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HUSSEIN BIN TALAL

Hussein bin talal
/Hussein Son of Talal/
8 July 1957

Unsigned Article

(/Koranic verse over the king's portrait/ "Tell them to act and God, the prophet, and the believers shall see their deeds.")

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a.

DEDICATION OF THE BOOK

To the living conscience and the pure consciousness;
To every Arab believing in his nationality, faithful to
his Arabism;
To the register of men and the history of heroes;
We dedicate this book.
An argument to clear from the accusations of the renegades;
A witness for the actions of the faithful:
As Hussein made it possible through his patience and determi-
nation;
Redeemed it with his soul and blood;
And dedicated it for the good of his country and the
dignity of his fatherland;
Repeating at all times;
We build as our fathers did -- build and act as they did
act.

INTRODUCTION

It was night. Amman was sleeping in the arms of its
seven hills and the strange silence was broken by the
muttering of reverent prayers to Heavens -- rising from
the bottom of the hearts with confidence and faith.

At the summit of one of these immortal hills an il-
lustrious man was pacing with dignity in his large palace.
Looking now at the earth trying to see through the veil of
the promising morrow; then looking up at the sky as his
inner soul would utter in a quivering frightful voice:

"O God make him for us and for the Arabs a delight for the eye; O God grant us with him prosperity and benediction."

The night became calmer, movements stopped, and from the bottom of the deep silence came the ovation of the good news and the voice of its announcer: "Hussein is born."

It was morning. A warm sun dawned with the birth of Hussein, sending its rising beams to the core of the unknown to reveal what the newcomer will do in the future.

The illustrious man sat at his desk and wrote these words: My dear Premier Ibrahim Pasha:

By the Grace of God and through His Will a male infant was born to our son Talal on this blessed night of 18 Sha'ban of the year 1354 hegira. As this is an occasion to manifest our joy for the grace bestowed upon us by God, we inform you about the birth so that you may propagate the good news. Let every one pray to God to make this birth a good omen for the country, the believers, and ourselves -- by the grace of God and His generosity.

Amman, 18 Sha'ban 1354; 14 November 1935 (Abdallah)

The dear hope with which the heart of the illustrious man greeted Heavens grew up to be, "by the grace of God and His generosity," a blessing on the country and the believers.

The days passed. The illustrious Hussein grew under the guidance of his illustrious grandfather and parents.

His heart, open to life, was filled with the love of his country and fatherland.

The tender soul went on accumulating determination and loyalty; the young Arab soul went storing wisdom, knowledge,

and dignity. Before reaching his tenth year, he used to sit and talk with those of his age at the Islamic School of Amman, and gain their hearts and minds by his intelligence, modesty, and deep love for everything around him.

Before crossing the fifteenth year of his age, he used to tell his friends at the Victoria College of Alexandria: "The only worthy life is that vowed to the service of one's nation and dedicated to the glory of one's country."

He then went with his inspiring youth and overflowing vitality to the Harrow in Britain to continue his studies with his cousin Feisal of Iraq. After he was proclaimed the king of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, he joined the Sundhurst Military Academy.

The austere life he lived at the two schools and the demanding events of the time helped him reach manhood before its time. When God chose him to convey the message and discharge the responsibility, he performed his mission in the best tradition of the Beni Hashem, grandson of the Prophet. He returned to the capital of his kingdom, after a long fruitful absence, his heart full of the holiest love a man has ever had for his country and compatriots. His noble soul, having mastered the threads of knowledge, helped him weave with dexterity and competence the future of Jordan, and the unification of the Arabs in the near future.

1. IN THE ROYAL CAPITAL

Until the beginning of World War I the Arab people

suffered in various parts of their vast homeland because of bad government and through colonial oppression. Many of their loyal sons kept looking forward to a new era which would bring liberty to the Arabs and would enable them to be, as they were in the past, a nation with victorious banners and a cradle of civilization. They, however, felt that their much-sought liberty would be in danger unless they were to unite into one state, under one flag and with the same hopes, goals, and good intentions.

Macca produced then an illustrious man who was impressed by the memory of an eternal story: the story of a submerged people, lost in the fancy of the wilderness, forgotten on the margins of life, till his ancestor, Muhammad, revived them from their long sleep, lifted them from their stagnation and led them forward to their conquests. Muhammad guided his people to their sacred goal; he placed a torch in their hands and provided the world with knowledge and guidance. He led them to their glory with a book propagating truth and faith.

This renaissance emerged from the sands of the "Island" [Arabian Peninsula], from the same sources from which came the blessings of the Great Prophet. The soul of Hussein Bin Ali was also moved by the same memory. His looks encompassed his scattered people and their lost identity, and it enflamed his ardour and kindled his dignity. He stretched his hand to the vast horizon and traced these words in golden letters: "Ye Arabs, liberate yourselves and unite."

Hussein's revolution stemmed from these two ideas, and all the Arabs followed his banner in every region and place.

The world war then ended. Hussein looked around himself and found that his ally had broken and betrayed the pacts, and the Arab land was jammed with barriers and boundaries as its sky overflowed with different flags and banners.

Hussein returned to his God satisfied and glorified. After he delineated the goal and prepared the way, he died a martyr for the sacred duty, for the sake of the Arab cause in general and the problem of Palestine in particular. He was buried in Jerusalem -- that pure blessed spot he redeemed with his throne, kingdom, and life so that it would remain eternally Arab.

During that weird period of history many Arab hearts were divided, energies dispersed, and the ranks scattered. But the voice of the members of the house of prophet kept coming from its heights advising, leading, and guiding; and the pure dynasty continued to carry the trust and to uphold the banner of the message of God till it consumed the two immortals: Feisal and Ghazi.

History continued its onward march.

From his small country Abdallah performed two miracles: a local miracle which changed darkness into light, transformed ignorance into knowledge and glory, and faint-heartedness into strength and determination.

The external miracle was within the framework of the

great Arab fatherland. It molded the divisions into unity, the differences among the people into love and harmony, and the disgrace into pride and glory.

But suddenly the sky turned dark, the calamity grew frightful and the disaster became tremendous. Abdallah died, as his father before him, a martyr for his duty and for the truth.

The Arabs were anguished and confused. They went searching for their identity, feeling their way out of the confusion. Yet, one disaster followed another, as the rejects of the earth and dregs of the world were established in the heart of the Arab world in a state they labeled Israel!

From these accumulated catastrophies, from the molded brave Jordan, rose a deep strong voice conveying to the Arab nation and all its countries the greetings of "Hussein Bin Tatal" on the occasion of his accession to the throne and the beginning of his constitutional rule.

If it is true in the history of peoples and nations, as it is the case in the life of individuals, that some days are more valuable than months and years, then such a day dawned on 2 May 1953 in the history of this patient and undismayed country, because it came bringing felicity and happiness. It came, and with it came cheerfulness. /Speech of the throne/

"Children of my fatherland:

"I thank Almighty God for what He gave us of ample graces and all-embracing kindness, manifested in the noble

sentiments and true feelings which you have showed me since my return. It is my pleasure to begin this reign by sincerely greeting you from a heart full of love for you and rejoicing at your loyalty and true allegiance.

"As our throne receives its strength by God and from the love and confidence of the people, I will cultivate this love and confidence by serving the nation, furthering its interests, and putting it above any other calculation or consideration.

"I traveled all over the country and talked to many children of our beloved country; and doing so I am filled with faith and determination. I have taken it upon myself to dismiss all comforts for your sake, to work for your good, and to sacrifice myself for the strengthening of our dear country, for which we live and die.

"I have great hopes that your natural belief in God and love for the country will make this reign and this period a happy reign and a glorious period -- in a spirit of sacrifice and devoted action to achieve happiness not only for the citizens of this country, but for all the Arabs.

"Children of my fatherland: I realize the bitterness of the disaster and the sorrows of the affliction. But I tell you this: afflictions are lessons and pains are candles showing the way toward truth and rights. Let us build. Let us organize our ranks inside and outside. Let us toil for a common goal, for a common cause. Human rights cannot be forgotten. They survive only by perseverance, persistence,

and efforts. Let us proclaim: order is our aim; cooperation is our goal; and union of ranks is our symbol and purpose.

"Let us work united to build a strong country with firm foundations and stable basis, providing equally a vast shelter and ample welfare for all the citizens.

"It is my pleasure on this happy occasion to greet our valiant army, a greeting full of pride and honor, recognizing the immense responsibility it is facing in the defense of our beloved country.

"I will remind its courageous men that they are not alone in the battlefield; they have brothers linked to them by strong ties of blood and treaty. The Jordanian people are a part of the great Arab people. The Jordanian Arab army is one of the corps of the Arab army and Jordan is nothing but an indivisible part of the great Arab nation.

"Children of my fatherland: I present you the greetings of my reign, asking Almighty God to secure our steps and guide us into the right path. He is our best Lord and Ally."

These pure words found their way into the hearts of the people. They filled them with love for the young man who occupied the throne and who was using it as an effective means to serve the country and raise the standards in the homeland.

Everywhere, the Arabs received these words cheerfully. They saw in Hussein's honest and truthful speech the voice of the House that had led through their history toward power

and authority. The Arabs also saw in the radiant face that signaled to them from the summits of Amman the majesty of his ancestor, the greatest prophet, and the heroism of his glorious fathers. The king wanted to start a new page in the history of a truly democratic rule to show his people and the whole Arab nation that for him royalty meant construction and action, not influence and money. And that to rule, in his opinion, was a noble destiny for which one does not spare any efforts to attain the goal and sacrifices everything for its achievement.

His Majesty wrote then the first letter ordering the formation of the first ministry of his reign.

Dear Mr. Fawzi al-Mulqy:

Due to the resignation of Premier Tawfiq Abul-Huda, and because of our complete faith in your loyalty to the throne and your long service to the Kingdom based on the comprehension of the needs, interests, and aspirations of our trusted people, we, with the help of God, name you our prime minister. We hope that your program will consolidate the national sovereignty and safeguard the Arab rights through complete understanding and cooperation with all the Arab states, and through preservation of good relations with our allies and other friendly nations.

In internal affairs, we hope that you will set up a detailed program to begin a vast reform movement in the social and economic fields. The people should feel that governments are formed to serve them, organize their business,

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raise their standards, and secure their present and future life. We pray to God to help you to achieve the measure of prosperity that we wish for our trusted people.

We expect you to present your colleagues for the offices as requested.

5 May 1953 (Hussein)

2. THE THORNY WAY

The day always dawned for Hussein with the immortal words that his illustrious grandfather Hussein Bin Ali traced on the horizon: "Ye Arabs, liberate yourselves and unite!" The bitterness of the disaster had left in his inner soul the belief that such liberty and unity would be worthless if not accompanied by regaining the dignity we lost by losing Palestine! Since his early youth, Hussein has focused his sad gaze beyond the borders -- toward the green shores where the land of Galilee disappears, the lost paradise of the plundered fatherland.

As for liberty, he saw an old rock in its way: the foreign command of the Jordanian Arab army. At the head of this command was a man who was known to the Jordanians as well as to other Arabs and the whole world to be the greatest support for Colonialism, not only in Jordan but also in the whole Arab world and the Middle East. This man was General John Bagot Glubb.

Within this rock resided another obstacle: the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty.

As for unity, it could be achieved, in Hussein's opinion, only if it were really wanted and not merely lip serviced by the Arab leaders and rulers. It would be possible if they were to forget their discords and give pre-eminence to the interests of the Arab nation as a whole rather than to their petty personal interests.

As for Palestine, he knew that the policy made on the spur of the moment, which lost it a few years ago, would not recover an inch of it. On the contrary it might cause further losses in other parts of the Arab world. The only way for the Arabs to delete the shame and get back their robbed homeland is through efficient action and adequate preparation in all fields.

Hussein set up, then, the program of the mission he took upon himself to achieve. But the circumstances did not allow him to act freely, because the long Armistice Lines between Jordan and the Jews were the longest Arab borders with the enemy. On the windings and summits of these lines Jordan's glorious army stood up like a giant. But the enemy was cunning and perfidious, the army was small, money was scarce, and weapons were inadequate. There was also the question of the foreign command. The aggressions were continuous. The enemy's ambitions for expansion, especially on the Jordan side, were limitless.

The question of the Armistice Lines was, therefore, a pressing one. The king thought about it thoroughly. The situation appeared very clear to him: Zionism was not the enemy of Jordan alone. Its dangers, ambitions, and plots

were not directed only against Jordan. Zionism is the enemy of all the Arabs in all their lands; its ambitions pushes it to absorb all the area from the Nile to the Euphrates. Jordan was however facing this sweeping danger alone on the longest Arab-Jewish borders. Jordan had few potentialities and its resources were strained. But Jordan was preparing to defend Damascus as well as Amman, to divert danger from Baghdad and Cairo as well as from Riyad. Each martyr sacrificed by Jordan protects hundreds of millions of people on the shores of the Nile, Barada, and Tigris. We pay this price to insure that the rich soil of the Arab homeland remains pure and uncontaminated.

Let Jordan remain stationed on the borders to sow it with the skulls of its sons and the remains of its martyrs; but provide Jordan with the weapons that will protect it, and give Jordan the power to ward off the peril and death.

Even the foreign command of the army stated the reality of the danger, and then Hussein came with that glorious national idea: the idea of forming a Jordanian national guard.

For three months Hussein did not get any rest. He went all over the boundaries from one position to another, staying in the trenches with his officers and soldiers, talking to them as an affectionate brother and compassionate leader, listening to their determination as they uttered words full of courage and confidence. In every ear and in every heart Hussein poured these words with magnanimity and sympathy: "I am with you in spirit and body."

He traveled to the four corners of the country because he believed that the first duty of a just ruler and loyal shepherd is to know his people and to meet them in their heart. He went further than that. He made all his citizens meet in his heart. He addressed various groups telling what he wanted them to do. They all promised to sacrifice their hearts and souls for the sake of achieving his great hopes -- their hopes; and his wishes -- their wishes.

Each time he returned to his palace at the capital after an inspection tour, he would, contrary to the expectation of his attendants, not allow himself even a short rest and would call a cabinet meeting or a meeting with high ranking officers to discuss with them various problems thus consuming what remained of the short night.

Hussein did not take notice of an old sickness. But the illness increased with the increased efforts of his frail body and pressed him without tenderness or leniency. The doctors came and prescribed a treatment trip to Europe. He evaded them and neglected their prescription. But he had a difficult mission ahead -- the glorious journey he had decided to lead his country through -- and he had to be prepared for it. Therefore he abided by the doctors' decision and left for Europe.

His Majesty did not wish to leave his beloved fatherland before insuring that everything would work according to the plan for the benefit and success of the country. He, therefore, left the following message for the prime minister

before he went to the airport where a large crowd had gathered.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

On the occasion of my departure for abroad, I would like to make the following suggestions to which I attach great importance. It is our desire that the affairs of the state be conducted in a way compatible with the general interests of the people.

1. Ministerial Harmony

The cabinet should maintain harmony and cooperation among its members; and it should strive to achieve a spirit of prudence, wisdom, and intelligence. It should insure the smooth running of the administration and it should enable the ministers to carry out the policy they have formulated in their ministerial program.

2. The Government Officials

The government must take the public interests into consideration in making appointments, promotions, dismissals and in transferring officials. Such actions should not serve any personal interest; they should be based on competence and justice alone. In this manner the state will secure for itself good officials and will provide its officials with a measure of security, stability, and tranquillity which will enable them to perform their duties efficiently.

3. Interests of the People

The government should avoid any measure that might cause disputes and lack of harmony among the population.

It must deal with all problems in fairness. No action should be influenced by personal interests, on the contrary the government should subordinate all its actions to the authority of law to insure the cooperation of all sides. In this manner the activities of the government shall be the source of the general welfare. It is only natural that the aim of a government should be to serve the people and work for their welfare. A government that fails to achieve such a goal fails to have any meaning.

4. The Government and the General Assembly

It is necessary that an atmosphere of confidence, harmony, and true cooperation should prevail between the legislative and executive authorities. This will provide the state with the necessary legislation pertaining to its vital interests.

5. The Press

Freedom of opinion is secured by the constitution as are the dignity and the liberties of the people. Any newspaper that fails to grasp the meaning of a reasonable freedom of expression and fails to respect the liberties of others cannot be regarded as a newspaper fulfilling a public service; on the contrary it would be a destructive tool. The state interests, therefore, would demand its banning. Any government that fails to safeguard equal rights and liberties for the people has failed in its mission.

6. Foreign Policy

Relations between Jordan and all other Arab states

should always be as best as relations could exist between various parts of the same country. The Jordanian policy has maintained that the interests of the Arab states are indivisible, and we must continue to act in the light of this principle.

The relationship between Jordan and its allies and other friendly powers is one of common interests and there should prevail a spirit of honesty and confidence.

7. The Security and Peace of the Country

The government must face its difficulties with courage and determination. It must deal with its problems with sagacity and it must not let sentimentality dictate any course of action. The security and peace of the country should be above every considerations. This is a trust that one should preserve with honor, wisdom, and determination.

May God help us all in the service of our beloved fatherland.

25 August 1953 (Hussein)

Hussein was away from his people and fatherland, but he never was absent from their hearts and minds. The people kept praying with reverence to God to keep and protect their young king.

The people and the fatherland were far from the King's eyes. But the people kept filling his heart with love, and the fatherland dominating his soul, mind, and heart.

One week after the departure of the King a disturbing incident broke his peace and cut short his medical treatment. On the night of 14 September 1953 the Jews sneaked

in through the border line of our stolen lands in their usual perfidious manner and entered the peaceful Qibiya village. They left behind them a bestial carnage, mowing, among others, children, old men, and women.

The news of the criminal aggression reached the young king in his bed in a Swiss health station. Hardships did not count anymore for His Majesty. He jumped out of his bed and took a plane, which had been prepared, and reached Damascus airport before the night on his way to his wounded fatherland and distressed people.

He reached Amman with Dawn. Within a few minutes of his arrival, he was exploring the ruins of the village, wiping with his generous hands the forehead of the afflicted, who forgot by such generosity their disaster and afflictions.

He returned in the evening to Amman to order the formation of a ministerial enquiry committee. The circumstances of the aggression did not seem natural to His Majesty. He sensed some neglect. Such negligence was not compatible with the nature of His Majesty's orders and directives for the protection and security of the people.

At that time a well-known British officer, Captain Austin, was in the Jordan Arab army. He was the most important English officer in the army headquarters after Glubb. The report of the enquiry committee pointed an accusing finger at that great officer.

The officials at the time speculated about His Majesty's decision regarding the officer. Many in the foreign command of the army believed that the punishment would not

be applied to such a dangerous officer.

But Hussein was well up to the patriotic path to dignity and his way to glory and honor. He did not fail to follow such a path -- even when lured or threatened. With a firm conviction he issued an order dismissing Austin from the army. All the military and official circles were moved by this action. A feeling of pride and self-importance shook the ranks of the army and a new amazing spirit spread through it. That day Hussein pointed out the army's mission: to protect their home, and to be prepared for the approaching day of salvation.

For the first time in the long history of the army the question of the Jewish aggressions became an integral part of the military responsibility.

Hussein went back to his still growing plant -- the National Guard. He saw his people giving their sons to be integrated in the guard and he watched his subjects setting aside a part of their necessary expenses for the donation boxes created for financing the National Guard. How moved he was when he saw a ring thrown in the box by some village or city girl, a bracelet presented by an old woman as her share in strengthening the new shield he was forging for his fatherland, or the small watch a student snatched from his soft wrist to buy a bullet for the guard to protect his land.

The Jews went on with their aggressions. The army and National Guard stood side by side on the borders. The lists

of the victims grew longer, and the caravan of the martyrs increased. Hussein still kept in his inner soul hope in his Arab brother kings and leaders. The hope that they would realize the role of Jordan in defending the whole Arab world and that they would provide him with efficient material help.

But the months dragged on and all the help Jordan received from her Arab sisters could not fill the needs or meet the hope.

One day of scorching heat in July 1954 His Majesty returned from one of his tours of the front lines. He was shocked by the situation of the soldiers and National Guards stationed against the lurking enemy. As he reached his office in the Hashemite Royal Capital, he called the head of the cabinet, Mr. Bahjat al-Talhuni, and in a tired broken voice he asked him to prepare pen and paper to write the following messages:

His Majesty, our brother King Saud Ibn Abdel Aziz, king of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, may God preserve him:

His Majesty, our brother King Feisal, king of Iraq, may God preserve him:

His Majesty, our brother King Ahmad, king of Yemen, may God preserve him:

His Majesty, our brother King Idriss al-Senussi, king of United Lybia, may God preserve him:

His Royal Highness, Emir Abdallah al-Salem al-Sabah, Emir of Kuwait, may God preserve him:

His Excellency General Mohammad Najib, president of

the Egyptian republic, may God preserve him:

His Excellency Hashem al-Atassi, president of the Syrian republic, may God preserve him:

His Excellency Camille Chamoun, president of the Lebanese republic may God preserve him:

I sent to Your Majesty, our brother, my greetings and best wishes. No doubt you are aware of the repeated criminal Jewish aggressions to which Jordan is exposed at the present time...and you know the intentions of our enemy toward Jordan in particular and the Arab world in general.

Jordan feels a certain bitterness in connection with the latest aggressions, as it stands alone facing the Jews. Every day we demonstrate magnificent examples of defending the frontiers separating the Arabs from their enemy. Yet Jordan's resources and limited possibilities do not permit us to continue shouldering these responsibilities alone. It is impossible for us to stand on our own for any longer period. We have mentioned this on every occasion when we have discussed the major problems of the Arabs.

I feel it is the duty of our Arab sisters, specially those who can afford and have the necessary material resources, to join hands with us and provide Jordan with substantial material assistance. In Jordan we have men who willingly give their lives for the defense of the greater Arab fatherland. We need funds to cover the expenses of the National Guard and to strengthen its local forces for securing the peace of the fatherland and repelling aggressions. In this reside the security and defense of all the entities

of the Arab world against mean Jewish ambitions, which do not know any limit and are not easily satisfied.

Should our Arab sisters fail to comply with such a duty and cooperate in helping our country before it is too late -- when no regrets or declarations would be of any use -- we would hold them responsible before God, history, and the whole world for any disaster or loss of any part of this fatherland.

We hope that you and our other Arab sister states would feel our sufferings, realize our position, and provide us with generous material and moral assistance -- such assistance that brotherhood demands and the relations of kinship enjoins. More so as we form your first and last line of defense against a perfidious, lurking, cunning enemy. May God witness that we have thus presented our case clearly. In conclusion I wish Your Majesty good health and happiness and for your people progress and prosperity. Peace be upon you.

Amman 4 ZulKa'da 1373 H, 5 July 1954.

(Hussein)

A plane took this ringing cry across the skies of the Arab world. It passed through all the capitals and all the regions. It stopped before all the kings, leaders, and rulers. History registered for Hussein his warm cry and true warning. God witnessed that he informed in the best way.

The plane returned from Baghdad after two days carrying to the young king the first answer to his message:

His Majesty, our brother King Hussein, king of Jordan,
may God preserve him:

We received Your Majesty, our brother's letter of
5 July 1954. In sending to Your Majesty our sincere
greetings and best wishes, we say that we have watched
with anxiety and grief the repeated criminal aggressions
on Jordan in particular and the Arab states in general.

Iraq shares Jordan's feeling toward these treacherous
criminal aggressions and looks with appreciation and recog-
nition at the magnificent examples of the heroic defense
our brother country is presenting. Your Majesty rightly
considers your country the first defense line separating
the Arabs from their enemy.

Iraq believes that it is its duty to cooperate with
the rest of its Arab sisters to provide Jordan with help
and material assistance. Iraq was the first, in the past,
to share in the expenses of the National Guard to strengthen
its power. Now in answer to your royal call Iraq presents
the sum of 150,000 Iraqi dinars for the improvement of the
National Guard in order to preserve the peace of the Arab
fatherland.

Iraq was, and still is, among the first to realize the
delicate position of Jordan and its sufferings. We beg Your
Majesty and the honorable Jordanian people to be sure that
Iraq, Government and the people, are with Jordan in its
struggle against criminal aggressions. We will never
linger in providing that assistance required by the duty
of brotherhood and enjoined by the relations of kinship

among the various parts of this one nation.

We and the Iraqi people wish Jordan a complete success in its sacred struggle against the criminal enemy. In conclusion we wish Your Majesty good health and happiness, and for your people progress and prosperity. Peace be upon you.

Your faithful brother,

Feisal

7 July 1954; 5 Zulka'da 1373

Two days later another plane left Damascus airport on its way to Amman carrying the following message from His Excellency Hashem al-Atassi, president of the Syrian republic.

His Majesty King Hussein Bin Talal king of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, may God preserve him:

I present to Your Majesty my best wishes and loyal feelings of amity and brotherhood. I received your letter of 5 July in which Your Majesty pointed out the noble efforts of the brotherly Jordanian people and its generous sacrifices to repel the criminal aggressions the Jews are still launching on its borders, without any respect for the sanctity of the holy places and the rights of the peaceful inhabitants to a settled quiet life.

I would like to assure Your Majesty that myself, the government, and the people of Syria are following with anxiety, anguish, and interest the news of such aggressions, and what your noble chivalrous people are suffering from their oppressors. We all witnessed with admiration and pride the examples our brotherly people showed, under your

vigilant and cautious command, of courage and heroism in repelling the treacherous aggression and their willingness to die in the defense of one of the important lines of the Arab frontiers.

It is only fair to add that Your Majesty and your responsible government have done another great service to all the Arabs. You have held tight to Arab solidarity and Arab higher interests, and you have stood unshaken facing the vile attempts made to take advantage of the difficulties you were facing. You have withstood efforts to make you negotiate with the greedy enemy or accept the decisions of the Security Council pertaining to the aggressions against your country.

I would like to assure Your Majesty that Syria and her Arab sisters do appreciate the heavy responsibility the Jordanian Kingdom is shouldering because of the repeated aggressions on her borders. We share our brotherly feelings with you. Syria knows very well that the tyrannical Zionist danger threatens Jordan and all the Arabs, and that the strong Jewish greediness is limitless.

That is why Syria, as all other Arab states, holds with determination and faith to the clauses of the Mutual Defense Treaty, assuring, according to its articles, that any aggression on any Arab state is considered an aggression on them all and requires each one of them to come to the defense of her attacked sister.

Syria is willing to contribute to the fullest her part for the peace of the Arab states and will continue, with her

Arab sisters, to spend her efforts for the consolidation of the defense against the usurping enemy.

Syria fully realizes the necessity to help the Kingdom of Jordan in these critical hours and is deeply conscious of her responsibility to share with her Arab sisters -- each according to her means -- in the financial burden of the Jordanian people.

Syria also feels that the acuteness of the present situation calls for an immediate meeting of the Mutual Defense Committee at the Jordanian capital to further such action, study the situation, and decide about the steps to be taken.

I pray to God to help us all and make us succeed in that which would unite the Arabs and give them victory. Asking Him to give Your Majesty good health and happiness and achieve for your people every success and power. May peace, mercy, and blessings of God be upon you.

Damascus, 8 Zulka'da 1373; 9 July 1954.

Your loyal brother, Hashem al-Atassi

His Excellency Camille Chamoun, president of the Lebanese republic sent the following reply.

His Majesty King Hussein, king of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, may God preserve him:

I present to Your Majesty my best greetings and sincere feelings of amity and brotherhood. You wished to acquaint us with the noble efforts of the brotherly Jordanian people and their ample sacrifices to repel the criminal aggressions, which are still being perpetuated by the Jews on the Jordanians

borders without any respect for the sanctity of the holy places and the peaceful inhabitants.

The whole world is witnessing with admiration the hardships your rising noble people are facing as a result of these aggressions, and also the examples of sacrifice and courage they set under your leadership to repel the aggressions and defend one of the frontlines of the Arab states.

Nobody can deny the noble service Your Majesty and your responsible government have done for all the Arabs by your great stand, holding tight to the Arab solidarity in the face of the attempts made to take advantage of the hardships you were facing to force you to negotiate with the enemy which intends to destroy your country, or to compel you to accept the decisions of the Security Council pertaining to such negotiations.

I beg your Majesty to be sure that Lebanon, and the rest of the brotherly Arab states, while appreciating the heavy burden laid on the shoulders of Jordan and feeling toward her the feeling of the brother for his brother, knows very well that the Zionist danger is threatening all the Arabs and that the Jewish ambitions will not stop at a certain point unless we were to unite with each other to curb them.

That is why Lebanon, as all other Arab states, holds tightly and faithfully to the clauses of the Mutual Defense Treaty reasserting, according to its articles, that any aggression against any of the Arab states will be considered

as an aggression against them all.

The Lebanese Government, which is very anxious to completely contribute its part for the peace of the Arab states, will continue its efforts to strengthen the defense against the usurping enemy. Fully recognizing the necessity to back Jordan in these critical hours, our Government feels that it is its duty, with its Arab sisters -- each according to her means -- to share the financial burden of the Jordanian people. Our Government will, therefore, continue its efforts along this line.

I do not wish to conceal from Your Majesty my preparations for a meeting with Your Majesty, the kings and leaders of other Arab countries to discuss the problems of the Arab world, and above all, Jordan's position and the dangers of an Israeli aggression.

May God help us all to unite the Arabs and may He help us against the common enemy, may He preserve Your Majesty and the Jordanian people in welfare, prosperity and glory.

Your loyal brother,
Camille Chamoun

Beirut, 9 July 1954

Later a plane from the Arabian Peninsula brought the answer of the Saudi king.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

From Saud Ibn Abdel Aziz Al-Saud, king of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom, to His Brotherly Majesty King Hussein, king of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, may God preserve him:

May the peace, grace and blessings of God be upon you. I present to Your Majesty, my noble brother, my best wishes and express my intense friendship. I would like to tell His Majesty, my dear brother, that I received his noble letter dated 4 Zulka'da 1373, in which he gave us the news of the Jewish aggressions that took place and that more are expected from this criminal unjust group. I am in complete agreement with His Majesty that the efforts of the Arabs and Muslims should be pulled and put together to check such aggressions. I also agree that the aggression is not on Jordan alone but on all the Arabs, Jordan being the first of the Arab strongholds.

As for us, I mentioned to Your Majesty and I repeat it that I am completely willing to contribute all I can, financially and militarily, in helping Jordan and the rest of the Arab states in order to check this aggression.

