THE PAPERS OF

AL-SHARIF HUSSEIN BIN ALI

Documents published together for the first time

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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Foreword by

HRH Prince Ghazi bin Muhammad

Prepared by Mohammad Yunes Al-Abbadi

Translated by Lamya Al-Khraisha

The Papers of Al-Sharif Hussein Bin Ali, Documents published together for the first time

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اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد وسلم

FOREWORD

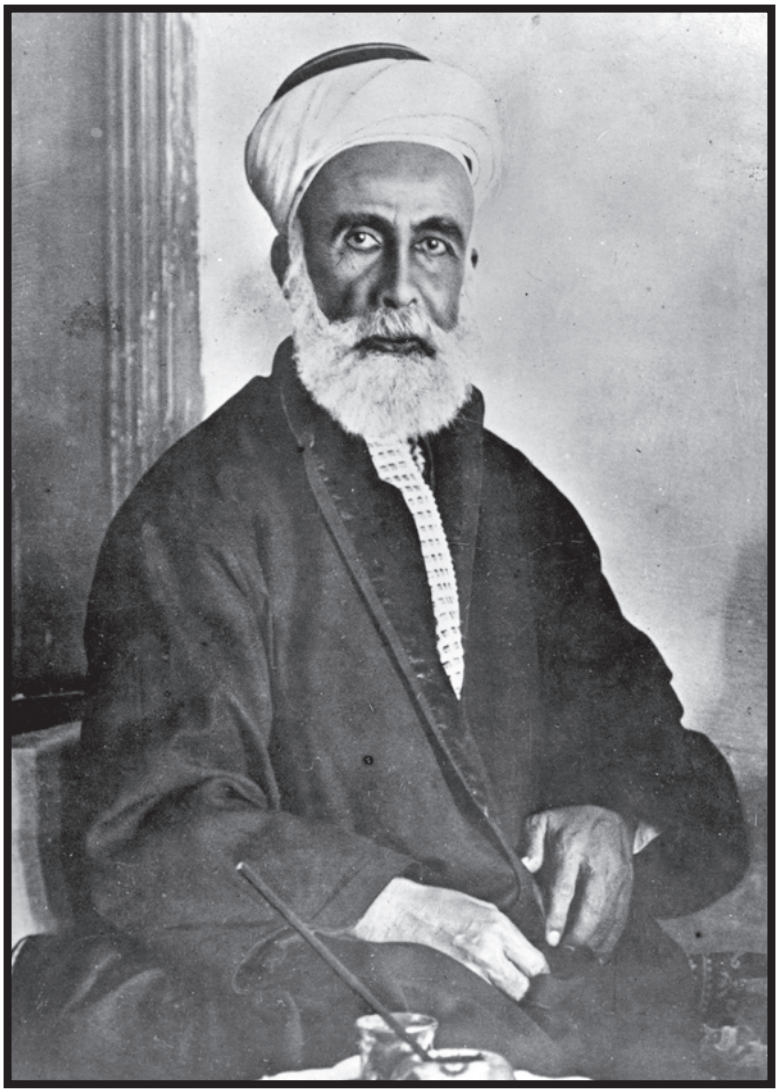
I am honoured and pleased to write this foreword to documents that have been lost to history; the memoirs of my great-great-grandfather, Al-Sharif Hussein bin Ali. He was the Emir of the Hejaz, King of the Arabs, Caliph of the Muslims and Commander of the Faithful, may God have mercy on his soul.

These short documents show what the intentions were behind some of the Sharif's actions. They also clarify some of the ambiguities and accusations that were levelled against him. In some cases these were out of misunderstanding and in some cases out of spite. By God's grace, *'The Truth has come and falsehood has vanished away...'*.

I would like to extend my thanks to Mr. Muhammad Yunes Al-Abbadi, noted researcher and former Director of the Department of the National Library in Amman, who collected and prepared these documents. I would also like to thank Ms. Lamya Al-Khraisha for her accurate translation of the documents into English. I ask the Almighty for the success of this project.

God says: '*That is a community that has passed away; theirs is what they have earned, and yours is what you have earned; you shall not be asked about what they did*.' (*Al-Baqarah*, 2:134).

Ghazi bin Muhammad bin Talal bin Abdullah bin Al-Hussein
Amman, 8th *Dhul-Qi'dah*, 1441 AH
30th June, 2020 CE



Al-Sharif Hussein bin Ali, King of the Arabs, Caliph of the Muslims, and Commander of the Faithful

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
And it is He Whom we ask for help

INTRODUCTION

These documents shed light on an aspect of the biography of an Arab leader who carried the burden of the Arab Ummah on his shoulders. He set forth an Arabist project whose realism and applicability remained in the consciousness and hearts of the Arabs for a long time.

The biography of Sharif Hussein still warrants study as it is an expression of the Arab character that is true to its Islamic legacy and legitimacy. The character that is aware of the dimensions of Arabism and the Arabs' historic weight, drawn from a deeply-rooted history and their ability to influence and manufacture events.

The Great Arab Renaissance, which Sharif Hussein led, awakened an Arab sentiment which gathered in its folds a balanced and moderate Islamic discourse which was an expression of the temperament of its leader. That firmly-rooted legitimacy offered a holistic project to lift up the Arab person in a realistic way. Furthermore, it took into consideration the position and potential of the Arabs.

