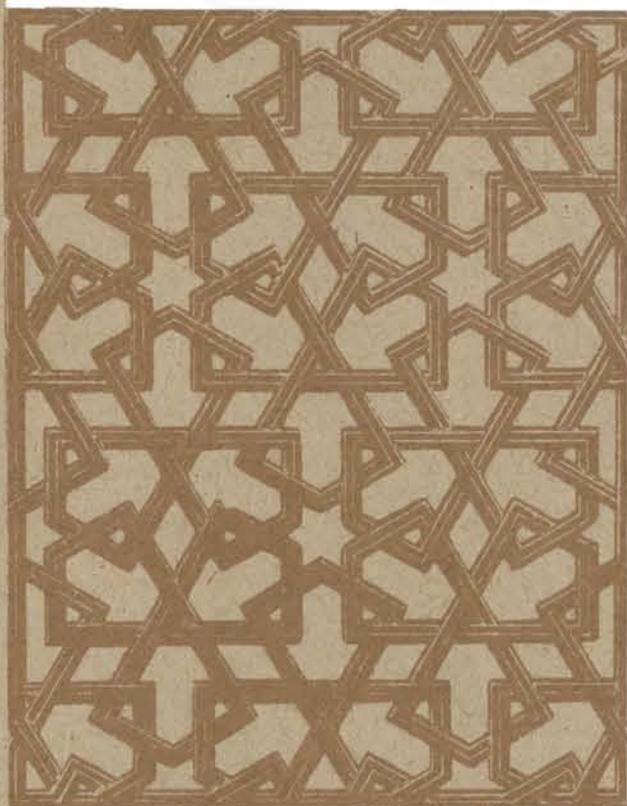


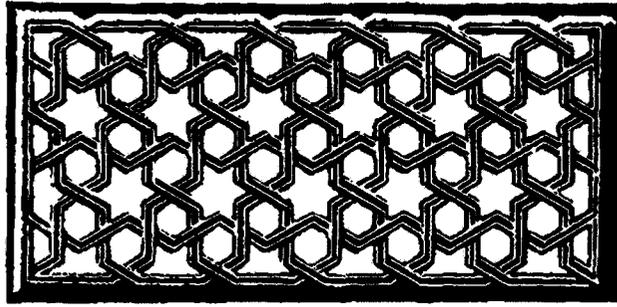
POLICY FOCUS

**FROM HUSSEIN
TO ABDULLAH:
JORDAN IN TRANSITION**

ROBERT SATLOFF



THE WASHINGTON INSTITUTE



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RESEARCH MEMORANDUM

Number Thirty-Eight

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Robert Satloff is the executive director of The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. He is the author of numerous works on Jordanian history and politics, including *From Abdullah to Hussein: Jordan in Transition* (Oxford, 1994) and *Troubles on the East Bank: Challenges to the Domestic Stability of Jordan* (Praeger, 1986). Dr. Satloff wrote this Policy Focus after visiting Jordan in March 1999, while on research sabbatical in the Middle East.

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Executive Summary

Change in Jordan has come swiftly and remarkably smoothly. The new king—Abdullah II—has adopted as his mantra the promise of “continuity” of his father’s policies, yet he has already displayed ingenuity and cunning, especially on internal matters. Nevertheless, the challenges to Abdullah remain acute. Once his “honeymoon” period ends, Abdullah will have little time to provide real answers to Jordan’s pressing problems. A policy of “continuity” will not suffice. His major test will be to discern when to apply his father’s answers and when to provide his own. Topping his agenda are the following issues:

Reforming the Economy

Virtually all observers agree that fixing the economy must be Abdullah’s top priority. The bureaucracy, army, and intelligence services are enormous for a country of Jordan’s size and wealth, and Jordanians produce only a fraction of what is necessary to pay for their upkeep. Jordan has three traditional export options—goods to the West Bank and Israel, people to the Gulf, and goods and people to Iraq—but they are all limited by politics. Little effort is being made to take advantage of preferential trade with Europe and duty-free access to the United States via the Jordan–Israel Qualifying Industrial Zone (QIZ). The recognized but unofficial unemployment rate is 27 percent; the real rate is probably higher.

Fighting Corruption

The key to implementing economic reforms will be political as much as economic. Average Jordanians are intensely wary of needed reforms, largely because they have no trust in their government. In a small country like Jordan, strong safeguards of transparency and accountability are needed to protect against the allure of corruption. Regrettably, King Hussein had a blind spot toward this. Jordanians want clean government even more than democracy, and if the economic situation does not improve, the combination of recession and perceived corruption could be politically combustible. Without limiting his own royal prerogative, Abdullah has the opportunity to modernize the monarchy and, by extension, clean up Jordan’s political system. Such systemic change is especially pressing because recent changes have empowered a class of politicians that has hitherto acted as mere administrative aides to the palace. Abdullah must be wary that politicians do not interpret the late king’s final rebuke of former Crown Prince Hassan—who was allegedly overzealous in fighting corruption—as a license to steal. So far, the regime’s signals on this key issue are mixed.

Unifying the Family

The current moment is especially sensitive, as there has been a family revolution in recent weeks. With so much changing so swiftly, the palace is rife with suspicions. To an outside observer, the answer lies in clarity. Abdullah will never be able to quell suspicions that he will do to Hamzah what Hussein did to Hassan—that is, appoint his own son as successor instead of his brother. But it is important not to send confusing signals that only heighten suspicions. Clarifying the former crown prince's role, in both familial and political terms, would be an important sign that Abdullah's personal transition to his dual roles as king of Jordan and head of the Hashemite clan is complete. What is clear is that Abdullah has little to fear; Jordanians profess deep loyalty to Abdullah as his father's choice to be king. By all accounts, Hassan has accepted with quiet dignity both his late brother's decision and the petty effrontery of royal courtiers that followed. These days, Hassan's only apparent ambition is to serve the new king. Although some of Abdullah's advisers may counsel against any role for Hassan, Jordanians in general are more at ease when they see their royal family whole and united. Here, the cardinal rule of Hashemite politics applies: Politicians may come and go, but the family is constant. Finding the proper way to exploit what Hassan has to offer is smart politics.

Affirming a Strategic Choice for Peace

Dealing with the current drought—and the prospect that Israel may renege on part of its commitment to provide Jordan with water—has the potential to dry up what little affection for peace with Israel survived King Hussein. Finding a solution is urgent and critical. The death of Hussein, and the departure of Hassan, left Jordan without its two most ardent advocates of peace and normalization with Israel. So far, Abdullah has said all the right words about continuing his father's approach; however, his immediate priorities are, understandably, elsewhere. Unless it is nurtured, the Jordan-Israel relationship could slide into what one could call “pre-treaty-plus”—close security and military relations (which Abdullah is firmly committed to maintaining and even expanding) at the expense of economic, political, and cultural “normalization.” Some on both sides of the borders would be satisfied with this development, but that would be short-sighted.

Nurturing the American Connection

Historically, Jordanians look to an outside patron, and the current (perhaps only) candidate is the United States. For Amman, Hussein's death poses a set of contradictory challenges to U.S.-Jordan ties. On the one hand, Jordanians need to fashion a post-Hussein relationship that revolves less around personality and more on common regional interests. Jordan must realize that its contribution to America's two main regional projects—promoting peace with Israel and hastening the demise of Iraqi president Saddam Husayn—are crucial to ensuring continuity of U.S. support. On the other hand, Jordanians need to avoid sliding into a mindset of overdependence on the United States and should not misread American goodwill for commitments of large-scale additional financial support. In other words, Jordanians need to take steps to make the United States want to help Jordan survive, while guarding against complacency

when the United States shows that it does. Given the U.S. role as midwife to the emerging Palestinian state, competition for Washington's ear will be especially intense; finding the proper balance between competing with Palestinian Authority chairman Yasir Arafat for U.S. affection and securing U.S. understanding for Jordanian interests in "final status negotiations" is one of Abdullah's most immediate and delicate tasks.

Defining—and Defending—Hashemite Interests

Abdullah has thus far sought to maximize the goodwill that flowed at his father's funeral and to say "yes" to all comers. Sooner or later, however, fundamental strategic differences with Syria, the Palestinians, Saddam Husayn's Iraq, and even Egypt will come to the fore, and the era of good feelings Jordan currently enjoys will come to an end. For now, Abdullah needs to husband his resources and deepen his investment in the United States, Israel, and the younger princes of the small Arab Gulf states. Over the long run—and certainly until a new regime emerges in Iraq—those countries can help provide new assets to balance the loss of regional prestige that died with Hussein. In addition, strengthening ties with Turkey is an important objective that needs not come at the expense of patching over differences with Arab states. Whereas the prospect of reconciliation between Jordan and Syria is much hyped, the structural differences between the two states are profound. Indeed, senior Jordanians are fearful that renewed emphasis on the Syrian-Israeli track of negotiations will come at the expense of the Palestinian-Israeli track and, by extension, relegate Jordan's interests to the back burner.

On Iraq, Abdullah has studiously maintained a position of advocating political change but avoiding a direct role in bringing it about. Amman is fearful that a more publicly anti-Saddam role may unleash either a backlash from the many agents of Saddam's regime among the 100,000–200,000 Iraqis living inside Jordan, or a possible flood of Iraqi refugees to Jordan's borders in the event of upheaval in Baghdad—or both. Covertly, Jordan is likely to support U.S. actions against Saddam, but its role will be limited.

Abdullah's riskiest adventure will be to preserve Hashemite interests in Israeli-Palestinian final status talks. This means, most of all, the future disposition of Palestinian refugees plus the eventual definition of bilateral (Jordanian-Palestinian) and trilateral (Jordanian-Israeli-Palestinian) political, economic, and security ties. Clarifying long-term Jordanian interests vis-à-vis "Palestine"—which also means addressing the explosive demographic issue of Jordanian-Palestinian relations within the kingdom itself—may be the most significant issue Abdullah ever faces.

Jordan in Transition

Change in Jordan has come swiftly and, to the outside observer, remarkably smoothly. In a span of less than two months, in a country that had known the same leadership team—the brother combination of Hussein and Hassan—for more than a generation, Jordanians have seen the ascension of a new king, a new crown prince, a new queen, and a new prime minister. In most Middle Eastern countries, such wholesale change would normally be accompanied by gunfire; in Jordan, the only noises associated with the arrival of the *nouveau régime* were the wailing of mourners at Hussein’s death, the screeching brakes of ninety-two airplanes landing with world leaders for Hussein’s funeral, and—less nobly—the stripping, by palace decree, of former Crown Prince Hassan’s picture from the walls of all government offices. On balance, the future heirs to Syria’s Hafiz al-Asad, the Palestinian Authority’s Yasir Arafat and Morocco’s King Hassan have much to envy.

Tagged as a politically inexperienced, fast-rising soldier unschooled in the machinations of governance, the new king—Abdullah II—has adopted as his mantra the promise of “continuity” of his father’s policies. Yet, in just his first days on the throne, he displayed an instinctive sense of political cunning, surprise, and ingenuity—at least concerning internal matters—that were among the traits he seems to have inherited from Hussein.

- In appointing a new prime minister just hours after telling the incumbent that his job was secure, Abdullah pulled a page directly from the late king’s manual for monarchy.
- In placing Abd al-Karim Kabariti as chief of the royal court and Abd al-Rauf al-Rawabdeh as prime minister—two men with long political biographies, “can-do” reputations, large egos, and great ambitions—he neatly arranged the “creative tension” that will either prove a powerful combination to implement needed economic reforms or provide useful “fall guys” should something go awry.
- In sacking dozens of senior army officers, including the next-in-line to be chief of staff, Abdullah excised many of his own former commanders, including a handful whose résumés included service as former Crown Prince Hassan’s military secretaries. The effect was to make room at the top of this key institution for peers who

share his vision of a faster, smarter, and more mobile—but, incongruously, not necessarily smaller—army.

- Finally, in naming his Palestinian-born wife, Rania, as queen almost immediately after the forty-day mourning period for Hussein concluded—but while the official three-month palace mourning was still underway—Abdullah confirmed that in matters personal as well as political, speedy change was the order of the day.

It took more than six years for the young Hussein to exert such influence over government, army, and family when he first became king nearly a half-century ago; Abdullah did it, with only some whispers, gossip, and grumbling in response, in less than six weeks. The difference, of course, is time. First, Hussein was just a boy of seventeen—still enthralled by go-carts (his flying days had not even started)—when he ascended the throne; Abdullah is a mature 37 year old with his own race-car days behind him, keen to dispel doubt that too much time will be devoted to “on-the-job training.” And second, the late 1990s are a far cry from the early 1950s, ideologically, technologically, and in a host of other ways.

