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Never published.

<b>ID No</b>	0137
<b>Arabic Title</b>	طب الاسنان
<b>English Title</b>	Tub Al-Asnan
<b>Meaning</b>	Dentistry
<b>Established By</b>	The Jordanian Dentist Association
<b>Establishment In</b>	Amman
<b>Year Established</b>	1961
<b>Publisher</b>	The Jordanian Dentist Association
<b>Type</b>	Magazine
<b>Direction</b>	Professional
<b>Current Status</b>	Still Published
<b>Chief Editor</b>	
<b>Comments</b>	Medical publication. Stopped in 1965 then re-licensed again and started to publish from November 1974 and Husam Ad-Deen Na'eem took over editing the magazine after Yusuf Dhuhnee.