The importance of these documents, which are published here together for the first time, stems from the fact that they are the renaissance leader's narrative of its events, setbacks and victories. They also reflect the impact the renaissance had on the Arabs' psyche and their ability to build themselves up and influence the world stage. The importance of the Arab Renaissance lies in the fact that it shifted the Arabs from being passive bystanders to becoming active participants in their own destinies.

In collecting these documents we have tried to find a common thread between them. They are a narrative and message that can be thought of as shaping a memoir penned by Sharif Hussein in the midst of the transitions he endured for holding on to his Arab vision. They also include the communiqués (*balaghat*) that were published in the *Lisan Al-Arab* newspaper in 1924 CE and what *Al-Yarmouk* newspaper published of Sharif Hussein's writings under the title '*Al-Hussein Defends Himself*'.

The introduction to Sharif Hussein's communiqué (part one) published in *Lisan Al-Arab*'s 598th issue, on 30th December, 1924 CE, reads: 'His Majesty the King, who kept his promise to his Ummah and chose to abdicate his throne in order to spare the blood of its people and avoid fighting between them when he has always called for their unity, has decided that as his silver hair is now his luminous crown he would send his Ummah a communiqué in which he would share with them the order of the priority of things so that he may leave this world white of brow and with a clean scroll of deeds. Many have wanted to blacken his scroll for their own ends or out of spite towards the Arab Ummah. We received the statement penned by his own right hand and we publish it herein so that the public may read it and thank him for what he has offered and so that they may have clear proof of their affairs and they may work for what is in their best interest.'

Al-Yarmouk newspaper, in its issue no. 502, published on 30th November, 1930 CE published a testimony penned by Sharif Hussein entitled '*Al-Hussein Defends Himself*' (*King Hussein publishes his memoirs*) part one. In its introduction the newspaper writes: 'Herein readers will find the text of a historic document about the Great Arab Revolt written by His Majesty King Hussein who lit its flame. The document discusses the negotiations that took place between him

and the British. Readers will note that the document is written in His Majesty's usual and unique language and we publish it so that Arab readers in Palestine may read it.'

Both newspapers opened part one with the Qur'anic verse: '*Say: "You will not be questioned about the sins we committed, nor shall we be questioned about what you do."*' (*Saba'*, 34:25). King Hussein began his statement as follows: 'I, Al-Hussein bin Ali, who arose with my people, the Arabs, and the vast majority of those who speak the language of the Arabs, who agreed with my view on the situation of this Ummah...'

The significance of both these newspaper sources stem from the timing of publication. The years 1924 and 1925 witnessed events in the Arabian Peninsula that culminated in Great Britain abandoning the Kingdom of Hejaz—the cornerstone of the renaissance project—and exiling Al-Hussein bin Ali to Cyprus.

As for the timing of *Al-Yarmouk* newspaper publishing Sharif Hussein's testimony, it is in return for what he did in raising up the Ummah. It was also an expression of Arab solidarity and loyalty to his person at a time when he was frail and ill.

In order for the picture of Sharif Hussein's autobiography to be complete, and for a more in-depth understanding of his position during the events of the Great Arab Revolt and its project, we included the Royal Hashemite circular issued by the Hashemite Palace in Mecca on 15th *Rabi'ul Thani* 1432 AH / 24th November 1923 CE.

The significance of this circular is that it clearly presented the Arabist vision to the British public at a time when Britain was breaking its promises to the Arabs and reversing its alliance with them. In the circular, Sharif Hussein bin Ali addressed the British people. Most of the Arabic newspapers published it, including *Al-Qiblah* newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Arab Renaissance.

This circular came after British politicians reneged on their promises, breached what had been agreed upon and turned their backs on the Arab Ummah in enmity after they had been allies. In the circular, Sharif Hussein called on the British people to defend themselves in the face of what their politicians had done and to redress the Arabs; their allies and confederates.

It is very important to read what Sharif Hussein wrote so as to come to an understanding of his political discourse which is entrenched in holding firm to principles. He held firm to what he called for in terms of a duty towards the Arab peoples and their right to unity and independence.

Today it is impossible to read the historical record of the Great Arab Renaissance without pausing before the testimony of Al-Sharif Hussein bin Ali; its leader. Through his testimony one is able to understand the events of the Renaissance which are full of edifying lessons. Indeed, those lessons are part of a living history and every person who seeks the benefit of the Arabs and the Muslim Ummah should traverse its roads and take up the burden of raising it up once again.

'*... excellent is the wage of those workers!*' (*Aal 'Imran*, 3:136).

Mohammad Yunes Al-Abbadi
Amman, 30th *Dhul Qi'dah*, 1441 AH
25th June, 2020 CE

AL-SHARIF AL-HUSSEIN BIN ALI BIN MUHAMMAD BIN ABDUL-MU'IN BIN AWN AL-HASHIMI

King of the Arabs, Caliph of the Muslims, and Commander of the Faithful (1853 -1931 CE)

Al-Sharif Al-Hussein bin Ali bin Muhammad bin Abdul-Mu'in bin Awn (*Ra'ee al-Hadlah*) is descended from the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ from Bani Hashim. His family's ancestry is the apogee of Arab ancestries and is one of the noblest families in the world. He was born in 1853 CE / 1270 AH in Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

He received an integral education that focused on jurisprudence and the composition of poetry. He also practiced cavalry arts. His biography is distinguished by his undertaking a variety of political roles during the time of the Ottoman Empire, before things changed with the Committee of Union and Progress taking power.