Despite Abdullah’s game show, however, he has much to learn, especially on foreign policy. By the time Hussein had turned 37, he had seen his grandfather murdered, his father deposed for illness, two prime ministers assassinated, his army turn against him, his people riot in the streets, his country wracked by civil war, and half his kingdom lost in battle with Israel. He survived the last quarter-century steeled by that set of experiences. None of these, however, did Abdullah know first hand. Abdullah was just 5 years old when Jordan lost the West Bank to Israel and only 8 when the Jordanian army finally expelled the Palestinian *fedayeen* (commandos) in the bloody operation remembered by East Bankers as “White September.” Abdullah’s formative experience was the Gulf War, a moment of inter-Arab treachery and American power, when Jordan sought neutrality but found itself alone—a dangerous position for a state that relies on its role as the region’s *terra media*. The Middle East appears more genteel these days—evidenced not least by the generous turnout at Hussein’s funeral—but the region seethes beneath the surface; the challenges to Jordan, though different than in the 1970s, remain acute.

Abdullah is currently benefitting from a hundred-days’ grace or a six- to twelve-month honeymoon, depending on whom one asks. Old allies, like the United States, have provided new assistance in the form of money, military assistance, and wheat, and have appealed to other G-7 countries to relieve Jordan’s international debt; old creditors, like the United Arab Emirates, have opened new accounts in Jordan’s Central Bank, bolstering the dinar; old nemeses, like Syria, have offered to let bygones be bygones. But Abdullah knows that the memory of his father and the novelty of his own succession will soon wane. U.S. aid is finite and, to a large extent, tied to progress in the stalled Israeli–Palestinian peace process. Arab assistance is in the form of interest-bearing loans and certificates of deposit, not grants, as was the case in the heyday of the 1980s. And with Syria, no one in Jordan harbors illusions that any more than a temporary pause in the strategic contest between the two—perhaps long enough for Asad’s son Bashar to learn the success of succession—is possible. By the time the new century arrives, therefore, Abdullah will have to provide real answers to Jordan’s pressing problems. He knows that a simple policy of “con-

tinuity” will not suffice. His major test will be to discern when to apply his father’s answers and when to provide his own. Topping his agenda are the issues that follow.

Reforming the Economy

Virtually all observers, foreign and domestic, agree that fixing the economy must be Abdullah’s top priority. Jordan’s economy was in a shambles when Hussein was still alive, and with his death, Jordan lost its number one export—the king himself, via his ability to win substantial assistance from Gulf leaders and his persona in the West as the Arab moderate for decades on the verge of making peace with Israel. The bureaucracy, army, and intelligence services are huge for a country of Jordan’s size and wealth, and Jordanians produce only a fraction of what is necessary to pay for their upkeep. Jordan’s historic problem is that its people are traders, not producers; middlemen, not entrepreneurs. When overland trade routes mattered—such as to Arabia two millennia ago or to Baghdad a decade ago—Jordan thrived; today’s marketplace, however, puts a premium on precisely those attributes Jordanian businessmen lack: speed, innovation, marketing, and risk-taking. Jordan has three traditional export options—goods to the West Bank and Israel, people to the Gulf, and goods and people to Iraq—but they are all limited by politics (partially self-imposed, partially externally driven). Senior palace officials speak of new markets in Sudan, Yemen, and Algeria, but it is a sign of Jordan’s spineless business sector that it may place its bets on three war-torn, economically ravaged countries, rather than raise the standards of its low- and medium-tech industries (such as pharmaceuticals and small appliance manufacturing) and thus compete for slices of real markets. Jordan is in the unique and enviable position of having preferential trade with Europe and duty-free access to the United States via the Jordan–Israel Qualifying Industrial Zone, which is soon to expand to new sites, but a relatively paltry slice of Jordanian exports heads to either of those markets.

Sadly, “continuity” of this dinosaur mentality fails to take advantage of the one raw material Jordan has in abundance—a young, healthy, highly educated work force. Health and educational standards, the envy of the developing world, are perhaps, the greatest legacy of Jordan’s *ancien régime*. Jordan could capitalize on its best natural resource—tens of thousands of young Jordanians—to create new industries in computer software and related technologies. Indeed, virtually every Jordanian city today boasts an internet cafe, and in university towns like Irbid they can be found on almost every corner. But building high-technology incubators and attracting global interest would require vision, commitment, and partnership between government and industry, all of which are in short supply; to take just one example, Jordan is almost alone in the region in lacking AT&T Direct Dial access, though it had such business-traveler amenities a decade ago. After graduation from university, many Jordanians have no where to go except the Muslim Brotherhood, fueling the recognized but unofficial unemployment rate of 27 percent (the real rate is probably higher). This is especially the case for Jordanians of Palestinian origin, for whom job openings in the government or army are limited.

In southern Jordan, where “East Bankers” predominate, poverty is acute, and the people are less reluctant to vent against the government than are the cowed residents of the

refugee shanty-towns of Amman, Zerqa and Irbid. Here, in the South, the government is keen to act—for both political and economic reasons—but the people are distrustful. The current *cause célèbre* is the privatization of the Aqaba Railway, the transport lifeline for Jordan's phosphate industry, one of the country's few hard-currency earners. If Jordan improves its infrastructure through this plan, which includes a \$100 million foreign investment to build a new railway spur, it could eventually expand output fourfold, providing a major boon to the economy. Yet, the privatization scheme envisions a near-term cut in the railway's workforce from nearly 1,200 down to about 300, with layoffs falling most heavily on the already disaffected southern city of Ma'an. (This is where then-Special Forces Commander Prince Abdullah led troops in quelling riots in 1998 and where leaflets allegedly circulated in February in favor of former Crown Prince Hassan.) Outcries of protest from Ma'anis already forced the last prime minister, the able technocrat Fayiz Tarawneh, to slow down the privatization process, and it is now up to his successor, a "bulldozer" noted for his populist touch, to push it through.

Fighting Corruption

The key to implementing reforms will be political as much as economic. Around the country, average Jordanians are intensely wary of privatization and other needed changes, not because they are wedded to old ways but because they have no trust in their government. Although the International Monetary Fund is no more popular here than in many countries that have traded loans for economic discipline, the real bogeyman is the government. Young and old alike are fearful that instead of investing windfalls wisely, fulfilling promises about compensation, or providing incentives to ensure that profits remain in the country, privatization contracts will be followed by an explosion of ministerial Mercedes imports. A small country like Jordan needs strong safeguards of transparency and accountability to protect against the allure of corruption. In a monarchy, one cannot forget, nepotism is a structural fault, and it is almost a badge of honor among powerful, well-connected Jordanian families—all of whom produce ministers in Jordan's frequently rotating governmental system—to have one son as a local agent for this or that foreign concern. Regrettably, King Hussein had a blind spot toward this and the absence of such safeguards was one of the least beneficial legacies of the *ancien régime*.

Even more than democracy, Jordanians want clean government and, if the economic situation does not improve, the combination of recession and perceived corruption could be politically combustible. Indeed, that was the formula that accompanied bread riots in 1989 and 1996. Here, a policy of "continuity" could be ruinous. The late king combined roles as *paterfamilias*, benefactor, and protector to all Jordanians, mighty and meek; among his followers, loyalty—not rectitude—was the commodity he prized most. Jordanians accepted this system because of their truly selfless and pure devotion to their monarch; Abdullah, however, needs to mold his own system. Without limiting his own royal prerogative, Abdullah has the opportunity to modernize the monarchy and, by extension, clean up Jordan's political system.

Such systemic change is especially pressing because the death of Hussein and the eclipsing of Hassan have empowered two groups, politicians and young royals (on the latter, see below). Whereas both groups previously operated under the shadow of these two experienced, determined, and decisive leaders, today they hold the reins of power. If the politicians handle their enhanced roles properly, the country could reap major benefits, especially if politicians cease to act as mere administrative aides to the palace and are finally given responsibility for their portfolios in addition to perks. But Abdullah must be wary—as many of his subjects are—that ambitious careerists among the political class do not interpret the late king's final rebuke of former Crown Prince Hassan's alleged overzealousness in fighting corruption as a license to steal.

In these early days, Abdullah is sending mixed signals: His first policy statement highlighted the need for clean government but he appointed Rawabdeh, a man with a checkered reputation on that issue, as prime minister. Rawabdeh is accenting old-style inclusiveness—consulting frequently with professional syndicates, bringing Islamists into the cabinet, promising a review of a controversial press and publications law—over governmental reform itself. A worrisome sign of Rawabdeh's style of governance was the fact that his cabinet drafted and parliament approved—over the strenuous objectives of the finance minister—an 'Eid amnesty law that waived financial penalties owed by white-collar criminals that would have netted the national treasury tens of millions of needed dinars. That bill, among the first signed under the new regime, was hardly a convincing sign that reducing corruption will be a top priority. A firm policy from the palace on this hot-button issue would have lasting benefits; demanding real ministerial responsibility and “zero tolerance” for even the perception of skullduggery would be one way for Abdullah to earn affection to match his authority.

Unifying the Family

Hashemite politics have always been complicated, often self-destructive, sometimes cannibalistic. The current moment is especially sensitive, as there has been a family revolution in recent weeks. In rapid succession, the family (and the people of Jordan) have witnessed Abdullah's surprise ascension and the seemingly heartless dispatch of Hassan to the wilderness; the slow death and highly public funeral of patriarch Hussein; the appointment as crown prince of Hamzah, Noor's eldest and, reportedly, Hussein's favorite son; the emergence as key actors of young royals like Hussein's younger sons (especially Faisal, a respected air force officer) and the highly educated, intensely committed sons of Hussein's middle brother Muhammad (National Security Adviser Talal and Tribal Relations Adviser Ghazi); the naming of Rania, an American University of Cairo alumna, as queen; and Noor's departure from the country the following day. (She has since returned.) With so much changing so swiftly, the palace is rife with suspicions, which is particularly dangerous given the fact that, in a family as small as the Hashemites, Benjamin Franklin's quip about hanging together or hanging separately is an operational imperative.

To an outside observer, the answer lies in clarity, or as much as the byzantine world of palace politics can muster. Until Abdullah's dying day, he will never be able to quell

suspicions that he will do to Hamzah what Hussein did to Hassan—that is, remove his half-brother as crown prince and appoint his own son instead. The fact that he is even now sending confusing signals, such as highlighting Rania’s role of mother of the potential heir in the letter appointing her as queen, only exacerbates the problem. Similarly, the naming of Noor as chairperson of the King Hussein Foundation—with a charter that virtually ensures competition, for dollars as well as prestige, with the array of scientific and intellectual institutes run by Hassan—will aggravate still-raw family wounds. Perhaps Abdullah is following his father’s footsteps. Hussein, in retrospect, opted for severity, not clarity. When one peels away the many explanations the late king offered in his dying missive for replacing his brother with his son, none are as strong as the power of paternal pride over fraternal loyalty—the rationale that Hussein barely hinted at but the one which most Jordanians, when pressed to talk about such a sensitive issue, tend to cite.

Clarifying the former crown prince’s role, in both familial and political terms, would be an important sign that Abdullah’s personal transition to his dual roles as king of Jordan and head of the Hashemite clan is complete. What is abundantly clear, in conversations from Umm Qais in the North to Aqaba in the South, and throughout the palace grounds, is that Abdullah has little to fear. Jordanians of all stripes profess deep loyalty to him as Hussein’s choice to be king; in his quest to earn the loyalty that he has inherited, Abdullah already has quite a head start. Many Jordanians are anxious about the rapid overhaul of the kingdom’s hierarchy and the inexperience of many of today’s key players, but this is understandable given the sheer longevity of the Hussein–Hassan team. By all accounts, Abdullah’s uncle Hassan has accepted with quiet dignity both his late brother’s decision and the petty effrontery of royal courtiers that followed. These days, Hassan’s only apparent ambition is to serve the new king, perhaps as the vehicle for trial balloons or by playing the same bad-cop persona to the king’s good-cop role that he played for Hussein.

Although some of Abdullah’s advisers may counsel against any role, public or private, for the former crown prince, average Jordanians evince enduring respect for Hassan. No less important for Abdullah is the fact that Jordanians in general are more at ease when they see their royal family whole and united. Abdullah himself surely gleaned from his father the cardinal rule of Hashemite politics: Politicians may come and go—and with a change in government on average every eleven months, they all come and go—but the family is constant. Given the numerous challenges facing Abdullah, finding the proper way to exploit what Hassan has to offer—and thereby bolster the unity of a family that cannot afford the alternative—is, simply, smart politics.