I gave orders to carry out the decisions of the Military Advisory Committee as regards Saudi Arabia, to pay its part for the setting up of fortifications. I am waiting for your message as to what Jordan would like us to send in weapons, in kind or money. As soon as we receive your answer we will execute your requests. In addition to this, I am ready to contribute in all that will be decided. I pray to God to help us, support us, and grant us victory. "God is able to do all things."

Peace and mercy of God be upon my dear brother and his noble people.

Jidda, 16 Zulka'da 1373.

Your brother, Saud

On 31 July 1954 a plane landed bringing to Hussein Cairo's answer to the call for help.

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful.

My brother, His Majesty the King of Jordan:

May God's peace and mercy be upon you. I received your letter dated 4 Zulka'da 1373 in which you described the repeated criminal Jewish aggressions perpetuated on our sister Jordan.

I would like to assure you that every aggression on Jordan is considered by Egypt as an aggression against her. Egypt and the rest of the Arab states will, undoubtedly, help our sister Jordan so that it will be in a position to stop these repeated Israeli aggressions.

The Egyptian Government has studied with extreme care and great concern the subject of this matter and has decided to present an immediate assistance to the Jordanian National Guard as a contribution to strengthening the guard.

Egypt shares your feelings and hopes and will always stand by Jordan in every trial and affliction and will present you all the help it can.

I pray to God to grant us success for the Arabs and the Arab Cause. I send Your Majesty my best wishes for good health and happiness asking from God that he may grant your brotherly people all their hopes. May the peace and mercy of God be upon you.

Palace of the Republic, Cairo.

1 zil-Hija 1373; 31 July 1954.

Minister of State for the Affairs of the Presidency of the

Republic

(signature)

Your Brother,

Mohammad Najib

As for the immediate material assistance which was mentioned in this letter, and which our sister Egypt decided to present to the Jordanian National Guard as her contribution for its strengthening, it remained, alas, ink on paper, and it was never destined to be transmuted one day to something beyond promises and sweet hopes.

We are not trying to comment on the incidents and events. Our sole purpose is merely to present the facts related to such incidents and events, and give to the Arab citizen, wherever he is, the occasion to judge by himself what was going on between Hussein on one side and his brothers, the Arab kings and leaders, on the other. The reader may be able to discover for himself the great discrepancy between the propaganda and the declarations made here and there and the facts when they were stripped of all the coloring and artificial manifestations.

After receiving these answers from various Arab kings and leaders, Hussein realized that the understanding of his brothers, the great leaders, of the reality of Jordan's position against the enemy differed greatly from his own understanding and appreciation of it. He thought at first that the reason for such a difference of viewpoint in this dangerous problem was the distance of the Arab countries from the centers of danger and the fields of death. But as this wrong impression continued to prevail for a long period, he was

convinced of the real reason behind such an attitude. The majority of the leaders still remain, alas, where they stood in 1948 in regard to the Palestine question! They treat the question from the angles which serve best their propaganda for local consumption -- the attitude of trying to win the approval of the masses. Causing strong applaud and loud vociferation has become the pattern of Arab politics regarding all their major problems, the first being the Palestine question.

Hussein thought, as he looked at the sad situation in which the Arabs were groping, of the Jewish attitude toward the Arabs. There, every single effort is directed toward building, preparation, and work. All their energies are stored and prepared for the day they will invade the Arab world -- to swallow it bit by bit or in one great gulp, to achieve the dream of a kingdom of Israel.

The king's heart sunk in a sea of bitterness and sorrow. From the bottom of this sea appeared, anew, three pictures to him: liberty with its amputated picture and its bloody wounds, unity with its lost picture among the castles and rocks, and Palestine with its picture inflamed and bleeding. Among the three sad pictures his country's weary and tired face showed a part of it facing the Jews with confidence and determination and the other part looking at its Arab sisters with deep sorrow.

The king finally decided to act, even alone.

The odor of division and separation exalted by the answers he received was exactly what the Jews dreamt would

exist and hoped would continue. It is the vast door through which they can get what they want. ^o The king then decided to carry in his strong arms the banner of liberty and preach, call, and urge for it -- even if he had to consume his day and night for such a goal and forget his rest, felicity, and peace.

As for liberty, he recalled the two rocks in the way of his country: the foreign command of the army and the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty. As for the treaty, he had to curtail its existence whatever the circumstances. As for the foreign command, not a moment passed by His Majesty without his blood boiling in his veins, not once was the name of that foreign officer, subjugating the army, mentioned without his whole being shuddering proclaiming in a marvelous ovation: "God is with us...The decisive hour is approaching."

As for the continuous Jewish aggressions on the borders and the martyrs whose funerals were crowding each other, if this is the price to regain the squandered dignity and recover the plundered fatherland let then Jordan sacrifice for such a purpose all that true patriotism and honest determination require. Let its soldier fight with the few weapons they have. If the soldier consumes his weapon, or if he is not given any, let him fight even with stones to the last breath.

3. TOWARD TREATY ABROGATION

Many of us in Jordan and other Arab states know a lot about the negotiations which began between the British and

Jordan Governments in 1954 to substitute the 1948 Anglo-Jordanian Treaty by a Special Agreement. But most of what we know is based on press reports and broadcasting services. The people, therefore, have extemporaneous opinions of the events that took place and their results based upon such facts and news they received through the press and the radio. Such facts and events were, undoubtedly, molded and fashioned by interested hands in a mold dictated by the conditions, circumstances, and requirements of propaganda.

These opinions were either wrong or immature and distorted most of the time. Such shortcomings should be blamed upon propaganda. It is in the public interest that propaganda should show the facts when we are facing an enemy not when we are facing our families and our own peoples. Propaganda should be employed to spread fear and confusion in the enemy ranks. It would be a crime to use propaganda machinery to distort the truth and to prevent the people from investigating and studying their affairs for their patriotic pursuits.

The national responsibility, especially in the difficult period the Arab nation is passing through, demand that we should study our problems with consciousness, and base our information on facts in order to make the right plans, and strive to find proper solutions for our problems.

There is a clear distinction between constructive criticism and unfair attacks aiming only at destruction and the shaking of the existing foundations.

Now we present the Arabs for the first time with the

details of the events and historical facts related to Jordan's negotiations with Britain. In doing this we intend, above all, to clarify the mind of the people so that they can see to what extent the various propaganda apparatus have misled them.

The legal justification that Britain had in claiming Jordan was based upon the 1948 Treaty of Alliance and Friendship.

Hussein looked at the free path he traced for his country and saw this treaty on its way as a sinister obstacle. He looked at the date of its termination and saw it far, far away -- it was intended to last until 1968.

The refined education His Majesty had received under his noble Nashemite family had planted in his soul the spirit of wisdom and insight, and in his blood the spirit of revolt and struggle. It provided him with enough firm opinion and true determination to lighten his way with truth and righteousness.

His Majesty realized that after the disaster of Palestine he was leading his nation in the midst of a huge international turmoil where all values and standards were mixed up, where the criteria of law and justice were confused and where peace and love were upset.

This realization widened the mission of his nation to the role of enriching the human conscience with truth and noble thoughts, and to spread justice and peace in every corner of the earth.

A king with that upbringing and those dreams and hopes

would naturally know when to use a sword and when to use a pen. He would not move his pen when he must pull his sword and he would not ask for the sword where the pen must perform!

For this reason he first treaded the diplomatic path to remove the obstacle of the treaty from his way. He sent to London, in December 1954, his then prime minister, the late Tawfiq Abul-Huda, and the minister of defense, Anwar Nuseibah, to start negotiations with the British Government aiming at the modification of the 1948 Anglo-Jordanian Treaty.

These negotiations were primarily aiming at that which was always worrying the young king, namely to provide weapons for the army stationed on the borders. He took this path after he had exhausted his efforts in vain in trying to obtain help from the Arab states.

The negotiations were also aiming at substituting the British assistance mentioned in the treaty for a reasonable rent in return for the use of military bases in Jordan.

The negotiations were broken before reaching an agreement. The two parties agreed to start them again after the situation gets clearer in the Middle East in the light of the expected developments in the British relations with certain states, specially Iraq.

The atmosphere was loaded at the time with rumors about the Baghdad Pact.

In February 1955 these developments crystallized by the signing of the Baghdad Pact. Thus the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty was abrogated. Efforts were made to reopen the

negotiations with Britain, but no Jordanian official ever connected the idea of reopening negotiations with Jordan joining the Pact.

The Jordanian Government, under Mr. Sa'id al-Mufti, addressed a memorandum to the British Government on 16 November 1955 asking for the opening of negotiations to clarify the nature of the relationship between the two countries in the light of the developments that took place in the Middle East. The note specified very clearly that Jordan's policy aimed at securing the following.

1. The preservation of the Arab Mutual Defense Treaty and the Jordan's obligations to honor the clauses of the treaty.
2. To support Jordan completely to achieve the Arab demands and rights in Palestine and to repel aggressions against Jordan from whatever quarters they came.
3. To consider the following forces the minimum requirements for the defense of Jordan.
 - (a) an infantry division;
 - (b) an armored division;
 - (c) heavy artillery;
 - (d) a paratrooper brigade;
 - (e) a commando unit;
 - (f) an airforce including fighters and bombers;
 - (g) a naval force in Aqaba and the Dead Sea.

It so happened that General Abdel Hakim Amer, C-in-C of the Egyptian armed forces, was on an official visit to Jordan at the time. The Jordanian officials showed him the

note. He took the most hopeful view and expressed his satisfaction for what the note included and considered its achievements a gain for Jordan and all the Arabs. He kept a copy of the note and took it back to Egypt with him at the end of his visit.

The British Government answered favorably to the wishes of the Jordanian Government and a British official delegation, under General Templer, arrived in Amman to begin the negotiations between the two countries.

As soon as he arrived, Templer went to visit His Majesty the king. Templer talked about the coming negotiations with the Jordanian Government. He said, among other things, that Jordan needs a strong ally to stand by its side and that the continuance of monarchy in Jordan was conditioned by the presence of such an ally. The king shuddered when he heard that from the head of the British delegation. He turned to Templer and told him with simplicity, determination, and decision: "the value of a throne depends on the amount of services the king provides for his country and nation. Should my throne any day stand in the way of my country and nation I would be the first to abdicate, as my ancestors did before."

Templer felt the tension of the situation and his critical position. He realized that the young king facing him could be won neither by intimidation nor by enticement. He withdrew his words, trying to change the meaning he intended and the purpose he aimed at. But Hussein had spoken and that was the end of the meeting.

Templer found that the Jordanian Government had prepared a new note stating Jordan's objectives and viewpoints for the coming negotiations.

The following is the text of the note written by a member of the Jordanian cabinet at the time (Mr. Azmi Nashashabi).

Draft Agreement

The Jordanian Hashemite Kingdom agrees to join the Baghdad Pact on the following conditions:

1. His Majesty's Government shall provide the following military units for the forces of His Majesty the king of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan:

A and B -- increase in the armed forces by 65%;

C and D -- supply of 6 million pounds' worth of heavy and medium weapons.

2. His Majesty's Government will back Jordan's viewpoint in the Military Commission to enable the latter to assume its defensive responsibilities in accordance with a military program to be devised.

3. His Majesty's Government will open negotiations with Jordan to replace the 1948 Anglo-Jordanian Treaty by a special agreement in accordance with Article I of the Baghdad Pact provided that the special agreement would include the following.

A. The confirmation of friendship and peace between the two contracting parties.

B. The termination of the 1948 Anglo-Jordanian Treaty, its appendixes, and exchanged correspondence.

C. The cooperation of the two governments for the defense of Jordan including the preparation of military plans, mutual assistance, and combined maneuvers. This assistance will include the following provisions.

(1) His Majesty's Government shall pay to the treasury of Jordan a financial assistance to cover the expenses of the Jordanian forces and to secure its requirements. A minimum sum will be agreed upon.

(2) The Government of Jordan will provide all the facilities for the maintenance of A.A.F. units at Amman and Mafraq.

(3) His Majesty's Government shall take it upon itself to provide immediate assistance to Jordan in case of any armed aggression. The two governments will also hold consultations in case of the emergence of any danger.

E. The two contracting powers shall mutually provide the necessary facilities for their planes in their respective countries.

F. This Agreement shall not alter any present or future obligations of the two contracting powers to the international laws, treaties, and the Charter of the United Nations.

G. This agreement shall remain valid as long as the two contracting powers will remain members of the Baghdad Pact.

We must add to this the written statements exchanged between Jordan and the member states of the Baghdad Pact, where they pledged themselves to back Jordan's position in the Palestine question. They also agreed that the Jordan

participation in the Pact will not alter her obligations toward the Arab states in connection with the provisions of the Arab Mutual Defense Treaty. (All the states accepted these conditions.)

It so happened again that Lieutenant Colonel Anwar as-Sadat, secretary general of the Islamic Conference and member of the Revolutionary Council of Egypt, was in Amman when the second note was presented to the British delegation. The Jordan authorities showed him the note and explained the nature of the negotiations and their directions. He blessed their efforts and warmly supported the move. Like his comrade General Abdel Hakim Amer, Anwar considered the move as a gain for Jordan and all the Arabs. He declared in the name of Egypt and its leader Jamal Abdel Nasser, his support for such a move, which would lead to the expansion of the army and to the supply of modern weapons.

The negotiations started. The Egyptian Ambassador to Jordan visited Mr. Haza' al-Majali (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior in Mr. Sa'id al-Mufti's Government) and expressed his conviction that Jordan was the gainer in the negotiations since Britain had accepted Jordan's demands; and he hoped that Jordan would use Egyptian experts for the new weapons which will be provided for the Jordan Arab army.

When the negotiations reached their end, after a whole week, a difference of opinion developed within the Jordan Cabinet concerning the final note. Some ministers suggested that the views of Jamal Abdel Nasser should be sought before

handing the note officially to the British Government. The rest of the ministers thought that copies of the note should be sent simultaneously to the Egyptian President and the British Government.

The first group of ministers went to the Egyptian Embassy in Amman after the meeting and thus created further discords. They, suddenly, tendered their resignations to the prime minister without giving any reasons, motives, or explanations. The prime minister felt the awkwardness of his position against this open action of his ministers and saw that it was difficult for him to remain in his post and continue his negotiations with the British side. This resignation came in the wake of an organized propaganda campaign which did tremendous harm to Jordan, and the same campaign took advantage of the resignation in a very ugly way.

Al-Mufti had no alternative but to resign; he, therefore, sent His Majesty the following letter of resignation: His Hashemite Majesty, My Lord the King:

I submit to my master and lord, for your agreement, my resignation for personal reasons, reaffirming on this occasion my loyalty and devotion to your exalted throne, and beseeching the Almighty to preserve your noble person for the good of the Arabs and for the happiness of your trusted people.

14 December 1955

Your faithful servant,

Said al-Mufti

It appeared to the subversive propagandists that the resignation of al-Mufti's government came as a result of the

pressure -- arousing internal public opinion in Jordan, and vilifying the reputation of the Jordanian rulers and authorities -- that they had sought to apply on it. They were, however, surprised when a new cabinet was formed by Hazza' al-Majjali, a member of al-Mufti's government, and a member of the Jordanian delegation for negotiations to end the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty. This put an end to the propaganda campaign, but the Egyptian press and radio saw to it that Jordan be pushed, closer and closer, to the brink of disaster.

Hazza' al-Majjali decided that the new developments which now faced the country called for a popular referendum before any decision or ratification could take place. He, therefore, suggested to the king that parliament be dissolved as a first step toward new elections which would enable the people to express its will; and that, after the elections, the people's representatives would decide upon the negotiations and its results. What follows is the text of the letter addressed by al-Majjali to His Majesty the King concerning the above question.

My Lord, His Majesty the King:

Since your beloved kingdom is facing, at the present time, important developments that concern the national interest of the country, and since these developments were unknown or not clear to your people during the past elections, and since these developments require a national consensus once again, I beg Your Majesty to agree to use your constitutional right as stated in Article 34, Paragraph 3 of the

Constitution. Should Your Majesty accept my request, I will tender my resignation and that of my government during the period stated by the constitution, so that Your Majesty can appoint a provisional government to carry-out the general elections in the country until your people's new representatives can assume the responsibility for the general policy under your guidance.

In conclusion, I beseech God Almighty to preserve you for the good of the country and the Arabs.

19 December 1955

Your faithful servant,

Hazza' al-Majjali

His Majesty the King decided to accept his prime-minister's request. He, therefore, issued the following royal ordinance.

We, Hussein I, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, after consulting Article 34, paragraph 3 of the Constitution, herewith issue our order to dissolve the parliament on the condition that new elections should take place and that the new parliament be convened on the date set by the Constitution.

al-Hussein Bin Talal

Hazza' al-Majjali, The Prime Minister

4 Jamadi I, 1375 H; 19 December 1955.

Article 34, Section 2 states that:

"The government shall resign within one week of the dissolution of the parliament. The election shall be administered by a provisional government whose members shall not be eligible for nomination in the elections."

Majjali tendered the resignation of his government to His Majesty the King; and His Majesty sent the following letter appointing Ibrahim Hashem.

Dear Mr. Ibrahim Hashem:

Due to the resignation of Premier Hazza' al-Majjali, and because of our complete faith in your loyalty to the nation and the throne, and your experience and understanding of the affairs of our trusted people, we, with the help of God, name you prime minister. We hope that your program will include the following:

1. general elections for a new parliament;
2. organization of governmental structure on the basis of justice, qualification, and trustworthiness.

We pray to God to help you achieve the measures of prosperity that we wish for our people, and we expect you to present the names of your colleagues.

al-Hussein

5 Jemadi I, 1375, H; 20 December 1955.

Before elections could take place, and while the provisional government was making the necessary preparations to carry them out, a number of ex-deputies sent a petition to the King in which they claimed that the dissolution of the parliament had been unconstitutional, since the decree had not been signed by the minister of the interior in the government of Hazza' al-Majjali, as is required by Article 40 of the Constitution.

His Majesty the King referred the petition to the cabinet which in turn referred it to the Supreme Council for

an interpretation of the Constitution.

The Supreme Council ruled that the dissolution of the parliament had, indeed, been unconstitutional.

This ruling, by the Supreme Council, rescinded the purpose for which the provisional government had been formed (i.e., carrying out of the new parliamentary elections) and Ibrahim Hashem submitted the resignation of his government to His Majesty the King which was accepted.

But the propaganda campaign continued to distort the facts and to spread rumors, oblivious of the real situation in Jordan, and the true desire of that country to conclude or shorten the duration of the treaty, and forgo the military and political gains which Abdel Hakim Amer, Anwar al-Sadat, and Gamal Abdel Nasser recognized as benefitting Jordan.

Hussein felt that to continue further the negotiations would mean the continuation and the intensification of these campaigns, and that such a situation would weaken the pact between the sister-states at a time when they were in dire need for cooperation and unity.

His Majesty, furthermore, felt that the propaganda campaign aimed at the negotiations, which was undertaken by some of the responsible authorities and others, was not entirely prompted by nationalistic motivations.

His Majesty had not, up till then, uttered the trenchant word in the negotiations, but had left the freedom of action to his government.

His Majesty then spoke, and what he said was clear,

comprehensive, and frank: "no treaties."

His Majesty then sent Rifai the following letter entrusting him with the task of forming a new cabinet to succeed that of Ibrahim Hashem.

Dear Mr. Samir Rifai:

Due to the resignation of Mr. Ibrahim Hashem, and in the light of the disturbances that have swept the country (the causes and instigators of which you are well acquainted with), and because of our complete faith in your loyalty to the country and the throne, and due to your qualifications and experience in protecting the interests of our people, and your understanding of the phases in which Jordan is passing through and the efforts used to achieve Jordan's foremost goal, we, with the help of God, name you prime minister. We hope that your program will include the following:

1. To maintain friendly and brotherly relations with all the Arab sister-states in the interest of this country and its foremost cause, Palestine.

2. To maintain good relations with all the friendly and allied nations.

And, as far as the internal situation is concerned:

1. Enforcement of law and order.

2. Organization of the governmental structure on the basis of justice, competence, and purification from subversive elements.

3. Continuous work to better the economic and social situation in the country.

4. Increased attention toward general military affairs. The strengthening of our air force, so that our forces will be able to repulse aggressions and defend the country's integrity and line of defense, and to secure for the citizens, especially those in the forward villages, a peaceful life.

We pray God to help you achieve the prosperity we wish for this noble people. We expect you to submit the names of your colleagues for the offices.

al-Hussein

24 Jamadi I, 1375, H; 8 January 1956.

When, after a few days Rifai stood in the National Council to read his government program, he emphasized, in a special section of his speech, that Jordan will not be linked to any foreign treaty; and this decision, he declared, was reached through the royal desire and guidance. What follows is the text of the section from Rifai's speech on 26 January 1956.

"Since the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is bound by defense pacts and friendship and goodwill treaties with some of the independent Arab states, and since it cooperates with all the sister states within the Arab League and the Arab Mutual Assistance Pact, I have asserted in the declaration I made when I formed the cabinet that it is not our policy to enter into, or be bound by, new treaties, and that we will endeavor to strengthen Arab cooperation. We believe that the unity of the Arab Nation is the first requirement and the first foundation in the life and integrity of that

nation."

When His Majesty al-Hussein visited Damascus shortly thereafter, he took it upon himself to implement this policy. The joint declaration that followed the discussions between His Majesty and Shukri al-Kuwatly, President of the Syrian Republic, was an example of his determination. We shall discuss this joint declaration in detail in a later chapter.

The King then reviewed all the past incidents. The visions of liberty and the state of his army and country persisted in his memory, and he decided to act. His action was, indeed, beyond the expectations of his country, beyond the expectations of the Arabs, and even beyond the expectations of the world.

4. ARABIZING THE ARMY

As a result of the negotiations that were undertaken by Jordan to modify the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 1948, Jewish feelings were further aroused that Jordan, on the Eastern side of the armistice line, would be the point of departure for all future Arab causes which they feared.

As far as the Jews were concerned, Jordan represented the real source of danger threatening their existence and, therefore, /they found it a fit place for their treachery, conspiracy, and aggression.

Their traditional insolence and treachery made it easy for them to commit an aggression every night against the peaceful villages along the border lines. So much so that

the aggressions committed against Jordan in the period of a month exceeded those committed against all the Arab states neighboring on Israel since the Palestinian debacle and the armistice.

The Arab Legion and the National Guard, which, by then, had taken up their positions on the border, found most of their ways blocked, and their chances wasted, by a foreign command. As a result of such a situation, the members of the Jordanian Arab army and National Guard, full of patriotism and sorrow, sent the King bitter accusations.

The frontier situation was not the only case against the doubtful behavior of this foreign command. There had been a continual occurrence of shameful mistakes that did not escape the attention of the vigilant King.

One day, Hussein decided to slap this command. On the morning of 9 April 1955, he called for a military conference at which the following were present: the late Towfiq Abul-Huda, Anastas Hanania, Anwar Nusseiba, Riad al-Mufleh, Sulayman Tuqan, Bahjat al-Talhouni, Mohammad al-Sa'adi, the Grand Chamberlian, Aoud Mohammed al-Khalidy, Izzat Hassan, Colonel William Hutton, Majors Friends and Arabiat, and Chief-of-Staff Glubb.

The King entered the conference room and surprised the meeting with the following message.

"Gentlemen:

"We cannot afford in this present situation, when we face an enemy which has villainous plans against us, and which seizes every opportunity to indulge in an act of

aggression against us, to be forbearing with each other, or to remain silent toward the mistakes that are being committed and the incidents for which we have no explanations. Due to these incidents, our progress does not compare favorably with the progress achieved by our enemy since the catastrophe, a period in which we could have achieved much more. The occasion on which we meet today, to study what has to be done in preparation for that not-far-away day when this country will engage in a new war with Israel, is one of the best occasions in which I can make some remarks concerning the mistakes and the weak points in an unenviable situation, in the hope that we can work toward negating this situation. It is not enough that we be in a better military situation than some of the Arab armies, but it is mandatory that we seek out the weak points within our ranks and proceed to do away with them. In what follows, I will enumerate some of the points that have led us in the past, and will still lead to disaster if we fail to recognize them.

"1. It is impossible for any military force in the world today to carry out its duty to the best of its ability if some of the important prerequisites are found to be wanting. The army, whose soldiers and officers consist of nationals, should have a highly capable and qualified command and a superior level of officers in order to achieve the required goal.

"This, unfortunately, is one of the painful weaknesses in our army. A great number of the officers of the Jordanian

Arab army and the National Guard, in particular, cannot qualify because of education or experience. Most of them reached their ranks through seniority, without any consideration to their capability or competence. This system has prevented the promotion of many of our young men. And here I must declare that, by adopting this system, we are not seeking to create the qualified leaders, but that we are destroying the few elements that can attain the superior level. Some might say that the above elements have revolutionary tendencies.

"It is impossible to question their allegiance to the country. As far as all allegiance is concerned, I believe that allegiance to a person is a real mistake. Persons might commit mistakes, and could deviate. Allegiance should be to the country and to the general cause, and not to specified persons. There is no objection, however, that allegiance be given to these persons so long as they strive for the good of the country. Positions have no value, per se, unless they denote, or are indication of, the services rendered to one's country-men and brothers. It is our duty to elevate the officer standards, to take into consideration their competence and their leadership capabilities, and to prepare a special program whereby our goal could be achieved in filling up all the positions in our army with capable young citizens. I believe that, at the very moment, we can employ leaders, graduates of the British Staff College, from among our young men who were sent there because of their aptitude and who achieved very good results.

I guarantee that they are equal, as far as ability is concerned, to the present leaders (foreigners). Moreover, the question of the training and the cultural level of the candidates, as well as the qualifications of the trainers, must be included in this program.

"2. The command structure of the Jordanian Arab army includes a number of branches which are not within its speciality or field of work. It needs to be changed and reorganized. The structure which, in the past, was suitable and capable to command a division, cannot command the army in its present state.

"Moreover, numerous are its mistakes and negligences. The air force, for instance, is not the business of the army command; and it is impossible for any person to succeed in a field of work which is not his. This situation applies equally to the police force and the constabulary, and the investigation department. The air force should be connected to the Department of Defense directly. One of the unforgivable mistakes happened when the air force was first established. Huge sums were paid to buy a squadron of training planes with wooden frames, only to find out that the responsible authorities had completely overlooked the dryness of the weather in Jordan which did not suit this type of frame. It was only a matter of months before these planes had to be grounded as worthless, and the money spent did not benefit the country.

"The police and the constabulary and the investigation department should be responsible to the Ministry of Interior,

while army intelligence can collect the information concerning the situation, plans, and preparations of the enemy.

"The soldier has his job, and the politician his politics. To add one to the other will invariably result in chaos.

"3. We move now to the general policy. I find it important, however, to bring to your attention the following points first: the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a sovereign state. It has treaty obligations with Great Britain which are based on mutual interests and defense. Should one of the parties be attacked, or enter into war with another country, the other party will find itself obliged to come to its help. I find the mention of this side of the political aspect sufficient. To return to the internal situation: I say that in drawing up any military plan we must consider the safety of the country from aggression and the maintenance of security and peace. These are the rights of every citizen. Confronted with these points, we find that the only acceptable military plan is the one which will fulfill the above requirement. Not one position shall be evacuated, and not one inch of our land given up. This is the only thing we will agree to, although some might not see eye to eye with us. Failure to fulfill the above will lead to the destruction of Jordan. The military plan must also include a counter-offensive aimed at the enemy's weakness. It is well known that a sudden loss of territory will demoralize the enemy. In this the combatants put their

greatest efforts. Then the weakness or strength of the prewar preparations become apparent.

"4. This Kingdom may be in a bad economic situation. This means nothing at all. It is within our power (and with what we have if well distributed) to accomplish a lot. No one can deny that there has been over-expenditure in the army's budget. With every increase in the budget, there has been a corresponding increase in the salary of the officers, or the soldier, so much so that in a few years we have equalled the salary of the officers or the soldiers to one of the great countries, while, for instance, the national guard was neglected. We are establishing a modern command (as if we were secure and confident) while it is possible for the planes of the enemy to hide their presence from us completely.

"We spend money on clubs, and between this and the other, a number of opportunities are wasted, and, in certain cases, some people get rich.

"Equally, when it is possible for us to buy certain things from here and there at low prices, we fail to do it, but we buy them from our "ally" at higher prices. Just a short while ago, even after Jordan had started to produce cement, the cement used by the army had to be imported from abroad, and it cost us plenty! With a bit of organization, therefore, we can accomplish far more than we are accomplishing at the moment.

"5. The internal situation of the country does not face up to reality. We are in a state of war with the Jews,

while the supply of ammunition is short, and the ammunition dumps can be easily destroyed by Jewish Parachutists. This applies equally to the fuel situation. It is our duty to increase the supply of ammunition and to have it stored in secret places in both sections of the country. We must further seek to build an ammunition factory like those being built by our neighbors. It could be said that there is a need for raw materials; and it should be answered that the Jews import their raw materials and produce the arms and ammunitions with which to fight us. We do not want to find ourselves in the same situation we were in a few years ago, when we were denied ammunitions.

"6. We are in dire need of an air force capable of repulsing aggression, protecting our line of communication and strategic centers, and of bombarding the enemy positions and centers. Future engagements will be decided by the air force, for in this century, the air force is the pillar of strength. The training of parachutists follows naturally.

"7. As relates to the army, necessity requires that we create, in principle, a battalion of commandos to be trained in sabotage. It is advisable that they be recruited from among the scouts (because of their knowledge of positions).

"8. It is equally our duty to strengthen military intelligence to enable it to collect the information concerning the enemy.

"9. We must draw up plans to modernize the small-arms equipment of the army before it is too late. The 303 caliber

rifle and others have been discarded by most countries in favor of new rifles and armaments of different caliber. This will create, therefore, in the near future problems in equipment supply.

"10. We must strive to organize the civil defense of the country so that in case of war chaos can be avoided, and every person can be aware of his duty. All must realize that it is useless to wait and to remain inactive. In the interest and security of the country, every one should sacrifice to reap the fruits of victory and success.

"We must first rely upon ourselves in disposing of our affairs, and then on our friends; and in the future our military plan must be drawn up with this in mind.

"11. Finally, we must take notice of these points and seek to implement them. We must try to understand the points that might still be vague in our relationships, so that we can achieve the required results, and so that good will, the basis for success, can be established.

"I thank you all for this occasion which has enabled me to state some of my sincere and candid opinions. We hope for prosperity in the future. Peace be upon you."