One of the roles he undertook was strengthening his ties to the tribes. He was also a member of the Shura Council, from 1883 CE until the Turanian coup and the restoration of the Constitution in 1908 CE.

Al-Sharif Al-Hussein bin Ali returned to Mecca after the death of his uncle, Awn Al-Rafiq, and the death of his uncle, Abdel-Ilah. He was appointed Emir of Mecca and he ruled it with vigour and strength; expanding his rule in the Hejaz and reining in the Bedouin tribes. The

Ottoman Empire also sought his help in subduing a number of princes who had rebelled against it.

Most Arab leadership acknowledged Al-Sharif Hussein's rule, in addition to his spiritual leadership associated with his noble lineage and his standing in the hearts of Arabs and Muslims. In 1913 CE, thirty-five Members of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusân*) sent a memorandum to Al-Sharif Hussein which stated: 'We, the Arab deputies in the Chamber of Deputies affirm you as Emir of Mecca, and we acknowledge that you alone enjoy religious leadership over all the Arab lands. This meeting is on behalf of the people of our countries and we will announce it when needs be. May God preserve you for your Ummah and help you in repelling evil away from your religion.' This missive represents an acknowledgement of Sharif Hussein as Emir of Mecca. It is also the first consensus of Arab representatives on an Arab figure and the first acknowledgment of religious leadership and chieftaincy in modern Arab history.

With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 CE, Al-Sharif Hussein's relationship with the Ottoman Empire gradually became more and more tense. This corresponded with the rise of members of the clandestine Young Turks movement which sought, through its Committee of Union and Progress, to implement a policy of Turkification of the state and Arab elements and communities.

Arab circles began to sense the impending danger of the policy of Turkification which took it upon itself to kill and disenfranchise Arab leadership. So they sought to form secret groups and delegated Al-Sharif Hussein to ally himself with Britain and the Allies against the Axis and in contravention of the Ottoman approach.

In a series of letters with Sir Henry McMahon, Al-Sharif Hussein received promise of support for the establishment of a unified

independent Arab state. Therefore, on the 9th of *Sha'ban,* 1334 AH / 10th June, 1916 CE, from Mecca, Al-Sharif Hussein declared the Arab Renaissance (the Great Arab Revolt) against the Turks. The elements of the Revolt were comprised of the Arab Nationalists who had joined the Army of the Revolt. They managed to control the Hejaz and marched north until they entered Damascus in October 1918 CE.

Britain reneged on its promises to Al-Sharif Hussein, so he abdicated his throne to his son, Prince Ali, in 1924 CE. Al-Sharif Hussein moved from Jeddah to Aqaba and then to Cyprus in 1925 CE. He stayed there under house arrest for six years for not complying with the demands of the British to abandon his principles. These principles were embodied by the Arab Renaissance and included the establishment of a unified Arab state and ensuring that Palestine remained Arab.

Al-Sharif Hussein returned to Amman to live with his son, King Abdullah I ibn Al-Hussein, in November of 1930 CE. He remained in Amman until he passed away on 3rd June, 1931 CE. As per the request of Al-Sharif Al-Hussein and the people of Palestine, he was buried in Jerusalem next to the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

The sons of Al-Sharif Al-Hussein bin Ali bin Awn were:

- HM King Ali bin Al-Hussein bin Ali (1881 - 1935 CE), King of the Kingdom of Hejaz; he died in Baghdad.
- HM King Abdullah bin Al-Hussein bin Ali (1882 – 1951 CE), King and founder of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, he was martyred in Jerusalem on 20th July, 1951 CE.
- HM King Faisal bin Al-Hussein bin Ali (1883 – 1933 CE), King of Syria and Iraq, he died in Bern, Switzerland and was buried in Baghdad.
- HRH Zeid bin Al-Hussein bin Ali (1898 – 1970 CE), he lived in Iraq and Jordan and died in Amman in 1970 CE.

The banner continues to be passed down to the kings of Bani Hashem, from father to son, growing in dignity and stature. May God preserve HM King Abdullah II ibn Al-Hussein bin Talal bin Abdullah bin Al-Hussein bin Ali Al-Hashimi and may He reinforce his kingship.

COMMUNIQUÉS BY KING HUSSEIN BIN ALI

Lisan Al-Arab, Issue № 598
30th and 31st of December 1924 CE

Communiqué by King Hussein

Part One

HM King Al-Hussein bin Ali kept his promise to his Ummah when it asked him to abdicate the throne after he offered advice and benefit that no one else could have offered, particularly in our times. He has decided that as his silver hair is now his luminous crown, he would send a communiqué to his Ummah in which he would share with them the order of the priority of things so that he may leave this world white of brow and with a clean scroll of deeds. Many have wanted to blacken his scroll for their own ends or out of spite towards the Arab Ummah. We received the statement penned by his own right hand. We publish it herein so that the public may read it and thank him for what he has offered and so that they may have clear proof of their affairs and so that they may work for what is in their best interest. Below is a copy of the statement:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
'*Say: "You will not be questioned about the sins we committed, nor shall we be questioned about what you do."*'[1]