Affirming the Strategic Choice for Peace

When King Abdullah I, the new king’s great-grandfather, was killed in 1951, Jordan was suffering one of its worst droughts ever; this year, Hussein’s death coincided with another acute water crisis. The situation is so bad that the government will take control of the country’s 1,800 private wells and slash agricultural consumption by 30 percent. But if dealing with a natural disaster is not problem enough, the current drought has the potential to dry up what little affection for peace with Israel survived King Hussein.

The problem is that drought is a regional phenomenon, with Israeli reservoirs and aquifers suffering at least as much as Jordan's. (Israel has announced plans to cut water allocations to its farmers by 40 percent.) This prompted Israeli officials to tell Jordan that Israel cannot fulfill its commitment by Ariel Sharon, the foreign minister and national infrastructure minister, to provide 25 million cubic meters of water above and beyond the treaty commitment of 20 million cubic meters to be delivered via a pipeline drawing from the Sea of Galilee. At first, Israeli technocrats said Israel's short-term repudiation of its water obligation was nonnegotiable, leaving the Jordanians no option but publicly to cry foul and cast doubt about the sanctity of the treaty itself. As of this writing (early April 1999), the two sides still have not engaged in the private, high-powered political dialogue that is the path to resolving this problem with a minimal loss of face, though they each profess privately to seek a solution.

Finding a solution is urgent and crucial. The death of Hussein, and the departure of Hassan, left Jordan without its two most ardent advocates of peace and normalization with Israel; with rare exceptions, whatever enthusiasm Jordanians had for people-to-people peacemaking was driven from the top-down. So far, Abdullah has said all the right words about continuing his father's approach, and he has his own wide network of contacts in Israel, built through military connections and his many American friends, to complement those he inherits. Yet, his immediate priorities are, understandably, elsewhere—affirming his own position, invigorating the economy, taking advantage of the “era of good feelings” to renew ties with estranged Arab states.

The result is that Abdullah's first cabinet, under Rawabdeh, includes several open opponents of “normalization” with Israel and virtually no veterans of the peacemaking era of the mid-1990s. Rawabdeh himself blows hot and cold on the peace issue and, in any case, has limited responsibility for foreign affairs. Abd al-Karim Kabariti, who wields considerable power as chief palace adviser, had sour experiences with both Labor and Likud and sees the Israel relationship as necessary but competitive. Adnan Abu Odeh, the King's “political adviser,” has creative thoughts about the trilateral relationship with Israel and the Palestinians, but his authority in the new palace structure is unclear. The chief military liaison with Israel, Land Forces Commander Tahseen Shurдум, was sacked in February, leaving virtually the entire military–security relationship monopolized by *Mukhabbarat* (intelligence) chief Samih Batikhi, a smooth, calculating, career intelligence man with political ambitions of his own.

The bottom line is that unless it is nurtured, the Jordan–Israel relationship could slide into what one could call “pre-treaty-plus”—close security and military relations (which Abdullah is firmly committed to maintain and even expand) at the expense of economic, political, and cultural “normalization.” Providing the Jordanians with an excuse for cooling the public aspects of peace, via the water dispute, would feed this trend.

Some on both sides of the borders would be satisfied with this development, but that would be short-sighted. In making peace before either the Syrian or Palestinian tracks were concluded, Hussein made a strategic choice that Jordan's interests would be best served by trying to shape, via its relationship with Israel, the outcome of those negotiations

and the strategic environment that will emerge from it. To recede from that role on the eve of both final status negotiations and a renewed push for talks with Damascus would be an error; neither “Arab coordination” under Egypt’s lead nor improved ties with a succession-obsessed Hafiz al-Asad are substitutes for Hussein’s original strategic choice.

From Israel’s point of view, Jordan remains the one Arab state with whom it shares real common interests. Investing in Abdullah’s success would be a wise move and—perhaps even during an election period—the politically correct course. On water, Israel has a strategic interest in providing enough to satisfy the Jordanians—if not actually fulfilling the letter of its treaty and nontreaty promises—combined with a generous formula for sharing the deficit in dry years and sharing the bounty in wet years. (That the two sides did not include such a formula in the treaty was an oversight of strategic consequences.) On economics, Israelis need to review the many nontariff barriers, from standards for pharmaceutical packaging to maintenance requirements for fruit and vegetable trucks, that have the effect of limiting Jordan’s exports to the relatively huge Israeli market. (The West Bank market is, as Israelis say, more complicated by intense Jordanian–Palestinian competition—both political and economic—though Israel is not innocent of its own protectionist interests there, too). Israel could use a solution to the water crisis to launch a serious and long overdue effort at desalination, and even to open discreet conversations with Jordan on more strategic issues. One important avenue to investigate is the potential for a coordinated initiative on antimissile defense, perhaps starting with enhanced intelligence cooperation. In this early period of Abdullah’s reign, U.S. involvement on strategic matters could make bilateral initiatives more palatable to the Jordanians and, as a result, more likely to come to fruition.

Those Israelis who think that Abdullah needs to replicate his father’s penchant for iconoclastic peacemaking before they are willing to “reward” him have the equation backwards; they should be offering Jordan an array of enticements to build a multifaceted alliance—political, economic, intelligence, and military. Such an alliance should be Israel’s strategic objective. After Israel’s election, the peace process will either move to accelerated final status negotiations with the Palestinians or veer northward toward reengagement with Syria. In either case—to work out common approaches to such relevant final status issues as refugees, security arrangements, and border controls, or to assure Amman that a putative Syria deal would not come at the Jordanians’ expense—shoring up the Jordan connection should be an Israeli imperative.

Neighborhood Watch

Elsewhere in the region, Abdullah has so far sought to maximize the goodwill that flowed at his father’s funeral and to say “yes” to all comers: yes, Jordan supports all Palestinian claims against Israel; yes, Jordan supports Egypt’s lead in inter-Arab politics; yes, Jordan supports Syria’s desire for a new chapter in relations; yes, Jordan supports the lifting of sanctions on Iraq, Libya, and Sudan; yes, Jordan supports the claims of Kuwait against Saddam Husayn; yes, Jordan supports the Iraqi people’s thirst for change but insists that change emanate from within; yes, Jordan supports “Arab consensus,” even if none exists.

Until forced to make choices, Abdullah's approach makes sense; Jordan always was a weak player in regional politics and played an outsized role in recent years only because of Hussein's force of personality. Sooner or later, however, fundamental strategic differences with Syria, the Palestinians, Saddam's Iraq, and even with Egypt will come to the fore, and the era of good feelings Jordan currently enjoys will come to an end.

Although expressions of goodwill from Arab capitals now predominate, once the sheen on Abdullah's new reign wears off, regional politics will return to a more normal state. Abdullah should not read too much into the patronizing benevolence of Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdullah or Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak; neither wants Jordan to disappear, but neither wants Jordan to thrive. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait may speak of putting the past behind them, but nearly a decade after the two countries expelled 300,000 Jordanians during the Gulf crisis, regional economics have changed so much that the prospect of many Jordanians returning to lucrative Gulf jobs is slim. (So far, Kuwait has merely promised to consider Jordanian job applicants on par with those from other Arab countries, not to provide the preferential treatment that Amman seeks.)

For now, Abdullah needs to husband his resources carefully, reap what he can from repaired ties with estranged Saudi Arabia and Juwait, and deepen his investment in the United States, Israel, and the younger princes of the small Arab Gulf states, whose security Jordanian troops have for years helped to maintain. In addition, strengthening ties with Turkey—including the search for new markets and economic cooperation to match strong security relations—is an important objective that needs not come at the expense of patching over differences with Arab states. Over the long run—and certainly until a new regime emerges in Iraq—those countries can help to provide new assets to balance the loss of regional prestige that died with Hussein.

Much hyped in Jordan's media is the post-Hussein reconciliation between Amman and Damascus, with Abdullah announcing a trip to Syria to reciprocate the condolence calls paid to him by both Asads, *père* and *fil*s. Yet, the structural differences between the two states are so profound that few Jordanians believe that more than a cosmetic change in relations is really possible. Indeed, senior Jordanians reject as unlikely the prospects of progress on the Syrian-Israeli track of negotiations. They argue, moreover, that the time needed to test Asad's intentions comes yet again at the expense of progress on the Palestinian-Israeli track and, by extension, relegates Jordan's interests to the back burner. (Along the way, these officials also criticize those U.S. policymakers they claim are so mesmerized by Asad that they take allies, like the Jordanians, for granted.)

On Iraq, Abdullah has studiously maintained the position his father held for the past two years, advocating political change but avoiding a direct role in bringing it about. On the surface, Jordan could be bolder. With oil so cheap, Amman's economic links to Baghdad are weaker than ever and the bilateral trade protocol now stands at just \$200 million per year, a fraction of its former size. Yet, Riyadh has yet to make a clear offer to replace Iraqi oil at submarket prices. Moreover, Amman fears that a more publicly anti-Saddam role may unleash a backlash from the many agents of Saddam's regime among the 100,000–200,000 Iraqis—no one knows for sure exactly how many—now living inside

Jordan, and that an even greater flood of Iraqi refugees could cross Jordan's borders in the event of upheaval in Baghdad. Covertly, Jordan is likely to support U.S. actions against Saddam, but its role will be limited; in general, Jordanians, like many in the Arab world, simply cannot fathom why the "world's only superpower" has such difficulty in implementing a declared policy of evicting Saddam from Baghdad, if that is Washington's true wish. Here, Kosovo may be a sobering experience.

Although Abdullah is (along with the new emir of Bahrain) currently the new man on the Arab block, the eventual passing of Asad, Arafat, Mubarak, and Hassan of Morocco means that, in a relatively short time, he could be one of the most experienced of a new generation of Arab leaders—what one royal intimate forecast as the stage when Abdullah will be "king of the Arabs." Even with more modest aspirations, getting there will be the big challenge. The riskiest adventure will be to preserve Hashemite interests in Israeli–Palestinian final status talks. This does not mean Jerusalem, to which the Jordanians have already effectively written off their own claims. (Today, Jordan hardly puts up any challenge at all to Arafat's control of Muslim and Christian holy sites in Jerusalem.) Rather, this means, most of all, the future disposition of Palestinian refugees (including Jordan's role in any compensation scheme) plus the eventual definition of bilateral (Jordanian–Palestinian) and trilateral (Jordanian–Israeli–Palestinian) political, economic, and security ties.

In a December 1998 meeting in Ramallah with a group of Washington Institute visitors, Arafat said the idea of Jordanian–Palestinian "confederation" was dead; two months later, just days after Hussein's funeral, he resurrected it. Arafat almost surely sensed weakness and was probing for vulnerability. Amman replied with the standard answer—confederation is unthinkable until the Palestinians achieve their own state—but Jordan may, before too long, have Arafat call Abdullah's bluff. Clarifying long-term Jordanian interests vis-à-vis "Palestine"—which also means addressing the explosive demographic issue of Jordanian–Palestinian relations within the kingdom itself—may be the most significant issue the new king ever faces.

America the Generous

The United States looms large in the Jordanian national psyche. Even though Abdullah, the half-British prince, and not Hamzah, the half-American prince, succeeded Hussein, the new king spent many of his formative years in the United States—at secondary school in Massachusetts, university in Washington, D.C., and military training courses in Kentucky—and he already has a deeper familiarity with American culture than his father did. On the popular level, there has been a Jordanian explosion in affinity with America—McDonald's, Bally's-style health clubs, even Discovery Zone-type children's play areas where none of the clientele (2-, 3-, and 4-year-olds) can read the English-only signs—to match the longstanding preoccupation of Amman's taxi drivers to learn the quickest way to get a U.S. visa. Historically, Jordanians have looked to an outside patron to compensate for their country's lack of strength, size, and wealth, and there is no doubt that the current (and perhaps only) candidate is the United States.

Much that Washington does for Jordan is appreciated, yet much is not. Few in Jordan, for example, recognize that U.S. aid to their country has increased fivefold over the last decade and is now larger, per capita, than any country's except Israel. Part of the problem is that many Jordanians, used to decades of foreign largesse (British, American, Arab, Japanese) take the recent upsurge in U.S. assistance with a shrug. Another part of the problem is that, until recently, too much of U.S. aid was invisible or nearly so—including \$700 million worth of debt forgiveness, efforts to win loan rescheduling from G-7 allies, a dozen F-16 aircraft that were a darling of the late king, and approval of generous trade terms for the Irbid QIZ. In recent months, during the period of uncertainty surrounding Hussein's death, Washington wisely raised the profile of the U.S. connection, with the most notable signs being the attendance of four U.S. presidents at Hussein's funeral and the dispatch of 100,000 tons of wheat to ease the effects of the current drought. This has had important political and psychological benefits to Jordan and the bilateral relationship.