This historic speech left the listeners astounded. There was Hussein accusing, openly and clearly, the foreign command which still was seeking to banish the good elements in the army on the grounds that they had revolutionary tendencies and that their allegiance was questionable. Hussein was making it clear that "allegiance

should be to the country and to the general cause, and not to specified persons." His Majesty did not stop here but continued in his defiance to tell the Chief-of-Staff that our young men were superior to the foreign commanders, and no pretense should be made, therefore, that the latter are indispensable.

What could they say? There Hussein, the leader, was defying the summit by hurtling every accusation on his Chief-of-Staff in the presence of the ministers and officers: "you might have been qualified to command a division in the past, but you are no longer qualified to command the army in its present state! And, therefore, a change, a purge, and a reorganization must take place."

What could these changes that Hussein had in mind be?

And what was this purge for which he was planning and preparing?

And what was this reorganization for which Hussein was setting a date in the near future?

What could they, who claimed recognition after the impossible had occurred, be saying now?

Did they know the date in which Hussein delivered this immortal speech? And did they forget where and in which country they had been residing when the speech was delivered?

In all probability a feeling of pride and self-respect is consuming every Arab citizen in Jordan and elsewhere now that a courageous chapter in the life of Hussein is being unveiled for the first time.

Indeed, the Arab citizen in Jordan and elsewhere knows,

as he reads these lines for the first time, that his dreams, hopes, and sufferings and sorrows have never been more alive in the heart of anyone as they were in the heart of Hussein.

We let this nationalistic message of the King speak for itself.

To the young men who have always complained about the foreign command in the Jordanian Arab army, and who have made continuous efforts to remove them and banish them from the ranks without knowing that their king was avenging the loss of their dignity by slapping at the command.

To the officers who were denied their rewards, rights, and privileges by the foreign command of the army, and who were appointed to insignificant posts and replaced with foreign officers inferior to them in competence and leadership.

To the citizens who prayed God night and day that He keep their country, frustrate the vindictiveness and designs of this foreign command, and protect them from the successive Jewish aggressions, while unaware that Hussein was conscious of the vindictiveness of their internal and external enemies.

Finally to those who, deceitfully, fraudfully, and covetously attributed every obligation, achievement, and courageous act to their own sacrifices and efforts.

We leave this message of the King in the hands of everyone -- to read and to be enlightened by it.

Those present left the conference room, and the King

left to ask his chancellor to send a copy of his message to the prime minister for implementation.

At the outskirts of Amman the army and the national guard were assembling to take part in the festivities that mark the army day. The untiring young King, who had come to participate in the festivities, stood up and delivered the following message:

"Courageous soldiers and guardsmen:

"Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds. Praises and peace be upon His faithful prophet. It is my pleasure, on this day, to greet you wherever you may be, and whatever your position is -- officer, guardsman, and soldier. This is a national day, for the army is nothing but the heart of the nation, filling our lives with vigour and strength, and fostering peace and security. You young men, believing in God and dedicated to defend your fellow-countrymen, are but the descendants of the conquering Arabs, and the sons of those fortunate zealots who gave their lives for the glory of the country and the honor and welfare of its inhabitants.

"Oh men of the Arab army and the National Guard:

"It is the right of the country to look to the army as the symbol and fulfillment of its expectations and desires, as an expressive picture of its extensive hopes, and as a song continually inspiring strength and sacrifice. For it is only through willingness and sacrifice that liberty can be maintained, and only through them can justice prevail and evil perish.

"It is the right of the army to feel that it is the backbone of the nation, to see the country proclaim its sovereignty and independence, inspire the future with dignity and honor, and believe in the inevitability of a strong army to protect it from aggression, and acknowledge the enormity of its responsibility.

"In conclusion, I congratulate you on this occasion which renews the faith and hopes of the nation in you. I congratulate you my trusted people, for this faithful army which has promised God and the nation to repulse every aggression, and to remain a faithful servant of our beloved country and our eternal heritage, so that we can live up to our history and to the glories of our nation and Arab brothers in a new dawn. Peace be upon you."

The cheers of the crowd and soldiers rent the skies. These words aroused the expectations and inspired hope, and filled the soul with determination and faith. Every word of this message was a reflection of the speech delivered a few hours earlier. One in which Hussein defined the mission, responsibilities, and duties of the army (which is an indication of a new dawn, so that in its ever flooding light, the glories of the past and its memories can embrace the honor and dignity of the present).

This firm stand taken by Hussein increased the evil determination of the Jews. They increased their border-aggressions while the army stood fast, its soul filled with the determination and the faith with which Hussein had inspired it.

While these aggressions were being committed against the peaceful villages and scattered positions along the armistice line, the leaders and the responsible authorities in the sister-Arab nations were content with sending telegrams of condolence over the Jordanian dead, and the dispatch of proclamations in which they reaffirmed their solidarity with Jordan -- the sister-Arab state.

The Jews realized that their individual attempts at aggression against this or that Jordanian position were not achieving the desired effects. They decided to attack Jordan in the spring of 1956. They were looking forward to the seizure of the remaining part of Palestine. In their proclamations, the Jewish leaders described the river Jordan as the natural frontier of Israel, at least for the time being.

News reached Hussein disclosing the aggressive intentions and the treacherous plans whereby the Jews were to pounce on Jordan in the near future.

The King remembered the vision of the seized riches which he saw every time he alighted in one of the sections of the western bank of the Jordan, amidst the fire along the whole border, while he tried to stiffen to the tears of the widows and the sorrows of the bereaved -- which changed into cheers and joy at his sight. This vision made clear the mission which he had undertaken to carry out when he was proclaimed King, a few years earlier, and he now decided to defend every inch of his country at whatever cost and sacrifice.

Despite the earlier messages which he had sent to warn the Arab kings and presidents, Hussein decided this time to send them a new message informing them about the treacherous intentions the Jews had in mind for Jordan and the Arabs, and urging them to confer and to stand united in the face of aggression and the aggressors.

On a stormy morning toward the end of January 1956, a plane took off from Amman on its way to the distant Arab capitals, with Samir al Rifai, the then prime minister, and Bahjat al-Talhouni, the chancellor, aboard carrying the important letters sent by Hussein to his brothers the kings and presidents.

His Majesty, our brother King Saud ibn Abdel-Aziz, may God preserve him:

His Majesty, our brother King Feisal of Iraq, may God preserve him:

His Highness, our brother Shukri al Kuwatly, President of the Syrian Republic, may God preserve him:

His Highness, our brother Camille Chamoun, President of the Lebanese Republic, may God preserve him:

His Excellency, our brother Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Prime Minister of Egypt, may God preserve him:

I send you my greetings and best wishes, hoping to find you in the best of health.

The information concerning the intentions of the mutual enemy of the Arabs has been pouring in, and most sources agree that the Jews intend to deal the Arabs a treacherous blow in the spring. What have we prepared

for this encounter in the near future? Is it not time for us -- as we stand in the line of fire and blood, threatened by treachery, and facing one of the most deceitful enemies known since the dawn of humanity -- to recognize the degree of danger that surrounds us and the intentions that are in store for us, and fore-sake, accordingly, selfishness and place duty to our nation, the welfare and future of our country, and the defense of our sacred heritage and cradle of our civilization and glory, above all others?

The Jewish state does not stand because of the efforts displayed by its oppressive inhabitants, but because of the efforts displayed by international Jewry and its supporters. How far easier then for us, one nation with similar interests and mission, to act together to avenge ourselves and our country, and to change all that came to us as a result of the debacle.

In this connection I suggest that we, the Arab leaders, meet to decide on how to face the forthcoming events, united in action and thoughts. The conference may take place in Jordan, your country and your first line of defense, and the center from which we will spring toward our goal and enemy.

I hope to receive the acceptance of all my brothers. Strength is in unity and self-denial.

In conclusion, I send you my greetings and best wishes, and to your people comfort and prosperity. Peace be upon you.

17 Jamadi al-Akhirah 1375 H; 31 January 1956

al-Hussein

Hussein remained in the capital of his kingdom waiting.

The prime minister and the chancellor returned after a few days, bearing the replies of his brothers, with the exception of the Egyptian President. All had agreed -- verbally -- to consider the Palestinian cause as the cause of the entire Arab nation and that of the islamic peoples.

Hussein looked into the situation again and again.

The forthcoming blow was still the aim of the Jews. It had not been discarded nor changed; and the frontiers were extensive!

The situation had not changed. The only change came in the form of that increase in proclamations and statements. Real help and effective assistance were still to be implemented!

Thoughts filled the mind of Hussein.

The vision returned to haunt him day and night. It was full of cheerful utterances and tears, sorrow and joy. He saw the heavens filled with his country's martyrs; and in the horizon, the stolen half of Palestine was setting, and the star of David was floating over a cherished portion of it, foretelling of the evil that was to befall the other bank of the Jordan.

The vision of the army then came to his mind, --the hatred of the foreign command and foreign influence.

One blow would be sufficient to change all that.

One blow, and a new dawn would break.

One blow, and the frightful nightmare would dissolve.

But he might have to pay for it with his life and throne.

In spite of that, Hussein decided to carry out his plan with stubbornness and persistency, and proceeded to implement it with an unrelenting firmness and determination.

Here we make room for the memoirs of the chancellor which describes the incident.

This is Wednesday, 29 February 1956.

His Majesty the King arrived at his office at an early hour, in his military uniform which he had worn for the past few days.

I looked at his eyes and I am astounded by their strange glint. I listened to his voice and missed its usual clearness and calmness.

The morning hours passed by, and in his nervousness the King consulted his wristwatch from time to time. And then it was one o'clock, the time set for an interview with the Chief-of-Staff. And the two men met!

His Majesty began by inquiring as to the Chief-of-Staff's opinion concerning the Arabizing of the officers of the Jordanian Arab army. Glubb's answer was that the problem was not as easy as it might have sounded at first hand, and it could possibly be completed by 1985 if the Chief-of-Staff remained a Britisher. This answer drew a smile from the King, but it disappeared as suddenly as it

had appeared.

The King then asked about the supply of ammunition and whether it would suffice the army should a war break out between Jordan and the Jews. The Chief-of-Staff evaded the question. The supply was short and could not be relied upon for any given time.

The King frowned, but he hastily asked the Chief-of-Staff a final question as to the latter's opinion concerning the separation of the police and the constabulary from the army. The Chief-of-Staff hastened to reply that it was impossible to do so, since it would be contrary to, what he called, public interest.

A minute of silence passed by; and then the Chief-of-Staff exposed his determination to dismiss a number of officers from the ranks of the army because of their "disloyalty and faithlessness." The King stood up suddenly -- an indication that the interview was at an end -- and then said: "We shall discuss the subject next time."

The Chief-of-Staff departed. The King left his office for the palace of Bassaman.

I was at home when the telephone rang at six p.m. I heard the King's voice which sounded more like the voice of a leader in the center of a battle. He ordered me to see the prime minister in order to convey to him the wish of His Majesty to separate the police and the constabulary from the army, and to take the necessary measures to implement it at once. I went to the prime minister's house immediately. I relayed to the prime minister the orders of His Majesty

and returned to the chancery from where I sent the prime minister a formal letter concerning the royal wish.

I was just about ready to leave the chancery at exactly nine p.m. when His Majesty arrived alone. I relayed to His Majesty the summary of what had taken place concerning the telephone conversation. His Majesty thought it over a long time, then he threw away a piece of paper which was in his hand and left for Bassaman palace.

Thursday, 1 March 1956.

I know of nothing that I can write about this day. I resort to the writing of these memoirs so that I can return to them from time to time to remind myself of the incidents at work that time might make me forget. As to this day, I doubt that there is anything on this world which will make me forget a moment of it, or which will efface its remembrance from my mind to the very end.

Prior to that day, history had roamed around the ramparts of our country without once knocking at its doors and entering. But Hussein, this day called it from Bassaman and shouted at it in a deep voice saying "write." And history wrote!

What took place that day was splendid and glorious, as the day itself. History wrote on its front page the greatest feat undertaken by a king. It wrote on its own forehead, in shining letters, the most resplendent feat known to the Arabs in their new era.

Many will still remember this day. But none of them

will know how the hours passed by and how the minutes squeezed by as I was privileged to know. If these words are recorded, it is that they may tell everyone in the course of centuries to come, the story of the King who made history and accomplished feats.

I had arisen, as usual, at an early hour. Within a few minutes I was at my desk in the chancery reading the daily newspapers. Suddenly a chamberlain hurried to announce the arrival of His Majesty the King. I had scarcely time to rise to greet His Majesty, when I saw him stride through the door of my office.

He was wearing his military uniform. He had worn it for quite some time. His eyes indicated that he had not slept; and, in spite of that, they shone with determination.

The King sat down. He then asked me to get in touch with the prime minister to convey to the latter the King's wish to preside, personally, over a cabinet meeting.

I carried out the royal order at once. Then I started to think. The military uniform His Majesty keeps on wearing. The diligence that radiates from his face and features. And the emergency meeting which he ordered.

His Majesty had been looking at me with calmness. He then spoke to me in a composed and deep voice: "I suppose that you are asking yourself what reason prompted me to call this meeting. I shall not discuss it, but I will say that I am, this day, trying to do something for my nation. I shall either achieve it, or die doing it."

I felt a cold tremor run through me. And before I

could think of anything with which to answer His Majesty, he spoke for a second time, and his voice seemed distant: "Today we will either live nobly, or die nobly. A life devoid of dignity is meaningless and not worth living."

I then said to His Majesty as I thought about what I had seen and heard: "this, my Lord, is the best definition for a noble life."

His Majesty answered me saying, "today Jordan will turn a new leaf. Freedom or death."

His Majesty then stood up and entered his private office alone. After a few minutes he came out holding a small piece of paper which he folded and put in his pocket.

He walked to his automobile and asked me to sit by him. Then he ordered to be taken to the prime minister's office.

The prime minister and his cabinet were awaiting the arrival of His Majesty in front of the building.

His Majesty had scarcely crossed the lobby of the building when he turned around and ordered one of the royal guards saying, "take over the telephone switchboard immediately."

His Majesty walked up the stairs briskly and entered the office of the prime minister. The prime minister and I followed him in.

The King spoke to the prime minister, Samir Rifai, saying, "ever since I assumed my constitutional authority, I have tried to correct the situation as much as possible,

in a way that would uphold the dignity and honor of Jordan. My efforts, however, have been wasted. I therefore have found no other recourse but to carry out my wish immediately."

He then handed the prime minister a piece of paper with the royal crest.

No sooner had he finished reading the contents, than His Majesty added: "the plane is ready now and can take off immediately."

Upon hearing that, I begged His Majesty's permission to read the piece of paper; he granted me the permission, and I took hold of that piece and read the following:

1. The dismissal of General Glubb from his position as the Chief-of-Staff.
2. The promotion of Colonel Radi Enab to Brigadier-General and Chief-of-Staff.
3. The dismissal of Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Goghill.
4. The dismissal of Colonel Hutton.

I saw His Majesty look at me as if expecting a statement. I said, "It will be a successful decision with the help of God, my lord."

His Majesty then allowed the ministers in. They entered and their faces showed questioning and bewilderment. His Majesty greeted them and delivered the following speech:

"I do not want to go into a lot of explanations and details. It will suffice to say that, from the very beginning, and prior to my ascension, the army has been in a sad state of affairs. I have tried very much to correct the situation, and I have tried a number of times to set the

Chief-of-Staff on the path that would secure this country its honor and dignity, but, alas, I am indeed sorry to say that I have failed in my efforts.

"I believe that, if things are left to the whims and desires of the Chief-of-Staff, it would not be long before we would be confronted with a catastrophe similar to the one that faced the Arabs in Palestine in 1948, or even worse.

"I, therefore, have decided to dismiss the Chief-of-Staff and a number of British officers upon whom he relies to carry out his policy and implement his objectives. I have further decided to carry out this decision without any delay and I have ordered his immediate banishment from this country.

"I have great faith that you will carry out my wish, and that you will take the necessary measures to implement it immediately."

The long silence that ensued was shattered by the prime minister when he said: "we will now meet in an emergency session to draw up the decision conforming with your royal wish."

His Majesty the King arose with a confident smile and said: "the chancellor will remain with you to carry back to me your decision."

I accompanied His Majesty to the door where he ordered the royal guard to remain with us while he departed for his palace alone.

The prime minister returned to the conference room where the cabinet began its session. I returned to the office of

the prime minister's secretary to await the results.

I was full of thoughts. I remembered the talks I had had with His Majesty during the past few years. I equally remembered the despair that choked His Majesty whenever he learned of an aggression against his army which had not been reciprocated because of Glubb's policy. Then the image of the King came to me in his military uniform with eyes and face that showed fatigue.

I was interrupted in my thoughts by a voice calling me to the cabinet room. I entered the room. It was now exactly 12:30 p.m. The prime minister read the royal wish once more, and then read the cabinet's decision that was in conformity with it. The text stated the following.

Cabinet Decision No. 198.

In accordance with the royal wish, the cabinet has decided:

1. To dismiss General Glubb from his position as the Chief-of-Staff and from the Jordanian army.
2. To promote Colonel Radi Enab to the rank of a brigadier-general and the Chief-of-Staff.
3. To dismiss Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Goghill.
4. To dismiss Colonel Hutton.

This decision shall be effective as of 3 March 1956, and is to be forwarded to His Majesty for signature.
Dated 3 March 1956.

Upon reading the decision, the prime minister called General Glubb, Colonel Enab, and the British Ambassador on the telephone and asked them to meet him. A few minutes

later Glubb entered the prime minister's office to hear what he never thought he would hear.

Glubb, who saw in himself the pillar of British influence in the whole Middle East. Glubb, who controlled the rulers and leaders in all the countries of the Arab world. Glubb, who was one of the few greats who could formulate British policy in the world. Glubb, who was now listening to the order of the young Hussein to leave Jordan immediately.

The dangerous man was left dumbfounded. He could only remember that he was supposed to leave immediately. When he spoke, he begged that he be allowed to remain until 8 a.m. the next day in order to prepare his family for departure. His voice was entreating. The military manifestation that had hovered above us for thirty years, now disappeared to make place for the appearance of a simple man asking something for his wife and children. His request was granted. He was ordered to leave for his house and to remain there until the hour of departure.

Glubb left the cabinet building for the last time. He drove away in his car through the streets, which had become congested with people, for his house on the Mountain of Amman. None suspected that this car and its occupant were to disappear from Jordan forever. This time the car did not drive to the headquarters, but drove to Glubb's house, surrounded by his special guard which should have been replaced by a special body of guards taking orders from the headquarters of the new command, according to the military regulations.

Shortly, thereafter, Colonel Radi Enab arrived. The prime minister informed him of the cabinet's decision emanating from the royal wish, and congratulated him on his promotion to brigadier-general and on his new post. The prime minister then asked him to go immediately to the headquarters to assume his responsibilities and to take the necessary measures.

The British Ambassador arrived soon after the new chief-of-staff had left. He was informed by the prime minister of the cabinet's decision and was told that Glubb's departure had been set for the next day at 8 a.m. The British Ambassador left with a flushed face, disturbed appearance, and glazed eyes.

It was 3:30 p.m. when the cabinet session came to an end. I carried the cabinet's decision in hand, feeling as if I carried the greatest document this country will ever produce. I headed for the royal Jordanian divan to meet His Majesty the King.

His Majesty was waiting. He had isolated himself in his private office. The King signed the decision immediately. I then asked that it be returned to the prime minister's office.

The King arose and took me with him on his first visit to the new Chief-of-Staff at the headquarters. I returned to the royal divan where the British Ambassador had presented himself asking for an audience with His Majesty.

Hussein granted him an audience. It did not last long, nor did its results lead to anything.

I remained alone with His Majesty the King. Only the guards remained at the Divan. His Majesty then began to prepare a message which he wanted to broadcast the next morning after Glubb's departure.

The hours that passed by seemed like centuries, slow and heavy. Every moment hiding the possibility of a surprise, and every minute bringing us closer to a new dawn.

Midnight; and Hussein had not yet eaten or rested. Suddenly the telephone rang. It was the British Ambassador asking for an audience with His Majesty the King. I would have preferred His Majesty to refuse the British Ambassador the audience, but Hussein was prepared for everything. His life and throne were at stake; and an audience with the ambassador, or with anybody else, at that time of the night, could not shake him.

This time the ambassador was full of threats and promises. He asked that the decision be revoked, reminding Hussein that he would have himself to blame if anything should happen. Hussein answered him in my presence: "If relations with Britain were to be at the expense of the country's dignity, then Jordan wants no such relations." His Majesty made it clear to the ambassador that Jordan had acted within her rights, and that he had exercised his constitutional rights in taking such a decision. The Ambassador left no more successful than before.

His Majesty insisted that I retire saying that an important mission awaited me in the morning. Before leaving, however, His Majesty telephoned the headquarters

ordering a dispatch of additional guards to Glubb's house to be ready for any emergency. I went home to get some sleep but could not.

It was six o'clock -- I had not slept -- when the telephone rang. I picked up the receiver with a trembling hand. It was the British Ambassador requesting an audience with His Majesty Hussein. I told the Ambassador that I regretted I could not get him an audience with His Majesty at that early hour. The telephone went dead. I put down the receiver while questioning the motives of such a request, when the telephone rang once more. This time, however, it was His Majesty saying: "I have sent you a royal automobile to carry you and the Minister of Defense to General Glubb's house. You will escort him to the airport a full two hours before the scheduled time of the departure."

The automobile had arrived by the time I had put down the receiver. I departed for the house of the minister of defense and found him waiting me. We were then driven to Glubb's house on the southern flank of the Mountain of Amman. General Glubb's aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Mabrad Salman, stood in front of the house. Glubb's automobile, which flew the emblem of the Chief-of-Staff, was surrounded by his special guards in their armed "Landrovers."

I alighted from the automobile and saluted. No one returned the salute. I sensed hostility and belligerence from their looks. I presented myself and told the aide-de-camp that I wished to speak to the Chief-of-Staff.

The aide went into the house, and I began to explain

to the guards, who meanwhile had drawn their arms, that the King, their commander-in-chief, had taken the decision to safeguard their dignity and honor; and that, from now on, the army was to be for them and by them. The soldiers remained impassive. My words had failed to change their attitude.

I was about to resume my talk, when Glubb came out from his house. I greeted him and explained that I was to escort him, in a royal automobile, to the airport; and that His Majesty the King had delegated me to bid him farewell, while the Minister of Defense represented the Jordanian Government.

Glubb answered very slowly saying, "thank you anyway, but I would rather leave for the airport in my own automobile."

I felt that Glubb had some frightful designs, and I, therefore, insisted strongly. While looking him in the eye, I said, "it would be best, General, that you leave with me in the royal automobile dispatched to carry you to the airport."

But he insisted once more saying, "I want to leave with my family and in my own car." To which I retorted, "the instructions that I have received make it imperative that you leave with us in the royal automobile." He did not answer, but walked to the automobile and sat between the minister of defense and myself.

The royal automobile drove away preceded by two armored vehicles and General Glubb's guards, and followed by the

additional guards.

It was pouring rain and strong winds were blowing. People looked at the convoy without knowing its ultimate destination.

Deep silence reigned in the car. It was only broken when General Glubb began to talk to Fallah al-Madadha, the Minister-of-Defense, about memories he had of the district of Ajloun when Madadha was then the governor.

Memories must have come back to him as he now drove, for the last time, through the streets. He jumped from subject to subject in his conversation, as he sighed from time to time. As we reached that section of the road that faced the palaces, he looked at them, while a big tear welled in his eye and rolled down his cheek.

The rain came down harder, and the wind increased in velocity. The road seemed so long that I thought the day would be endless.

At the airport, the new Chief-of-Staff was waiting with the British Ambassador and his family, and a number of soldiers who had come, at the last minute, to guard the airport. The airplane was nearby, ready to take off.

Glubb bade those around him a quick farewell. I then approached him and said: "His Majesty has designated me to convey to you his appreciation for the services you rendered during your tenure. If His Majesty ended your services today, it is because the welfare and interest of his country dictated it. And, in the name of His Majesty, I bid you farewell and long life."

Glubb walked to the plane, followed by his family. I watched the door of the plane as he followed them in. Then I heard the engines roar while the plane taxied over the airfield very slowly, took off, and rose. It was rising and taking Glubb, his history, and his past, far away, behind the sea and the ocean, to obscurity. It was 6:50, Friday morning, 2 [sic] March 1956.

I hurried, with those that were with me, to the Bassaman Palace, where we found the King glowing with happiness. As I started to recount the details, he smiled and said: "no need for that. I followed every moment, and I was with you all the way. I know exactly what took place in detail."

I looked out the window and saw the sky clearing and the wind abating. A peaceful quietness settled on us -- one you can only feel.

It was 7:30. The people of Jordan, the army in its barracks and positions on the borders, were still unaware of what had taken place. Hussein's voice carried the news to them.

"Courageous Officers and Soldiers:

"I greet you wherever you are, officers, guardsmen, and soldiers.

"We have decided, for the sake of our army and for the welfare of our country, that some changes be made in the ranks of the army. These were carried out in the interest and sovereignty of the nation. I expect your full obedience and cooperation.

"I congratulate you, my trusted people, on a victorious army dedicated to protect the country. It draws on our history for its spirit of sacrifice and walks in the footsteps of the Prophet in proclaiming the word of God. If Allah helps you, there is none who can overcome you. Peace be upon you."

The news commentator's voice shook as he read the Royal Proclamation agreeing to the Cabinet's decision dismissing Glubb and three of his companions.

Sitting in the Jordanian royal divan, I felt that Jordan in its entirety had risen to applaud and cheer; I saw the martyr's souls in the heavens praise Hussein.

5. THE NEW DAWN

The historic step taken by Hussein to "Arabize" the Jordanian Arab army was an indication of Jordan's new era of freedom, sovereignty, and glory -- an era which would not have been possible without the risks taken by him.

The great blow dealt by Hussein to British influence in the Middle East of eliminating Glubb was the starting point for all the liberation movements that were to follow in the Arab world.

The people and the army saw in Hussein's achievement a feat which, to accomplish, would have required years and years of constant strife. Crowds hurried to Amman to express their affection, loyalty, and to renew their promises to follow Hussein to the very end, united in spirit, will, and determination.

Hussein saw his victory as one for his people and army. He insisted on visiting his army in their positions along the border, and his people in their cities and villages, to tell them, one and all, congratulations.

The King returned to his palace to prepare his country for the future.

The news of Hussein's achievement shook the Arabs everywhere, and a feeling of pride swept the Arab world.

Syria was the first state to invite Hussein to visit it. The respect and affection he had for the Syrian President, Shukri al-Kuwatli, and the love and honor which the Syrian people bore him, impelled Hussein to accept the invitation. The royal convoy left Amman for Damascus. It included the Jordanian prime minister, Samir al-Rifai. Along the road that stretched from Dara'a, on the Jordanian-Syrian frontier, to Damascus, the Syrian capital, throngs threw roses and jasmin on the path of the King, and beseeched to God to prolong Hussein's life and guide him for the welfare of the Arab nation.

In Damascus, discussions concerning the affairs of the Arab world took place between His Majesty the King and the Jordanian prime minister on the one hand, and the Syrian President and his government on the other. The discussion resulted in the drawing up, on a joint basis, of broad policy lines.

Jordan remained faithful to this agreement. The text of the joint proclamation which was issued at the termination of the talks follows:

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. On Tuesday, 29 Sha'ban al-Muazzam 1375, 10 April 1956, a series of discussions were held between His Majesty King Hussein I, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and Mr. Samir al-Rifai, the Jordanian prime minister, on the one hand, and His Highness Shukri al-Kuwatli, the President of the Syrian Republic, and Mr. Said al-Ghazzi, the Syrian Prime Minister, on the other. They discussed matters relating to the Arab world in general, and to the Hashemite Kingdom and Syria in particular.

A friendly atmosphere prevailed throughout the discussions, reflecting the close relations that bind the two countries, and their belief in the future of the Arab nation. Total agreement was reached on all points, and it was decided that:

"1. Since Israel is behaving aggressively, ignoring the decisions of the United Nations, and since Israel is seeking to create tension, disorder, and lack of security along the armistice lines, and in view of the declarations made by the parties concerned that the armistice lines surrounding Israel should be considered as a unified line of defense, and since the parties concerned are desirous to implement these declarations, they have agreed that their military authorities should coordinate the plans of the Jordanian and Syrian armies, and should strengthen the defensive forces in both countries through joint efforts, in order to resist and repulse any Jewish aggression along the armistice lines. Both parties affirm that the defense of their respective countries, and the general defense of

the Arab world, from the Jewish danger, is the mutual responsibility of all the Arab states. Therefore, both parties have agreed to unite their efforts and endeavours to strengthen the friendly relations and achieve mutual cooperation between all the Arab states, in order to coordinate their military plans and defensive forces to resist this vicious danger.

"2. To consider the Arab countries as having the sole right to defend themselves and repulse aggression from their territories.

"3. Both parties reaffirm their policy not to join in any foreign pacts.

"4. Both parties concerned will strive to develop economical and cultural cooperation between their respective countries, to achieve their mutual aim -- to complete the Arab unity.

Issued in Damascus on Wednesday, 1 Ramadan al-Mobarak
1375 H, 11 April 1956.

President of the Syrian Republic King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Shukri-al-Kuwatli

al-Hussein

Before leaving Syria, and amidst the friendly manifestations of the Syrian people, Hussein invited his brother, the Syrian President, to visit the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

The President of the Syrian Republic visited Jordan toward the end of May. The welcome which he received from Hussein, his government, and his people, filled the president's heart with confidence. New Syrian-Jordanian dis-

cussions were held. At the end of the discussions the following declaration was issued:

Joint Declaration

During the formal visit of His Highness Mr. Shukri al-Kuwatli, The President of the Syrian Republic, to Jordan, a number of meetings were held between His Majesty King Hussein, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and His Highness Mr. Shukri al-Kuwatli, in which the Syrian and Jordanian prime ministers took part, and in which matters relating to the Arab world, in general, and to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Syria, were discussed. The discussions were held in the friendly atmosphere that links both countries, and both parties reaffirmed their belief in the national principles that were included in the joint declaration issued in Damascus on 11 April 1956 during the visit of His Majesty King Hussein I--- principles which correspond to the reality of the Arab nations, its hopes, and expectations.