I, Al-Hussein bin Ali, who arose with my people, the Arabs, and the vast majority of those whose who speak the language of the Arabs, who agreed with my view on the situation of this Ummah, which was dictated by religious feeling first, and proved by the Ankara Republic and the testimony that our actions were opposite those of the Indian Caliphate movement and its like, which pale before the perfection and infallibility of the Ummah; and second, dictated by an unquestionable nationalist feeling, hereby declare:

That due to the conflicting and varying public discourse and the tendency of newspapers to publish various takes on the latest affliction to hit our Hejaz, and particularly my abdication; I thought to put forth this explanatory piece so '*that he who survived might live, after a clear proof*' and that the dawn of truth can be manifest before those who have eyes. Yes, the community of Arabs arose and the results of our renaissance are known far and wide, even to the deaf and the mute. Our great allies, the kings, have conceded my people's bravery, their renowned and praiseworthy efforts, their formidable acts in the battlefields, lauded in telegrams I have kept and which have been published by newspapers. However, the claims of loyalty and gratitude compel me to say, at the very least, that the Arabs suffered bad fortune with their allies. The Arabs relied on their promises and vows of honour and chivalry and indeed plunged into the horrors of war due to their confidence in those promises and vows. They did so at times in which the outcomes were

1 (*Saba', 34:25*)

unknown—during the evacuation of the Dardanelles and Paris and the fall of Kut Al Amara which embarrassed their allies—and at a time when the Arabs did not receive a single bullet from those grand allies. How can we not say 'bad fortune' when no sooner than that epic battle had come to end than they turned their backs on the Arabs who had trusted in their honour and nobility? Even though their official statements, touted in newspapers and circulated by international telegrams, stated clearly that they only plunged into the fray of that shocking war for a noble purposes and exalted aims: the liberation of oppressed people from the yoke of injustice and tyranny and saving weak nations from the claws of brute power and the fangs of slavery and bondage in response to tortured humanity's cry for help. We are perplexed how the application of that chivalry and lofty feeling was ignored when it came to the state of affairs in Syria and all that Iraq is suffering. And if we were to absolve them of the vows and promises which they conceded and pledged to the Arabs, and which I have in my hands, how can one vindicate and construe the announcements and declarations whose trembling voices were heard by even the inanimate of the earth!

Lisan Al-Arab, Issue № 599
3rd and 4th of January 1925 CE

Communiqué by King Hussein

Part Two

The requisites of loyalty and gratitude compel us to use brevity and suffice with this estimation without asking they who should be asked about their bloodshed in the north, south, east and west of their lands! ...

I do not mean the Arabs as a group, those who aggress and those who are aggressed against, in terms of the issue that encompasses them all. Therefore, what I say herein is known and needs no explanation. It is as clear as the great pyramid of Giza: the encroachment of Wahhabism on the East of Jordan during the past month of *Muharram*, 1343 AH / 1924 CE. Then its recent trespass against our Hejaz after Great Britain called on Wahhabism to all it called on it to do. And after Britain in its greatness declared and confessed that the interests and welfare of the British people are the same interests and welfare of the Arabs and vice versa. Indeed, Britain reaffirmed that explicit feeling in its high missive issued on the 19th of *Shawwal*, 1330 AH / 30th August, 1915 CE by His Excellency the Deputy of His Majesty the King of Great Britain in the name of His Majesty. Following is the text:

To the Sayyid of noble descent; the scion of the *Ashraaf* and the Muhammadan tree; crown of glory and high standing; the Sayyid, son of a Sayyid; the Sharif, son of a Sharif; the honourable excellency Sharif Hussein; the Sayyid of all; Emir of Mecca Al-Mukarramah, the Qiblah of the worlds, may his *barakah* encompass all people.

After submitting the most fragrant of heartfelt regards, we declare that Your Grace and your men are of one mind and that the interests and welfare of the Arabs are the same interests and welfare of the English and vice versa. Therefore, I reaffirm the words of His Excellency Lord Kitchener which reached Your Grace through Ali Afandi in which he clarified our desire for the independence of the lands of the Arabs and its peoples and our recommendation that the Arab Caliphate be announced. Here, we declare once again that His Majesty the King of Great of Britain welcomes the reclamation of the Caliphate at the hand of a true Arab who is a scion of the blessed and lofty Prophetic tree.

And he went on to say:

What is cause for surprise and sadness is that a group of Arabs who live in those actual areas has missed and neglected this precious and invaluable opportunity. We see that this group, instead of helping us; has extended its hand in assistance to the Germans and the Turks. Yes, extending the hand of assistance to that new plunderer and despoiler: the Germans; the unjust tyrant. Nevertheless,

> we are perfectly prepared to send, from the Egyptian lands, to the honourable Sayyid what rights and alms are owing the holy Arab lands and the esteemed Arabs. I conclude with expressions of continued affection.
>
> Faithfully,
> Sir Arthur McMahon
> (Deputy of His Majesty the King)

Hence, do the requisite joint benefits and welfare of the two nations, which were acknowledged in the high missive, include the visible and intentional situation of Palestine and what is intended for it; and what is occurring in Damascus and Aleppo and what is intended for Iraq? Also the destruction of Hudaidah which was famous for its trading; what has befallen Yemeni lands, and indeed what happened to our Hejaz and blessed Mecca in recent times and what the newspapers have circulated regarding the will to include the *wilayah* of Ma'an in the fold of mandate? These are things that character and honour reject because they contradict the well-known joint benefits and welfare and aforementioned points. This has led the lords of whims and motives to claim that the source of this is my not having signed the noted treaty. If they consider this opposition and enmity from my side, then I say to them: Do not incriminate the land and its sons in my crime and my asking to abdicate in my document on 21st [*Dhul*] *Qi'dah*, 1336 AH / 1919 CE which newspapers have published in its entirety time and again. In addition to my declaration that if that which would necessitate the adjustment of borders were to occur, then what would follow would be out of my hands other than my abdication for the sake of the safety and deliverance of the land. All of that contravenes their claims. Great Britain's refusal of my request to appoint those of its

esteemed men who it sees fit who I can rely on to reach an understanding on issues of the so-called disagreement is an elucidation of my integrity and innocence of accusations.