For Jordan, the passing of Hussein poses a set of contradictory challenges to relations with the United States. On the one hand, Jordanians need to fashion a post-Hussein relationship that, by necessity, revolves less around personality and more on common regional interests. On the other hand, Jordanians need to avoid sliding into a mindset of overdependence on the United States and counting on U.S. assistance as the easy alternative to addressing difficult internal problems. In other words, Jordanians need to take steps to make the United States want to help Jordan survive, while guarding against complacency when the United States shows that it does.

Whereas Americans will always be attracted by the allure of a dashing, young monarch—and one that speaks U.S.-accented English, no less—Amman must realize that its contribution to America's two main regional projects, promoting peace with Israel and hastening the demise of Saddam Husayn, are critical to ensuring the continuity of U.S. support. This means, *inter alia*, a level of normalization with Israel greater than that of any other Arab country, and at least quiet support for (and perhaps cooperation in) U.S. efforts to contain and/or remove Saddam. Here, Jordanians are likely to complain that they will be held to a higher standard, post-Hussein, than Egypt was, post-Sadat; they will be right. The difference, of course, is that Egypt is a regional heavyweight, a strategic prize in its own right, while the unhappy fact is that Jordan remains one of many small, poor states that need to compete for Washington's attention. Given America's role as midwife to the emerging Palestinian state, competition for Washington's ear will be especially intense in the coming months. Finding the proper balance between competing with Yasir Arafat for U.S. affection and securing U.S. understanding for Jordanian interests in "final status negotiations" is one of Abdullah's most immediate and delicate tasks.

Even if the Jordanians are successful, they should not misread American goodwill for commitments of large-scale additional financial support. A short-term window of opportunity occasioned by Hussein's death, Abdullah's ascension, and the deadlock in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process does offer an opportunity for Jordan to shine relative to the Palestinian Authority and, to some extent, Israel. For Jordan, the search for new, long-term commitments, such as a U.S.-financed, multibillion-dollar face-lift for the Jordanian

army, is liable to be fruitless and frustrating; the wisest course would be to use this time (and any new resources that come with it) to put the economy on firmer ground and lobby Washington for closer coordination on “final status” issues. Only by acting now—creatively, flexibly, and before the formal negotiations resume in earnest—does Jordan stand a chance of emerging from the fog of “final status” stronger, more cohesive, and with deeper strategic ties with the United States.

Conclusion

With Jordan’s national cohesion soon to be tested by the prospect of Palestinian statehood and, possibly, the implosion of Saddam’s Iraq, Abdullah assumed the throne at a crucial historic juncture. Compared with his predecessors, Abdullah should consider himself fortunate—he came to power with a set of advantages that no previous new king of Jordan king enjoyed, including a loyal army, peace with Israel, a relatively stable dinar, immense goodwill from his people, and a genuine desire around the globe to help him succeed (or, at least, to help prevent his failure). Having spent his adult life in the army, specializing in tactical operations, Abdullah is clearly better versed in military matters than in high politics, but the record, in just his first days in office, suggests that he is at ease with his new position and, in many areas, more politically astute than he lets on. That will prove useful in dealing with the wolves in sheep’s clothing who—to mix metaphors—shed crocodile tears at his father’s funeral, such as Asad and Arafat.

What Abdullah lacks is time: to fix the economy; to clean up the political system; to restore unity to the Hashemite family; to affirm the strategic decision toward peace with Israel; to define Jordan’s strategy vis-à-vis “Palestine” and the Palestinians; to build new alliances in the Gulf; and to nurture among Americans an interest in the survival of Hashemite Jordan that outlives their memories of his father. These are all urgent concerns. The subtext of the early years of his reign will be to determine when to be his father’s son and when to strike out on his own. If Abdullah is up to that challenge, than he has a real chance of vindicating the confidence Hussein placed in him during the late king’s dying days.

Correspondence between King Hussein and Prince Hassan

Letter from Prince Hassan to King Hussein, January 21, 1999

My Great Brother, Your Hashemite Majesty, King Husayn, may God protect and preserve him.

I would like to express my allegiance and love to our leader and benefactor and would like to recall with your majesty the day when you named me crown prince. For the past 34 years, I have been serving my great brother and our beloved homeland in realizing the mission of our fathers and forefathers, drawing on your thoughts and directives, working within our joint vision to strengthen the edifice of our beloved Jordan, and relying on your support and backing. All these years you have not stopped this support and backing as I lived at your side as my father, brother, leader, and source of strength.

Throughout these years, I faced difficulties and dangers which marked many of our days. I was very pleased with you and with the happy days that Jordan and we witnessed. All this while, I have worked relentlessly to be an inexhaustible support for you and for Jordan. I faced perils with you with a heart that had faith in God, the king, and people. I have never chosen the easy path in seeking the interest of this beloved homeland but with your support had always looked for higher aims and a bright future with God's help.

In all my work and while I ran the affairs of the state as the crown prince of your exalted office, I used to draw on your experience, thoughts, and concepts to perform the duties you have entrusted to me. While doing this, I sought advice from your men, the men of the homeland, particularly when the harsh circumstances used to keep you away from the homeland, the latest being while you were on the trip of treatment which was crowned with your complete recovery and your return to your family and tribe, thanks be to God, to pursue the march of good and to reinfuse happiness and joy once again in our hearts. I devised solutions while shouldering the responsibility of standing at your side wherever you were, depending

on God Almighty and on your trust, which is the most cherished thing in this life.

Oh father, brother, and friend, and venerable king, after having served as crown prince of your auspicious reign since my early youth and until now, which brought gray streaks to my hair, I find myself in this position, and I place myself in your hands and abide by your sublime and noble order.

[Signed] Al-Hasan Bin-Talal, Amman, 4 Shawwal 1419 Hegira, corresponding to 21 January 1999.

Source: Letter from Jordan's Prince Hassan to King Hussein, dated January 21, 1999, broadcast on Amman Jordan Television Network; translated and listed as "Amman TV Carries Prince Hasan's Letter to King Husayn," in FBIS-EAS-1999-0125.

Letter from King Hussein to Prince Hassan, January 25, 1999

Dear Brother, His Royal Highness Prince Hasan, may God protect and preserve him:

I extend to you a Hashemite Arab greeting, full of love, appreciation, and pride.

More than 35 years ago, I charged you with the post of crown prince. You fulfilled the tasks I entrusted to you with diligence, zeal, and vigor and with a determination that does not know tiredness, laziness, or regression. You were to me the brother, the supporter, and the backer, standing by me at difficult times and shouldering with me a great deal of responsibilities on both the domestic and foreign levels at times. When I entrusted you with this post, in response to your own desire, and out of my appreciation for your skill and abilities, I did so with full delight and self-satisfaction because the right thing that we seek to achieve, with the blessing and support of God, is for Jordan and all its sons, daughters, and future generations.

I entrusted you with the post of crown prince in my capacity as the sovereign of the land and the

decisionmaker, with the grace of God, at a time when the eldest son of the king was not close to reaching the age stated by the Constitution, and stipulated by it as a condition for assuming the responsibility if the king meets his fate at the moment chosen by God, the controller of everything in this universe. The circumstances at that time were dark and were affecting the entity as a whole. They were full of risks, rumors, and speculations that Jordan would soon vanish. That Jordan meant, in our view, the banner, the message, the principles, the values, and the sincere belonging to its nation.

At that time, we had to amend Article 28 of the Constitution to allow one of the king's brothers to assume the post of crown prince. I decided to choose you, with the blessing and approval of my brother His Royal Highness Prince Muhammad. You had this honor, although he was your older brother and my beloved brother. No one, close or far, knew about that idea before him, and he showed every degree of understanding and selflessness.

My decision concerning the succession to the throne has never been influenced by any personal or emotional considerations. But, like all the national decisions that I have made, this was based on my feelings of responsibility and the need to place the country's interest, stability, and durability before any other interest or consideration.

My objective in all this was to fulfill my duty toward my people and nation and to seek to please God Almighty, realize peace of mind and a restful conscience, and ensure that every citizen in our big Jordanian family is secure about the future. All this required a swift move to achieve cohesion on the home front and on the national front. This was a blessing of God after we were tried by experiences and calamities, and after we adopted transparency in all our affairs, while showing a certain eagerness to modernize and develop everything that would help achieve progress and success and the exercise of democracy in Jordan.

My first trip for treatment took place, and cancerous cells were found in the left ureter, which were extirpated with the left kidney. The suffering that accompanied this made me carry out a thorough review of the past and present at the time. I used to keep God's book in my hands between one treatment and the other. The echo of God's good words were food for my soul and my heart. I reached the conclusion at the time that the long trip has had its toll on my body. My

activities were not as they were, and I realized that there are limits to the efforts I can exert and if I exceed them, it will affect my immune system.

Thanks be to God, the mind and the memory remained intact as well as the aspiration to do everything to serve the homeland and its future and the hopes of its generations until the last breath of life.

As for how this is to be achieved, I returned to the homeland with the idea in mind of abdicating in your favor in spite of the disagreements in opinion which used to surface between us from time to time. I and my immediate family were hurt by the backbiting and slander.

I mean my wife and my children. I used to hear of this most of the time, but I attributed it to the love for competition among those who claim they are loyal to you and see good in everything you do and see. However, I tried very hard to advise you and our family over the years to stop permitting the media, or to ask it not, to give prominence to persons instead of the essence or celebrations held to honor creative people, graduates, and how we rejoice with their families and with them for what they have achieved.

We did not pay too much attention to this. The welcome my Jordanian family and tribe accorded me on that glorious day has had an indelible impact on me. They greeted me and overwhelmed me with their good deeds and noble sentiments, which made me more determined to carry out the impossible for the sake of Jordan's success in planning peace after fraternal Egypt proceeded on its course, and the brothers in Palestine began shouldering their responsibilities toward it. This is an essential part of their rights, which they exercise of their own free will.

At the beginning of the peace process, Jordan was in a state of siege behind closed doors. The speculations were that Jordan was finished or almost finished. As for the peace process, it led to Jordan regaining occupied Jordanian territory and solved the water problem. We regained our full share of water, which we had been denied.

We are still searching and cooperating with everybody to meet the needs of the homeland and its growing population, to develop the homeland's industry and agriculture, and to realize a peace that is binding and durable. We also used all our influence and power, now that the doors have been opened to us, to support the Palestinian brothers to gain their full rights to their homeland and to establish their state on its soil, serving the aims of all those who had

been hoping that a secure, just, and durable peace in the entire region would be a firm bastion for peace for the entire world.

As for the destruction, ruination, death, and contempt for human life and the development and possible use of weapons of mass destruction, we are against all of this. We ask the entire world to have a united stand against any side or sides that deal in these things or in terrorism, whichever side this may be.

After deep thought, I realize that the situation is very dangerous, that it has become a source of overwhelming and profound concern in this world in view of the ease with which these weapons can be manufactured, the ease with which the necessary raw materials and expertise can be provided or purchased, as well as how easy it is to finance these plans and for some to indulge, wittingly or unwittingly, in the manufacture and use of these weapons.

The most dangerous of these are the biological weapons which cause diseases that have long been eradicated, such as smallpox. Vaccination against these diseases has stopped, and the vaccines have been destroyed. These vaccines become ineffective if a long period of time elapses after they are given.

There are also doubts about the effect of small quantities whose period of effectiveness have elapsed, especially because some circles have worked for years to create new generations of germs with the result that no cure for the disease will be available before years of study and research, that is, if enough people remain alive to do research or study. The most dangerous results of such diseases is that their symptoms will not appear quickly, but the infected person would have infected all those who live with him before he realizes that he is infected.

The moment one contracts the disease he becomes a vector for spreading it, and with the modern means of transportation, the disease spreads at an alarming rate in the world to wipe out mankind indiscriminately.

There is also material greed, which will destroy the environment in the world unless it is addressed adequately. Cancer is a result of this. Take for example skin cancer, a killer disease which, it has been proven, is caused by the hole in the ozone layer. I have no doubt that other types of cancer are caused by environmental pollution, which is caused by polluting the air with harmful gases and smoke. What is even more dangerous is the product of these gases, which is causing a radical change in the world's cli-

mate, rain or the lack of it, and a change in the times of rain, atmospheric violence, destructive floods, and many fires in the rain forests that pollute water in lakes, rivers, and seas.