Agreement was reached on the following:

1. The promulgation of a military agreement to confront the danger on the frontiers -- since the situation worries the authorities. This agreement shall make provisions for a joint war effort between both armies, through the establishment of a war council and a permanent joint-operations board.
2. The elevation of diplomatic representation between the two countries to the rank of embassies.
3. The substitution of identification cards for passports in traveling between both countries.

4. To consider the principles of economic and customs union, the removal of customs barriers, and the immediate establishment of a special joint committee which would study the questions pertaining to the above, and which would lay down the required basis for implementing the principles.

5. To solve the problem of transit, especially the transportation of phosphates, in response to the national welfare, and regardless of material considerations.

6. To consider the implementation of the decision of the Council of the Arab League concerning Syria's participation in the Potash project, and to sign its main clause.

7. To reactivate the Yarmouk committee so that it might take up its work.

8. To enlarge the facilities for Jordanian students wishing to enroll in the various Syrian universities and colleges.

31 May 1956.

The Arabs applauded this rapprochement between Jordan and Syria. The Syrians and the Jordanians were jubilant over the removal of these unnatural barriers that separated their countries during the years. A formal ceremony inaugurated the new travel requirement between both countries.

The Jewish devil felt the danger that followed the efforts made by the King of Jordan to unite the Arabs. He lost control of himself, and among his criminal aggressions along the frontiers were the designs for Hussein, al-Rahwah, Gharandal, and Qalqiliah. The army, the national guard, and the people stood fast. They deigned not

answer, but were always ready to sacrifice. The Arab then realized that Jordan is its first and last line of defense, and that Jordan is the shield that protects it from the evils of the aggressions and the aggressors.

These aggressions increased the faith of Hussein in the right of his nation for dignity and freedom, and strengthened his belief that the road to freedom and dignity lay through unity. Hussein expressed his feelings, concerning the above, in a letter to President Gamal Abdel Nasser, answering the latter's letter at the time of the aggressions.

His Highness President Abdel Nasser, President of the Egyptian Republic:

Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God, and His blessings. I received your excellency's letter in which you express deep sympathy for Jordan, the victim of the treacherous aggressions. I thank you and the Egyptian people for these noble feelings, and wish to assure your excellency that these aggressions, which Jordan has borne during these years, have strengthened our faith in the right of our nation for liberty, and our determination to safeguard what we hold sacred and to stand fast against these criminals.

We, further, wish to assure your excellency, our brother, that Jordan's exposure to the aggression of the zionists, and the treachery and barbarism of the Jews, has increased its pride. The Jordanians resisted this treachery united. Jordan is still preparing for the day in which all

the Arabs will be delivered from the evil planted amongst us by imperialism. Jordan is determined to carry out the battle between the Arabs and their mutual enemy to the very last, realizing that it will not be an easy affair, but would be a long and difficult battle requiring patience and self-denial. We will not be victorious unless the Arabs unite and face their enemy together, sacrificing everything for whatever we hold to be sacred, and for our sovereignty and homes.

I beseech God to help us all achieve the aims of our nation, and the happiness of our peoples, Peace be upon you.
11 safar 1376 H; 17 September 1956.

al-Hussein

Hussein wanted to express the hopes he had voiced in his letter into reality. The historic declaration which was issued by the royal Hashemite on the morning of Saturday, 3 September 1955, in the wake of the barbaric aggression committed by the Jews against Egypt in the Ghaza strip, which mentioned, for the first time in the history of the Arab-Jewish struggle, that the different armistice lines were, in reality, one line, and that an aggression against one section of it would be considered as an aggression against the whole line. The text of the declaration follows:

Formal Declaration

Issued by the Royal Hashemite Divan

The supreme council for the defense held a meeting presided over by His Majesty the King. The council discussed

the latest Jewish aggression in the Ghaza district, reviewed the military matters in general, agreed that the various armistice lines would be considered as a unified Arab line of defense, and that, in compliance with the Arab Mutual Association Pact, an armistice violation in one section of the line would be considered as a violation on all sections.

Hussein issued this declaration to implement the hopes he voiced in his letter to the Egyptian President. Hussein then dispatched a military delegation to all the Arab countries to sign an agreement with them which would strengthen military cooperation. The Lebanese-Jordanian agreement of 21 May 1956, the Iraqi-Jordanian agreement of 13 June 1956, and the Saudi-Arabian-Jordanian agreement of 7 September 1956, were concluded as a result.

Jordan signed a special military agreement with Syria and Egypt. Jordan then signed a second agreement with Egypt which made the first agreement part of the Egyptian-Syrian agreement.

In accordance with the last treaty, the three states were to have a unified command, and the armistice line became one unified line. Jordan, whose section of the armistice line was the longest, had the greatest responsibilities and had to carry out the most difficult tasks.

This agreement was signed in Amman on 24 October 1956. Representing their respective governments were the Jordanian and Syrian defense ministers, and General Abdel Hakim Amer, the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian armed forces, and

the new commander of the unified Egyptian-Jordanian-Syrian command.

No Arab needs to be reminded about the echoes which this agreement brought about. It was looked upon as one of the first pillars on which the desired unity between the Arab states would be built, and as the strongest shield that could be erected in the face of the Jewish danger.

General Abdel Hakin Amer returned to Egypt via Damascus on 29 October 1956. The criminal Jewish aggression against Egypt began on that very day.

Hussein felt the earth sway beneath him as he listened to the reports of the first encounter. He really did not need a military agreement to go to the help of Egypt in this difficult hour. The noble principles which he had preached increased his desire to help Egypt. The close relations and the strong affection between the two countries made it his duty to help Egypt. Over and above all that, the Egyptian-Jordanian agreement rendered an aggression against one country as an aggression against the other.

That same night the King called a cabinet meeting. The people of Amman saw the brave King enter the cabinet building. The King spoke to his ministers very briefly. He asked them to enter the struggle immediately on the side of Egypt. The ministers and the military men were perplexed. They answered demanding time and suggesting precaution. This attitude left the King dumbfounded, especially that only a few days ago they had filled the air with shouts and noise.

The King tried to persuade them time and time again, but the cabinet, and the Chief-of-Staff refused to heed to his appeal. Moreover, they asked the American Ambassador in Amman to persuade His Majesty to revise his attitude.

Here we have to stop. Had the Nabulsi cabinet and the then Chief-of-Staff, Ali Abu Nowar, responded to the King's demand, prior to the joint ultimatum, the situation would have changed. Egypt would have been saved from the aggression, and the Arabs would have shown the world that they, in fact, were ready to face the enemy united.

The stand taken by the Syrian authorities was in no way better than that of their Jordanian colleagues. Delegations from both countries came and went, carrying words but not deeds. Their sole purposes were to enjoy the feeling of power and the pomp accorded to it, and to sway the people. When, however, duty and honor called upon them to act, they took cover. This was the stand taken by Hussein, and that was their stand. History will be the best judge.

While that internal tug-of-war was taking place, the treacherous Franco-British ultimatum was being delivered.

Once again Hussein was filled with anger and indignation. He telephoned President Gamal Abdel Nasser and told him in a grief-stricken voice: "We stand by Egypt in this hour of trial. I will enter the battle on your side and fight to the very end with all my forces and my opportunities."

The Egyptian president thanked Hussein for his noble stand and insisted that Jordan be kept out of the battle.

Hussein had to desist. He nevertheless kept alert, listening to the successive news reports on the developments. When the state of emergency was declared in Jordan, Hussein calmed down the anxious and strengthened the morale of the people, while calling for volunteers to fight for Egypt. While most slept, Hussein remained awake, watching. And if the people were to forget everything, they will never forget the third night of the war when an enemy plane was sighted over Amman around midnight. Hussein was first to see it from Bassamen. He ordered an immediate black out of Amman. He then warned the army posts in Amman and in the suburbs, and under the cover of darkness, he drove alone through the streets of Amman, ready to help the unfortunate. He returned to his palace only after the plane had flown away. He did not rest, but listened to the news reports. He stood alone with those that had remained to fight the battle, and those who had sacrificed themselves for their country.

As the battle raged, Hussein's voice was heard all over: "My fellow Arabs:

"The Arabs were never more in need to face up to the trying situation and the difficult phase through which our nation is passing, as they are this day. The war being fought in Egypt is decisive. The outcome will decide, and for a long time, the future of our recent awakening. In such a situation, and with history and the whole world as my witness, I declare that we are a peace loving nation, moderate and humane, and that we seek justice.

"Our nation faces in this decisive hour the despotism of zionism and the oppressiveness of international Jewry, supported by two great countries, Britain and France. The peace, which the West claims to preserve, is now jeopardized by the so-called civilized, who have violated one of the basic principles of humanity. Their action and intentions have been a setback for justice and moderation.

"My countrymen:

"The criminal Jewish forces have attacked Egypt for no apparent reason whatsoever. Just some time ago they committed a series of aggressions against Jordan. The reasons given were the product of their imagination. And prior to that, they had committed an aggression against Syria. Today the Jewish authorities persist in their oppressiveness. They have carried their treachery and insolence too far. This last aggression against Egypt has indicated, very clearly, the reason for which Israel was created. Israel has carried out the act she was created to play. She has acted as told. We, however, warn the Jewry and its supporters that the struggle which is raging in the Arab land is not Egypt's alone, but that of the entire Arab nation. It hurts the world, and it hurts us to have had this oppressive struggle imposed on us. History will hold these countries which have assisted the aggressor, and which have ignored the international organizations in the furtherance of their selfish interests, responsible for endangering the peace. Instead of abating the aggression, they supported it; and instead of using the peaceful means to end the struggle, thereby

supporting the Security Council and the United Nations, they disregarded international principles and threatened peace and security in that section of the world which asks only that its rights be respected.

"My fellow-Arabs and countrymen:

"I exhort the Arab nation to stand for what is right, and to support Egypt in its national struggle after having been invaded by the forces of darkness. The Arabs must act together to safeguard the freedom and dignity of the coming centuries. Life is meaningless and worthless without dignity and freedom. We must be willing to endure and sacrifice, for God is with us, and victory and the future are ours. Peace be upon you."

When the Egyptian broadcasting station was knocked off the air, and the voice of Egypt silenced, Hussein ordered that the Jordanian radio station should take over. The voice of Egypt was thus able to resume its broadcasts.

The population of Port Said later confirmed that Hussein's act had strengthened their morale. They were to say that it had encouraged them for they had missed the voice of Egypt in the early hours of the battle.

The cannons fell silent. The international conscience was revolted. The planes disappeared. It was said that the battle had ended, and that the aggressors had withdrawn.

Hussein sent a delegation comprised of Bahjat al-Talhouni, the chancellor, Fawzi al-Mulki, the ambassador to Egypt, and the King's aide-de-camp, to convey to the Egyptian president his admiration for the heroic stand of

the Egyptian people. The delegation further carried to the city of Port Said the encrusted "Medal of The Awakening", as a token of Hussein's admiration for the courage of its inhabitants, and to immortalize its martyrs. The delegation also carried the following letter from Hussein.

His Excellency, our Brother Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the Egyptian Republic:

The peace of God be upon you, and His mercy and blessings. The struggle which the Arab nation is enduring these days increases my faith that our cause will be victorious. Our determination to hold unto our rights and preserve our history, and our willingness to give abundantly and sacrifice, have never been more clear than it is these days.

Our hearts have been with you throughout the bitter days of the aggression against Egypt and the Arabs. We have vowed to be true to our nation and to defend every inch of its land, and thus, we have to remember the immortal city of Port Said, and keep on reminding the centuries to come of it, until this heroic city becomes a national symbol and an example of endurance, sacrifice, and firmness.

We decided, on the very first day of the struggle, to award the city of Port Said the encrusted "Medal of the Awakening," in recognition of its heroic stand, and to immortalize its martyrs. We are sending Your Excellency, our brother, now that our hopes have been realized, our delegation composed of our chancellor, Mr. Bahjat al-Talhouni,

our ambassador to Egypt, Mr. Fawzi al-Mulki, and our aide-de-camp, Captain Mazin al-Ajlouni, with our congratulations to you and to the Egyptian people.

On this occasion, I would like to state again that Arab efforts should force Israel to withdraw unconditionally from the Ghaza strip, devastated by its barbaric occupation. This will not happen unless we stand together and request the United Nations to carry out its decision to restore to Egypt every inch of land occupied on, or after, 29 October 1956, including the islands of the Red Sea, at the entrance to the Gulf of Aquaba.

We, in this country, on the Arab world's line of defense, are ready to defend every inch of it to the very last.

In conclusion, I wish Your Excellency good health, happiness, and success, and to the Egyptian people, welfare and prosperity. Peace be upon you.

21 Jamadi al-Awal 1376 H; 25 December 1956.

al-Hussein

Egypt as a whole praised the stand taken by the young King. The inhabitants of the city of Port Said went out of their way to welcome Hussein's representatives who had been the first Arabs to visit the city, and who had come to praise the city's heroic defenders.

The delegation returned to Amman carrying a letter of thanks from His Excellency the Egyptian President, dated 29 December 1956. In this letter, the Egyptian President praised the noble stand taken by Hussein to enter the war on Egypt's side. The Egyptian President wrote the following.

His Majesty, our brother, King Hussein, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan:

Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God, and His blessings. I received the letter which you sent me with Mr. Bahjat al-Talhouni, president of your delegation and your chancellor, with deepest appreciation and thanks. The message it carried moved me as it moved the Egyptian people. The Egyptian President then proceeds to say:

"I want to express my appreciation for the stand taken by the Jordanian government and people to help Egypt in her struggle for freedom and dignity. The Egyptian people will always remember Your Majesty's offer to enter the war on the side of Egypt in the early hours of the aggression, as it will always remember your stating that Egypt's struggle was Jordan's too.

"The Egyptian people as a whole, and the inhabitants of Port Said in particular, have welcomed your gift with praise. The eternal impression it leaves will always be associated with the heroic defense of Port Said.

"I express to Your Majesty heartfelt appreciations, and wish you the best of health and complete happiness."

History will preserve the King's stand to join Egypt in her struggle. He was hindered in carrying out by the shameful attitude of the cabinet, the Chief-of-Staff, and the Syrian military authorities.

6. TWO STEPS

The first step was the conclusion of the "Arab Assistance Convention" between the republics of Egypt and

Syria and the Kingdoms of Saudi Arabia and Jordan. It was signed in Cairo on 18 Jamadi al-Thania H, 19 January 1957.

The second step was the annulment of the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 1948 as a result of the discussions held in Amman between the British and Jordanian governments.

A. The Arab Mutual Assistance, or the Arab Assistance

The strange and inconsistent events that happened prior to, and which lead to the conclusion of, the Arab assistance convention were never as numerous.

The strangeness and inconsistency of these events can, perhaps, explain the tragic end of this convention. A number of politicians and intellectuals in Jordan and in the Arab countries had, from the very beginning, expressed their doubts as to the feasibility of such a convention; and, no doubt, there are many Arabs who have been upset by the Syrian and Egyptian violation of the convention, and the way in which the Syrian and Egyptian leaders ignored their obligations.

We will now tell you of the events that preceded the conclusion of the convention, and their results.

The Anglo-Jordanian treaty lost its value after Hussein dismissed Glubb, the pillar of British influence in Jordan, on 1 March 1956. It no longer had any specific purpose.

The joint British, French, and Israeli aggression against Egypt removed all hope for an understanding between the Arab countries and Britain.

A great number of parliamentarians had stood up in the British House of Commons, after Glubb's dismissal, demanding

that Great Britain withdraw her troops from Jordan and annul the treaty. There was no longer any correlation between the yearly financial assistance which Britain gave Jordan and the advantages derived from it. Likewise, important British newspapers and magazines had campaigned against the continuation of the treaty because the atomic era had destroyed the value of the air bases in Jordan. Britain, therefore, was the losing party.

As far as Jordan was concerned, the situation, after Glubb's dismissal, could be interpreted in the following two points:

1. The financial assistance which Jordan received represented an obligation on the part of Great Britain. Great Britain had to carry out her obligation as long as the treaty was in power.

2. The yearly deficit in the Jordanian Budget, caused by the monetary requirements of the army, could not be liquidated without the British financial assistance, especially since the numerous attempts in the past to secure an Arab assistance had failed.

Subsequently, a conference was held in the palace of "al-Kubba" in Cairo between His Majesty King Saud, King of the Arabian Peninsula, His Excellency Shukri al-Kuwatli, President of the Syrian Republic, and His Excellency Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the Egyptian Republic.

The echoes of Hussein's action was still reverberating throughout the Arab world, coupled with the echoes of his numerous cries for unity, cautions against the Jewish danger,

and for an effective assistance to repel the Jewish aggressions along the armistice line.

A decisive step had to be taken. An answer had to be provided to the questions which were developing within the Arab souls, mainly: why was Hussein's call for unity remaining unanswered? And why were his successive warnings concerning the mutual enemy, and his appeals for help, being ignored?

The envoy of the big-three conferring in Cairo, Said al-Ghazzi, Syrian prime minister, arrived at Amman with the following letter for Hussein.

In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. His Majesty King Hussein Bin Talal, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan:

Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God, and His blessings. Mr. Said al-Ghazzi is bringing to you our best Arabic brotherly greetings, admiration, and a renewed desire for a four-power conference with Your Majesty in Amman, or any other of the three capitals. The purpose of the conference will be to discuss matters relating to the Arab world and the adoption of measures relating to them, and the question of strengthening the ties and understanding between the Arab states. He also will inform you of other matters.

We take this opportunity to renew to your Majesty our complete willingness to assist Jordan and to stand by her.

We send you our best wishes.

25 Rajab 1375; 8 March 1956

Saud Shukri al-Kuwatli Gamal Abdel Nasser

Hussein read this letter attentively, carefully, and with meditation. He was pleased.

A few days later, Hussein invited all his brothers: kings, presidents, and leaders to hold a conference which would discuss matters relating to the Arab world, and adopt the necessary measures. Iraq welcomes and accepted the invitation; and so did Lebanon. His Majesty King Saud and His Excellency President Shukri al Kuwatli were in favor of it. Egypt, however, never replied! Why was it that Jordan had to meet with Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Egypt alone, despite having issued the invitation to all the rest of the Arab world? And why was it that Iraq and Lebanon were being isolated from the rest of the Arab world?

Hussein seized his pen and wrote the following letter:

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

His Majesty King Saud, King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia:
His Excellency Shukri al-Kuwatli, President of the Syrian Republic: His Excellency Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the Egyptian Republic:

Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God, and His blessings. I received your letter, dated 25 Rajab 1375; 8 March 1956, which you sent with your envoy, Mr. Said al-Ghazzi, along with your best Arabic brotherly greetings. I send you my greatest affection and admiration. I listened with great interest to what your envoy had to say, and I thank you for your noble feelings and attention.

As regards your desire for a four-power conference, to

be held with us in Amman, in which matters relating to the Arab world would be discussed along with the respective measures to be adopted, it pleases me to remind you, my beloved brothers, that this question has been the subject of the letters which I sent you, and the rest of my brothers, through our prime minister, Mr. Samir al-Rifai, last February. The King of Iraq and the President of Lebanon have accepted the invitation, His Majesty King Saud and His Excellency Shukri al-Kuwatli have backed the idea without, however, accepting the invitation. I am still without reply from His Excellency, our brother, Gamal Abdel Nasser.

I must add that in my letters I discussed what I thought I should bring to the attention of my beloved brothers, concerning the disturbing aggressive intentions of Israel, and our belief that we must unite to face this danger and the other dangers that threaten our country. I suggested, furthermore, the idea of holding a conference which would include all the Arab countries.

With reference to the attitude which I hoped, and still hope, you will consider, I find that to deviate from the idea which I have proposed, especially after having been accepted and supported by a number of our brothers, and the adoption of a new attitude, such as you suggested in your letter, and which would be limited to our four countries, is, in my firm opinion, contrary to the noble aims which we seek to achieve, and would not serve the purposes we all seek to implement for the good of our

countries.

I have made all these questions, and others, clear to your envoy. I take this occasion to express my deep gratitude and obligation for what you said concerning your willingness to help Jordan and stand by her, assuring that I and my country welcome all brotherly assistance which you can give us.

I send Your Majesty and Excellencies my greetings and best wishes.

al-Hussein

Bahjat al-Talhouni, the chancellor, carried this letter to the three leaders in Cairo.

After his interview with the King, Said al-Ghazzi, the envoy from Cairo, held a series of discussions with Samir al-Rifai, prime minister and Dr. Hussein Fakhri al-Khalidy, the then minister for foreign affairs. He then returned to Cairo.

No sooner had Hussein's envoy returned to Amman, after having delivered to the three leaders His Majesty's answer to their previous letter, that Hussein received a new letter from the three leaders, through the Egyptian ambassador in Jordan. The text of that letter follows:

In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
His Majesty King Hussein, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan:

Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God, and His blessings. Realizing fully the requirements of the supreme Arab cause for liberty and defense against Israel and the zionist danger,

and as a proof of the good intentions in all the previous written and verbal communications, the Kingdoms of Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Egypt guarantee Jordan a financial assistance that would replace the British assistance to the Jordanian army and national guard, should the latter be cut-off, or refused, and they guarantee that this assistance will be continued for a period of not less than ten years.

Moreover, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Egypt are ready to cooperate in military affairs with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and they state that every aggression committed against Jordan will be considered as having been committed against them. They consider further that the armistice lines of all the Arab countries constitute one line of defense.

We send Your Majesty our best brotherly greetings.

29 Rajab 1375; 12 March 1956.

Saud Shukri al-Kuwatli Gamal Abdel Nasser

This letter made it clear to Hussein that the proposed assistance to Jordan was not what he had hoped for. Assistance was conditional. It would be given only if the British assistance was cut-off or was refused by Jordan. Both these conditions were difficult to meet. Britain would not cut-off the financial assistance as long as the treaty was in power. Jordan, on the other hand, could not forego this assistance since it was part of the obligations which were due to her by virtue of the treaty with Britain; Jordan could claim these obligations as long as the treaty was in power.

Hussein had to send his envoy, Bahjat al-Talhouni, to Egypt with his answer to the above letter. Shukri al-Kuwatli had left Cairo for Alexandria. His Majesty King Saud had arrived at Suez on his way to Saudi Arabia by sea; and President Gamal Abdel Nasser was there to see Saud off.

It was on board a ship in the Suez Canal that Hussein's envoy met with the two leaders, and gave them the following letter.

His Majesty, our brother King Saud, King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia:

His Excellency Mr. Shukri al-Kuwatli, President of the Syrian Republic:

His Excellency, our brother Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the Egyptian Republic:

Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God, and His blessings. I received, with deep gratitude and appreciation your Majesty and excellencies' letter which stated that Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Egypt would be willing to grant Jordan an assistance which would replace the British assistance to the Jordanian army and national guard, should the assistance be cut-off or refused, and that the assistance would be continued for a period of not less than ten years.

I thank you, my beloved brothers, for the noble feelings which urged you to make this kind of offer. I have no doubt that the noble Arab spirit, so apparent in your offer, is but a guarantee to all of us that the hopes for unity, dignity, and prosperity which we all entertain for the glory of

our nation will be achieved. This is the sublime goal we all seek to achieve with the help of God.

The assistance which the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan receives from Britain, in virtue of the treaty between both countries, is but a part of the obligations which Britain has to carry out. Jordan, therefore, has every right to demand of Britain to carry out these obligations, so long as the treaty is in power. I still would welcome any assistance that you may give to my country.

My country is equally willing to coordinate her military efforts with you as far as our mutual enemy is concerned, and reaffirms the fact that I have mentioned before that the armistice lines of all the Arab countries, bordering on Israel, constitute one line of defense. It pleases me to note that you have confirmed our point of view.

I send Your Majesty and Excellencies my best greetings.
4 Sha' ban 1375 H; 17 March 1956.

al-Russein

The curtain falls with this letter on act one of the "play" called Arab assistance. Act two will begin in a short while under the name of "Arab Mutual Assistance."

Concerning the military coordination among the Arab countries, His Majesty began its immediate implementation by sending military missions to the neighboring countries, and concluding with them military agreements according to the details mentioned on the previous pages.

Arab assistance entered into its second phase when the cabinet of Suleyman al-Nabulsi took over in October 1956,

six months after Hussein's last letter concerning Arab assistance was delivered to the three leaders.

Before discussing the details and events of the second phase, it would be appropriate to say a few things concerning the true attitude of the Nabulsi government vis-a-vis the Arab assistance. It would throw some light on the otherwise obscure events.

We have mentioned in previous places that the British influence in Jordan, and British interests and aims in the Arab countries and the Middle East, depended on whether General Glubb remained at the head of the foreign command of the Jordanian Arab army. The Anglo-Jordanian treaty was a document which allowed Britain to remain legally in Jordan.

When Hussein dismissed Glubb and his foreign command and replaced it with an Arab command, Great Britain felt that her presence in Jordan had become purposeless. The treaty, by virtue of which she was able to remain in the country and control Jordan's destiny, had become a heavy load forcing her to pay Jordan an estimated yearly assistance of 12,000,000 Guineas.

This increased Britain's desire to rid herself of the obligation which bound her to Jordan. Britain began to look for the right opportunity which, by virtue of an attitude adopted by the Jordanian party to the treaty, would enable her to cut off her assistance without seeming to have abrogated the treaty unilaterally.

The right opportunity presented itself with the advent

of the Nabulsi government. This government had taken over with every intention of swaying the people and being applauded and cheered, without, however, having any intention to do a good job. The winning trump in the hand of that cabinet was the treaty question. The cabinet, however, forgot, or wilfully ignored, the fact that the treaty was no longer of any use to Great Britain, now that Hussein had freed the army from the clutches of the foreign command.

Moreover, the Arab assistance proposed by the three states, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, required further endeavours in order that it may be implemented.

When the prime minister stood in the Jordanian parliament, on Tuesday, 27 November 1956, to deliver his government's program for investiture, he said:

"The Jordanian government announces that it has decided to accept, in principle, the Arab assistance offered by Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia to replace the British assistance to the army and the national guard; and that it would take the necessary steps to achieve that."

He further added in the government proclamation that:

"It would proceed, in agreement with the sister-states which had offered the Arab assistance, to take all the diplomatic, international, financial, and economic measures that will aid the government its determination to annul the Anglo-Jordanian treaty."

These declarations relieved Britain. It was the golden opportunity which would allow her to rid herself of the yearly assistance to Jordan, without having to do so unilaterally.

The reaction of the three Arab states to the declarations was, however, quite different from that of Great Britain. Egypt and Syria were served with a fait-accompli. It would not be easy for them to withdraw the offer which they had made a few months ago in agreement with Saudi Arabia. An offer which was neither serious nor satisfactory. It would not be easy for them to withdraw their offer openly and for no apparent reason; they, therefore, resorted to other means of procrastination and inaction.

The Egyptian Ambassador in Amman interviewed three members of the Jordanian cabinet. He warned them of the consequences that would result from playing the "dangerous game" apparent in the government declarations. He summarized his government's attitude as inclined toward moderation, especially since Egypt was still suffering from the wounds inflicted on her by the British, French, and Israeli aggression.

The Jordanian prime minister's declaration was not bona fide. He had been carried away by the communist propaganda which sought to spread confusion and disorder, and which sought to create an atmosphere of insecurity and tenseness, nor was his declaration made from conviction and faith; it was aimed at attracting further cheers and applause.

He had stated more than once that he and his colleagues did not intend to annul the treaty, but that they wanted to modify it because they doubted very much the authenticity of the offer made by the sister governments.

When the efforts made by the Egyptian ambassador failed

to change the precipitation of the Nabulsi government toward the communist current which raked the country, Egypt sought the mediation of Saudi Arabia to convince the Jordanian government to be patient and forbearing.

As far as Syria was concerned, her president had made it clear to His Majesty Hussein, during their meeting at the conference for kings and presidents held in Beirut at the time of the joint aggression against Egypt, that she was in no position to help Jordan. He furthermore stated that it would be best to put the treaty question aside until some other appropriate time; and since the prime minister and a number of ministers had come with His Majesty to attend the conference, Hussein called them in to listen to the Syrian president's point of view.

The political game had begun and it was difficult for them to stop halfway through. A number of government officials, therefore, went to Egypt and explained the impossibility of their position vis-a-vis the public opinion if Egypt should turn down their request and refuse them the assistance.

The communists in Egypt and Syria had been doing their best to insure that the Jordanian delegation would succeed, thereby forcing Jordan and Syria into the Russian orbit. Egypt, in principle, and by force of circumstances, accepted to help Jordan. Syria followed suit. Saudi Arabia had had no objections from the very beginning to helping Jordan.

All this was achieved while Hussein blessed the efforts

made. Hussein had thought that the three sister-states would agree, in the end, to something that would preserve Jordan's integrity and guarantee her security, since Jordan was their first and last line of defense against a treacherous and insolent enemy.

While His Majesty was watching these developments, a note from the British government, dated 16 January 1957, was delivered through the British Embassy in Amman, in which the British government requested that negotiations be held with the Jordanian government to discuss the future of the treaty. The note further requested that a time and place be set for these negotiations. The British government had, in the preamble, based its request on the Jordanian Cabinet's declaration which was published on 27 October 1956.

When it became apparent to His Majesty that the British government had decided to stop paying Jordan the yearly financial assistance through reaching an agreement with the Jordanian government which would terminate the treaty of allegiance concluded in 1948, His Majesty quickly proceeded to get in touch with his royal brother, King Saud, in Medina, to turn the proposed Arab assistance -- or Arab mutual assistance -- into reality. The Saudi Arabian monarch had by then decided to make a formal visit for a few days to the United States.

The date on which the meeting was to take place between the three leaders and Hussein was set for 18 Jamadi al-Thania 1376 H; 19 January 1957 in Cairo. This was the date on which the Saudi Arabian monarch would stop over in Egypt

on his way to the United States.

On that date the three leaders -- His Majesty King Hussein, His Majesty King Saud Bin Abdel Aziz, and His Excellency President Abdel Nasser -- met. Sabri al-Assali, the Syrian prime minister, represented Syria, due to the fact that President Shukri al-Kuwatli was away on a visit abroad.

This day marked the birth of the Arab Mutual Assistance Convention. The five articles of the convention are the following.

Article I. The governments concerned reconfirmed their belief in the necessity for mutual assistance and cooperation within the Arab world to strengthen their territorial integrity and independence. They declare that they are aware of the extent of responsibility which their participation entails.

Article 2. The governments of Syria, Egypt, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have agreed to meet the financial obligations of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. They shall provide an annual sum of 12,500,000 Egyptian Guineas, or the equivalent thereof, in keeping with their policy of cooperation and mutual assistance for strengthening the integrity and independence of the Arab world. This fund shall be called "The Arab Undertaking." The amount payable by each government, participant to this convention, shall be specified in an appendix which shall be an integral part of this document.