I did not oppose the esteemed ally by suggesting an issue that was outside our known resolutions or what is within their meaning, except my refusal that my people not gain their agreed-upon and acknowledged rights in their lands. My hope is in honourable and noble British sentiments; that they will not construe opposition as a crime. Is there anyone who hesitates to say that the crisis in our Hejaz and Mecca and the state they are in are due to the impulsions of changing our agreement? Indeed I objected to that and clarified its caveats and was circumspect regarding its consequences since 1915 CE. I add to that the League of Nations' recent resolution about the heart-wrenching situation we find ourselves in due to blatant skirmishes that spell the loss of that noble area. Had they left for the Arabs their land, they would have preserved it as is due before the Almighty. This would have been an example in terms of the state of things and their consequences.

Therefore, despair filled me and indeed multiplied when some intruders declared that we arose against the authority of the [Committee of] Union [and Progress], and that I opposed the policy of the great ally to the extent that it led the Wahhabis to attack Tai'f and threaten other lands with a variety of disasters and tragedies. I was blamed for the consequences of this policy of opposition and it was claimed that I ignored the necessary preparations to preserve the land from these transgressions and violations. Thus I say:

My people and my allies charged me with what the Almighty aided me to do. Now their eyes look at me askance. The foundations on which our renaissance was built were the well-being and happiness of the Arab countries and restoring their rights by any means necessary. My

abdication should not be viewed as surprising or too great; because as things stand, I see it as a duty of patriotism and nationalism. Particularly since I am one of those people who confesses that they are not infallible; for perfection belongs solely to God. Our men of reason and the knowledgeable newspapermen who say that I did not appoint any of the esteemed strongmen of the land who studied the ways and politics of the world; and that in one night I destroyed what took me nine years to build, should see the correctness and level-headedness of our actions which were done only to serve the interests and happiness of the Ummah and to preserve it from the ills of the future. But I do not doubt that bad fortune prevented your Excellencies from seeing that the destroyer, as you claimed, was your own failings and disputes. Now it is plain for you, and indeed the whole world, to see that the Arabs are killing one another and pronouncing each other apostates and cursing each other. How could you possibly justify and defend the Saudi transgression against our Hejaz and other lands while they leave Syria and others?! Is this not an abandonment of the Arabs that spells destruction, devastation and total affliction which most likely will mean ruin and rubble?

Lisan Al-Arab, Issue № 600
6th and 7th January 1925 CE

Communiqué by King Hussein

Part Three

How I wish that our esteemed Excellencies would have noticed what had befallen America in terms of its decision to enter the war before they came up with those readings. That great state, in spite of its famed erudite men and politicians!

If you ignore this primary catastrophe that will doom all the sons of the [Arabian] Peninsula, you will have doomed your lands and independence—the pride of nations and their glory—which you still say is a *fait accompli* after which you will not rise again. I ask you in the Name of God, who is pushing the Saudis to this fault which includes other faults that are not necessary to mention? And why are you negligent in searching out these harms? My dear newspaper editors and authors of the Green Book, what motivates this other than the desertion of the rising Arab Ummah and the destroying of its honour? I swear by the Lord of the heavens and the earth that I only care about what I have declared over and over again: the wellbeing, happiness, progress, and preservation of the Arab Ummah. I will hold firm to these sentiments, with God's help, until my dying breath. I do not care about leadership, whether it rests with a Damascene or an Iraqi or a Nejdi or a Yemeni.

Nor do I care about where the centre and base of the lands is, for the Hejaz was for many years attached to Damascus and then Iraq. Nor do I '*exculpate my own soul; verily the soul is ever inciting to evil*', but I do ask that God fight narcosis; for they are wandering blindly in its throes. They wanted to fault us and belittle us but the Almighty, Who made everything speak, made them speak. And so they confessed that that is what they wanted and thus consigned themselves to shame in this life and the next. Yesterday they declared that I sold the Arab lands and placed the Two Noble Harams under the protection of the grand ally. Today they announce that we oppose it so much that it was forced to use the Wahhabis to force our hand. With this testimony they prove and confess our deep-rooted pride and honour. In truth we do not oppose the grand ally except for our self-respect and our absolute firmness in preserving the rights of our Palestinian, Syrian and Iraqi brothers and our commitment to the blessing of independence in their lands, as agreed. As for the ally's rights and benefits that fall outside of these things, they are reserved and intact. I hereby declare and announce this fact whether our ally likes it or not; this is part of the loyalty that our Islamic and Arab morality imposes on us.