Back to the peace process, I appreciate your efforts to prepare for, and ensure the success of the process, which was not easy at all. You helped me select some of the best qualified Jordanians, who are loyal and devout to their country, and who could give with generosity and who showed courage when defending right in all circumstances without abandoning or cheapening any right. For all this, I extend to you my appreciation and thanks. The country and those who belong to it also thank you for that.

Some people wonder why some officials are still staying in their posts. The answer is because they are some of the most qualified people in the homeland, who, in the most difficult circumstances, proved that they have moral courage and who are sincerely devoted to, and love to serve their homeland, whether they are civilian, military, technicians, or experts.

Back to my feelings and objectives after the first trip for treatment. That trip was followed by the peace process, in which we became immersed to ensure its success and completion, out of our firm belief in God, who made us all the descendants of Prophet Abraham, our great grandfather in monotheism, hanafiyah [Koranic term for pre-Islamic pure faith], and Islam.

Abraham was also our grandfather, who taught us that wars and catastrophes are profitless to people, and that one must devote his attention to building, construction, and righteousness.

We have always said, and will continue to tell the world, that there can be no peace without justice and that the world must deal with everyone in the Arab world in a spirit of equality among all peoples of the region to achieve confidence and the interests of all.

We have also called for a serious and objective dialogue, so that leaders do not meet only for a photo opportunity, but to set new, effective foundations for real cooperation among them, without selfishness and without giving preference to narrow interests and not to high ones and in all the cases that I have mentioned.

After all, may God forgive every past mistake. We welcome every sincere person who is truly committed to, and who clearly accepts and contributes to the said rules for dealing and the foundations for bilateral and collective dealing. Anyone who deviates will be decisively penalized by all. The world is not

the exclusive possession of an individual or group that tampers with the fate of humanity as it wishes.

As regards our Hashemite condition, I recall that I spoke about this in a packed meeting of Army officers and officials at the Meeting Hall of King Husayn Medical Center. During that meeting, I focused on the idea of setting up a Family Council, whose task it would be to help family members stand at the level of their status as members of the descendants of Muhammad, God's peace and blessings be upon him, and the Prophet's household. I witnessed many experiences and noticed early on in my life how some parasites climb the trunk [of the tree] to ruin relations between a brother and a brother, and between a father and son. I promised myself that this would not happen here and during my life.

Certainly this has now become the objective of every clear or hidden enemy. One of the most important sources for this are those who are going too far in their wrongdoing.

They tried every possible weapon to undermine confidence between the leadership and the people, whom I've always considered the closest companion and best partner. They failed.

Their plan at this stage, as well as the plan of those who seek to destroy Jordan, is based on making members of the leadership clash with one another, after they failed to dismantle the base. They believe that by me staying alive, I provide the obstacle and hurdle to everything they plan to achieve. They forget that Husayn lived his life only to attain the satisfaction of his God and to achieve peace of mind.

Husayn also sought to realize a lofty place for all members of his tribe from all backgrounds and origins, through their cooperation to raise the banner of the homeland and deliver its message, with their heads high, and while bowing to no one but God Almighty.

Until that time, I was fully determined to hand over to you the highest responsibility. After you, I saw the family council as playing an important role in which it would close the ranks of the family and unite. If the turn of your successor comes, the family council will play a major role in appointing the most suitable, and this is a return to Islamic practices, God willing.

The most important traits young people must enjoy have to do with mutual respect, frankness, and paying no attention to evil tongues among them. They must also arm themselves with knowledge, starting

with the honor of serving in the royal armed forces, the Arab Army as a model, and an unparalleled honor for all those whose capabilities and qualifications enable them to do this.

My visualization was that the council would comprise all the Jordanian Hashemites starting from the immediate family of King al-Husayn the first [of Mecca], including Princes Ra'd Bin-Zayd Bin-al-Husayn, Zayd Bin-Shakir, and 'Ali Bin-Nayif. All must elevate themselves with their behavior and statements to the level they are expected to be out of their faith in the noble nature of their task and under the penalty of punishment for any of them who deviate from the rules and consensus in serving the objective and guiding future generations. They must also respect the laws of the country, love all the people, and not attack people, harm them, do them injustice, or slander them at any moment. The Hashemites must treat people as they wish people would treat them and as they deserve, without any rancor, grudges, or envy, and should make people work only for what is in their interest and further unite their ranks instead of dividing them to serve this or that, destroy the lofty Jordanian edifice, and achieve the objectives of the enemies.

Sir, we differed on this subject. You thought that such a plan could be accomplished when you took the number one position and were at the helm. I had left with you pieces of paper I had written with my own hand. I did not show them to anybody. They carried highlights of the plan.

The notes I received on these pieces did not touch the heart of the matter and did not give details. They were not keeping pace with the times. We differed later and are still differing on the matter of the succession to the throne and to whom it would be transferred after you. You adamantly rejected any discussion of this issue until you took over and you yourself decided who would succeed you.

As for the children and grandchildren, they are all my children. You, your brother, and your sister are the closest to me in the family. Your sons and daughters are just like 'Abdallah, Faysal, 'Ali, Hamzah, and Hashim.

Because of his closeness to me, and throughout his life, which I hope will be long, Hamzah was subject to envy at the beginning of his life. This is also because of his clinging to me, his listening to me, his care to know everything about the family and the hard work of his brothers and countrymen, and his love for his country, his good conduct and generosity. He

had always been at my side. He would not move or leave me unless I forced him to carry out duties I assigned to him on a very few occasions at various times. That is how Hamzah Bin-al-Husayn spent his vacation from the day he completed his academic studies at Harrow College until he joined, at my orders, the Sandhurst Royal Military Academy.

As his father and leader, I now ordered him to continue his studies without fail so that he will complete them successfully. As for his brothers and sisters, they all visited me, leaving behind their families and children for long periods of time. This caused me happiness

as well as concern over those left behind. From my own family, Brother Muhammad and my sister Basmah visited me and donated the bone marrow which is identical to my own marrow. You also were kind enough to offer to donate the same but our bone marrow was not identical.

As for Nur, she brought me happiness and took care of me in health and sickness with all feelings of love. She is a Jordanian who belongs with all her senses to this homeland and raises her head high when she defends it and its causes. She is the loving mother who wants to serve. God has granted that we grow old together in spirit, mind, and sentiments. She manifested herself during my years of sickness, and in order to look after me and comfort me she endured tension and shocks more than I did, having faith in God, and concealing her tears behind a smile and a tough appearance. She, in turn, was also not spared the backbiting and the slander.

Why not, as the parasites who want to reach the top have increased, the fever became very high, and some thought this was their chance? I interfered from my hospital bed to prevent any interference in the affairs of the Arab Army through the changes that appeared to me to be a settling of accounts and the pensioning off of efficient men with uncontested loyalty whose history is replete with bountiful offerings and efforts, chief among whom is Staff Field Marshal, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, out of envy for the house he is building. I am responsible for this house and for how much it cost. I collected money for this house in installments over the years until it was built within reasonable limits that have nothing to do with the nonsense of the assessors. I did this because he is loyal, honest, and straightforward, and so that his status would be commensurate with what he has offered and with his position as he

receives his counterparts from the four corners of the world.

The question that was raised was did any other person in the homeland get the same treatment?

The answer is yes. All the young and old got the same treatment whenever it was possible to offer assistance and aid to needy people. Perhaps, this aid was sometimes given in the wrong place, but assistance was given to those who appeared to be deserving or needing it as this is one of my duties. I do not say this for personal gains or to have people show gratitude. This applied to outstanding students and needy sick people.

Another question is then posed: Where did you get all this? The reply is that all the funds I have collected for my country and people to achieve their progress and secure them a dignified life through an ongoing development process, God willing, used to be channeled to the goal, that is, to achieve self-sufficiency and to the treasury of the state. On the personal level, it was thanks to God and thanks after this to some Arab and Muslim leaders who were generous to me after witnessing the state I live in and my suffering over the years. This eased the burden of the debts and also enabled me to be generous in my turn to those whom I believed deserve it for their work.

I will always be grateful to them for their generosity and kindness. I hope that they as well as the rich Arabs will be rewarded in heaven.

All of this and much more caused me to worry, adding this suffering to the suffering of my sickbed. For the first time in my life I found myself wondering why the changes in the Army had been insisted on. We realize that there is a dire need for reform and development. The chairman of the joint chiefs of staff and I had been discussing and preparing for this with the available expertise on the domestic and external levels, convinced that we should do this accurately and soundly. After all, times and people are always changing.

I used my powers as supreme commander of the Armed Forces to prevent any arbitrary measures in the Army that might lead to fragmenting and politicizing it until such a time as the basis of the new arrangement and the service regulations have been fixed in a manner that realize the hopes that the Army will continue its continuous development on a firm and most modern basis, making it the shield of the homeland and its impregnable wall, something which makes us all very proud.

Moreover, some of our efficient ambassadors were prevented from transfer for no other reason than their age, in some cases. These ambassadors are representatives of the king, the state, and the homeland, and when the better element become well-prepared they take the frontline.

That is why I returned to the homeland speedily to decide matters and carry out my duties toward the generations. After all these years and following the changes in conditions and circumstances and the new developments on our national scene, I found many positive factors.

We have realized, God be praised, a high level of credibility and gained world trust and appreciation, making it incumbent on us to exert further earnest work and allow the young elements to contribute toward serving their homeland and enriching our experiment with new experience and ideas. This requires care for our problems and an objective and farsighted view of the future.

I received your letter in which you leave it to me to decide the issue of succession, and in which you said you are looking forward to my decision in this regard. I thank you for this. I found that the only decision I must make is to return to the basic principle in the Constitution after the circumstances that dictated the exception are no longer there, and to name His Royal Highness Prince 'Abdallah Bin-Husayn to assume the powers and responsibilities of the crown prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan immediately.

I extend to your highness, my dearest brother, my greatest thanks, gratitude, and pride in your kind offerings and sincere, persistent efforts throughout the past three decades, and all the achievements you scored in the development, educational, intellectual, scientific, youth, and environmental fields through

your supervision of the programs of many of our national institutions. I also appreciate your genuine and sincere spirit of brotherhood toward me. I hold the same feelings toward you. This spirit was clearly manifested in your kind letter, which reflects what must always dominate our Hashemite family in terms of amity and love among members of the family. Your letter also embodies a sense of responsibility and an understanding of developments and the facts of the current phase, with full awareness and ability to deal with these facts, objectively and unselfishly without personal considerations.

I am certain that you will accept this decision with contentedness and in the spirit of a member of the one Hashemite team. I am also confident that you will be relieved of all the psychological and family pressures. Jordan and the world are your universe, which have so many issues and worries that are worthy of your continued and fresh successful sacrifices, which, God willing, will be supported by us. These fields need your extensive knowledge and expertise and your deep intellect and wise views. You will always remain close to me as a brother, a specialist, an intellectual, and a man whose views one must ask for.

Thank you for everything you did for me and for the country.

God's peace and blessings be upon you.

Source: Letter from King Hussein of Jordan to his brother Prince Hassan and broadcast over Amman Jordan Television Network on January 25, 1999; translated and listed as "King Husayn's Letter to Prince Hasan" in FBIS-EAS-1999-0125. Also online at <www.kinghussein.gov.jo/speeches_letters.html>.

Editor's Note: Prince Hassan did not issue a written response to King Hussein's letter.

Correspondence between King Hussein and Prince Abdullah

Letter from King Hussein to Prince Abdullah, January 26, 1999

His Royal Highness Crown Prince 'Abdallah Bin-Husayn, may God watch over him:

I extend to you a Hashemite Arab greeting, full of love, confidence, and pride in you as a Hashemite knight, a soldier for the homeland, my heir, and the person who our great Jordanian family of all origins pins great hopes on.

I have bestowed upon you the position of crown prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan with a clear conscious. I am very confident and reassured that you are fit to bear this great responsibility. I have known you—my son, whom I raised with my own hands—to love your country, enjoy a great sense of belonging to it, work diligently and selflessly for its sake without showing off. I know you to be determined, strong-willed, objective, balanced, and to work upon the guidelines of the honorable and noble Hashemite principles based on the love and fear of God, as well as the love of the people and humbling oneself to their will, being eager to serve them, treating them with fairness, respecting their elderly, showing mercy on their youth, and forgiving the guilty when possible. These principles are also based on magnanimity, firmness when a decision is reached, and placing the interests of the country and nation above all other interests and considerations.

I am very optimistic about your future. You were my student and you know that beloved Jordan has inherited the principles of the Great Arab Revolt and its great message and that it is an inseparable part of the Arab nation. You know that the Jordanian people must remain, as always, at the forefront of their nation in defending the nation's causes and the future of their generations. These great people have sacrificed a lot for the sake of these honorable principles and have born for their sake burdens that mountains cannot bear and would crumble under.