Article 3. The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of

Jordan shall set aside Arab assistance funds for the use of the Jordanian armed forces, including the national guard.

Article 4. This treaty shall be valid for a period of ten years, starting from the date of implementation. The treaty shall remain valid in its present form unless it is modified through mutual agreement by the parties concerned. Following this period the treaty shall maintain its validity until a note has been issued by one of the parties giving one year's notice for termination.

Article 5. This treaty shall be ratified according to the constitutional provisions of the countries concerned. It shall come into force on the day when the instruments of ratifications are exchanged, provided that the exchange takes place in Cairo.

In recognition thereof the above mentioned delegates have signed this treaty.

This treaty was written in the Arabic language in Cairo on 8 Jamadi al-Thania 1376 H; 19 January 1957. Five copies were made; four of which were kept by the governments concerned, and one was to be deposited with the secretariat-general of the Arab League.

The Appendix to this treaty, mentioned in Article 2, is given below.

APPENDIX

The governments signatory to the Arab Assistance Treaty concluded in Cairo on 19 January 1957, have agreed to the following:

Article I. The share of each of the states, party to

the Arab Undertaking mentioned in Article 2 of the treaty, shall be as follows:

The Syrian Republic 1,500,000 Egyptian pounds or its equivalent

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia 5,000,000 Egyptian pounds or its equivalent

The Egyptian Republic 5,000,000 Egyptian pounds or its equivalent

Article 2. Every government shall pay its share of the said obligations in two equal instalments: the first instalment shall be payed when the treaty is executed; and the second instalment shall be payed six months from the date of execution, and so on.

Article 3. The government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan undertakes to purchase all the needs of its armed forces, provisions and other articles, from the signatory powers when these are produced or available in the latter countries. These purchases shall be entered into special accounts and shall be deducted from Jordan's share of the Arab obligations.

Article 4. It is agreed that the Arab obligations mentioned in Article 2 of the treaty is destined to replace the annual assistance (of any type) given by the British government to the government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (for the armed forces, including the national guard) as stipulated by the treaty concluded between the two countries.

Cairo, 18 Jamadi al-Thania 1376 H; 19 January 1957.

The hearts of the Arabs danced with joy at the conclusion of the treaty which was looked upon by them as a blessing and a forerunner of a yet greater achievement, i.e., the complete union.

While still in Cairo, Hussein was besieged by newspapermen asking him questions concerning a number of important matters, including the new Arab Mutual Assistance Convention. Among those present was a correspondent representing the al-Mussawar [Illustrated] magazine. He asked His Majesty a number of questions of which we have selected the following questions and answers.

Q: What are Your Majesty's feelings now that this Arab treaty has been concluded?

A: I felt happy and proud of my nation, and I felt faith in the future at the conclusion of the Arab Mutual Assistance Treaty. I pray to God that this step may be the beginning of a new era of construction, power, and dignity.

Q: Do you think that the British will accept the abrogation of the Anglo-Jordanian treaty without any trouble?

A: We will achieve our goals and our purposes in all fields by relying on our rights, and by following the legal methods which would enable us to achieve them.

Also the correspondent of the Egyptian newspaper al-Jomhuria [The Republic] and its political editor asked His Majesty a number of questions, some of which are recorded below.

Q: By adhering to the 4-power convention, Jordan has freed herself from British dominance. What, therefore, would be the new policy of Jordan? And what do you plan to do for your country?

A: Jordan considers the Palestinian cause as that of the entire Arab nation. Therefore, the Arab states have obligations toward this cause which will influence, to a great extent, the future of our nation. Since Jordan has common borders with the mutual enemy of the Arabs (a border that exceeds 600 KM in length) and since the Jordanian potentialities are not sufficient to defend the Arab world, since 1954 we have been asking for assistance, and we have welcomed the Arab assistance ever since it was first offered. Jordan acknowledges the great nationalistic action undertaken by the three sister states for her sake and for the sake of all other Arabs. Jordan, therefore, does not seek a new policy. It still holds fast to, and abides by, its policy which is based on the principles of the great Arab awakening which, in turn, are based on the belief that the Arab nations are one nation in the great Arab fatherland.

Q: What do you predict for the Arab nationalism now that freedom has been attained?

A: I believe in Arab nationalism, and I have faith in its future. Our nation has found the way to sovereignty and immortality, and, therefore, she will be able to achieve her great goal.

This great awakening in the Arab world, from the Atlantic

Ocean to the Arab Gulf, is but an indication of the prosperity and strength of our nation which struggles for her independence and freedom. Tomorrow is ours and the future is guaranteed, with the help of God.

The Egyptian radio equally desired to have His Majesty say something on this occasion. His Majesty obliged. The text of the message that was broadcast follows:

"The Arabs, in their countries, have rejoiced with this example of a nationalistic action and this fruitful work which will lead to unity, and which has increased the dignity, strength, freedom, and sovereignty of the Arabs.

"The Arab nation is called upon, in these days, to face the developments in this area, to catch up with the civilized nations, and to make every effort and sacrifice in order to guarantee the Arabs the fulfillment of their goals, to guarantee the future of their countries, and in order that they may be able to participate in serving humanity and in establishing peace, prosperity, and security for mankind.

"We, in whatever we do, believe, or strive, are inspired by the mission of our nation for itself and the whole world. We shall not spare any sacrifice and effort in preserving our national heritage and whatever our countries hold sacred.

"Our meeting in this land, with our brothers and fellow nationals, is but a clear-cut expression and an indication of the desire of our nation for freedom and dignity, and an answer to the national feelings in every section of the

great Arab state.

"We will not conclude a matter, nor choose a path, without aiming at unity, in hope and purpose, and making the word of God prevail.

"It pleases me, on this historic occasion, to thank Egypt, its president, government, and people, for our pleasant stay and for the fruitful work. Our best wishes to the Egyptian broadcasting station which has made this possible."

No sooner had His Majesty returned to the capital of his kingdom amidst the manifestations of affections and support of his people, than he delivered the following message from the Jordanian broadcasting station:

"My trusted people, and fellow countrymen:

"The peace of God be upon you, and our greetings to you all. On the plains of the beloved Jordan and over the hills the glorious past of our nation, its awakened present, and its expected future unite in motive.

"Today in the battle of the Arabs against their enemies Jordan stands strong in itself, powerful with the support of the Arab nation, and believing in God. The example set by the Arab conquests strengthened the determination of Jordan; and its sacrificing people and courageous army are inspired by Islam and the numerous armies of their first ancestors, the religious warriors who raised the banner of peace wherever they settled. In the course of time a number of countries have risen and

disappeared on this pure and sacred part of the universe.
Jordan will have a high position in history.

"The Arabs have, during the past fifty years, been faithful. Their faithfulness to their promises and undertakings has cost them plenty. Jordan is a part of the Arab world and has participated in the recent Arab awakening. It shall remain faithful to all the Arab aspirations.

"We in this country still believe, regardless of the many faces of evil and the variety of the enemy's treacherous methods, that the battle that awaits us shall restore our stolen lands, such as Hatteen, Ghaza, Jerusalem. Our struggle shall not end, neither will we lay down our arms, until we have attained our complete rights. We will achieve them or die for them.

"My beloved people:

"In this decisive phase through which the Arab world is going, writing a bright page in our history, and in these difficult days which have hit our nation causing deaths in every region of the great Arab state, the Arabs have cried out to each other and brothers have met to plant the first seeds of that desired union, and to decide the unity of the country through their identical pains, feelings, and hopes. This marks the birth of the Mutual Assistance Convention. The sympathy of one brother for the other's burden, his willingness to share in responsibilities. The tidings of freedom and sovereignty which were being exchanged between the Arabs were carried over from Cairo to the armies on the

firing line, facing the oppressive enemy.

"We must always remember with thanks and appreciation our brothers who have sympathized with us over our burden and our responsibility, and who have appreciated our vigilance against our mutual enemy -- an enemy that draws his support from international Jewry and the organizations that support it. Our brothers have, during the past year, been offering us assistance which we have welcomed. Now that the fruit has ripened, I not only congratulate Jordan but also the entire Arab nation for this great step which has followed the Arabicizing of our army, and has resulted from our constant efforts. We wish to make it clear to all that in being inspired by what is best for the Arab nation we are eager to maintain its unity and its rights for self-determination, and will heed only to what is best, and what will benefit it most, and we refuse to see the nation's efforts wasted by internal divisions. We do not want to see our sacred country turned into a battlefield between West and East which will benefit only the enemies of the Arabs and Islam.

"In conclusion, we must stand united in order to guarantee the dignity and self-respect for the coming centuries. We must keep striving toward glory and honor, in order that we may be free and sovereign in our countries and homes, and in order that we may be the best of nations ever created for the sake of mankind. God is with us. Tomorrow is ours, and the glorious future is our nations. Peace be upon you."

This message by His Majesty, which was broadcast to his people and to the Arabs, marks the end of a bright part of the Arab assistance story, or the Arab mutual assistance, as it was named by the 4-power convention in Cairo. Other phases followed in a few months when the new fiscal year in Jordan began, and the people looked to the sister states urging them to be faithful to their undertakings and promises, and urging them to pay the amount expected from them. Only Saudi Arabia answered to the plea. Saudi Arabia payed her share, and gave Jordan the moral support with which to overcome the ugliest treason known in its history, and which will be mentioned in detail in the next chapter of this book.

B. The Termination of the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty

It was natural for the treaty to lose its purposefulness after the developments that took place and, as mentioned previously in the chapter, which affected the relations between both countries. British financial assistance, which was an obligation on the part of Britain to Jordan, had been replaced by Arabic assistance, according to the Mutual Assistance convention concluded between Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria. It was, therefore, Jordan's right to demand that the treaty with Britain be terminated, and that the two air bases, in Mafraq and Aquaba, be returned to it.

From the British point of view, the treaty had lost its value from the moment that the foreign command of the Jordanian

Arab army had been dismissed. The promulgation of the Arab Mutual Assistance convention gave Britain the opportunity to rid herself of the financial obligation which she owed Jordan. Furthermore, Britain's treacherous motives, and her cooperation with Israel in a joint aggression against Egypt, had removed all hopes of improving her relations with any of the Arab countries.

Therefore, as soon as it was broadcast that Jordan had signed the Arab Mutual Assistance convention, Britain sent the Jordanian government a memorandum (No 1041/5/57, dated 22 January 1957) requesting that immediate negotiations be held to terminate the Anglo-Jordanian treaty.

A delegation was immediately formed, after the receipt of the memorandum, and the two delegations began their negotiations to terminate the treaty in Amman on 4 February 1957.

As far as the financial and military details were concerned, both parties formed special committees charged with discussing these matters, and reaching an agreement on them.

During these negotiations March first arrived. This day marked the first anniversary on which the country had been freed from foreign domination, through the dismissal of the foreign command, and one in which the army had been Arabized. The army had organized a big celebration in the Petra Cinema to acclaim its commander-in-chief on this day of freedom. His Majesty, the hero of his country, delivered the following speech:

"My Trusted People:

"On a day like this day, a year ago, fate added a glorious page to our awakening, and recorded an Arab triumph in the liberation of our army and in its emancipation from foreign domination. It pleases me to greet you and to participate in this celebration of a happy occasion. We speak to you, and to our courageous army, because the strength of the country, and the deaths of those who have given their lives to protect its liberty and guarantee its dignity, have inspired our nation to take cognizance of its affairs and the accompanying ups and downs.

It pleases us to look back, as we stand on the threshold of a new year and bid farewell to the first commemorative year in which we freed and Arabized our army. These events took place by the grace of God, and were His rewards for our patience. We review today these events which took place during one short year in the endless flow of time. This year however was important as far as the future of our country was concerned and decisive for the outcome of our nation which is now going through a delicate phase, facing a treacherous enemy, defying oppressing forces, and combatting injustice and evil, in order to safeguard the future of our nation, its liberty, dignity, and glory.

Our hope for the army now that it has been strengthened by the grace of God in its Arabism; now it has become what we and the nation wanted it to be -- Arab in creed, command, responsibilities and duties -- is that it will heap new honors on this nation, and add to its history an immortal page of heroism. The early Islamic conquerors have set a

good example for our army, and so have the courageous Arab soldiers. Our army enjoys our complete cooperation and total support, and that of our nation. Our armed forces have redeemed the Arab lands with their blood and souls and have recorded feats that inspire glory and pride. It is, therefore, only right we praise those innocent martyrs who fell on the field of honor and fought in battle along with their brothers-in-arms who still man their positions, protecting the Arab world by repulsing one aggression after the other.

If we could recall the individual and group feats accomplished by our sons, if we could have witnessed them, and if the people could pass them on, it would be impossible to record them all. We remember especially those who fell while holding their positions during the treacherous attacks on the border outposts, and who refused to retreat.

Nor shall we forget the courageous action undertaken by one of the detachments of our army in the battle of Kalkilia when it withstood the attack of a whole enemy brigade, inflicted heavy casualties upon it, and defeated it in final ignominy. Furthermore we have to praise the high morale of our air force, and its readiness to carry out its duty to the best of its ability.

These were the martyrs and heroes who fought the battles for our sake and for other Arabs, as did their forefathers before them.

Our army and armed forces today are implementing the principles of the great Arab revolt which called for unity, emancipation, and for the sovereignty of the great Arab

fatherland.

Our country which was the joy of the prophet, the cradle of Christ, and the land of peace, finds itself called upon to protect the holy places of the world and defend all Arabs. In spite of the burdens our country carries, such as the Palestinian refugees encamped on mountain and plain, these responsibilities are added to those which face us in the forthcoming struggle.

This country which has taken a successful step in strengthening the Arabs and safeguarding their sovereignty and nationality, will face anything which threatens Arab nationalism. This country is today in dire need of unity in decision and rank. It must eliminate discord and maintain total solidarity in order to face those subversive ideas and elements which propose to forget the past in favor of principles that do not conform with our beliefs and traditions (See Chapter 2).

We will, with the help of God, be as victorious in the future as we have been in the past providing we unite in decision and considerations. We will proceed to build up our country economically, militarily, and spiritually. We will erect fortifications, establish industries, reclaim the earth, organize ourselves and the state, resist every aggressor, fight for the sake of the past, present, future, justice and equality, until we can guarantee all a dignified and peaceful existence, and participate in helping the Arab nation to achieve the standing it desires. Our land

will be ours only, and we will not despair. Our army, the guiding light of our country and the fort of Arab nationalism, enjoys our total support and is composed of citizens.

Let us, therefore, work effectively, strive continually, and be faithful in word and deed and effort, for the future is ours, and God is with us. Peace be upon you.

Hussein returned to his palace where he proceeded to direct his advice and remarks to the Jordanian negotiators and the Jordanian subcommittees which had kept His Majesty informed as to the initial decisions concerning every step of the negotiations.

On 13 February 1957 the negotiating parties issued the first joint declaration in which they stated that it had been agreed among them to terminate the Anglo-Jordanian treaty.

On Wednesday, 3 March 1957, at 11:30 a.m., the exchange notes between the British and Jordanian parties, were ratified in the Cabinet building.

At 4 p.m. that afternoon the Jordanian national assembly, deputies and notables, held a historical meeting in which the termination of the treaty was announced. The chamber of deputies then considered the draft law terminating the treaty, and promulgated it unanimously. A delegation then proceeded to the royal Hashemite divan to refer the draft law to His Majesty for signature.

While the historical meeting was being held, His Majesty Hussein delivered to the nation the following speech, which climaxed the termination of the treaty, and in which he

announced to the Arab world, along with his congratulations, this day of freedom.

"My Beloved People:

"When I returned to my country a few years ago, to assume great responsibilities and heavy burdens, it was not for love of grandeur or power. I assumed these responsibilities and burdens because I was fully aware of them, and because duty called upon me to assume them, and because I saw that in shouldering these responsibilities and burdens, I could serve the people among whom I was born, and with whom I shared happiness, hopes, and pains. I then realized that a destiny awaited us. Our first ancestors sacrificed themselves for it; they created the Arab world with their blood and the sweat of their toil. They placed their principles high while striving to fulfill a message which called upon them to bring their nation into prominence with other nations, after it had already been colonized for hundreds of years. This was the difficult road which our fathers walked, each person contributing his share towards the fulfillment of that mission and completing what was begun by others so that the results of those that had preceded him should not be wasted. Their goals were: the freedom of the Arabs in their fatherland, equal standing with other civilized nations, and the establishment of a strong state capable of withstanding storms and dangers, and one which would link their present to their past, since the Arabs already had a well-established and standing civilization .

among the nations of the world.

"This is what I returned for: to assume that great responsibility with God, my people, and history as witnesses. I had to achieve the thing that would guarantee my nation's liberty and sovereignty.

Although acute difficulties and problems blocked my path I worked harder and had faith in what I was doing. I had sworn to finish what I intended or die doing so. I draw my faith from the closeness which developed between every individual in this country and myself. I enjoyed the support of every individual which was the greatest help I could have had in overcoming each obstacle I faced. We Arabized the army. This action was an answer to the threat that the throne and this country would soon cease to exist if I failed to follow the example of a specific policy drawn up by one of the great countries. This action was part of the answer which the representative of that nation received. It said that the throne was part of the country and its symbol, and that I was ready to abdicate if that throne were to represent something else. Its value was equal to the services it could render Jordan and the Arabs. The Arabizing of the army took place. The promises and threats followed. I stood by my decision and succeeded because I have faith in every step which I make for the sake of the country. I was ready then, as I am today, to sacrifice my life for this country. On that occasion, I was alone. But I felt that I had the support of every Jordanian. You strengthened me and I acted in the interest of your liberty

and sovereignty.

"Jordan has now every right to keep its head high among the nations, free and independent. God is with you, oh patient people, and courageous army. In the thirty years or more that have passed, we have complained loudly time and time again, and have used one opportunity after the other, to achieve our right to liberty and sovereignty quickly. But the opponent was inexorable and strong and refused to come to terms with his ally. We managed our affairs and were mute, not because we approved, or out of neglect, but to combine our forces, close our ranks, and concentrate our potentialities. The years passed by, weighted with effort, patience, and self-denial. Jordan faithfully carried the burdens of defending the Arabs, burdens which others would have found impossible to carry. Jordan did carry out, without boasting, the sacred national duty which was imposed on it. Black days and many years went by until the Arabs were faced with the debacle of Palestine.

Up to the moment when the Western and Eastern plot befell the Arabs, they were the rightful owners of Arab Palestine. As it was, this catastrophe warned the Arab nation of its imminent danger and the evils which threatened their countries. Jordan, having been closest to the latent source of trouble and the covetousness of the enemy, was first among the Arabs to awaken and appraise the danger which threatened our destiny. Jordan, as a

whole -- people, army, and potentialities -- sprang up to combat the evil, remove the danger, and repulse the aggression.

History took its course. We shouldered our country's responsibilities and directed our people, to emulate those first pioneers who sacrificed themselves to the cause of the Arab nations, which is also that of Palestine. Jordan took the initiative in the Arab and international field. We threw into the battle what we held as most precious, we braved the dangers with an unshakeable faith in God, a reliance on our rights, and the support of our people, army, and nation, wherever it may be. God only knows how much Jordan endured in self-denial, patience, and hardships.

"My Fellow Countrymen:

"We have accomplished in one year that which we thought impossible to accomplish. We have Arabized our army, and are completely in readiness allied with our brothers. We have promised to stand together as one to combat evil and challenge oppressiveness. We are united in purpose, determination, destiny, and hope. When we turned to our brothers they assisted us, sharing our burden, and our meeting resulted in the Arab mutual assistance treaty. We did not stop, deviate, or falter under the weight of the difficulties. We had a date with destiny. We hurried to our allies and informed them that the time had come to break the chains. They considered and heeded our appeal, showing, as we did, good intentions and a desire to deal with us on an equal standing.

In this immortal moment when Jordan was liberated from the chains that held it back for so long, we broadcast the good tidings to our people in Jordan and to our fellow countrymen in the great Arab fatherland, congratulating them on Jordan's emancipation and pledging to answer our nation's call to carry on the mission.

We find that after having become independent our duties and responsibilities are far greater than those required during the colonial era. We alone today are responsible for ensuring a dignified life for our people, for the protection of our country, and the maintenance of peace and security.

"We are still at the beginning of the long road which leads to the fulfillment of our mission for establishing the unity and freedom of the fatherland. We are well aware that the price of liberty is vigilance, national unity, and an agreement among us concerning the national welfare. Let us all, therefore, act as one for the sake of our country's welfare and the glory of our nation. Peace be upon you."

Events then succeeded each other in Jordan. These events had, however, started a few months earlier. But because of their importance and hazard, we will reserve a special chapter -- the following one -- for them.

As far as the withdrawal of the British troops from the two bases in Aquaba and Mafrag was concerned, His Majesty Hussein saw to it that it was completed on time, and even a bit earlier.

On the 31 May 1957 withdrawal of British troops from Mafraq was completed. A great celebration was held on that occasion in which the air strip and the base at Mafraq were handed over to the Arab Jordanian army. Hussein watched the British flag being lowered and replaced by the glorious Jordanian flag. He then stood up among his fellow countrymen, officers and soldiers, and made the following speech: "My brothers and fellow countrymen; officers and soldiers; Arabs in every place and under any sky:

"In the name of God the Beneficent and Merciful, and in the name of this patient country which grew out of the blood and tears of its early pioneers, we are here today to enjoy the fruits of our ancestors' efforts and perseverance.

"I greet you today with greetings full of affection and determination. Temptation has tested us. We have learned that love accompanied by determination, and determination based on love, are the only way to salvation.

"When will love be more obvious, and when will determination become stronger, if not today?

"This victorious day, on which the last foreign troops evacuate our beloved land, we see the final end of humiliation and slavery.

"Today God has bestowed upon us His blessing, and so we will break our last chains, sever our bonds, and leave the world of bondage and slavery for the world of freedom and dignity.

"Today we broadcast the tidings of our emancipation to

our brothers and friends in the Arab and Islamic world.

"It is from this vigilant and patient country which stands in the way of the enemy of the Arabs and Islam and which God saved from corruption and evil by eliminating the subversive elements and destroying their plot; it is from this Arab Hashemite country, proud of its straight-forward national tendencies, that we broadcast God's gift of freedom and stability. There will be no trace left after today of the intruding foreigner or destructive elements. This is our reward for persevering effort.

"My brothers and fellow countrymen:

"This small country, poor in potential but rich in hope, has carried the message of the great Arab awakening and has abided by it, seeking independence and complete unity, and fostering the Arab cause everywhere.

We will accomplish this by our efforts and our sacrifices will achieve for us complete independence. We will, after this day, try to implant by all possible means, the goals of that awakening. We will convert our intentions in words and deeds, producing the means which will achieve the desired unity and which will reunite us, thus insuring our glorious nation the ability to use its hidden resources for safeguarding the humanitarian principles our world has produced. We will act upon the words of enlightenment and civilization which have come to us from all free peoples.

"This good country has, on the other hand, carried the burden of the battle of the Arabs against their greatest enemy during these long years without complaining by relying

on its unity, the nobleness of its struggle, the zeal of its army, and the determination of its people.

"Jordan has carried its burden with the good conscience of the true believer who protects his country, sacrificing himself for the sake of Arab nationality, all its religious beliefs and sacred institutions of humanity, by standing forth, strong and unyielding in their defense.

"The misfortunes and calamities which come and go have not overwhelmed Jordan, nor was Jordan concerned with the treacheries that came from all sides. Quite to the contrary, all this has increased its determination and courage.

"He whose message is just and true; he who stands thus by God and his country struggling for the Arabs and Islam; he who abides by his covenants in carrying out his promises and respecting his conventions; he who does not indulge in evil designs or unworthy grudges; he will accept no other advice than that of his own determination and will be guided only by the goals of his nationality. He will accept no principles but those of the great revolt, and will not settle for less than the best for his country.

"This man will lead and never be led. He will be the first to face death and will not cower. He will always be in front seeking honor. His noble descent and the good name of his ancestors will prevent him from participating in intrigues and conspiracies.

"To you, my trusted people and proud army, I give notice of the evacuation of the last foreign troops from our

sacred land. I congratulate you all on your achievement made possible through tears, blood, faith and hope. We would not have been able to achieve that had we not been willing to sacrifice and had we not preferred glory, magnanimity and poverty, to disgrace and shame.

"My fellow Arabs:

Jordan announces to the world its emancipation from colonialism and exploitation, through the Grace of God, and by the efforts of its people and army. I have led Jordan on this constructive program relentlessly, and without complaint. We began our sacred struggle with the one hope that we would do like our ancestors did and act as they acted. Treachery struck when the subversive elements infiltrated the ranks of the army and the people, preventing them from proceeding towards their goals.

"They infiltrated treacherously through a number of citizens who, blinded by conceit, conspired to destroy and turn the people away from their duties and then proceeded, encouraged by the communists masters and fellow travellers, to preach treason.

"We had hoped that at least they would stop harming us and our country. But alas, an ignorant and inexperienced group made their appearance on the scene. Without having a proper or knowledgeable concept of nationalism, they proceeded to plant the seeds of corruption in the land. This nearly led the country to disaster by neglecting the interests of one section, and sought to turn Jordan and her sister

states into communist satellites. The communists conspired to exchange one kind of colonialism for another. We do not reprove those who have sympathized with this group, but we feel sorry lest they become victimized. For this group does not respect its conventions and does not abide by its word. We are not concerned about them however since their activities are under international surveillance and generally disapproved.

"What hurts is the fact that we had raised those who committed the conspiracy from the ranks to places of exaltation only to be rewarded by their grave errors. And although we trusted them and showed them the right way, they turned upon us. But God destroyed them, and saved this country from sedition, treachery, and unrest. And you have aided with faithful support our work for your welfare and happiness, and for the dignity of this great nation, of which you are a part.

"It is therefore my right to take pride in your faithfulness and loyalty. I express in this historic moment the affection and admiration I have for you by pledging before the world to live for you in every respect.

"My beloved people; My courageous army;

"Jordan has been, due to your courage and sacrifice, foremost among the Arab nations in perpetuating the mutual national cause and it has been first in the field of sacrifice since catastrophe befell the fatherland. We will continue to suffer the wounds of that misfortune until we reach our goal. This has been our state of mind, and it will

remain so. We will not be thwarted in our pursuits by the propoganda, advice, and lies of those deluded agitators.

"We understand liberty and freedom as based on condemnation of colonialism, both western and eastern, as willingness to lend a helping hand to all, befriending all those who wish to befriend us, and alienating those who wish to harm us. These theories lie within the scope of our principles, beliefs, history and religion. We gave proof of that when we Arabized our army, rendering it completely faithful to all Arabs, and not to Jordan alone. We gave further proof of that the day we terminated the treaty, thus participating in word and deed in the achievement of the national aspiration. It is with this understanding that we will seek, God willing, to implement our hopes for complete and total unity.

"This is how the faithful understand liberty and freedom which is not the way conspirators and opportunists understand it in seeking to subvert our country. This is freedom and liberty, opposed to the spreading of disorder and evil and indulgence in conspiracies and intrigues with the purpose of setting up an oppressive regime.

"My beloved people; My courageous army;

"God has enabled us, thanks to your unity to reestablish order and stability in this country which has been inundated with confusion. It is the duty of every one of us to participate to the fullest extent, in establishing a new and happy life in an era which would raise the standard of our society, organize the structure of our country, and strengthen our

protector, the army.

"My brothers and fellow citizens;

"The joy I feel is mixed with pain when I look to the horizon and visualize the beloved section, stolen from us, that lies beyond the banks of the Jordan...remembering the wealth deserted by its people when they fled this dear section of our greater fatherland.

"With sad heart I recall that stolen land, and our recent struggle; I remember the blood we shed on its plains and valleys and the graves of our forefathers which were violated by strangers.

"I visualize all that, choked by tears, and swear that we will not rest until we restore justice and their homes to the inhabitants.

"Let this be a pledge of honor which we renew to our beloved Palestine.

"Let me be frank and tell you that the step we are celebrating is but the beginning of the road which Jordan has chosen to achieve unity and restore our violated rights. Peace be upon you."

7. THE GREAT CONSPIRACY

This chapter could be written as a completely separate book. The events in it are entangled and complicated and are set down here with difficulty. The successive events reveal what might call for much elaborate detail. Since, however, the law has classified these events, we must

content ourselves with suppositions and the inclusion of broad outlines which may enlighten the Jordanian and Arab public as to the truth of these events and their subsequent developments.

Before tackling the subject, it would be opportune to retrace our steps to the few months that preceded the cabinet of Mr. Sulaiman al-Nabulsi.

We have mentioned in the previous pages the story of Templer and the pacts. And we have revealed the purpose of the internal and external campaigns which were aimed at Jordan during the Anglo-Jordanian negotiations to terminate the treaty.

Desiring to complete the picture and wishing to show the readers the inconsistencies and incongruities of those political leaders who laid claim to nationalism in Jordan and those who became fellow travelers, we mention the now dissolved National Socialist Party. This party had completely agreed to the nature of the Templer negotiations through its secretary-general, Sulaiman al-Nabulsi and through some of the members of the executive committee. This agreement came after the visit made by Mr. Sulaiman al-Nabulsi and Mr. Hikmat al-Masri to Iraq at the invitation of that government, which was celebrating the handing over by the British troops of the al-Habbaniya air base.

The Jordanian prime minister was then the late Towfiq Abul Hudda. The dissolved parties, including the National Socialist party, had been trying very hard to have him removed, so that they could take over.

While in Bagdad, Nabulsi and Masri visited the Iraqi prime minister, Nuri al-Said. They begged al-Said to join King Feisal and the crown prince in interceding on their behalf with King Hussein. They desired that Towfiq Abul Hudda should be dismissed so that they might form the new cabinet. They promised him in return that they would seek as soon as they came to power to join the Bagdad Pact because from their point of view, it was the only way to salvation.

Nuri al-Said was aware of the pro-British feelings of al-Nabulsi and was aware of al-Nabulsi's opinion which he voiced on every occasion and especially after his return from the Jordanian embassy in London. He said the continuation of relations between Jordan and Britain as specified by the treaty was a necessity. He even stated in one of his speeches made at a special reception in London that the relations between both countries as he saw it, were permanent -- very much like a catholic marriage.