That is in terms of opposition. As regards our negligence of the preparations necessary for the preservation of our lands from the likes of the aforementioned violations, O you for whom we wish the light of insight; everyone knows the capacities of the esteemed Saudi, represented by his defeat in the famed battle of Jerab[2] and my supplying him with sufficient forces and foremost was my son, Abdullah, when we were called on for aid and help after Ibn Rashid overtook him late in the second year of the World War. The result

2 Jerab was a battle between Abdul-Aziz Abdul-Rahman Al-Saud, the Emir of Riyadh, and Abdul-Aziz Al-Rashid, the Emir of Ha'il, on 7th December, 1915 CE.

was the esteemed Saudi's defeat before our forces reached him with my son Abdullah who arose against the antagonist in the village of Sh'ara[3] for a month and a half until he was forced back from whence he came after he was warned against transgressing the Nejdi borders. Does he imagine, with the Saudi state of power, that the transgression two years later in Trubah[4], that well-known village that is about one-hundred parasangs from Ta'if, happened without there being any material or moral motives? Nevertheless, the commander of the Saudi forces died as a result of injuries sustained in the battle of Al-Huda[5] and he warned his aide not to return to Ta'if after that. Indeed, he chose to stay in the village of Al-Ukhaydar[6], east of Ta'if, about one-hundred parasangs away. It is known that the commanders of trained soldiers do not enter the fray of battle and its frontlines except when the situation is dire and critical.

My concern for preserving the land and what I wish for it in terms of progress makes me judge myself as having made a mistake and come up short. This is followed by what the people have claimed. But it is impossible for me to show even the most minor favouritism against the sons of the most minor village in my land against their brethren; for everyone to me is equal. I also confess that I did not burden the people of the land, regardless of their class, with taxes that are equivalent to the weight of a mosquito's wing. Nor did I martial those loyal of them, let alone their children and loved ones. Nevertheless, they judged me as falling short in this regard. Is not the cause of national ardency and

3 Al-Sh'ara is a village under the authority of Riyadh, about 35 km away from it and one of the most important towns of Nejd.

4 Trubah is a village under the authority of Ta'if.

5 The battle between the Hejazis and the Nejdis in which Ta'if fell in the hands of the Nejdis.

6 A village under the authority of Ta'if.

patriotic zeal reason enough for the residents of Mecca and Jeddah, who total more than two-hundred thousand, to have fifty or sixty per cent of them martial two out of every one-hundred? The heavens did not fall upon us piecemeal nor did the earth release its devils and we were not attacked by a regimented army with its canons and tanks so that our Arabic newspapers should react so fiercely and say what they have said about the failure of the sons of the land. All that should be said is what we have said and we repeat and say: May God fight those who have created this narcosis and their narcotics. Notwithstanding, my people and allies are the ones who tasked me and obligated me to do what the Almighty aided me in achieving. I did not task or obligate anyone to come to me with even a handful of gravel from our plains. My leaving the land and departing from it was only as a result of the eyes that changed their view of me. Nevertheless, anyone who wishes to interpret my abdication as anything other than that reason is absolved. I also hope that the Excellencies of Egypt and those knowledgeable in religion and politics would contemplate reality and consider the Hadith 'He who declares a Muslim an apostate has committed apostasy[7].' Neither do we care about your Green Book or books of yours of any colour that discuss the above, since I have stated time and again, officially and in many instances, that we are ready to deliver the land to the Saudis if needs be. This is in order to preserve the safety of its people from disasters and catastrophes due to the Wahhabi creed of pronouncing *takfir* on those who oppose them and shedding their blood while they proclaim the two testimonies of faith, ignoring the Hadith: 'I have been ordered to fight against the people until they say that there is none worthy of worship except God and if they say that, then they will have gained protection

7 *Sahih Muslim*

for their lives and property, and their reckoning will be with God[8].'

Furthermore, I release myself before God from any personal motivation or from any attempt to humiliate or damage the dignity of anyone by discussing the subjects we have discussed. The only reason we mentioned them is to elucidate the truth. As for nationalistic feeling, which is the second reason for our renaissance, its justification lies in the cries for help from my Syrian brethren against the injustice their rulers have shown in terms of dispossession, plunder, driving them out of their homelands, exiling them and disowning religion in a manner that cannot be interpreted. What can we possibly imagine their negligent answers to be when chivalry says:

> For when their brother calls to them for aid
> They do not seek his proof first be arrayed[9]

This state compelled us to come to their rescue; or should we have turned a deaf ear even though we witnessed destruction personified before our eyes? It was an obligation demanded by our religious and nationalist feeling; and ignoring it would have been an eternal shame and insult that would have followed our progeny and grandchildren. As for those who ask what good has come to you from your renaissance, I answer, in addition to what I have stated of reasons, that we have not brought forth anything that contradicts religious sensibilities or Arab chivalry; and the outcomes are in the Hand of the Almighty. He spoke truly who said:

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8 Hadith narrated in *Bukhari* and *Muslim*

9 The Muslim poet Qurayt bin Anif said this line of poetry because his people let him down; (*bahr al-basit*).

A man must strive for what brings benefit
His duty's not to have perfected it

We ask the Almighty for gentleness and kindness to His slaves in the east and in the west of the earth for He is the Good, the Kind, the Merciful.