The lofty men and glorious women of our one Jordanian family, from all origins, have never failed to do their duties. They have never let down their leadership

and nation. They have always been the faithful comrades of the march who are affiliated with their homeland and nation, and who are capable of facing difficulties and challenges with relentless resolution and generous and noble spirits. Their leadership should commit itself to working for their present and future and to achieving their comprehensive development so that they can lead an honorable life, that their rights, which are guaranteed by the Constitution, can be safeguarded, and that their heads remain high and do not bow but to God or to kiss the soil of the dear homeland.

On the level of your Hashemite family, every one of them has done all he could. They have suffered and endured with their people and tribe, the big Jordanian family, what is beyond their endurance. I am certain that you will be, as you have always been, one of them, respect and love them and do your best to unite them, close their ranks, spread love, amity, and mercy among them, consult them after me, and appreciate everyone's favor and safeguard everyone's right.

While reiterating my full confidence in you and in your ability to assume all these responsibilities with extreme honesty, sincerity, devotion, and self-denial in accordance with the principles of soldiership on which you were raised and were distinguished in its field; and all my support for you as much as I can, I beseech Almighty God to preserve you, to take care of you, to help you, to guide your steps on the right path, and to grant you success in serving dear Jordan. May God guide our steps on the good path of success.

May God's peace and blessing be upon you.

[Signed] Your loving father, Amman, 9 Shawwal 1419 Hegira, corresponding to 26 January 1999.

Source: Letter from King Hussein Bin-Talal to Crown Prince Abdullah Bin-Hussein, the regent, "upon his departure from the homeland," broadcast on Amman Jordan Television Network on January 26, 1999; translated and listed as "Jordan: King Sends Letter to New Crown Prince Upon Departure" in FBIS-NES-99-026. Also, online at <www.kinghussein.gov.jo/speeches_letters.html>.

Letter from Prince Abdullah to King Hussein, January 26, 1999

Your Hashemite Royal Majesty King Husayn, may God protect him. Peace and God's mercy be upon you: With great pride and appreciation I received your noble letter in which you gave me your sublime instructions after you entrusted me with the post of crown prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and gave me your confidence, which is the most valuable thing in my life. This is one of your numerous glorious deeds to me, to the Hashemite family, and to the dear homeland, whose structure you strengthened with your pure hands, continuous struggle, and wisdom, which was attested to by those near and afar, your vision of the future, and your relentless courage and determination while leading the march of your faithful people and overcoming with them all the challenges and difficulties the region, including Jordan, has passed through over the past decades.

In spite of all these challenges, you realized great national achievements that drew the appreciation and respect of the whole world to this homeland whether in terms of all-out progress, the entrenchment of internal security and stability, or in terms of the work for entrenching the pillars of peace in this region, whose peoples suffered much as a result of wars and conflicts. These achievements are also manifested in opening the horizons for our democratic march and entrenching its foundations as a demonstration of the values of freedom and respect for human rights in which we believe, and I had the honor of learning in your school, benefiting from your wide experience and your inspiring and unique leadership, and taking an example from your great history, Hashemite tolerant nature, and noble traits on which we have been raised and which were deeply entrenched in our souls and consciences. Hence, you—may God protect you—added the legitimacy of achievement and construction to the historical and religious legitimacy, which your leadership enjoys.

At your great school, Sir, I learned that the united greater Jordanian family from all origins and roots is our family and clan, that they are Husayn's fellow companions, that they are the children and grandchildren of the pioneers who joined hands with the revo-

lutionary leader Al-Husayn Bin-'Ali and later rallied behind the founder grandfather, 'Abdallah Bin-al-Husayn. You have been the leader, teacher, father, brother, and friend of the members of this family, devoting every minute of your life to serving them, building their future, protecting their dignity and rights, and realizing their hopes and aspirations that are derived from the mission and principles of the Great Arab Revolt.

As for the Hashemite family, I am but one of its members and they are my kinfolk. I am proud to be one of them. I will endeavor to make the spirit of love, amity, compassion, altruism, and Hashemite morality the basis of relations among them. The aim which I will continue to work for will be the sincere, serious work that benefits the people, placing the homeland's interests above all other considerations.

I am, Sir, one of your sincere soldiers. You have placed your trust in me, something which I greatly cherish. God is my witness, I will do my utmost and, with your esteemed directives enunciated in your kind letter addressed to me, will continue the blessed and productive march what you have drawn up to serve the homeland and the people and realize the Jordanian people's hopes and aspirations for development, prosperity, and a secure, decent life, and for maintaining the cohesion of our domestic front as well as our national unity which we are proud of.

I pray to God Almighty to protect you, grant you good health, and keep you for beloved Jordan and for the Arab and Islamic nations. I also pray to God to support me and grant me success in being worthy of your trust and in working in accordance with God's desire and in the interest of the people and the homeland.

May God's blessings and peace be upon you.

[Signed] 'Abdallah Bin-al-Husayn, regent and crown prince. [Dated] Amman, 9 Shawwal 1419 of the Hegira, 26 January 1999.

Source: Letter from Crown Prince Abdullah to King Hussein, broadcast on the Jordanian News Agency (Internet Version), January 27, 1999; translated and listed as "Jordan: Crown Prince 'Abdallah Addresses Reply Letter to King" in FBIS-NES-99-027. Also available online at <www.kinghussein.gov.jo/speeches_letters.html>.

Correspondence between King Abdullah and Prince Hassan

Letter from Prince Hassan to King Abdullah, February 7, 1999

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Benevolent Your Majesty King Abdullah bin Al Hussein, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, May God Save and Guard You,

I send you my very warmest greetings and love, with the heartfelt and most sincere congratulations of an affectionate uncle for his beloved nephews, indeed those of a loving father for his sons, Your Majesty and His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hamzah, as well as your families.

You are a 'sayyid' of Bani Hashem who have continued to carry the banner in the defence of the Ummah and its right to a life of liberty and dignity. You are the son of Al Hussein bin Talal whose banner continues to fly high; the banner of a Sharif whose name is linked to the most glorious deeds, the most magnificent days and the most important achievements, and who goes down in history as one of the heroes of this Ummah in this century.

I pray God Almighty to guide you along the path of success and to strengthen your faith, to make the service of this country and its good people the ultimate object of your endeavour, to make them your refuge and your protector, and that you be the pillar on whose support your family, people and great nation may rely.

Through Your Majesty, I send my heartfelt congratulation to Hamzah, the heir to your blessed reign. He carries the name of the first man to present the Ummah with the virtue of familial solidarity, guided as he was to embrace the faith by his desire to rally around a member of his family, and having rushed to support, protect and uphold the dignity of his near of kin.

May worthy deeds and achievements be the jewel in the new Hashemite crown of your reign, and add to our pride and glory, that we gain strength from you, just as we did from the majesty and inspirational life of my brother and your father, Al Hussein bin Talal.

I stand in the eyes of God, country and our proud people, as a brother and supporter of Your Majesty and your Crown Prince. I shall never deny either of you any affection, Knowledge or support, just as I gave to my brother Al Hussein bin Talal throughout my life. I only ask God for myself, the country and Ummah that He grant you success and make steady your steps in your faith and your reign.

El Hassan bin Talal
Amman, February 7th, 1999

Source: Letter from HRH Prince El Hassan to His Majesty King Abdullah, February 7, 1999, online <www.kinghussein.gov.jo/speeches_letters.html>.

Letter from King Abdullah to Prince Hassan (undated)

Your Royal Highness, dear uncle, Prince Hasan, may God protect and watch over you. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

I send you Arab, Hashemite greetings, coupled with my love, pride in you, and appreciation for your profound knowledge, wise opinions, great experience; and praise for what you have given throughout the past years, while shouldering the responsibilities delegated to you by the late His Majesty King Husayn, may his soul rest in peace. These responsibilities were delegated to you as a token of his majesty's appreciation for your efficiency and capabilities, and in response to your desire, efforts, and enthusiasm to be honored to work alongside his majesty. You were his brother, companion, source of support, and object of confidence.

With love, respect, and gratitude—which we have all learned in King Husayn's school—I received your kind letter, which expressed your noble feelings, sincere love, and sublime traits, and in which you congratulated me on shouldering the top responsibility in dear Jordan, and congratulated Prince Hamzah on assuming his post as crown

prince. In that letter, you emphasized that you stand before God, the homeland, and our lofty people to announce that you will be the source of support, companion, and the brother who will not refrain from giving me or the crown prince any love, knowledge, or support. This is how we have always known you, and this is how the people have always known us—we, the Hashemite family, which God united their hearts on love, solidarity, sincerity, faithfulness, and clear conscience.

As I express my profound thanks and gratitude to you, dear uncle, for every word in your kind letter, I would like to assert our appreciation for your distinguished achievements and the sincere and fruitful efforts you have exerted alongside and upon the directives of King Husayn throughout the past years. These efforts are spearheaded by establishing the Higher Council for Science and Technology, the Arab Thought Forum, Al al-Bayt Foundation, and Al al-Bayt University. These achievements played a good role in introducing and expanding horizons of science and technology in our society and all aspects of our life. Thanks to your sincere and persistent efforts, the Arab Thought Forum has played a prominent role in bringing together the nation's thinkers and intellectuals and unifying their efforts with regard to discussing our nation's major causes and crystallizing its future outlook.

Your efforts with respect to Al al-Bayt Foundation and Al al-Bayt University were good and fruitful, praise be to God. These efforts greatly contributed to presenting the bright, true image of Islam—centrist, moderate, and civilized Islam—and relaying this image to the world in a bright manner away from bigotry or introversion. You have enriched this experience through your sponsorship of the inter-faith dialogue, providing opportunities for meetings among specialized scholars in an atmosphere of openness and tolerance, and maximizing the denominators and major points on which the followers of these religions converge.

Now that these foundations have become well-established and come to fruition, praise be to God, I entrust you with continuing to chair the Higher Council of Science and Technology and devoting your good efforts to upgrade this council and activate its programs and plans and maximize its achievements through the profound knowledge and wise opinion bestowed on you by good, the wide experience you have gained throughout the years; ability to predict the future and cope with scientific and technological advancements in the world, and the means of exploiting these advancements in the various aspects of life. It is my hope that we will always meet together to get acquainted with your plans and programs and consult over the means of achieving these plans and programs.

As I express my deep pride in you, dear uncle, and appreciation for your efforts which will continue, God willing, I assert that these foundations and areas in which you have worked alongside King Husayn will continue to serve as beacons of science, thought, and knowledge. I am confident that you will not hesitate to give your opinion, knowledge, and wise opinion to these foundations. To me, you will always remain, as you have always been, the dear uncle to whom I harbor all love, respect, and appreciation; and the thinker, scholar, and the person who enjoys wise opinion and farsightedness, and whose knowledge and opinion serve as a beacon.

I beseech Almighty God to protect you, and give you continued good health and happiness, and lead our steps on the path which serves the best interests of our homeland and nation.

May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Source: Letter from King Abdullah to former Crown Prince Hassan (date not given), broadcast on Amman Jordan Television Network, February 21, 1999; translated and listed as "Jordan's King 'Abdallah Renews Confidence in Prince Hasan" in FBIS-EAS-1999-0221.

Correspondence between King Abdullah and Prime Minister Abd al-Rauf al-Rawabdeh

Letter from King Abdullah naming Rawabdeh prime minister, March 4, 1999

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

Dear brother, Your Excellency 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Rawabidah, may God protect you. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you. I express to you my sincere love and great appreciation. For, we have known you as one of Jordan's tested and sincere men. We have also known you as a person who is truly loyal to his leadership and homeland, bold in saying the word of truth, an honest Jordanian who has worked diligently and sincerely, and whose efficiency and integrity were proved in the various posts you had assumed throughout your long journey of serving the throne and homeland.

I address you, while the homeland is passing though a new promising stage, in which I assumed responsibility as a successor to the great father, may God have mercy on him and make paradise his abode. He, along with the faithful Jordanians, built this good country with sweat and efforts, thus making it a remarkable oasis of security, stability, and achievements. The current stage, with its circumstances, facts, and requirements, behooves everyone to unite and join the unified march in which all efforts will be combined to continue national development, develop institutionalism and conduct drastic reforms in all domains.

According to the resignation of the government of His Excellency brother Dr. Fayiz al-Tarawinah, I entrust you with forming a government for this new stage, hoping that this government will include efficient and distinguished figures who are capable of shouldering the great burdens, spearheaded by developing the national economy in cooperation with all forces in the public and private sectors, boosting the citizen's ability to cope with the burdens of life, entrenching democracy, asserting the supremacy of the law, fostering national unity, preserving the country's security and stability, and running the af-

fairs of the country in an atmosphere of justice, integrity, and good performance.