Mr. al-Said considered this proposal and as he had always wanted to bring Jordan into the pact he therefore promised to fulfill their demands.

The first thing which al-Nabulsi did after his return upon visiting His Majesty the King was to beg His Majesty not to reprove the government for its policy of rapprochement with Iraq, the Iraqi policy, and the pact. He further stated that the union of the two countries was the blessed first step toward the desired unity.

al-Nabulsi then paid Haza' al-Majali a visit the very

night the latter was designated to form the Jordanian cabinet. He reviewed the documents concerning the negotiations and the phases reached and approved them. He had however wanted al-Mufti to finish the work he had begun, thus clearing the way for al-Majali, himself, or others.

We are not trying to justify the endeavours of al-Majali's government or the other governments. We are reporting the facts as they took place without trying to blame others. Unfortunately the Arab politicians in Egypt and Syria follow a different policy. If you do not bow to their demands and designs, you are branded as a traitor and a tool of imperialism -- this is the attitude which brings about our disunity.

We return to the main subject.

On 21 September 1956 the election of a new chamber of deputies took place in Amman. Indications pointed to a period of stability and tranquility in which the population, the army, and the government would cooperate to make a complete revolution possible in Jordan under the leadership of Hussein who, by freeing the country from the nightmare of foreign command, changed the army's allegiance to the nation and to the country. This would protect Arab hopes defend the sacred things of Islam and save the country from political groupings and military pacts.

Hussein could not remain deaf to the peoples desires, especially since he had spent his lifetime guiding the movement for liberation and accomplished within a few days what would have taken years were it not for his leadership.

For the first time in the history of the country, the candidates represented political groups. In spite of the honesty of those responsible for the supervision of the elections, a number of subversive elements managed to get elected to the chamber of deputies by unorthodox means such as buying votes with imported capital.

Communist propaganda had meanwhile swept the Arab world, including Jordan, as a result of the Czechoslovakian arms deal. Russia's traditional historical desire to monopolize the Middle East, thereby threatening Europe's supply line of oil and other materials began to shape up.

A people such as the Jordanians, one third of whom are refugees nursing the wounds inflicted by, and the grudges they hold against, the West, can easily be swayed by such political propaganda.

And so political propaganda did have its effects. The consecutive visits made by prominent members in such political organizations as the National Front, al Ba'th, the National Socialist Party and others prior to the elections had become known to one and all. These members returned with their heads full of subversive propaganda and their pockets full of money.

The elections ended and on the day following the proclamation of the results a group of Arab and foreign correspondents interviewed His Majesty the King and listened to his point of view concerning important Arab matters. His Majesty made the following speech:

"We welcome you to this country, the sons of which have been entrusted by God with the task of protecting that which is sacred to the greater majority of the world's population against aggression and destruction.

"We welcome you. In you we find more of that spirit which seeks truth concerning matters which have attracted public opinion in this country. We would have liked to meet with each of you separately to answer any question which might have come to your mind but we know you realize how busy we are and have been during the past few days.

"The first thing we would like to discuss is the Palestinian question. We hope that through your visit to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, you have acquainted yourselves with the false propaganda and the misrepresentation of reality which lead the free world to allow the expulsion of one million Arabs from their country, Palestine. The bitter rancour unleashed by this tragedy in the Arab world, which still awaits the action of the free world, has placed upon Jordan the burden of protecting 650 km against successive criminal aggressions, caring for the affairs of 650,000 refugees.

"The Palestinian question is not, and has never been, the burden of one Arab state. It is the concern of all the Arab states, and no one Arab state has the right to present or accept separately a solution for that question. There are two basic conditions which have to be met before the question can be solved: (1) all the Arabs, including the

Palestinians, must accept the solution; (2) the great countries have to realize that humanity and world peace require them to act according to the principles of justice and law which safeguard the rights of the Palestinians' return to their homes. Until these two conditions are met, it must be clear to the aggressors that they will not be able to remain in the country by the sole use of force, and through attacks on peaceful villages. Thus, the question of Palestine is the concern of the Arab world and should, moreover, be the concern of all peace loving countries in the world.

"As far as the Arab union is concerned Jordan considers the Arab world an indivisible entity. The Arab world has but one goal which is independence and the right to stand side by side with the other free nations by serving humanity. Jordan therefore does not believe in territoriality within the Arab world. Jordan's policy has aimed and still does, as was declared many times at strengthening the bonds between all of the Arab states that face a mutual enemy, so that they may constitute a strong and solid front.

"This policy is based on reality -- the geo-strategic location of our country, its common historical ties, language, and similar hopes and aims which unite the Arabs.

"As far as the new chamber of deputies is concerned, one which was elected by the people and is the legislative authority, you have covered the government-supervised elections and found the results were pleasing to all. We hope and pray that success may accompany this new parliament

so that it may be able to carry out its sacred duty.

"We sincerely hope that your visit to our country in view of what has taken place with the amazing progress our interests have achieved, will be the beginning of a real understanding among the nations of this world. We wish you a happy sojourn here. Peace be upon you."

The results of the elections showed that the so-called National Socialist Party had won eight seats, a relative majority compared to the polling results of the other political parties. Hussein chose Mr. Sulaiman al-Nabulsi to form the cabinet, despite his appalling failure in the elections and because of his democratic principles and benevolence. Hussein had hoped that the necessary efforts to push the country on toward prosperity and advancement would thus be realized.

Hussein had good faith in the various political groups, and was confident of their loyalty. He thus endorsed the list of ministers presented to him by al-Nabulsi which included extreme leftist elements.

The ministers assumed their posts after taking the constitutional oath to be loyal to the King and the country, an oath which they were to violate shortly thereafter.

A few hours later the Israeli aggression against Egypt had begun. Hussein convened an emergency meeting of the cabinet and expressed his desire to enter the war immediately. But his cabinet preferred to avoid the issue and hide behind defeatist attitudes.

Before the dust could settle over Egypt al-Nabulsi was

to deliver his government's program in the parliament for investiture.

People listened to the prime minister with shock, dismay and disapproval as they heard the greater section of his speech acclaim the president of another Arab state. Everyone was aware that basic rules designated the praise of any person other than the actual head of the state as to tally incorrect. His program was nothing but an official speech in which he discussed the internal and external policies of his government. The country had never known a prime minister to deliver such a speech.

The efforts of some people to attract the attention of the prime minister to this fact were unsuccessful. The events which were to follow show very clearly that the prime minister's allegiance and that of the majority of his ministers was to foreign authorities and not to their country and king.

The minister of national economy for instance delivered a speech to the Arab delegations who had come to Amman to celebrate the ratification of the potash company agreement and praised no Arab country except Egypt and her president.

Then the prime minister himself who during a speech delivered in the Petra Cinema on 21 December 1956 spoke for over thirty minutes in praise of Egypt and her president most of the time without any mention of the King.

The people said that the prime minister was delivering his speech on an occasion of liberty and freedom ... why did

he not therefore mention Hussein, the driving force behind every movement for liberty and freedom?

Then the prime minister said to the people: you are the ones who have elected me to office, even though he did not succeed in getting elected to parliament. The person who designated him for the premiership was Hussein who is now ignored while the president of another state is praised.

And the people could not explain or justify the prime minister's ungratefulness, defiance, and disobedience. They found out four months later!

This line of behavior remained on a personal basis, hurting those who followed it more than those at whom it was aimed until it assumed the character of open defiance of the country's law, sovereignty and independence.

It is known that in 1953 Jordan passed a law known as the law combatting communism. This law had therefore been in operation for years prior to the advent of the al-Nabulsi government.

On 31 December 1956 and in conformity with government decree No 235, al-Nabulsi and his colleagues agreed to allow the communists to publish a weekly publication in Amman entitled al-Jamahir [The Republicans].

al-Nabulsi agreed knowing full well that al-Jamahir would undertake to publish openly communist propaganda by every means possible.

Nabulsi and his government did that while aware that article three of the law combatting communism stated:

Section 3 Jail sentences will result from any of the following acts:

- (1) joining a communist organization to further the aims of communism;
- (2) joining a communist organization and taking a position within it, or working as delegate or representative of that organization;
- (3) sympathizing with communism through speeches, writings, or pictures;
- (4) publishing any communist document for the purpose of furthering the aims of communism;
- (5) being found in possession of a communist document with the intention of publishing or advertising that document.

al-Nabulsi and his government pushed their defiance of the law further by ignoring the security and freedom of the country.

Today they allow the Soviet Tass agency to enter the country and distribute its publications left and right. The publications of this agency are full of communist propaganda and communist advertisements.

Tomorrow they will allow the display of Soviet films in the theaters, despite the fact that these films are made to advertise communism and attract new members. The communists became so fearless, that they dominated the scene with their organizations, publications, and mottos. Confusion prevailed to such an extent that it threatened the

very existence of the country.

You may say what you wish about the odd and unreasonable behavior of the ministers. Those employees who were qualified and remained loyal to their King and country were banished and those who belonged to the previously dissolved parties were then brought in. The favoritism, corruption, and graft which resulted, threatened the foundations of the state.

Communism was followed by other political parties and the ranks of the employees were soon riddled by partisanship. The government employee began to spend more time on political absurdities than in doing his duty. The standards of government policy were no longer just. Partisanship to al-Nabulsi and the majority of his ministers was the only standard by which an employee was classified. The capable employees were being subjected to constraint, persecution, and neglect which was however lifted when they joined one or another party.

To be fair to certain ministers it must be said that the cabinet was not in total agreement over such acts. Amid this blinding confusion a number of ministers felt that the state structure was nearing collapse and that the general condition of the country would result in a catastrophe if the present situation prevailed.

Therefore a number of them met with the King and expressed to him their concern over the confused state of affairs. His Majesty after that had to send his prime minister the following letter:

Our Dear Prime Minister, Mr. al-Nabulsi;

We send you our best greetings. The Arab nation is passing through a critical phase of its existence and its recent awakening. Since this beloved country holds an important place in the struggle of the Arabs for liberty and sovereignty and since this country has faced the enemy who seeks to expand at the expense of the Arabs in their greater fatherland despite the smallness of its territory and potentialities. Since this country still resists any attempts to destroy Arab entity; sacrificing to defend its principles of national duty toward the Arab-sister states and inspired by the great Arab revolt against imperialism and foreign domination. And since in our actions we consider the welfare of the Arabs and their sovereignty, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the Arabs did not achieve glory and fame until they were united by Islam, which came out of this holy land to reform the Arabs and show them the way to prosperity and immortality. They were converted and they found faith in their mission. They struggled for it and came to it through wisdom and good counselling until the existing civilized world became theirs and spread to the four corners of the earth. The Arab-Islamic civilization achieved a great reputation and was the foundation upon which the more recent civilizations of the world developed. The Arabs lost their greatness only after they forsook their religion and nationality. Internal dissension broke out as a result of adopting foreign

principles which did not conform to Arab nature and heritage. They became a divided nation and easy prey for their enemies who overcame them. Thus ended a glorious page in the history of our nation. A period followed in which the Arabs swallowed in weakness, ignorance and further dissensions. But the glorious past kept their hopes alive, and when an attempt was made to destroy their unity it resulted in the great Arab revolt which fought off injustice and imperialism, thus giving birth to the spirit of freedom that spread through the Arab world and whose fruits we are now beginning to enjoy.

Since we are much concerned today about the aims of the Arab revolt we promise God and history that we will live to achieve liberty, sovereignty, and the desired unity of the fatherland, regardless of the price. It is mandatory that we draw attention to the fact that recently Arab nationality has been jeopardized by a danger which threatens to destroy the fruits of our long and bitter struggle. From the cold war waged by the two camps of the world, certain beliefs have begun to infiltrate our country which are contrary to our own. If these are not checked they could influence our nationality since they tend to replace the principles that have characterized our nation with materialistic principles which conform neither to our pattern of life nor to the values of our nation. We would be replacing one kind of imperialism, no longer to be found in the Middle East, with another. The yoke of the latter would be impossible to

throw off if it were allowed to consolidate. The Arab nation has not forgotten that the Eastern camp which now seeks to propagate its principles helped our enemy to seize a valued section of the Arab world -- Palestine. International Jewry and criminal Zionism gained effective assistance from the satellite countries and imperialistic countries in the West. We have no objections to nations dealing with each other because of mutual advantages but, at the moment, we face the danger of communist infiltration in our Arab homeland. There is also the danger of those who pretend to be Arab nationalists and follow the path of deceit, confusion, and commotion, pretending heroism as a shield for their true intentions and activities. To all these we say frankly and with determination that we are aware of all those who spread corruption in the country; that the Arab countries belong to the Arabs alone and that Arab nationality will never adopt principles which are contrary to our principles. Furthermore, we say to them that in this country which has great responsibilities, justice will prevail over evil and we will fight those who seek to harm us as we fought imperialism and oppressiveness when we stood alone. We shall act, with the help of God, united to achieve our aims and hopes for complete liberty, and sovereignty, befriending all those who seek to befriend us, and alienating those who seek to harm us. Our ranks will be purified of corruption and evil. We will not allow our country to become the scene of a cold war which would

be followed by actual war if we allowed others to infiltrate our ranks. If we allow communist principles to prevail thereby joining an Arab communist with a Zionist communist in brotherhood we would, as a result, lose all claim to our avowed values and goals.

There is a duty which we must fulfill. We have to build our country launching exemplary economic reforms and employing every effort towards internal organization and cooperation, in order to lift the social standard of the citizen and safeguard our country's dignity and liberty.

We have faith in this country's destiny through the dignity and strength we desire for it. We want this country to be strong by virtue of its glorious past and the hopes for its future; to be able to resist communist propaganda and bolshevik points of view. We must resist all who seek to thwart our aims and beliefs.

This is our opinion, which we send to you as a citizen and as prime minister and we send it to our people too for whom we live and sacrifice. Its glory is ours and its prosperity our own, as well as the peace of mind it brings us. We will live as Arabs and Moslems and die as Arabs and Moslems. We will give our lives for our principles, our country, and those things heritage has entrusted to us. It must be clear to all that whatever victory is accomplished by the Arabs, it is the product of their hands alone. This is our plan which we want everybody to know, adopt and strive to achieve with courage, determi-

nation, and dexterity. It is our duty toward the welfare of the country and that of the Arabs.

In the light of what has occurred we hope that you and your fellow ministers will take the necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the country, and will put an end to the propaganda of those who seek to infiltrate our ranks. You have in the laws of this country an inexhaustable assistant and the awakening of our people gives you strong support. Your record inspires us with confidence concerning your intentions for this beloved country. God supports your every effort. With the best of wishes.

al-Hussein

When the prime minister received the letter one of the ministers decided to implement the suggestions and advice contained therein. He therefore issued a notice in which he asked the employees in his ministry to fulfill their official duty of serving the people and their interests and to avoid those political matters which had begun to use up most of their time and energy.

No sooner had the minister sent this notice to the press and radio than he was surprised to learn that the minister of state for foreign affairs, Abdallah al-Rimawi, had issued an order prohibiting the broadcast and publication of the notice.

The minister was puzzled by the tactless and impolite behavior of his colleague. He was surprised by the compulsive defiance shown by his colleagues towards the

instructions of the King, but his perplexity was to no avail. al-Rimawi had decided to act as he pleased and his open political behavior reached such an extent that his office became a meeting place for the members of his party where employment was still based on party membership, regardless of capability or other qualification.

When the secretary of state for Foreign affairs (press and radio section) objected to Rimawi's order preventing the publication and broadcast of the notice and resorted to the prime minister for arbitration, he found Nabulsi to be in full agreement with al-Rimawi. This forced the secretary to submit his immediate resignation.

Had the resignation been forwarded to the King at the right moment, and had His Majesty accepted it, it would have been easy for Nabulsi and his minister to accept it too. Anyone could then have used the broadcasting station as he pleased and by so doing would have changed the station from representing the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to becoming a purely political station.

The situation remained as it had been until the day when the termination of the Anglo-Jordanian treaty was announced. The Cabinet convened and decreed a three day national holiday, oblivious to the harm it would cause to the government and to the public interest. Then the cabinet decided to draw up the program of the special celebration to mark the occasion, although a committee is usually supposed to carry out this function. The program

not only omitted any mention of the King or the debt the nation owed him for achieving this national goal but also did not give His Majesty any time in which to address his people.

The cabinet did not stop at this point. It delegated a number of ministers, each to his village or town, to laud themselves and extoll their party and its program as they pleased.

Before Hussein could free himself to put an end to all this mockery and nonsense which was destroying the dignity of law and the values of the country, he received a telegraphic message from His Majesty Saud Bin Abdel Aziz, informing him that he had in his possession information which should be discussed by Arab leaders at a meeting to be held shortly thereafter.

Hussein gave the matter his immediate attention as he had done in previous cases that concerned the stability and security of any other Arab state. His Majesty prepared his reply in a letter to King Saud, and sent copies of it to His Excellency Shukri al-Kuwatly, president of the Syrian republic and to His Excellency Gamal Abdel Nasser, president of the Egyptian republic. As was his habit in dispatching all royal letters to the leaders of other states, His Majesty chose his chancellor Bahjat al-Talhouni as his personal messenger on this important occasion. The text of the royal letter follows.

His Majesty, our brother King Saud Bin Abdel Aziz al-Saud,

may God preserve him:

His Excellency, our brother President Shukri al-Kuwatly,

may God preserve him:

His Excellency, our brother President Gamal Abdel Nasser,

may God preserve him:

I send His Majesty, our brother, my best greetings and wishes. Your Majesty fully realize the delicate instances our Arab nation is passing through in this phase of its existence, and the great dangers that still threaten our existence and the security of our countries. Since the period, in which we are living, will influence greatly the future of our nation, we should remain vigilant all the time and we should always be prepared to face any surprise, and frustrate all intrigues.

We find that imperialism, despite its defeat in the Arab world, is still lurking, exploiting all means available to reduce our strength and disperse our ranks. It strives to use the resources of our countries and our strategic positions for a cold war which would bring evil, insecurity, and damages to us. As we fight-off western imperialism, we must combat any propaganda and all doctrines which do not conform with our principles, and are contrary to our beliefs and our religion. Thus we would be fighting for our existence as a nation, and for the unity of our nation.

We note that our mutual struggle and our joint war places us face to face with the immediate zionist danger

which has invaded our homes and is supported by international Jewry. Israel is but the creation of imperialism, made to execute its designs and fulfill its desires.

The Arab debacle in 1948 is not so far away. One of the most important, although superficial, causes underlying this debacle was the fact that events caught the Arabs by surprise, and forced them to enter the war unprepared and without plans. We must face facts and confess that the situation has not improved. There are no unified subjective studies which would enable the Arabs to handle any situation, in all aspects of military, economic, local, or international situations. We have, above all, the cause of Palestine which, despite the attention given to the results of the catastrophe, still requires consideration and an agreement as to the best possible way in which responsibility should be shared. We find ourselves unable to take advantage of the propaganda machinery which would further our causes on the international scene, so much so that we are being accused of being unable to reach a decision concerning our aims on any situation which faces us. If we go into the details of the Palestinian question, we would find that there is plenty to be discussed, and that there is a turning point to the present state of affairs. We must prepare ourselves for this political battle, even though it appears that it will be some time yet before it comes up for discussion. One of the first demonstrations which face us, one which the world wants to solve since it keeps the Palestinian question alive, is the case of the refugees

who have been scattered away from their homes, and who still suffer every kind of misery and misfortune. Their morale has fallen and they are filled with despair and desire for revenge. Their Arab characteristics, which are important for victory and the liberation of the seized land, have been destroyed.

Temptations, which have tried us, have taught us in Jordan to consider every Arab cause as the cause of our entire nation, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arab Gulf. These causes affect the life of our nation in a positive or negative way. All this requires a unity of purpose and a similar point of view on the various causes upheld by the Arab world. The Israeli-imperialist aggression committed against Egypt, and its concern for the Suez Canal, the Ghaza strip, and the Gulf of Aquaba, are but instances of the danger which threatens the very existence of the Arabs and their civilization and future. The barbaric acts which the western Arabs are facing in Algeria are but blows aimed at destroying the Arab unity, and breaking their bonds. The aggression committed against peaceful Yemen, a country which is moving toward enlightenment and awakening, is but an open conspiracy aimed at distracting the attention of every state, keeping every state busy with itself.

This has been the path of imperialism and the path of the enemies of the Arab nation from the ancient times to the present day. At our last meeting in Cairo, it was opposed, on principle, to discuss the question of Palestine. We must hold a meeting to discuss the aggressive intentions of Israel

and her threats. All these cases require study and planning to insure that we are not caught by surprise unprepared. I find that duty calls upon us to discuss these matters in a nationalistic, fraternal, and realistic atmosphere. We must shoulder the responsibility and face the consequences, having in mind the welfare of our nation as we plan a future which should fulfill our aspirations and aims, acknowledging fully the sacred trust which was placed in our hands by God and by history. Peace be upon you.

23 Sha'aban 1376; 25 March 1957

al-Hussein

In their replies, the three leaders gave His Majesty their support on the matters mentioned in the above letter, and expressed their admiration for his loyalty to the Arab causes, and the care and attention he gave them.

The first reply received by His Majesty was that from Shukri al-Kuwatli, President of the Syrian Republic. The text of the letter follows:

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
His Majesty, our brother King Hussein I, may God preserve him:

Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God, and His blessings. I send you my best greetings, wishing you eternal glory, happiness, and joy. I received your Majesty's noble letter which was delivered to me by your chancellor, Mr. Bahjat al-Talhouni.

What you have mentioned is just and correct. We agree with you that we need to prepare against the aggressive intentions

of our mutual enemy. After its international defeat in its last aggression, we must watch over whatever preparations and plans our enemy has. If the enemy has been able to benefit, in the past, from our extemporariness, has strengthened himself through our discord, and gained by our mistakes, we hope that our present vigilance, solidarity, and unity of rank will be the guarantee that we may have in facing its intrigues. God, our faith, determination, and strong bonds are the best guarantee for our victory. We must prepare to vanquish our enemy with strength, and defeat him through unity and vigilance. We understand your point of view and support you in your desire to discuss other matters which might involve the security and peace of this area. We welcome the opportunity to meet with you and with our two other brothers, King Saud and President Gamal Abdel Nasser, whenever you desire, and wherever you please, for we are anxious to achieve unity and strengthen the Arab front against all who seek to harm it. We beseech God to help us all, and to show us the way. Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God, and His blessings.

Damascus, 25 Sha'aban 1376; 27 March 1957

Shukri al-Kuwatli

His Excellency President Gamal Abdel Nasser sent the following reply:
His Majesty, my brother, King Hussein bin Talal, may God preserve him:

I send you my greetings and best wishes. I received your letter, and wish to inform Your Majesty that I agree

with everything you have mentioned in it. Our country is, indeed, passing through a delicate phase which requires prudence, precaution, and a readiness to face all who have designs on it, for imperialism will not give up in the face of our Arab nationalism, which is becoming stronger and is consolidating in order to end all foreign influence in the land of the Arabs, from the Arab Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean. God, by giving our country its position, had intended us to be a peaceful link between nations, and also had wanted us to be free, able to tend to the religions that have sprung up from our country. He had not wanted us to be a sphere of influence of any state, or the playground of any nation, western or eastern. This trust, which God has placed in our hands, deserves not only all our efforts, but deserves that we lay down our lives to achieve our duty before God, our country, and the Arabs.

Every Arab has a duty toward our beloved Palestine. It is possible that the past events have restrained our enemy. The fact, however, that he has shown no reservation in declaring his intentions about a new aggression, calls upon us to study the situation and draw up plans which would enable us to face any unexpected move.

You mention in your letter a desire to hold a meeting for consultations and planning. It is, indeed, my greatest desire that we meet from time to time to keep our steps and plans in line and be prepared to face any new developments.

We pray to God to give our country all glory and

prosperity and grant us success in defending it from the greedy enemies until the Arabs have achieved their rightful place.

Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God, and His blessings.

Cairo, 1 Ramadan 1376 H; 1 April 1957

Your faithful brother

Gamal Abdel Nasser

The last letter was the following reply from the Saudi Arabian monarch.

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
From Saud Bin Abdel Aziz al-Saud to His Majesty, our brother, King Hussein, King of Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, may God preserve him.

Peace on my beloved brother, and the mercy of God, and His blessings. I received, with concern and appreciation, your letter dated 23 Sha'aban 1376 H, and I considered your frank statement carefully, which expressed noble sentiments full of the spirit of Islam and pure nationalistic feelings. The references His Majesty, our brother, has made to the past, present, and the future agree with our point of view. I agree completely with His Majesty, our brother, that we must always remain in constant touch with each other to exchange ideas concerning the plans we have to adopt and follow. We must act united to strengthen our independence, and cooperate to repulse aggression. We must, further, act to liberate our brothers who still suffer from the yoke

of imperialism, and cooperate to combat against all subversive doctrines which are not in conformity with our religion and traditions. You will always find me supporting you personally, militarily, financially, and with my country, for the good of Islam and the protection of the Moslems, and for everything that will give our nation its place and protect it from evil. I pray to God that He may help us achieve glory and dignity for our Arab, Islamic nation and our Arab, Islamic country. I further pray that the Almighty may bestow upon us His Grace, accept our fasting in this holy month, and grant us our prayers for the glory of Islam and the Moslems. May God preserve and keep you.

Riyad, 3 Ramadan 1376 H; 3 April 1957

Your brother,

Saud

The royal letter and the message contained therein drew up the plan for a true national policy, especially concerning the Palestinian question. And in spite of the fact that all three leaders had unanimously expressed their gratitude and admiration to Hussein for his concern about Arab causes, the Jordanian cabinet did not shy away from using this incident as an occasion in which to debate the constitutional rights of the King and limit them completely. This was done with or without knowledge of the fact that Hussein's prerogative entitled him to write directly to the heads of state especially his brothers -- the Arab head of states. Nor did

they note the fact that protocol required that royal letters be dispatched through the royal chancellor. Furthermore, His Majesty had informed Nabulsi about the letters, as did the chancellor when the two met with some of the former's ministers in the lobby of the Philadelphia hotel in Amman before his departure for Cairo.

It would have been better for those members of the cabinet to look back and review the unconstitutional acts which they had committed endangering the country's security and thereby defying the law.

How much better it would have been for these ministers to have remembered their involvement with personal ambition and commercial deals throughout the duration of their tenure. The conduct of their affairs placed the interests of their parties above the welfare of the state.

Instead of delegating the prime minister to thank His Majesty for the letter in which he had expounded the position adopted by Arab nationalism vis-a-vis its enemies as a whole and western imperialism (and criminal zionism in particular) the cabinet delegated the prime minister to protest the method in which the letter was dispatched.

The King received the prime minister kindly. He discussed with the prime minister the lack of harmony, understanding and faith among the ministers and made it clear to the prime minister that the cabinet in its present state could not carry out its duties. The King then talked about the state of confusion existing throughout the country and

the disregard for human dignity and freedom which had reached the degree where personal telephone conversations were tapped and recorded.

al-Nabulsi could not argue with truths which had become clear to all. He therefore did not answer but left, promising His Majesty to modify his cabinet immediately and pointing out to His Majesty the ministers who were going to be affected by the modification.

That same evening, Nabulsi met with the Egyptian Military Attache in the Egyptian Embassy in Amman. As it was his habit to discuss with him all matters of state, he spoke of the proposed cabinet change. The attache advised him against it saying that the prime minister could avoid the King for a number of days.

Less than an hour later, the prime minister received a telegram from President Gamal Abdel Nasser asking him to remain in his position and not to modify his cabinet, so there should be no chance to replace him.

No sooner had the prime minister met with some of his ministers than they decided to adopt a new means of defiance. This was the decree issued by the cabinet which established diplomatic relations with Russia...and the intention of establishing, in the near future, diplomatic relations with communist China.

The morning of the next day, the Middle East News Agency in Amman issued a news dispatch revealing what it called the secrets underlying the cabinet crisis between the King and

his government. This agency attributed its dubious news to what it called "a responsible ministerial source" and urged the prime minister to remain in office and not to modify his cabinet.

The dispatch claimed that the above secrets consisted of the following three points. The royal letter, the extraordinary session of Parliament, and the return of the Jordanian delegation from Tunis.

As far as the royal letter is concerned, we have made it, text available to the reader, together with the replies of the three heads of state. We have, furthermore, clarified the position adopted by the government.

As far as the extraordinary session of parliament is concerned, the gist of the matter is that the cabinet had drawn up thirty draft laws and had convened parliament in an extraordinary session to discuss and debate them. The King was then in Cairo with Sulaiman al-Nabulsi. The regency was comprised of Ibrahim Hashem, Dr. Hussein Fakhri al-Kaledi and His Eminence Sheikh Nadim al-Mallah. When the decree convening parliament was referred to the regency for signature the regency returned it on the basis that according to Article 82 of the Constitution an extraordinary session of parliament could be called only to deal with emergency laws.

The deputy prime minister, Anwar al-Khatib and Minister of Finance Salah Toukan tried to convince the regency as to the necessity for these laws. But the regency convinced them

and the decree was sent back to the cabinet.

When His Majesty returned to Amman the list of laws was referred to him and His Majesty chose twelve laws from among them, including the Budget. The government however was satisfied with the Budget. The royal decree was issued convening parliament, and there it ended.

As far as the Jordanian delegation is concerned, the matter is pure fabrication and forgery. It would not have resulted in disagreement had the authorities then displayed good will and understanding.

A delegation, composed of civilians and military men, had left for Tunis to participate in the celebrations that marked the independence of that sister state. On its way back the delegation stopped over and remained in Rome. The situation on the borders could not allow military personnel then, as it usually did, to remain outside the country for a long time. Therefore, Hussein asked his chancellor to get in touch with the government and demand that the delegation and especially one of its members, Ali al-Hayyari, should return after having completed their mission. The chancellor got in touch with the prime minister and was informed by the prime minister's secretary, Mohammad Ali Ridda, that Sulaiman al-Nabulsi and Anwar al-Khatib were absent from the capital since morning and that they had left to visit the Aquaba Jaber refugee camp on the western bank and would not return before the next morning since they were invited to dine at the Ambassador hotel in

Jerusalem. The secretary asked the royal divan to go ahead and wire the delegation to return in the absence of the prime minister and the ministers.

In compliance, the chancellor sent a telegram to the Jordanian embassy in Rome asking the Jordanian minister there to send the delegation, and especially General Ali Hayyari, back to Jordan.

Since the telegram was mentioned as one of the secrets underlying the crisis between the King and the government it is opportune to mention on this occasion the other telegram which Sulaiman al-Nabulsi received from a businessman named Nain al-Khala'ji who was in Rome too at that time. He had asked Nabulsi in the telegram to give a member of the delegation a week's furlough in order that he might be able to see the sights of Rome and Italy.

What kind of logic is that which allows a common man to demand that the prime minister grant a furlough (for another minister) on personal grounds and does not allow the chancellor, in the absence of the prime minister and the cabinet, to request through diplomatic channels that the Jordanian embassy impress the delegation with the necessity of returning due to tension on the border?

The truth concerning the role played by the Middle East News Agency became clear and apparent. It was established to serve first Egyptian and then communist propaganda. Suffice it to say that the agency had hired a known communist to manage its affairs, in spite of the

fact that it was contrary to the laws and regulations of the country.

The agency was not above creating and spreading rumors. But they could not have acted without the tacit consent and agreement of al-Nabulsi's government. Certain ministers used some of the agency offices as their headquarters and did provide the agency with many ministerial decisions before the cabinet could even approve them.

That day, the employees of that agency and the ministerial aides went around the streets distributing the false pamphlets, thus spreading doubt and anxiety.

Invisible efforts were meanwhile being made in secrecy and darkness -- propelled, supported, exploited and channeled by international communism.

Events accumulated and succeeded each other at a fast pace. The atmosphere was filled with anxiety and doubt. Loyal citizens held their breath awaiting a miracle which would save the country from danger. All eyes were riveted on the person of the young King.

Suddenly, the first link in a chain of events which made up the great conspiracy, made its appearance.

On the evening of Monday, 8 April 1957, His Majesty returned to the royal divan after having learned that Amman had been surrounded and cut off by armored detachments. His Majesty requested the presence of the prime minister, the chief of staff, Ali Abu-Nawar, and the brigade Commander, Ali al-Hayyari and demanded an explanation.

Al-Nabulsi answered that he believed the encirclement of Amman was but an attempt to pressure him into resigning.

Abu-Nawar and al-Hayyari answered that the action had been intended to take a census of the automobiles entering and leaving Amman.

Hussein was surprised that a simple census operation should require an armored brigade and a prearranged plan drawn up by the general staff. His Majesty, therefore, requested that they submit a convincing report concerning the true purpose of the maneuver. Two days passed and His Majesty had yet to receive the report.

His Majesty also ordered his aide-de-camp, Mohamad al-Ma'ayatah, to write the general staff a letter demanding that the palace be notified at least a month in advance of all maneuvers to be undertaken by military units.

On the following day, Tuesday, 9 April 1957, the chief of "general security" General Bahjat Tabbarah came to see the chancellor in the latter's home. He said he had been told by a correspondent of the local newspaper (Palestine) that transfers had been effected among the high officers of the general security without his knowledge and that the commander of the Nablus district -- a man of questionable loyalty -- had been transferred to head the police department in Amman, and that he had already assumed his duties. The chancellor asked the chief of general security to discuss the matter with the minister of the interior. General Tabbarah met with the said minister who would have been responsible for the change but stated that he had no knowledge that such

transfers had been effected. The chief of general security returned to see the chancellor and demanded an audience with the King. The request was granted. During the audience the chief of the security explained the situation to His Majesty and begged His Majesty to relieve him of his duties due to the impossible state of affairs.

The morning of Wednesday, 10 April 1957, saw the ministerial decrees published, announcing the retirement of a number of important officials including the chief of general security, General Tabbarah.

His Majesty noticed that the decrees of Nabulsi and his ministers were drawn up on a party-discrimination basis in spite of the fact that His Majesty had spoken to the prime minister in the presence of two ministers, Abdel Halim Nimr and Salah Toukan, ministers of interior and finance respectively, about this subject. His Majesty had asked them not to be hasty in dismissing any employee unless necessity so required and only if he could be replaced by one better qualified.

His Majesty noticed that his desire to modify the cabinet had not been carried out by the prime minister in spite of the latter's promise to do so.

The King also considered that al-Nabulsi's stand was influenced from without. Here we remind the reader of the advice, mentioned previously, given by the Egyptian military attache, and the telegram from President Gamal Abdel Nasser himself.

He considered too the incident in which Amman had been encircled by armored detachments while the responsible authorities had not carried out the investigation he had demanded in order to determine the purpose of such an action.

His Majesty Hussein reviewed the record of the Nabulsi government during the five months it had been in power. It represented a series of offenses committed by responsible authorities with obstinate persistency. A period when responsible authorities sought to defy the law and encroach upon the public interest in order to serve their personal interests and parties. This created in the country an atmosphere of confusion and persecution. The economy of the country crumbled and the government and cabinet became infested with subversive elements.

The general complaint voiced by all classes of people over the party-conscious behavior of the cabinet was remembered too by Hussein.

His Majesty decided that to allow the Nabulsi government to remain in power would only mean a continuance and increase of these criminal offenses. Further, it would allow the government to continue to spread anxiety, confusion and unrest among the citizens. This fact would, in the end, place the country's security, peace, and sovereignty in jeopardy.

Hussein was aware as well of the dissension which had broken out in the ranks of the army and which foretold of

catastrophic consequences. He was further aware that some officers had, effectively and directly, held political meetings and had delivered political speeches, leaving their positions on the border to participate in political acts and party activities.

He sent his chancellor, Bahjat al-Talhouni, to the prime minister, asking the latter to submit his immediate resignation.

The chancellor left the royal divan for the cabinet where he relayed to al-Nabulsi the King's order. The prime minister tried to defer and delay, saying that he would refer the matter to the cabinet but the chancellor was aware that the cabinet was, at that very moment, holding a meeting in the parlour of the building and answered him that he could refer the subject to the cabinet at once, saying he would remain in the prime minister's office awaiting a final decision on the matter.

The prime minister entered the cabinet meeting room. The chancellor remained there until the prime minister returned and informed him that he would submit his resignation to the King within the half-hour. The chancellor inquired as to the text of the resignation and the prime minister answered that it would be according to the royal desire.

The chancellor left the prime ministry for the royal divan where he informed His Majesty of the decision. Half an hour later al-Nabulsi came to the royal Jordanian divan where he submitted his resignation. Later the chancellor

went to the prime minister's house where he handed the prime minister the letter from the King accepting his resignation.

His Majesty the King then sent for Dr. Hussein Fakhri al-Khalidi and asked him to form the new government. Dr. Khalidi gratefully accepted the summons and asked for a period of 48 hours in order to conduct consultations and communications.

As soon as Dr. Khalidi had begun his consultations it became apparent to him that the road was filled with obstacles and difficulties. Among these was the hurried decision adopted by the ex-prime minister's party, the National Socialist party, not to cooperate with Dr. Khalidi. This party had adopted the above decision just after Dr. Khalidi had been summoned to form the new cabinet. Dr. Khalidi returned and asked to be excused.

His Majesty the King received Abdel Halim al Nimr's message offering to constitute the cabinet if summoned and leaving the choice of ministers to His Majesty. Thereupon the King designated him to constitute the new cabinet. Nimr began, in turn, his consultations but had to be excused at his own request after his own party set forth conditions for support. These demanded that he include in his cabinet lesser party members such as Said al-Izzah, Najib Mustapha al-Ahmad, Mahmoud al-Rashad al-Khiza'i, and others. Nimr added that he did not look upon these conditions as reassuring or appreciative, but rather as a blow aimed at him in his delicate mission.

All indications pointed to the fact that Said al-Mufti

would be designated to form the cabinet. A few minutes before Al-Mufti could be summoned he received a telephone call from Ali Abu Nawar asking him to go to the al-Abidli barracks for important reasons. He was welcomed on his arrival and ushered into a room reserved for the three generals, by Abu Nawar, al-Hayyari, and Ma'ayatah.

Ali Abu Nawar spoke for those present. He asked al-Mufti to inform the King that the situation in the army was very dangerous and that a cabinet, headed by Abdel Halim Nimr, had to be formed. He further stated that the news of the cabinet constitution had to be broadcast at nine p.m. that evening or else he and his colleagues would not be responsible for the results.

It was learned later that a meeting between Abu Nawar and the Egyptian military attache, Fuad Hillal, as well as a meeting between Abu Nawar and the leaders of the dissolved parties, had preceded the above meeting. Abu Nawar had to get his backing from here and there.

On that same day, Abdel Halim Nimr, Hikmat al Masri, and Anwar al-Khatib -- all members of the National Socialist party -- presented themselves at the royal palace where they had an audience with the King. They indicated to His Majesty their willingness to form a new cabinet, headed by Nimr, which would include moderate members of all parties and a number of independents. His Majesty agreed. It was agreed that Nimr would form the government which would include Masri, Khatib, Dawud, al-Razzaz, and Abdel Qadder al-Solh. The rest would be recruited from among the

independents.

After Nimr, Masri, and Khatib had left, Ali Abu Nawar presented himself at the office of the chancellor, followed a moment later by al-Mufti. Ali Abu Nawar repeated what he had said a while ago: "If the army does not, by nine p.m., hear that Nimr was summoned to constitute the cabinet the country will be in danger. Consider this as a last warning." General Abu Nawar had uttered the word "warning" in the English language. He had said "ultimatum".

In the evening, His Majesty received a letter dated 13 April 1957 signed by a number of officers of the Arab Jordanian army informing him about the dangerous movement in the ranks of the Army. His Majesty summoned the chief-of-staff immediately and read him the letter. In the presence of General Abu Nawar in the royal divan, he received a telephone call from the commander of the al-Amria Aliya brigade, Ma'an Abu Nawar. The chief-of-staff was heard saying "prevent them, prevent them at all costs." The King left his office saying: "Get me any automobile immediately."

He entered Bassman palace which adjoined the royal divan and came out a few minutes later in his military uniform proceeding to the special Chevrolet which had been readied meanwhile and accompanied by General Abu Nawar he headed for al-Zarka.

The automobile went full speed toward the barracks of the Arab army where, for the first time, the fires of evil

and conspiracy were burning. At the bridge known as the al-Rassifa Bridge the royal automobile came to a stop when it encountered a military lorry bearing the insignia of the third detachment and carrying a number of armed officers and soldiers. The soldiers in the lorry were hailing Hussein with an apparent enthusiasm. The King alighted from the right side of the car and General Abu Nawar sneaked out of the other side heading for a far and dark patch of land. The soldiers hurried to the King kissing his hands and hardly believing their eyes. They began to acclaim the King and jeer Abu Nawar. They told His Majesty, in these very words, "We were on our way to Amman to succour and protect the palace, after we had learned of the conspiracy aimed at your Majesty." They then informed His Majesty of the raging encounters between the different units of the Army.

The King hurried back to his automobile after having thanked the soldiers and after asking them to return to their barracks. He then headed for al-Zarka still accompanied by General Abu Nawar.

As soon as he seated himself Abu Nawar began to tremble and speak excitedly. He then begged and implored His Majesty's permission to return to Amman immediately. Hussein tried in vain to keep him. When the King noticed Abu Nawar's anxiety and fear, he ordered the automobile to stop on the road which led to the officer's candidate school where it crossed the main highway. Abu Nawar alighted

and entered his own automobile which had been following the royal automobile from the royal palace in Amman.

The soldiers in the military lorry who had encountered the royal automobile at the al-Rassifa Bridge saw the chief-of-staff's departure. They then saw him try to reach the barracks through the road that led to the officer's candidate school only to turn back towards Amman and the royal palace.

When asked by the chancellor why he had returned, Abu Nawar answered: "I returned by order of His Majesty to reassure you about the situation."

The King was becoming more and more puzzled as he listened to what had taken place. He refused to believe the picture that was forming in his mind until he reached the scene of events and inquired into the matter himself.

In front of the officer's club in al-Zarka the royal automobile encountered another military automobile and a crowd of civilians. Hussein stopped the car and spoke to them asking them to return to their barracks. He then resumed his journey only to find the soldiers at the entrance of al-Zarka wearing their helmets, carrying their rifles, machine^s guns and pistols, deployed, and aiming their arms at the royal automobile all unaware of its identity. The automobile stopped and Hussein alighted. After inquiries, Hussein learned that the brigade commander, Ali al-Hayyari, had sent them by groups to stop the third and fifth detachment of the al-Aliya brigade, after the fifth detachment, sent to stop the third detachment, had instead

gone over and joined the third.

The King proceeded, stopping every other minute, while bullets struck everywhere. Soldiers and officers stopped the royal automobile at every turn of the road, until it had passed the crossroad that led to the artillery units and the military mechanics school, where he encountered a large group of officers and soldiers. Before he could talk to them they lifted him on their shoulders acclaiming him and shouting death to the "traitors and intriguers."

Hussein saw the road ahead littered with damaged armored cars and lorries. He learned that they had been shelled by the artillery after they had received orders to carry out the damage on the pretext that the infantry and other units of the army had moved on Amman to assault the palace and kill the King.

In the midst of the crowd, Hussein's pistol fell at the crossing of the railroad and main highway. He retrieved it with difficulty and resumed his course while bullets buzzed around and near him. He continued still to ask all who would listen to return to their barracks. When he reached the brigade headquarters after great difficulty and trouble he found confusion and panic, rebellion and revolt. The soldiers had assaulted the officer's club at the entrance of the barracks and had destroyed everything in it. Hussein came across Major Ahmad Za'arour and asked him to assemble his men quickly. Hussein spoke to them from the window of the club and asked them to re-

turn to their barracks and keep quiet while he investigated the matter and substantiated his fears. The soldiers interrupted and acclaimed him, shouting "Death to the traitors! Death to the traitors."

While in the barracks the King received a telephone call from Ma'an Abu Nawar, commander of the al-Aliyah brigade, informing him that the soldiers had invaded his headquarters and had smashed everything in the barracks nearly killing him. The King accompanied by Ahmad Za'arour, then headed for the brigade's headquarters. While driving, the lights of the royal automobile enabled Hussein to see Ma'an Abu Nawar walking along the street. He picked him up and entered the brigade barracks to find everything smashed and the soldiers in a wild state of confusion and excitement -- so much so, that one soldier was running around with shaving lather still on his face. Everything in the brigade headquarters had been smashed with the exception of one thing -- a picture of Princess Aliya still hanging safely in its place.

Hussein spoke to the soldiers asking them more than once to return to their barracks, but his voice failed to carry over the acclamations and the shouts of "down with the traitor and traitors."

Among the things which the soldiers told His Majesty, was that they had been ordered to undertake maneuvers in the al-Azrak sector without their arms. When the command noticed that the soldiers were beginning to question the motives of this maneuver which for the first time in the

history of the army was to take place without arms, it tried to induce them by all means available, and then tried to implement the order by severity and force.

The King listened to this story and more for about an hour. When he prepared to leave the barracks, a soldier stood up and spoke to His Majesty the King saying that he had one request to make; would His Majesty grant it? When Hussein promised he would, the soldier said: "I pray my lord to swear to it by God almighty." The King swore. The soldier repeated the oath a second and third time while Hussein repeated it after him. Then the soldier said: "that you eliminate traitors such as Ma'an Abu Nawar and the likes of him." The King looked at Ma'an who was standing at his side and found that he had bowed his head in fear and anxiety.

The soldiers insisted that His Majesty remain among them for fear that his life be in danger while returning. But Hussein entered his automobile and left the camp to the sounds of explosions and firing. At the railroad tracks, in front of the school of mechanics, a new encounter had broken out. The artillery began shelling the infantry and armored positions. Hussein entered the artillery barracks between both sides. It was only later that he learned that he had crossed a bridge which had been mined to blow up the royal automobile as it crossed over. He found a number of officers in the barracks. Among them were al-Hayyari, Monzer and Inab whom he asked to calm the soldiers by any means possible. He then came across the

two officers, Nayef al Haddid and Abdallah Kha'ed, who had fled the al-Aliyah camp on foot after having been fired upon. He also found Captain Nazir Ahmad Rashid, the commander of an armored detachment. Hussein entered the barracks of the third armored company and found the soldiers deployed in a defensive formation. He spoke to them and called upon them to quiet down. He then headed for the officer's candidate school where he asked all those present to return to their barracks and positions.

The automobile then turned around and headed for Amman with Hussein dazed by what he had heard and saddened by what he had seen. When he reached the vicinity of the palace, he saw the armored detachment deployed in defensive positions and from every position shouts could be heard demanding death for the insolent traitors, the party politicians and all their cohorts.

Upon entering the royal divan after his courageous act His Majesty found Abdel Halim Nimr, Hikmat al-Masri, and Anwar al-Khatib awaiting him. He received them immediately, despite the tiresome day that he had had. When His Majesty inquired about the formation of the cabinet Nimr answered that this cabinet comprised all those who had participated in the cabinet of al-Nabulsi except for Abdallah al-Rimawi who had been replaced by Dr. Mounif al-Razzaz, representing the al-Ba'th party.

Hussein was surprised by this change of attitude after it had already been agreed that the new cabinet would in-

clude only four members of the National Socialist party: Nimr, Masri, Khatib, and Dawud. His Majesty informed Nimr that he did not agree to the formation of the cabinet as it was now presented.

Thereupon Nimr and his companions left the palace. His Majesty entered the chancellor's office where he found General Ali Abu Nawar. His Majesty then summoned an officer named Hallil Salameh and, in the presence of Abu Nawar, asked him to reveal the information he had. He thereupon said:

"A few days ago, I was summoned by the assistant company commander...and he asked me whether I was ready to carry out a military mission to which I replied, 'yes.' He then said, 'If the mission consisted of surrounding the royal palace, would you carry it out?' I replied, 'I am a soldier and I carry out the orders issued to me.'"

The officer then turned and faced General Abu Nawar and said in a loud voice:

"You are a traitor. You used to meet with the officers to draw up the secret decision; you were the one who was charged by the officers to ask His Majesty the King to abdicate the throne."

General Abu Nawar fell silent, his eyes downcast with fear and anxiety. Before he could budge from his seat, Hussein summoned another officer named Salama Muhawesh. When asked for his information he repeated what his colleague had just said. General Abu Nawar was silent once more.

Just before midnight Salah Toukan presented himself at

the royal divan and informed the chancellor that the party representatives had met at his house and had at the end decided to support any independent designated to form the cabinet. When the chancellor inquired who they had in mind, he replied: "Dr. Khalidi or Said al-Mufti."

The chancellor proceeded to inform His Majesty immediately and His Majesty asked him to get in touch with Dr. Khalidi. The chancellor got in touch with Dr. Khalidi around midnight and relayed to him the decision of the dissolved parties. Dr. Khalidi, however, asked to be excused.

Said al-Mufti was summoned just before dawn. He listened in person to Salah Toukan repeating the agreement reached by the dissolved parties -- to support him, should he be designated.

Al Mufti began by summoning those he had decided to include in his cabinet. Among them were Said Alla-al-din, Ali al-Hindawi, Mohammad Ali al-Ajluni, Anastas Hanania, Ali Hassana, Yaqub Ma'mar, and Salah Toukan.

After al-Mufti had concluded his consultations with the above gentlemen, the dissolved parties withdrew their offer, broke their promise, and began to oppose any cabinet headed by al-Mufti. But al-Mufti, continued his efforts and everyone expected him to form his cabinet shortly thereafter.

The Chancellor went to see Said al-Mufti, while at the house of his brother and found that he had just about finished forming his cabinet. He was now awaiting the

arrival of Faik al Antabawi, and Dawud al-Husayni. Mufti promised to present himself at the divan at 8:30 p.m.

At the time set, al-Mufti presented himself at the divan, accompanied by Dr. Mustafa Khalifa, Ahmad Tarawna, Muhammad Ali al-Ajluni, Anastas Hanania, Aqef al-Faez, and Yaqub Ma'mar. A short while later they were followed by Daoud al-Husayni and Faek al-Antabawi when they all met with His Majesty the King. Al-Hussayni and al-Antabawi requested a short period of delay, which His Majesty granted.

On that very same day, General Ali Abu Nawar left the country. It was said that he had crossed the Syrian-Jordanian border and had gone to Damascus. As a result, Generals Ali al-Hayyari and al-Ma'ayatah submitted their resignations to His Majesty the King so as to allow him freedom of action but His Majesty refused to accept them. On the following day General Ali al-Hayyari was appointed chief-of-staff ad interim.

A few days later General al-Hayyari returned to inform His Majesty the King that a wave of confusion had spread in the King Hussein brigade of the Jordanian Arab army. His Majesty did not tarry but prepared to leave for the barracks at 10 p.m.

Before entering the royal automobile General al-Hayyari gave His Majesty a telegram which stated that the Syrian forces stationed around Irbid had surrounded the barracks of the national guard near the city and were on their way to occupy Irbid. The Syrian forces were composed of

elements of the nineteenth corps. His Majesty asked the chancellor to get in touch immediately with the Syrian authorities and clarify the contents of the telegram.

The chancellor first asked the mayor of Irbid about the matter. The mayor told him that he had been informed the Syrian forces were ordered to deploy because the Syrian authorities had received information which indicated that the Israeli air force planned to bomb the Syrian forces that night.

Meanwhile, Ahmad Fuad al-Kadamani, the Syrian ambassador in Amman, had gotten in touch by telephone from the Syrian presidential palace with the chancellor. The chancellor relayed to him the contents of the telegram. Kadamani replied that he had absolutely no knowledge of what had taken place. His Excellency Shukri al-Kuwatli, the Syrian president, then spoke to the chancellor and inquired into the matter. The chancellor relayed to His Excellency the text of the telegram whereupon His Excellency the Syrian president asked that Hussein be informed that the Syrian army was under his orders. The chancellor then spoke to General Towfiq Nizzamuddin, the Syrian chief-of-staff, and his answer was the same as the others. Later it was learned that the Syrian forces had moved on the orders of the Syrian second bureau and in agreement with the Egyptian military attaches and their agents who were recruited from members of the dissolved Jordanian parties in order to create more confusion. This move had taken place without the knowledge of the Syrian president or

chief-of-staff.

The King returned to the royal divan at 4 a.m. from his visit to the King Hussein brigade. He then asked the chancellor to summon the ex-prime ministers and a number of other notables, not to exceed thirty in number, to meet with him.

Those present at the palace were surprised at the hour set for the conference by the crowds converging on the royal divan, including members of the national education committee and party members including communists, Ba'athists, and others. When asked who had invited them to be present, they stated that it was the national security which had ordered them to present themselves.

Meanwhile, Faik al-Antabawi and Dawud al-Husayni had arrived at the divan and had asked the chancellor for an emergency audience with the King. During the audience they informed His Majesty that all the political parties would support a special list of ministers headed by Dr. Khalidi. They then presented to His Majesty the list of ministers. He told them that Said al-Mufti's appointment had not been withdrawn and that he would first consult with al-Mufti.

His Majesty ordered that al-Mufti be summoned as soon as al-Antabawi and al-Husayni left. After discussing the matter with al-Mufti, His Majesty returned to his office and summoned the chancellor. He asked him to send Dr. al-Khalidi a letter of designation. This followed His Majesty's acceptance of the offer relayed by al-Antabawi and al-Husayni

and after the matter had been straightened with Said al-Mufti.

Around 8 p.m. Dr. Khalidi and his ministers presented themselves at the royal divan where the constitutional oath was administered to them in the presence of His Majesty. Sulaiman al-Nabulsi was among those present and he was awarded the Foreign Affairs portfolio. The cabinet was formed of independents with the exception of al-Nabulsi. The different portfolios were awarded as follows:

- (1) Dr. Hussein Fakhri al-Khalidi: Prime Minister, and Minister of Defense;
- (2) Said al-Mufti: Deputy Prime Minister, and Minister for Internal Affairs and Agriculture;
- (3) Fawzi al-Mulki: Minister of Education and Public Works;
- (4) Sulaiman al-Nabulsi: Minister of Foreign Affairs and Communications;
- (5) Sulayman Sukkar: Minister of Finance and National Economy;
- (6) Majjed Abdel Haddi: Minister of Justice;
- (7) Dr. Amin Majaj: Minister of Health, Social Affairs, and Development and Reconstruction.

The termination of the cabinet crisis relieved everybody. The people this time expected the government services to resume their work with precision and regularity. But events alas did not fulfill their happy expectations and hopes.

Two days after the cabinet was formed, Dr. al-Khalidi

came to the royal divan accompanied by General Ali al-Hayyari, chief-of-staff ad interim, General Mohammad al Ma'ayatah, and Colonels Habess al Majjali, Sadek al Shara', Radi al-Hindawi, Izzat Hassan, and Fawaz Maher. In his capacity as minister of defense, Dr. Khalidi asked His Majesty to name General Ali al-Hayyari as chief-of-staff. This decision had been based on the agreement of the officers present. His Majesty granted this request and summoned the officers to his presence, informed them of his decision, and congratulated General Ali al-Hayyari on his new appointment. Thereupon, General al-Hayyari pulled from his pocket the noble Koran and swore allegiance, loyalty and faithfulness to His Majesty and was followed by the rest of the officers.

Less than 48 hours later it was announced that General al-Hayyari had fled to Damascus and had joined General Ali Abu Nawar there.

On the next day after his arrival General al-Hayyari made a statement in a press conference full of lies and vilifications. It was an attempt to cover the story of his flight and an effort to find a job with those who had succoured and sheltered him.

It was later known that the preliminary investigations had revealed that General al-Hayyari was connected to the conspirators and that the chairman of the investigation committee, Colonel Izzat Hassan, had asked him to present himself in front of the committee the morning of the next

day for questioning so that his statement could be taken down. General al-Hayyari feeling the noose tighten around his neck had decided to flee.

As far as General al-Hayyari's lies were concerned, the government of Dr. Khalidi had no other alternative but to issue a proclamation in which it rejected and refuted the general's claims and allegations. The text of that proclamation follows:

"As a result of the ministerial crisis which took place last week, and which ended in the formation of a new government, a number of regretful incidents took place among some of the units of the army which led the chief-of-staff, Major General Ali Abu Nawar, to resign. Corps commander, Major General Ali al-Hayyari was appointed chief-of-staff with the consent of His Majesty the King, the prime minister and the minister of defense and with the expressed approval and agreement of the colonels of the army -- arrived at in a meeting held in the royal palace where they all swore allegiance and obedience to the King.

"The new chief-of-staff in accordance with his constitutional rights signed a decree which proposed establishing a military committee to investigate the above-mentioned incidents and did, in effect, order last Friday afternoon, the execution of its preliminary recommendations.

"In the early hours of Saturday morning, General al-Hayyari got in touch with the prime minister from Damascus,

where he had arrived on an official mission, and informed him that he had submitted his resignation in writing.

"It is regretful that, with the situation as it is, there is a treacherous and vile enemy watching us which seizes every opportunity created by the confusion, perplexity, dissensions and division in the ranks to launch another criminal aggression. I say also it is regretful that a number of persons, who until lately were responsible for the protection of the country, should have issued proclamations and held press conferences which created confusion, exploited the situation in a manner unsuitable to the country's interest, welfare, and security.

"I have already mentioned, in a clear survey, the measures recommended by the investigating committee. I wish on this occasion to declare that the statements made in such declarations, press conferences, and in news commentaries broadcast by some of the stations in the Arab sister-states concerning the arrest of dozens of officers, and mysterious transfers are unfounded."

People were surprised again by new events in the series of links that formed the chain of conspiracy after they had thought that the affair was ended. A convention, known as the "Nablus convention" was held in Nablus. The convention revealed the lamentable bargaining of the members of the dissolved parties who had once promised Dr. Khalidi their vote of confidence and who had now decided to withdraw it.

The convention adopted a number of strange decisions void of logic and principles: Decisions in which they neither

feared God, nor considered the interests of the country. Decisions emanating from hypo-critical intentions and awe-some designs, conforming to the orders of the subversive parties, and deriving from a desire to deceive and confuse.

The country awoke next morning to the din of violent demonstrations everywhere portending of confusion, disturbances and transgressions which would affect the dignity, property, and lives of the people. An attempt was made by the communists to burn the city of Jerusalem and only the mercy of God and the vigilance of those who were loyal, prevented them from doing so.

Subversive elements began to undermine the country and the members of the dissolved parties and secret organizations began to incite the people, here and there, to rebellion. The communists came into the open, especially in Amman, and raised their banners on which their deceitful mottoes were inscribed. Orator after orator talking to the demonstrators, made statements against the constitution, peace, stability, security, and the governmental structure of the country.

Meanwhile, Hikmat al-Masri arrived at Amman delegated by the convention to relay to Dr. Hussein Fakhri al-Khalidi its decision.

In the evening Dr. Khalidi submitted his resignation to His Majesty, stating that he was resigning because the parties, which had offered to cooperate with him and support him, had now withdrawn their offer.

His Majesty then asked the prime minister to meet with him at 8 p.m. that evening.

His Majesty further asked the chancellor to summon Ibrahim Hashem, Samir al-Rifai, Ahmad al-Tarawnah, Mustaphe Khalifa, Omar Mattee, Fallah al Madadha, and others.

At 8 p.m. Khalifa, Mufti, and Mulki presented themselves and stated that the parties had reversed their decision and had decided to cooperate with the government.

His Majesty said that was good and wished them success in their endeavour to serve the country. It appeared to the others that the crisis had ended and they all retired.

But on the following day Dr. Khalidi presented himself and said that the dissolved parties had, once more, reversed their decision and he, therefore, had to resign.

The text of Dr. Khalidi's resignation follows.

His Majesty, my Lord the King:

Your Majesty invested me and my colleagues with your confidence when you summoned me in your letter dated 15 April 1957. Proud of this confidence, my colleagues and I accepted the responsibility of government in these sensitive times in the history of this patient and struggling country with the knowledge that most of the parties, organizations, and responsible leaders supported us within and outside of parliament. It became apparent to me and to my colleagues today that all these parties and organizations had withdrawn their support. Therefore, I can but submit my resignation to your royal Majesty, thanking you on behalf of my colleagues and myself, a

second time, for this confidence, beseeching the Almighty to spare this country all difficulties and troubles and to keep it under the care and the guidance of your Majesty.

24 April 1957

Your faithful servant,

Dr. Hussein Fakhri al-Khalidi

Hussein had no other alternative but to accept this resignation and that of the cabinet which, it could be said, was formed by the parties themselves since the list was presented to His Majesty by Faik al-Antabawi and Daoud al Husayni. His Majesty's letter, accepting Dr. Khalidi's resignation follows.

"Our dear Dr. Hussein Fakhri al-Khalidi,

"We send you our greetings and appreciation. We received your letter dated 24 April 1957 in which you submit your resignation as prime minister, as a result of the declaration made by the parties to withdraw their support from your cabinet, contrary to the promise they had given you at the beginning of your consultations.