The present stage requires drawing up clear plans and methods that will identify the needs and concerns of citizens and put the right and practical solutions to these needs and concerns. Such plans should be implemented in a realistic manner and according to the homeland's capabilities. Therefore, the following points should be emphasized:

First: National unity is one of the basic pillars which give the homeland strength and impregnability and prevent fragmentation and penetration.

Jordan has always been a homeland for all Arabs and a model for the society of one family, which is united in good as well as in bad times.

All members of the society are partners in work, building, protection of the homeland, and adherence to its interests.

All Jordanians, men and women, regardless of their origin, race, religion, and ideas, are equal before the law. They are partners in fulfilling duties and enjoying benefits. Boosting national unity can be achieved through the supremacy of the law on all, without discrimination for any reason; entrenching the democratic approach; protecting human rights; implementing the principles of justice according to sound and clear foundations; striking a balance among the state's provinces and regions; and firmly implementing the law on those who provoke sensitivities or try to tamper with the national fabric. The state with its constitutional powers is the sole representative of the entire people. It is responsible for safeguarding the rights of all segments of people. We are duty-bound to unify all efforts so that citizens will become one unified rank to build the homeland, safeguard its security, maintain its stability, and build its bright future with God's help.

Second: Democracy is the ideal approach to life. It constantly needs to be entrenched—by means of education and instruction—and to make the public aware of how it ought to be exercised.

Our legislative institution is a source of pride for us as well as for our Arab nation. It is a true expression of the will of our people. We look forward to a close cooperation between the executive and legislative powers for the service of the higher national interests. This cooperation should remain while both sides maintain the balance and abide by the constitutional powers assigned to each. We also see the need to facilitate the task of the legislative power in performing its noble mission.

We call for consolidating constructive and responsible dialogue with all national figures while adhering to our constant constitutional principles and keeping away from fanaticism, resistance to change, and attempts to monopolize truth by any party. Wisdom is what the faithful should seek. Everyone is a partner in shouldering the responsibility of running the homeland and consolidating its march.

Third: We are proud of the performance and of the independence of the Jordanian Judiciary. We call for supporting that independence through developing the law on the independence of the law and enhancing the conditions and the working environment of judges as well as developing legislation that govern proceedings of litigation with a view to facilitating and expediting the process of regaining everyone's rights. Speedy justice reinforces citizens' confidence and reassurance that their rights and freedoms are protected.

Fourth: Our bold Arab Army is the emblem of pride and glory, the guardian of the homeland, and protector of democracy. It has shown a glamorous picture of the homeland on the local, as well as the Arab and international scenes. Therefore, it should stand at the very top of the priorities of your government in terms of rendering support, preparation, armament, and caring for Army members so that the Army would remain faithful to its pledge and so that it would continue to perform its sacred duty of defending the land and helping in contributing to the protection of the region's security as it did when it made the distinguished contribution to the international peace-keeping troops in various parts of the world.

As for our security apparatus, which is striving to protect the safety of the homeland and the security of citizens, it is in need of support. It should be provided with the very latest means so that it may perform their duty in achieving national stability and security for the citizens. All our good and well-edu-

cated people must stand by its side and back it through participation and support.

Fifth: An administration that is capable of achieving its objective through serious work at a lesser cost and a shorter time is a smart tool. Such an administration would be based on finding specialized and effective institutions that work in the spirit of a one team and enjoy competent and decent leadership that places public interests above all other considerations. Such leadership would be characterized by fairness, taking initiative, and being creative. It focuses on field work and confronting dilemmas before they actually spring up or when they are easy to handle before they exacerbate. Such leadership avoids deviating from the right course and deception, exploitation, and nepotism.

The General Administration is in need of restructuring to curb confusion, contradictions, and application of double standards. Selection of leaders and employees must be done on the basis of competence, experience, and impartiality away from favoritism, partisanship, and bigotry to any goal or party. Administrative procedures must be modernized with a view to making them easier to facilitate meeting the needs and serving the citizen without difficulty or excessive cost.

Administrative and financial corruption is a means of destroying entire societies and weakening states. Our administration has always been characterized by competence and impartiality. It has set an example for performance and accomplishment and has helped serve many Arab societies.

However, there have come to appear certain parties who showed negligence, opportunism, and reliance on others. Unless such phenomena are curbed, they will gain ground—something that we will not allow. We will be firm in putting a stop to them.

Therefore, the government is required to institute whatever controls and measures that will restore the bright image of our management. Moreover, it must confront passivity, flabbiness, and corruption with great vigor and strength. Likewise, it must cut off the elements engaged in such activities or who foster them, regardless of the positions that they may hold or the responsibilities that they may discharge. The government must bring to the attention of our fair judiciary whoever abuses public office, tries to enrich himself using that office, or facilitates such a thing for others.

Sixth: Unemployment and poverty are two great concerns that face the homeland and hamper the pro-

cess of development and growth. Moreover, they are adversely affecting the homeland's power and exacerbating the suffering of the citizen whom we, as Hashemites, have always sought to provide with a decent life. We are doing our best to provide him and his children with such a life. Consequently, the government must accord top priority the issue of seriously tackling these two problems. It can do so if it initiates a comprehensive development process in all areas, reinforces the roles of social assistance funds, integrates their functions, consolidates their management, implements the social package program with great seriousness, and conducts a practical and realistic study that determines the size of the problem. The government should be proactive in this regard. It should not wait for complaints and intervention from higher echelons. The citizen is entitled to have a job and a decent life. No reasons or justifications should deprive him of these rights. The acceleration of the process of replacing foreign labor by local labor requires serious implementation and a clear plan.

Moreover, efforts should be expedited to export Jordanian labor to the sisterly countries that demonstrated a commendable understanding of this matter.

Seventh: The Jordanian economy is suffering a slowdown and recession due to several reasons. The national economic readjustment program has achieved several successes. Nonetheless, it needs to be reconsidered against the background of the most recent changes and developments in cooperation with the competent regional and international institutions that expressed a desire to give a helping hand. Moreover, the private sector must be allowed to play a vigorous role in this endeavor. We appreciate the role and achievements of this sector. All this is necessary if we are to tackle the shortcomings and create an appropriate climate for investment, which needs to be encouraged. We must remove the obstacles facing investment and provide the facilities that attract it. Additionally, the agencies that address this issue must be brought under a single umbrella.

The national income must be fairly distributed among all strata of the society. Savings must be increased, consumption must be rationalized, and the processes of production and exports must be activated. New job opportunities must be created. Tourism, transport, and other services must be accorded due attention. The same holds true for mineral resources. Agricultural plans must be drawn up to ensure that farmers' income improves. New crops that

generate greater income and consume less water must be cultivated. The requirements of production and easy-term loans must also be made available.

Privatization needs to be further institutionalized. Moreover, the policy toward this issue must be spelled out in a manner that ensures transparent measures and guarantees that public funds are protected and put to good use.

Eighth: Despite its numerous achievements, the educational process needs continuing development in order to upgrade educational standards and improve the output of the educational process. Moreover, national education must be fostered; this is achievable if the sense of belonging is nurtured and if independent thinking and dialogue in an atmosphere of moderation and tolerance is encouraged. Likewise, the technology of education must be accorded due attention. The teachers' aptitude must also be upgraded and their conditions must be improved. The role of universities as beacons of creativity, independent thinking, and free expression must also be promoted. They should shun prejudice and subservience so that they may graduate highly capable cadres who are able to perform well and contribute to the dissemination of science, knowledge, and national awareness.

Ninth: Attention must be given to education. We need to develop educational institutions that are capable of attracting competent cadres and launching energies and creativeness thus reflecting the true picture of our people and their effective contribution to the culture of its Arab nation over time. This contribution stemmed from allegiance to the homeland and upholding the principles of truth and justice in such a way as to be open to the civilizations of the rest of the world without drowning in them and losing our roots and without being too closed and then become immobile.

Tenth: Our national media needs care and attention so that it would truly be reflective of the reality of this country to make evident its efforts, accomplishments, and democratic march and to reflect the atmosphere of responsible freedom in the country. The homeland needs a competent media institution that spreads awareness and guides the nation to carry a clear and pure message about a modern Jordan to the rest of the world by means of a free and responsible press that is balanced, rational, and credible and through radio and television stations that are open enough to see the situation in the homeland—all the homeland—and express what they see with genuineness that rallies the

support of those with a sound, sincere, and objective opinion irrespective of their viewpoints and ideas. All this would take place in an environment of free expression practiced with a sense of responsibility that does not impinge on the homeland's values, does not overlook its accomplishments, and does not exploit the atmosphere of democracy to harm democracy. We need a media that evaluates matters with awareness and criticizes with a positive attitude. A word can be a healing balm in the hands of a sincere and responsible person but a fatal sword in the hands of a wrongful or unfair person.

Eleventh: This country is proud of the message and the eternal heritage of Islam. We as Hashemites are proud of this legacy that was handed down to us and are proud to protect it. Therefore, it is important to highlight the glamorous picture of Islam and to confront all attempts to distort that image by any party whatsoever. Attention will be given to religious guidance and the values that call for cooperation, mercy, and brotherliness away from bigotry, differences, and conflict. The institution of the mosque will be developed as a platform for preaching the message calling on people to follow God's path with wisdom, good counseling, and good morals and will provide preachers who are competent and impartial and look after their affairs.

Twelfth: Our health services are a distinguished example in the region. They are in need of utmost care so that we can treat any aspects of deterioration and we can upgrade their performance to offer the citizens good services close to where they reside. Therefore, it is important to reconsider the health policy in terms of health institutions, cadres, equipment, and administration and to expand the umbrella of health insurance with a view to ensuring a comprehensive health insurance that guarantees for everyone—particularly those with a limited income—the enjoyment of exemplary health services. We need to expand in the area of preventive medicine and give special attention to therapy tourism and provide facilitation and a more organized service that attracts people, which serves national economy.

Thirteenth: Our consumption of power and water is on the increase. Energy is imported, water resources are scarce. Therefore, we need to step up search and digging for energy sources, especially shale oil. We need to intensify the search for new water resources and develop those that exist. We must set up more dams and ration the use of water and

prevent it from being wasted. We need to expedite the process of renewing water distribution networks, enhance water desalination stations, and try to reuse water. Drought will gravely affect farmers and cattle owners.

Therefore, caring for their affairs and helping them overcome these hardships is a serious need, which all competent institutions must strive to meet.

Fourteenth: Human environment is being wronged and assaulted. It is in need of special care that ensures that legislation is developed and enforced to provide specialized and competent people capable of undertaking serious field work and reinvigorating the participation of all private and public institutions and bodies with a view to protecting the soil, water, and air from pollution; protecting agricultural land from assault; combating desertification and soil erosion; protecting nature reserves; and launching a comprehensive national effort to cultivate and develop forests.

Fifteenth: Youths are our future ammunition. Therefore, their energies must be unleashed to serve the homeland. These energies should be organized within collective frameworks throughout the homeland. The youths leisure time must also be utilized in a way that is useful to them and to the homeland. We should also focus on education and vocational training with the objective of meeting the homeland's needs of the trained manpower so as to replace the non-Jordanian manpower. The professional associations and trade unions should play a prominent role in developing jobs, improving their performance, and rendering the best services to citizens.

Sports institutions are in need for care, support, and organization so as to highlight their role in taking care of the youths, unleashing their creativeness, reinforcing noble moral values and honest competition, and entrenching national pride. Moreover, the ninth Arab sport tournament, named after King Husayn, is in need of distinguished efforts for preparations so as to deserve the name of our great late king.

Sixteenth: The woman's role has become more important. The Jordanian woman's role has developed. This also applies to her participation in many economic, social, administrative, and political fields. She has become one of the basic pillars of development and construction. Therefore, this role is in need of care and enhancement, particularly in the countryside and badia. We now see some phenomena that cause suffering for the woman, or violate some of

her basic rights. Based on this, we look forward to amending legislation that undermine her rights or inflict injustice on her and securing all facilities that help her play the partner's role in work and development without discrimination or favoritism. Children are also in need of special care so as to protect them from violence, homelessness, and exploitation and to secure for them natural and balanced growth in the family, society, and social care institutions.

Seventeenth: Jordan has always provided the Palestinian brothers with support and partnership based on brotherhood and common fate. It has played a prominent role in the Palestine question since its eruption and until now. It has also supported the brothers in the Palestinian National Authority with all its resources and capabilities. The role of my father, may God have mercy on his soul, was prominent in this regard in order to achieve an honorable just solution and to surmount any obstacles they face. We will continue to support the brothers by all means with the objective of enabling the Palestinian people to attain their legitimate rights and to establish their independent state on their national soil.

We also aspire for the establishment of distinguished relations with the independent Palestinian state to express the special relationship between the two fraternal peoples based on their free will, and to be a fresh and durable example.

Eighteenth: Jordan has always been and will continue to be an effective part of its Arab nation and one of the basic members of Arab action that continuously seeks to achieve reconciliation and accord, to establish constructive relations of cooperation among all fraternal states, and to overcome all causes of differences and disagreement out of the common objective and fate. We stress the need that our relations with all brothers be based on amity, trust, cooperation, and mutual respect. The government should resume dialogue with all Arab states without exception so as to bring these relations back to their well-known purity. The stands of the brothers during the funeral of our late king constitute a pillar on which we should build and develop. Our constants will continue to be the higher Arab interests, care for sovereignty, and noninterference in others' affairs. At the same time, no one should interfere in our affairs. We

will continue to work, as usual, to end the suffering of and lift the blockade imposed on our Arab people in Iraq, Libya, and Sudan. We will stand firmly on the side of our brothers in Syria and Lebanon to restore all their occupied territories.

Nineteenth: Jordan has a great asset of respect and good reputation in all world states. This was achieved by the great late king through efforts, persistence, and credibility. The world leaders expressed this in the best way. The world termed the king's funeral the 20th century funeral.

In light of this, we should continue to reactivate our international relations within the framework of cooperation, joint interests, and mutual respect; to explain Jordan's role, state of affairs, and responsibilities; and to effectively participate in the regional and international institutions. We need to develop our diplomatic institution in a way to clearly define its objectives and tasks and provide it with qualified and devoted cadres and effective management.

Twentieth: Peace is our strategic option just as it is the strategic option of our Arab brothers. Peace that we want and seek is the just and lasting peace that covers all tracks. This peace should be based on right, justice, and the international legitimacy and charters. We believe in peace as a way to security, stability, and development. We will continue to insist on its process and to assert that the peoples' will and insistence on peace will eventually triumph over all obstacles and predicaments until peace is achieved in the entire region to provide it with the prospects of progress and prosperity.

While emphasizing compliance with our instructions and with their realistic translation, we express to you our full trust and support, awaiting the nomination of your colleague ministers. We wish you success and beseech Almighty God to guide our steps on the good path.

[Dated] Amman, 16 Dhu al-Qi'dah 1419 Hegira, corresponding to 4 March 1999.

Source: King Abdullah's letter of designation to Prime Minister Abd al-Rauf al-Rawabdeh, broadcast on Amman Radio Jordan Network, March 4, 1999; translated and listed as "King's Letter of Designation to al-Rawabidah" in FBIS-NES-1999-0304.

Letter from Prime Minister-Designate Rawabdeh to King Abdullah, March 4, 1999

Your Hashemite Majesty, King 'Abdallah Bin-Husayn, may God support him and prolong his reign, God's peace and blessings be upon you.

I am honored, Sir, to express to you my sincerest words of allegiance and faithfulness, and I pray God Almighty to support you and prolong your rule as a Hashemite leader who has sat on the throne of his forefathers, succeeding a great king who shouldered the trust with honor and won the love and support of the Jordanians who have covered his chaste tomb with their affection. He was appreciated by the entire world and his funeral was attended by leaders of all nations. The peoples of the world prayed for him and his memory will be immortal through his successor. We ask mercy for the great departed and pray that he will be housed in paradise among the pious and martyrs, who are the best companions. Your Majesty, I have received your letter of designation asking me to form the first cabinet in your prosperous era. Your sublime instructions have evinced love for this sovereign homeland and its people. Your instructions express your firm desire to provide security and stability to the homeland and the requirements of progress and prosperity for the Jordanian people.

As I heed your orders as a sincere soldier, I pledge before God and before your majesty that my colleagues and I will do our utmost as human beings to implement your instructions and meet your desire to strengthen the foundations of this homeland and raise its status until every citizen becomes proud to be living in freedom, democracy, political multiplicity, and the supremacy of the law, preserving human rights, maintaining national unity, and releasing the energy for excellence and creativity.

We will do this by close cooperation with the legislative power, which represents the entire people within a framework of constructive complementarity and continuous understanding, and in cooperation with the judicial power, which we are proud of, within the framework of protecting its full independence and providing our utmost care, which ensures its performance in protecting rights and freedoms in accordance with the law.

Sir, our brave Armed forces, the symbol of our dignity and national pride, the protector of the borders and the guardian of the homeland, will receive all the care and support from my government as your majesty wishes and in all fields so that it will remain a symbol of faithfulness, altruism, and exceptional

performance. We will not spare any effort in providing its requirements and caring of its members. Our security departments, the vigilant eye of the homeland in maintaining security, stability and peace, will enjoy our care to help it carry out its role in the best possible way as your majesty wishes.

Your Majesty, your valuable instructions will be the beacon that will light our way in all our work and activities. We will work to promote an atmosphere of moderation, centrism, and constructive dialogue with all the national groups within a framework of national commitment that upholds public interest over private interests, and fights corrupt practices before establishing useful ones, effecting an enlightened balance between freedom and responsibility, and ensuring public discipline that establishes unity and fights discord, criticizes without hurting the feelings of anybody, until the efforts of the entire homeland—people and officials—are unified in drawing up a bright present and a brighter future.

Your Majesty, Among the chief objectives of my government will be a comprehensive economic and social development throughout the homeland—a development that would strike balance among all regions and ensure a fair distribution of the gains of development. This is in addition to according special attention to the badia, rural areas, and refugee camps. We will exert maximum efforts to learn about the needs and aspirations of citizens, provide them with the requirements of a dignified life, and meeting his demands, and serving him with ease.

We will also work on developing the national program of economic reform in such a manner that would be in congruity with the changing situations and circumstances in order to expedite the growth averages, upgrade productivity, provide job opportunities, develop intrinsic resources, safeguard environment, provide food and water security, facilitate investment process without trouble and red tape.

We will work hand in hand with the private sector and its various institutions, give impetus to its role in order to take part in all economic decisions. We will also attach special importance to unemployment, poverty, and to those with special needs. We will also pay great attention to women's issues, youth and sports, education and culture, public awareness, health, energy, and water.

Your majesty, A competent and trustworthy administration is the one capable of working and making achievements. My government will accord top attention to developing administration, re-structuring the administrative apparatus, and choosing the

leaderships on the basis of academic track record, experience, and integrity, and developing administrative procedures to make citizens' lives easier.

We will confront with deep faith and absolute resolve all aspects of laxity, slackness, dependency, and corruption of whatever source or and no matter who supports them. We will champion rightfulness no matter how hefty the price we will pay. We will strike with an iron fist all those who might be tempted to tamper with the peoples' interests, national wealth, and public funds. Accountability will be a headline in our dealing with the administrative departments in order to highlight achievements and punish those who fall short of their duties, and reward the excellent people. We will give civil and military servants and the retired the attention they deserve in a manner commensurate with the available capabilities.

Your majesty, My government will work diligently to enhance Arab solidarity and redress causes of dissention. We will be inspired by the brotherly stands we witnessed during the funeral of the late King Husayn in order to foster our Arab ties with all states. We will work hand in hand with our brothers in the Palestinian National Authority and support the Palestinian people's realization of their full right to its homeland territories and establish an independent state in its soil. We reiterate the common fate and interests based on a clear vision of the present and future. We will continue to support the peace process in accordance with the constants approved by

the late King Husayn and enshrined in your majesty's directives to us.

We will also continue to cooperate with the friendly countries, especially those which stood by Jordan and by the international and regional organization in order to protect Jordan's interests and highlight its role in all gatherings.

Your majesty, The directives contained in the royal letter of designation will serve as the principles of my government. We will never deviate from those principles and will translate them on the ground in well-studied plans that will be implemented on the ground. We will always be in need of your directives and support. We beseech almighty God to guide us along the right path lead us to good deeds.

As it gives me honor to submit to your majesty the names of my colleague ministers, I kindly request you to sign the royal decree. God Bless you and lead you along the right path.

[signed] Your servant
'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Rawabidah
Amman 16 Zi al-Qi'dah 1419 Hegira, 4 March 1999.

Source: Letter from Prime Minister-Designate Abd al-Rauf al-Rawabdeh to King Abdullah Bin-Hussein, accepting the task of forming a new government, broadcast on Amman Radio Jordan Network, March 4, 1999; translated and listed as "Al-Rawabidah Replies to King's Letter" in FBIS-NES-1999-0304.

Appendix V

Royal Decree Naming Hamzah Crown Prince

February 7, 1999

We, Abdullah bin Al Hussein, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and in accordance with paragraph (a) of Article 28 of the Constitution, have issued our Royal Decree choosing our brother HRH Prince Hamzah bin Al Hussein as Crown Prince, to be granted all rights and privileges entailed herewith.

Source: Official documents of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, online <www.kinghussein.gov.jo/speeches_letters.html>

Letter from King Abdullah to Queen Rania

March 21, 1999

His Majesty King 'Abdallah Bin-Husayn has sent the following letter to Her Majesty Queen Raniya al-'Abdallah:

Your Majesty Queen Raniya al-'Abdallah, may God protect and watch over you. I send you my deepest love, pride, and appreciation.

I have known you for seven years. I have found you to be the Jordanian, Arab, and Muslim girl who possesses—in addition to the values and traits of our people—our Arab nation's values and traits as well as the virtues of our true religion which has been guiding people along the right path throughout the ages.

I have also known that you shun appearances. I have known your sincere affinity for simplicity and willingness to participate in serving the people. You are the faithful and dear daughter of these people. You know these people and epitomize their hopes and aspirations. By the same token, you know their pains and believe in their causes faithfully and sincerely.

Over the past years, you shared [with] me the blessings bestowed upon us under the great father, my father and the father of all Jordanians. You have taken from [sic] his spirit the breezes that will continue to spread their fragrance around us. You have taken from his deep belief in Jordan's role and message the beams that will continue to provide both of us with determination, strength, and resolve.

All your astounding traits and fine virtues were further enhanced by your fine morals that have been

culminated by modesty and a genuine sense of responsibility that further enrich one's love for humanity and buttresses one's sense of belonging to homeland. Your close and positive contact with the homeland's causes and the people's pains adds to your fine characteristics, enriches your abilities, and strengthens your determination in shouldering the sublime national message with relentless resolve.

Now that I have been destined by God to shoulder my first responsibility in Jordan, I decided—especially since you are my life companion and mother of Husayn—that you will become Her Majesty Raniya al-'Abdallah as of today. You will be the partner of my ongoing struggle in our quest for serving our beloved Jordan and the glorious Arab nation. I beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty, watch over you, and provide you with further determination and continued strength to perform your noble duties in this life.

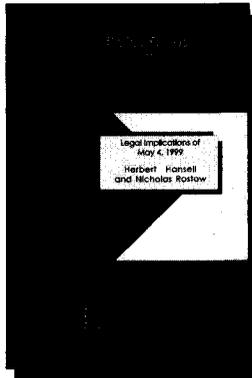
With My ceaseless love, absolute trust, and deep appreciation

'Abdallah Bin-Husayn

Amman 4 Dhu al-Hijjah 1419 Hegira, corresponding to 21 March 1999.

Source: Letter from King Abdullah to Queen Rania, broadcast on Amman Jordan Television Network, March 21, 1999; translated and listed as "King Bestows Title of Queen on Princess Raniya" in FBIS-NES-1999-0321.

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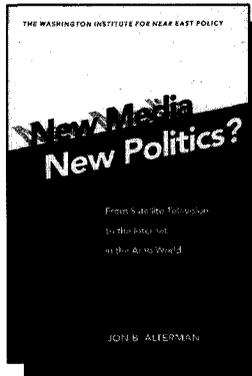
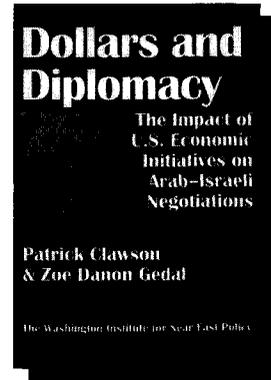
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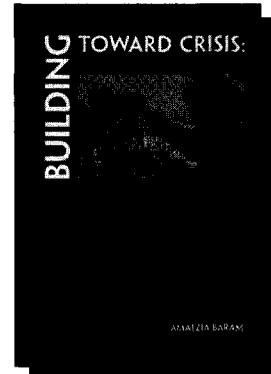
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