"As we salute the decision which prompted you to accept the responsibility in the delicate moment which our country is passing through, we cannot but remember with gratitude and praise the efforts you made during the few days in which you assumed the burden of your responsibilities, cognizant of the difficulties and obstacles placed in your path, and which prevented you from continuing to assume the burdens of government. In accepting your resignation, we send you and your colleagues our best

greetings and wishes.

25 Ramadan 1376 H; 25 April 1957.

al-Hussein

His Majesty then immediately summoned Ibrahim Hashem and designated him to form a new cabinet which would save the country from the confusion into which it was being forced by the members of the dissolved parties, their agents and the evil-doers who came to Jordan from sister-states. He desired a cabinet which would save the people from destruction and devastation and one which would restore law and order to the country.

The formation of the cabinet was completed that very night along these lines:

- (1) Ibrahim Hashem: Prime Minister, and Minister of Justice;
- (2) Samir al-Rifai: Deputy Prime Minister, and Minister of Foreign Affairs;
- (3) Fallah al Madadah: Minister of the Interior, and Public Works;
- (4) Sulaiman Toukan: Minister of Defense, Health, and Social Affairs;
- (5) Khouloussy al-Kheiri: Minister of National Economy and Education;
- (6) Anastas Hanania: Minister of Finance;
- (7) Akef al Faez: Minister of Agriculture, and Minister of Development and Reconstruction.

Upon assuming power, the new cabinet declared martial law throughout the country and issued a number of important

emergency decrees which dissolved all parties and were aimed at restoring law and order to the country.

At 2 a.m. on Thursday morning, 25 April 1957 the Jordanian people listened, longingly and yearningly, to a compassionate and sympathetic voice full of strength and resolution -- the voice of the master, defender, and savior of their country. It conveyed to their throbbing hearts a sense of security, tranquility, and hope.

"My beloved people:

"I call upon you today, made stronger than ever by your loyalty and bravery, while you have shown ever-increasing nobility in defending your land, its unity, and security. You have rewarded my confidence in you, for you are of those who led the first Arab conquest to the Yarmuk, to Hatteen, to the stronghold of the great Arab revolt, to the day when you have hugged to your bosom your brethren and relatives from the martyred country and stood by them. You have defended the boundaries of the country and are now watching for the second round when your victorious flags will fly over every inch of your land -- the country of your fathers and forefathers.

"I have worried about you in my youth and I worry about you now. My pride, therefore, is derived from yours and my glory from your glory. Abide by your covenant. It is your obligation.

"I call upon you today in an hour when your interests and your future are being wasted by a group which fears neither God nor conscience, and has sold itself short to

others by pushing the country towards a devastating danger which could overcome it internally or lead to seizure from without. It is really saddening that this group, which pretended to represent the nation, has nothing in common with our people at all. They consist of a small group in relation to the people, and those who control the basic interest in the country. This small group of people which gets its guidance and theories from abroad, will lose its national, creative and practical values if subjected to the test of truth.

"Where is the struggle which it has carried on during these long years? Where are the feats and victories which it has achieved? Was it there when it was prescribed that I alone should assume the responsibility of achieving your sovereignty and strengthening your independence?

"Or was it there on the day in which I dismissed the foreign command from your courageous army and made it into an Arab army faithful to you and to the Arabs; defending your borders and lifting up your banners, vigilant that you may sleep, working that you may rest, and shedding its blood as the price for your security, dignity, and grandeur?

"Where was this aggregation of parties when Arab Assistance became a reality and was attacked by them for deceitful and fictitious reasons? Did it not draw back when I asked it to step forward? And did it not cower when I decided to enter the battle on the day the

treacherous joint Anglo-France-Israeli aggression was committed against our sister-state Egypt?

"I invested it with power, gave it my confidence and allowed it a free hand in government, only to have it become vain, excessive, vile, and a bad influence upon nationalism. It was unconcerned about the evil the enemy and the imperialists had planned to overrun the remaining part of the captive country thereby scattering the hundred of thousands of its remaining inhabitants.

"I found it best, in attempting to avoid the dangers, to dismiss this cabinet from responsibility. Upon dismissing the cabinet I began to summon the politicians, the experts, and the leaders of the country in order to consult with them about the formation of a cabinet which would cooperate with me and the Arab party on the road to glory and grandeur.

"This group of people however began to obstruct the formation of any cabinet which might be formed. It then accepted general opinions and a cabinet was formed, the members of which were characterized by their honesty, nationalism and desire to serve. But a few days later this cabinet began to encounter all sorts of difficulties and obstacles placed in its way by these groups which called themselves parties. The distribution of pamphlets, the organizing of demonstrations, the calling of strikes and other such means were used to induce disturbances and revolt.

A wave of confusion, anxiety, and disturbances swept the country as a result of the disregard displayed by these parties through means which scoffed at public safety and responsibility and scorned all mutual national duties.

"Therefore, my beloved people, it has become my duty to elucidate the facts and clarify the vagueness which has enveloped matters. It is very hard for me to do so, but to eliminate the elements of evil and in order to safeguard your interests and remain faithful to the covenant, I have to make a distinction for you between the lean and the fat, the substantive and the worthless, for I am responsible for you before God and history.

"My beloved people:

"You know that the meeting held between the kings and presidents of the Arabs in Cairo resulted in a unity of action as far as the important matters facing the Arab world were concerned. The liberated Arab states adopted a resolution which would handle these matters. Jordan was among the first to call for unity. God has blessed us particularly for our struggle and patience by fulfilling our national aspirations, freeing us from the yoke of imperialism, terminating the Anglo-Jordanian treaty and concluding the Mutual Arab Assistance Pact.

"I am duty bound here to point out that the Nabulsi cabinet cannot boast of having fulfilled these aspirations, for the situation was ripe for any government, regardless of color or constitution, to fulfill them. Everybody

was aware, after the tripartite aggression against Egypt, that the treaty had become purposeless and the other party to the treaty had recognized and accepted this reality.

"For a time, I have made it a point not to notice the successive shortcomings committed by the cabinet of Nabulsi, in spite of the repeated complaints I have received from oppressed citizens, a number of ministers, administrative officers, and other high officials.

"The dismissal of the ex-cabinet was a constitutional step made necessary in view of the peace and security of the country especially after it had allowed, in the short time which it governed, much neglect which could not be disregarded. They banished the loyal and capable employees, hired members of their own parties, and filled the important posts in government with their own followers. The communists took advantage of the situation and began to spread their subversive principles in the schools and centers of education. You all know that the communist party in Jordan is an illegal party, prosecuted by the law, not only because international communism is contrary to our beliefs and the values of our national existence but also, because the communists in Jordan were, and still are, the brothers and helpers of the Jewish communists in Israel, receiving their instructions from this basic center which is the main center for communism in the Middle East.

"Thus we have heard the communists, here and there,

calling for peace with Israel because their principles are based on this disregard and because they have become spies for the enemy in the Arab countries and listening ears for Israel. They are trusted only by the traitor to his nation, the renegade and every one who endangers the interests and potentialities of that nation by scoffing at its dignity and honor.

"Add to this the real danger that threatens Jordan which faces Israel, in defending not only itself, but Arab nationalism wherever it may be. Our enemy has made no secret of his intentions, especially as concerns the beloved section on the western bank of the Jordan. It being that dear country from which a movement to liberate the seized section will rise, God willing.

"The Nabulsi government was not content with all that, but resolved to infiltrate the ranks of the army, our armament, implement, and glory, where partisanship nearly distracted the attention of our heroes away from the exalted duty of defending whatever we hold sacred. The army has been, and still is, the shield of the country. And it has a record full of glory in the history of bravery.

"My beloved people:

"We cannot be strong in ourselves and have among us a hired spy, spying on his own nation and country; a defeatist who uses every means to discourage ambition, weaken determination, and create dissension. But, alas, these have begun to spread corruption and a number of politicians have been carried away by the force of their

current. It is strange that a number of party-members who have something to say in every club and an answer for everything claim nationalism, are known for having smuggled goods to Israel, and have gotten in touch with the enemy.

"The contempt for the communists, party members and fellow travelers, reached such an extent that they decided to destroy the values of our devout world, accusing the groups who seek to preserve and protect the rites of Islam of being reactionary elements. They attempted in this way to crush the unity of the nation and completely destroy the teachings of our awakening, claiming that an increase in subversive parties in a small country like Jordan is the only way to unity and awakening. It is really the way to confusion and dissension, so much so, that the number of parties in little Jordan has reached ten or more with no other purpose, for most of them, but to spread intrigues, forge accusations, and weave conspiracies.

"I will go back a bit to the criminal aggression committed against Egypt. I was determined, from the first moment, to enter the battle on the side of Egypt prior to the Anglo-French ultimatum. But I was discouraged by Nabulsi and some members of his cabinet, also the then chief-of-staff, who sent me the ambassador of one of the great countries to dishearten me in my determination and persuade me to stop thinking about fighting. Had I found true determination in that cabinet, prior to the ultimatum, and had I entered the battle at its beginning, it would

have been possible to change the course and results of that battle. I stood by Egypt from the moment it proclaimed the nationalization of the canal, bearing the great responsibilities, and I stood by her in every phase of the Arab-Egyptian struggle, to the point of threatening the British ambassador that my forces would destroy the British bases in Jordan if they were to be used in the attack against Egypt.

"The attitude adopted by the cabinet toward the Eisenhower plan and American financial assistance was, in spite of what it might claim, to issue an invitation to the mission of the American president to visit Jordan and discuss the plan. Furthermore, it was this cabinet which pleaded with certain high Arab sources to have the United States provide Jordan with financial aid. And we wish to assure, our beloved people, on this occasion, that our policy does not include inviting the representative of the American president to visit Jordan, and we wish to belie those deluders who claim that we will accept this plan. Jordan's policy is purely an Arab policy, emanating from the decisions we reached at the last Cairo conference. I would, further, like to add that Jordan will, in no way, take any step in that direction without the agreement of the liberated Arab states.

"This is what the ex-cabinet did and this is what I did for you, and for the dignity and glory of the Arabs in an unpretentious way. I had believed that the least

duties of friendship and gratefulness called upon our brethren in Egypt to desist from inciting the people through radio and the press. I who had vowed every drop of my blood to Egypt during her hour of trial, hoped they would stop creating events and falsifying statements in an attempt to squash the conspiracy against the throne; a conspiracy which is being investigated by a trustworthy personage under the patronage of a high ministerial committee and is being proven by revealing the flight of certain officers to avoid exposure. I have endured patiently false statements while the Egyptian writers have been smiting and offending us, turning some of our people against us, misrepresenting the reality of the situation in our country and broadcasting the worst propaganda and rumors. We have been patient, and we will be patient, repressing anger, and pardoning people as a means of abiding by our pact with Egypt and as a way in which to preserve our solidarity, brotherhood, Arab nature and unity. How we wish that this deceitful propaganda might be discontinued and would not go too far in indiscrimination for it would become difficult for our Arab dignity and honor, and our Arab heritage to submit to oppression and deceit.

"Oh beloved people:"

"We are thus facing a purely internal crisis which has no relation, whatsoever, to the conduct of our foreign policy. We will not allow anyone from outside to inter-

fere in our local affairs. Therefore I call upon you,
 my people, as the guardian of your interests and whatever
 else you hold sacred, to remain calm and orderly, to re-
 frain from spreading rumors, to thwart the conspiracies
 of the corrupt with all the confidence that I have in
 you, so that we can act together to strengthen the
 building of our economy, our courageous army and prepare
 for that great Arab day when we will be called upon to
 save the captured country and achieve our desired union.

I will therefore give the authorities a free hand to
 preserve order and punish the corrupt and the contemptuous,
 in order to restore stability and law, and so that the
 people can resume their natural course toward a free and
 honorable life. Let anyone who might be tempted to be
 troublesome or mischievous, be aware. Let it be known
 that should he resort to being troublesome and mischie-
 vous, he will be punished most severely.

"We rely on God and He grants us victory."

For the first time in five long eventful months, the
 people slept soundly. Five months which seemed like five
 centuries, during which the al-Nabulsi cabinet nearly
 eliminated the existence of our beloved country and nearly
 destroyed the meanings of honor, dignity, and noble birth.

In the morning, Jordan looked for those whom it had
 fed and sheltered, and who had meant to harm and hurt it.

The army looked for those whom it gave the best
 opportunities and rank, only to find that they planned

destruction and confusion.

The struggle and strife which had become part of the history of the country during the past years, was remembered.

The convoys of glory and the armies of the martyrs all along the line of blood and sacrifice were visualized.

And amidst all that, the picture of Hussein making history for the country and nation, shedding his blood, exerting all the effort of his manhood and risking his life and throne.

The soul looked with sorrow and pain to see a hand pointing to the brothers-in-arms and sacrifice who had sown dissension in the country.

For here is the (Egyptian) chief of joint operations who leaves behind him a file full of documents depicting the treachery aimed at this peaceful country, a part of which was reproduced by the papers at that time. The text of some of these documents follows:

From the joint operations in Amman; to the joint command; No A 1-5-3; 22 April 1957; top secret; attention: Brigadier General Hafez.

1. Large scale transfers took place which affected more than thirty officers and the commanders of all the branches and divisions, except the al-Hussein division; the medical, supply, and transport corps were changed. Command has been assumed by officers loyal to the palace, the free officers having been confined for investigation,

and most of the rest having been detached from their units. The investigation at the moment is being made by Izat Hassan, the commander of the Aliya division. He is supposed to reveal to the authorities the conspiracy that took place, but basically, the free officers are being investigated, and I believe that the purpose of it is to establish the fact that the free officers conspired against the King. It has been decided to retain Salleh al-Shar' for the time being and he has assumed command of the Hashem division.

No A-5-3; top secret.

Lt. Colonel Qabani arrived at Amman a week ago, but has not taken command and is still in the office of the military attache. The declaration made by al-Hayyari has left a great effect, especially among the people who know the loyalty of General Hayyari to the palace. The people still hide their reactions for fear of arrest. Calmness reigns all over Jordan, even though it might be the calmness that precedes the tempest. I pray to be informed whether the information is reaching you correctly. First of all, I gave all my information to Fuad, to be sent directly to the Communications Department. This was done to prevent tampering, since you have been receiving information from two sources. I await your orders.

This was the manner in which the commander of the Syrian corps in Jordan conducted a war of nerves among the peaceful dwellers of the cities and villages, and used his car for transporting subversive agents.

Appeals were raised to God from grief-stricken souls

disturbed by the treachery of brotherhood to preserve and guide to success, the young King of this patient country.

The sky answered these fervent and faithful prayers. Hussein thwarted the conspiracy and cleansed his country from filth and evil.

The people sighed with relief as the era of confusion and disturbances came to an end.

The army calmed down, when this era was ended.

Struggling Jordan, small in area and potentialities, but great in expectations and aspirations, resumes its true place in the Arab world, looking always to a better future and a more beautiful life, under the leadership of its King, Hussein.

8. IN THE WAKE OF THE CONSPIRACY

The noble fraternal stand taken by His Majesty King Saud with his brother King Hussein, during the country's hour of trial, left a very good impression with the latter.

The Saudi Arabian Monarch's fulfillment of his obligations, in accordance with the Arab Mutual Assistance Treaty, was deeply appreciated and acknowledged by the Jordanian people -- the patient and vigilant people who stood fast with their army and the leadership of their young King, protecting the dignity and honor of the Arabs.

Hussein found that duty called upon him to visit his brother Saud at the latter's capital and express his thanks and gratitude to him.

The visit took place toward the end of April. It resulted in the following joint declaration.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

During the visit of His Majesty King Hussein, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, to His Majesty King Saud, King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, discussions were held relating to the general Arab affairs which concern the Arab world, including the present situation in Jordan. The latter country constitutes the forward defensive line of the Arab nationalism and all Arab states are concerned with its affairs, especially its three allies, Egypt, Syria, and the Kingdom of Saudi, Arabia.

The two great monarchs concluded this meeting with a clear and frank understanding that the Arab national policy drawn up at the last Cairo conference of 27 Rajab 1376; 27 February 1957, with the participation of Shukri al-Kuwatly and Gamal Abdel Nasser, is the Arab national policy which they have adopted and which they have promised to implement regardless of any circumstances. This policy is based on the following principles.

I. Endeavor to guarantee complete independence, freedom from all foreign domination, and total sovereignty for every Arab state.

II. Strengthening of military cooperation between the four states for defense purposes and for the restoration of their rights in Palestine.

III. Refusal to participate in any foreign pacts.

IV. To assist Arab states which are suffering from

the yoke of imperialism to achieve their right to self-determination and total independence, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations.

V. Complete faithfulness to the Arab League, its charter, and its principles, and further efforts to strengthen it.

The two great monarchs stated that they shall be bound together by this policy and that any deviation from this policy shall be considered as deviation from Arab nationalism. It is, however, understood that what took place in Jordan recently is the concern of Jordan alone.

29 Ramadan 1376; 29 April 1957

Before leaving the Jordanian territories, His Majesty the Saudi Arabian monarch had addressed the following message to the Jordanian people.

"As I leave Jordan, I wish to express to all the classes of the beloved Jordanian people my thanks and gratitude for the expressive sentiments, the splendid welcome, and the enthusiasm with which I was received during my visit, wherever I toured in this Arab country. It is not unusual that I should witness these sentiments from the Arab Jordanian people, striving for their country which is the first stronghold of the Arab countries.

"The cooperation of the Jordanian people with its government and courageous army, their reliance on God, and their loyalty to and support for their king in the

darkest days, has filled my heart with hope for the future. I beseech God to preserve the Jordanian people's unity and solidarity, for the dangers which threaten Jordan, and the Arab nations, cannot be met unless all stand together, assist and support each other, so that they can form one rank in these difficult times.

Indeed with pride and glory we have recorded the stand taken by His Majesty, my brother, a stand in which he, in solidarity with his people and army and with the support of all the Arabs, Arabicized the Jordanian army, then freed Jordan from the foreign bonds. His persistent efforts have preserved the integrity and independence of Jordan. I pray to God to preserve Jordan's unity and well-being under the guidance of its king, always cooperating with his Arab brothers in whatever might elevate their standing, and lead to their union and independence."

About a month after this visit, His Majesty King Saud, at the request of his brother, King Hussein, made another official historical visit to Jordan, where he was received with the greatest possible display of honor and greeting. The two great monarchs and the members of their governments resumed the discussions for the welfare and glory of the Arabs by reviewing the different outstanding matters. When the royal Saudi Arabian plane left Amman airport, carrying His Majesty the Monarch of Saudi Arabia back to his country, the following joint declaration was broadcast to the Arab and Islamic worlds.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

At the invitation of His Majesty King Hussein, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, His Majesty King Saud, King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, visited his brother on Saturday, 10 Dilqa'da 1376; 13 June 1957. The two " great monarchs reviewed the developments which have taken place on the international and Arab scene since their last meeting in Ryad, on 29 Ramadan 1376; 29 April 1957, and agreed completely to confirm the principles which were adopted at their meeting at Ryad, which backed the meeting held in Cairo on 27 Rajab 1376; 27 February 1957; and they, therefore, decided the following:

1. Endeavours to guarantee complete independence, freedom from all foreign domination, and total sovereignty for all Arab countries.

2. They declare their determination to defend the independence of their countries, preserve their heritage and the spiritual values of the Arab and Islamic nations, resist every foreign attempt to interfere, and combat against all threats.

3. The strengthening of military cooperation between the four Arab states, for defense against the mutual enemy, in accordance with the conventions concluded among them, support the total Arab rights to Palestine, and double the efforts in order to fulfill the Arab hopes toward this seized section of the Arab fatherland.

4. Their Majesties assert their adherence to the policy of positive neutrality and non-adhesion to all

foreign pacts, regardless of their nature or source. Furthermore, they assert that the defense of the Arab world should be undertaken by the Arab states themselves, and should emanate from their defensive sources alone.

5. In assertion to, and in support of, the principle of self-determination afforded to all nations and peoples by the charter of the United Nations, the two great monarchs endeavour to support the Arab Algerian people in their courageous struggle against the forces of French imperialism, to enable them to achieve their independence and liberty, in accordance with the said principles.

7. Their Majesties assert their adherence to the charter of the Arab League, the charter of the United Nations, the charter of the Arab Mutual Assistance, the decisions of the Bandung conference, the Arab cooperation convention, and the decisions of the kings and leaders' conference held in Cairo on 27 Rajab 1376; 27 February 1957.

8. The two great monarchs assert that the Gulf of Aquaba is Arab territorial waters, and is completely under Arab sovereignty. They do not recognize the right of Israel or any other state to it, and refuse any claim which considers it to be an international waterway. They, therefore, declare their intention to defend Arab sovereignty in that Gulf in cooperation with the rest of the sister-Arab states.

Because of the great importance of the Arab Gulf of

Aquaba -- considering that it is one of the vital ways of pilgrimage to the holy sanctuaries of Islam -- and because of the danger of Israeli aggressions which might befall this waterway as a result of the tripartite aggression against Egypt, the two great monarchs expect all the Islamic and peace-loving nations in the world to support the Arab right of sovereignty in this Gulf, and to endeavour to implement the principles of international law by recognizing that this Gulf is absolutely within the Arab territorial waters.

9. Their Majesties the kings express their true determination to continue their efforts toward repairing the Hijazi railway to Medina, and to make every effort to hasten the execution of this vital project to serve the Islamic world.

10. The two great monarchs appreciate jointly the importance of economic cooperation, and the encouragement of Saudi Arabian and Jordanian capital exploitations in economic projects between their two Kingdoms. They have, therefore, agreed that this subject be taken up by their governments in detailed negotiations aimed at concluding a special agreement on this matter.

11. Desirous to achieve the aims of the Arab nation for unity and emancipation, the two great monarchs declare that they will do their utmost to preserve good relationships between the sister Arab states, and strive to strengthen the national bonds among them on the basis of

true cooperation and complete understanding. They are inspired in that by their national principles, reliance on God, and reliance on the awakening of the Arab peoples, who only desire in this life to live in peace, independent and free from all foreign domination. They ask God to give them His grace and guidance.

These two visits were followed by another visit which Hussein made to his brother Feisal of Iraq, between 22 and 24 June 1957, accompanied by some members of his government. Important national discussions took place in the capital of al-Rashid, [Baghdad], ending with a total agreement on the points of view concerning all matters considered in these negotiations. At the end of the royal visit, a joint official declaration was issued, the text of which follows.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

During the visit of His Majesty King Hussein, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, to his brother, His Majesty King Feisal II, King of Iraq, in Baghdad, between 22 and 24 June 1957, fraternal discussions were held between the two great monarchs and the members of their respective governments, in an atmosphere full of friendship, brotherhood, and total frankness, in which opinions on different matters were exchanged. Both parties reviewed the Arab affairs in general, and the fraternal relations between the sister-states in particular; and it is with pleasure that both parties declare their complete

understanding on the following.

1. Both parties decide that the defense of the Arab world should emanate from the real interest of the Arab nations, and they, therefore, declare their adherence to the charter of the Arab League and to the Arab Mutual Assistance Convention. They will endeavour to unite the Arabs, and strive to restore good understanding in the relations between the sister Arab states, in order to face the dangers that confront them and threaten their integrity and interests.

2. Both parties declare their desire to preserve the independence of their kingdoms, as they are desirous to protect the independence of the rest of the Arab states. They, furthermore, declare their determination to resist the subversive movements, and every danger threatening their integrity and independence. They decided that no one Arab country should interfere in the affairs of another Arab country. They declare that relations among the sister states should be based on strong fraternal cooperation for their mutual welfare, and for serving their interests by effective and productive ways and means.

3. On the basis of the above principles, both parties assert their strong desire to carry out the requirements of the treaty of brotherhood and alliance concluded between them, for they find in its laws all that guarantees reliable fraternal cooperation between the sister kingdoms,

in defense, military, political, economic, and cultural fields. -

4. Both parties declare their total adherence to the Arab undisputed rights to Palestine; and assert that they will not falter in their determination and that they will persist in their true efforts to fulfill the Arab expectations from this question, in a manner which will guarantee the recovery of this seized section of the beloved fatherland.

5. Both parties declare that they hold the Gulf of Aquaba as Arab territorial waters, and do not recognize the rights of any other party to it, as they declare their agreement to defend this Arab Gulf from any danger that might threaten Arab sovereignty over it. They assert the great importance of this Gulf, considering that it is one of the main ways for pilgrimage to the holy shrines of Islam.

6. Both parties declare their resistance to imperialism in all its forms and assert their complete support for all the Arab countries suffering from the yoke of imperialism in their struggle for freedom and independence, and for safeguarding their rights to self-determination, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations. They declare their support for the Arab Algerian people in their courageous struggle against the oppressive forces of French imperialism; they shall assist them to achieve their established rights to freedom and independence.

We ask to grant success, welfare, and happiness to our immortal Arab nation.

Issued in Baghdad, 24 June 1957.

A few days later, the blessed feast of the al-Adha arrived, bringing with it to the believers the meaning of giving and sacrifice.

On the night of the feast the great al-Hussein looked upon the vast Arab expansions, and could not see the air of solidarity and affection, the feeling of unity and brotherhood. He was pained to see his brothers in Egypt and Syria deviate from the glory bound caravan, throwing their dear countries into the abyss of conspiracies, turning the stronghold of the Arabs, and the pride of Islam, into an easy conquest for communism, spreading oppression and confusion along with corruption and poverty, and pushing the country of the Arabs toward the inferno of international confliotions by leaning openly and completely toward the communist camp.

Hussein saw these misfortunes and felt the oppression of his relatives, and their disregard for kinship, brotherhood, and magnanimity. He, therefore, broadcast on the beginning of the feast days the following fervent and immortal supplication.

"Oh perserving Jordanian people; oh struggling Arab people; oh Islamic nations in the four corners of the earth:

"From the holy places, from the holy house which God has blessed, from the purified country which our great prophet departed to the Heaven, from the beloved country

the wings of which are broken, and which is dismembered, and where the relatives and friends are scattered, from holy Jerusalem in the struggling Jordan, standing on the line of fire, between the Arabs and the enemy of the Arabs and Islam, I greet you, and send you my fervent heartfelt congratulations on this blessed day, day of sacrifice and redemption, the day of learning in which God spoke through his holy prophet saying: 'This day I have perfected for you your religion and completed my favor to you and chosen for you Islam as a religion.'

"It pleases me to stand here, on the elevated places of this purified and blessed country, brave thorough faith in its rights, cognizant of its duties to its people, sacrificing life and wealth to restore justice and elevate God's religion -- this proud and dignified country, a stronghold in the face of an external treacherous enemy, and another enemy which seeks to sow corruption and poverty internally!

"I am pleased and proud to take this stand on this great historical, religious occasion, asking the Almighty to bless and grace us, guide us with His affection, protect us from injustice and confusion, to show us the right way and make us want to abide by him, give success, and bring about this commemorative day on the land of the Arabs and Islam, to find it enjoying an era of happiness and sovereignty, glory, and wealth. To find us working for humanity and world peace, for freedom from disturbances and reactions,

forging ahead in the world of hope and action, with believing souls, sure of their endeavour, looking forward to the brightest light of guidance and strength on the near horizon.

"It is my pleasure and happiness to renew with you, and to you, our covenant in these days full of memories -- memories of manliness and heroism, memories which elevate the soul to the maker who saved it from the conspiracy and the ways of the devil. These days are full of meaning of sacrifice and redemption -- the days in which the Almighty set an example for man to aspire to, sacrifice for its right and its sacred duty, defend the honor of the country and the dignity of its people. These days in which the pilgrims from everywhere meet in the yearly pilgrimage, in the land of the blessed Mecca, and where, on Mount Arafat, the earthly complaints intermingle with the heavenly invocations. In this is an example and ideal for the people who can see it, and a best indication of the splendor of the gathering in one place and at one time of the pains of this world and the hopes of the life hereafter -- an indication that Islam has solved the reality of life on the basis of spiritual resurrection, reckoning with forgiveness and punishment. Honor, therefore, Islam as a religion, and praise our prophet as the apostle, guide, and a trustee for an immortal brotherhood of belief and strength.

"I beseech God to make this blessed feast the beginning of an era of constant friendship, true affection, and soli-

parity among the Arab and Islamic nations, to preserve our beliefs, the wealth of our spiritual values, and our Islamic principles, in a world subverted by destructive principles, confused by evil, and imperilled by the elements of injustice and hardships.

"Oh Arab brothers; oh brothers in Islam:

"I speak to announce to you the tidings of this happy and glorious feast, and my eyes are filled with tears for the seized wealth in the beloved Palestine. This thought is always present with me and it makes my blood boil, it is the thorn in my side: I have promised you more than once that I would remain, along with my people and army, faithful to the covenant which we drew up with our tears, and wrote with our blood; a courageous guard on the first line of defense of the Arab countries and the sacred shrines of Islam, unfaltering despite calamities, unvacillating despite misfortune, and unmoved by delusion. We will stand as an Arab who chooses the spiritual over the worldly, and prefers death with honor and dignity to humility and lowliness.

"This enduring and struggling country has stood, with its courageous army and faithful people, defending all the Arabs, and repulsing the dangers from the holy sanctuaries of Islam.

"And who would forget the struggle of the Jordanian Arab army in the black nights, repulsing the evil enemy, and removing the shame of an aggression?

"We have long been vigilant, and we have struggled

single-handed so that we may safeguard the peace and security of others; we have fought valiantly, and have not asked for praise, nor have we asked for help. We have continued to endure in our souls an unfaltering belief in the justice of our cause and in our ability to defend the honor of our nation and the dignity of our religion. "Oh noble Jordanian people; oh sister Arab peoples in the Arab and Islamic world;

"The splendor of this commemoration is derived from the majesty of the builder of the Arabs' and Islam's glory, the great prophet, whom God has blessed. We, lifting our heads with pride on the battlefield of international conflicts, refer to our kinship, to the holy prophet, without boasting or without humility; but we say it clear and loud: God forbid that he who claims kinship to God's prophet should go back on his promise, violate his covenant, with the pilgrims on the blessed occasion: God is great, praise be on Him; He has given His servants victory, and His soldiers glory, thanks are due to God alone.

"Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God."

10 Delhajja 1376; 8 July 1957

The Proceeds from the sale of this book will be donated to the families of the martyrs of the Arab Jordanian Army and the National Guard.