THE MEMOIRS OF KING HUSSEIN BIN ALI

Al-Yarmouk, Issue № 502
30th November 1930 CE

Al-Hussein Defends Himself
(King Hussein Publishes his Memoirs)

Part One

Herein readers will find the text of a historic document about the Great Arab Revolt written by His Majesty King Hussein who lit its flame. The document discusses the negotiations that took place between him and the British. Readers will note that the document is written in His Majesty's usual and unique language and we publish it so that Arab readers in Palestine may read it:

> *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*
> *'You will not be questioned about the sins we committed, nor shall we be questioned about what you do'.* (*Saba'*, 34:25)

I, Al-Hussein bin Ali, who arose with my people, the Arabs, and the vast majority of those whose who speak the language of the Arabs, who agreed with my view on the situation of this Ummah, which

was dictated by religious feeling first, and proved by the Ankara Republic and the testimony that our actions were opposite those of the Indian Caliphate movement and its like, which pale before the perfection and infallibility of the Ummah; and second, dictated by an unquestionable nationalist feeling when I saw the conflicting and varying public discourse and the tendency of newspapers to publish various takes on the latest affliction to hit our Hejaz, and particularly my abdication; thought to put forth these explanatory pieces so '*that he who survived might live, after a clear proof*'. Yes, the community of Arabs arose and the results of our renaissance are known far and wide, even to the deaf and the mute, and all praise belongs solely to God. Our great allies, the kings, have conceded my people's bravery, their renowned and praiseworthy efforts, their formidable acts in the battlefields lauded in telegrams I have kept and which have been published by newspapers.

The claims of loyalty and gratitude compel me to say, at the very least, that the Arabs suffered bad fortune with their allies. The Arabs relied on their allies' promises and vows of honour and chivalry. Indeed they plunged into the horrors of war due to their confidence in those promises and vows. And they did so at times in which the outcomes were unknown—during the evacuation of the Dardanelles and Paris and the fall of Kut Al Amara which embarrassed their allies—and at a time when the Arabs did not receive a single bullet from those grand allies. How can we not say 'bad fortune' when no sooner than that epic battle had come to end, than those grand and great allies turned their backs on the Arabs who had trusted in their honour and nobility? Even though their official eloquent statements, touted in newspapers and circulated by international telegrams, stated clearly that they only plunged into the fray of that shocking war for a noble purpose and

exalted morals: the liberation of oppressed people from the yoke of injustice and usurped rights and violations to lives and property which are in complete violation of humanity. Esteemed people of the world, we are perplexed how the application of that chivalry and lofty feeling was ignored when it came to the state of affairs in Syria and all that Iraq is suffering. And if we were to absolve them of the vows and promises which they conceded and pledged to the Arabs, and which I have in my hands, how can one vindicate and construe the announcements and declarations whose trembling voices were heard by even the inanimate of the earth? I swear that the requisites of loyalty and the rights of the generation compel us to use brevity and suffice with this estimation without asking the leader of the Battle of Maysalun why no sooner had he stepped foot in Beirut and its environs than the Arab flag that he set up was taken down. This does not mean that we deny, or are ungrateful towards, the sentiments of grand France and how it furnished us with supplies during the war in a way that makes us remember those sentiments over the ages and the passing of days. We still acknowledge that even though it changed course with the Arabs in a way that was witnessed by humanity, that does not make us disavow what we had received, for that is not in our nature. Yes, our allies turned their backs on the Arabs in a way that caused Arab bloodshed in the north, south, east and west of the land. I mean by Arabs their totality, not the aggressor nor the aggressed; for they are all Arabs. Therefore, what I say is known and needs no explanation; it is as clear as the great pyramid of Giza: the recent event that happened to our Ta'if, after Great Britain called on them to all it called on them to do and declared that the British people and the Arabs share the same interests precisely. Britain reaffirmed that sentiment as can be clearly seen from the high missive issued on 19th of *Shawwal* 1330 AH / 30th August, 1915 CE...

Al-Yarmouk, Issue № 504
4th December 1930 CE

Al-Hussein Defends Himself
(King Hussein Publishes his Memoirs)

Part Three

Which launched him and his people, into the horrors of the war during the evacuation of Paris. After depending on God, he depended on the honour and nobility of his friend. Does the ally imagine after that there would be enmity and challenge of that friend? But my refusal to betray the rights of my people without violating any of my friend's core rights, which we agreed upon, or a right that is opposed to my friend, makes me think the reverse of that possibility. Because I think, and the elite think, that the nature of the nobility of the British would side with us under these circumstances and would multiply its respect for us and our standing. This judgement is part of the primordial nature of that nobility whose sentiments and honour do not hesitate to consider those who do not have concern for their people and defend their central benefits, as long as they do not violate the rights of others, as being devoid of honour, chivalry, trustworthiness and reliability. In any case, do they imagine that anyone who does not preserve the rights of his country and people, as just explained above, can be hoped to be a true friend who preserves the rights of others? Further, there was my

request of the ally to appoint whom it deems fit of its men to come to an understanding on matters of contention, and its greatness' rejection on both fronts. And then my telegram of early *Rajab* of 1341 AH / 9th March 1923 CE no. 989 through the nobleman. I do not know if he delivered it or disregarded it, or even did not deliver it at all. It was about the rights and acknowledged shared benefits of both parties, and any act that violates those joint benefits and interests and proof of our caution and discourse for the sake of preserving them. Because of my great care, not to establish proof or evidence, but indeed because of my innocence of those alleged possibilities, not before Great Britain but before the public and then to prove my honesty and loyalty which I am bound to by my Islamic faith and my Arab manners. Despite the length, I include herein a summary of my missive to His Excellency the Deputy of His Majesty the King which was issued on 21st *Dhul-Qi'dah* 1336 AH / 1919 CE and was published in its entirety many times over by newspapers. It includes that which I need not mention about the truth of my abdication and my titles so that the public may know the truth about what newspapers publish about the *khilafah* and my stance about it. So I present, for the first and last time, this summary:

I did not ask His Majesty's Government for the articles I asked for the land—which Great Britain pledged out of a desire to establish a government or a country whose rule I would appropriate—out of greed for prestige or leadership. Nevertheless, when Great Britain called on me to what it called on me for, in the letter of the aforementioned His Majesty's Deputy in Egypt, I knew that its intentions were to secure the interests of Muslims in general and the Arabs in particular. Therefore I was bound to respond; and the least I could ask for was those articles that, in my opinion, would lead to: first, the preservation of the Islamic World due to what has befallen, and will befall, Turkey. Second, the

preservation of Great Britain from being accused of things that are opposed to its intentions. Third, my exculpation from the accusation of collusion with Great Britain against the primary intention of the renaissance. Yes, yes, I have not, as of the date of this writing (21 *Dhul-Qi'dah* 1336 AH / 1919 CE) encountered anything to contravene those decisions, but just to reaffirm that I misunderstood the fallacy in our aforementioned decisions in the first place, particularly with regards to borders or an event that would require their adjustment. I would not say that this would touch on the existence of the Islamic world but it also is not without impact in that regard. This is my own private opinion and once we add to it my feigning incapacity (for there was a disagreement in opinion and military directions that led what was hoped for to be nought), I am bound to withdraw and abdicate due to my personal belief that altering our decisions, regardless of any infraction to the primary intended purposes and the three aforementioned articles and the effacement of the scroll of my history, removes from me the confidence and reliance of my lands and my peoples, even those closest to me. Particularly when it would appear to them the opposite of those decisions which I declared to them verbally and in writing in regards to what His Excellency His Majesty's Deputy complained about in his missive ...

Al-Yarmouk, Issue № 506
6th December 1930 CE

Al-Hussein Defends Himself
(King Hussein Publishes his Memoirs)

Part Four

Which I have mentioned and which is the principle in the call. His Excellency says that some of [the land's] residents had their hands outstretched to the Germans and Turks during this period and actions were based on that. I will have fooled myself and cheated you, my friends, regarding turmoil in the land due to sedition, revolutions and the like and even not garnered benefit for myself with this, and indeed removed from myself any good thought about it. If there was justice to be had, then I had to abdicate and withdraw.

That is the short of it, and newspapers have published it more than once. Thereupon the request to withdraw was rejected, as mentioned and as is understood from the sentence: 'I did not ask His Majesty's Government for the articles I asked for the land—which Great Britain pledged out of a desire to establish a government or a country whose rule I would appropriate—out of greed for prestige or leadership.' And the sentence: 'Nevertheless, when Great Britain called on me to what it called on me for, in the letter of the aforementioned His Majesty's Deputy in Egypt etc.) and the

mentioning of the caveats of the three articles and my frankness in saying: 'but just to reaffirm that if I understood the fallacy in our aforementioned decisions in the first place, particularly with regards to borders' which is the crux of the matter. And the expression: 'if that which would necessitate the adjustment of borders were to occur, then what would follow that would be out of my hands other than my abdication for the sake of the safety and deliverance of the land.' Therefore, is not what caused the event to befall our Hejaz and Mecca and what they are undergoing, the adjusting of borders and our ardency for the benefits and advantages which we confess are shared? And is it not cause for the bursting of spleens that have been spared the tearing of guts by the secret negotiations about what has come to be known regarding the principles of the League of Nations' latest resolution regarding our Mosul which contained the principles of our loss of that area whose origin was adjustment [of borders]. They did not rise and remained with what requires the preservation of our shared rights. And they did not leave it for the Arabs to see their rule under the Almighty's care as was originally agreed. No doubt we have in this a lesson and no one should doubt that our aforementioned event is not motivated by disturbance and sedition. I do not say that I know the unseen but since that date I have been able, by the Grace of God, to see matters clearly, so it is not surprising that I would abdicate.

As despair has made its claim on me today, and has multiplied by 'the disclosures of the intruders', whose characteristics are known and shall be discussed, I declare our responsibility, not with regards to their importance or who they are or what they brought, but as a basis for our kingship and our ancestry which I took for our renaissance. And I abdicated, and all praise and thanks belong

to God who granted me *tawfiq*. That is because of the support of those statements which I made earlier, before all the gossip and before all the claims that did not leave any minor or major motives and whims, all of which I have refuted and put aright. The might of the His Majesty the Sultan of Nejd before the war is known and there is no need to search the statements of His Excellency Lord Churchill in 1921 CE regarding the continuation of the sentiments of Great Britain towards the Sultanate, and all that those statements contained of His Excellency's official words about declaring those sentiments which were broadcast in the world press. Therefore, Great Britain cannot choose freely what would earn it honour, chivalry and glory; that being the impartiality it espoused in it official channels and statements regarding the issues of the Nejdi authorities; least of which is its obstructing the famed Shammar tribe, the people of the Peninsula, that they not bypass them to attack Ha'il, the base of their princes, to rid it of what had befallen it of violation and trespass, and returning it to the authority of their princes. That situation has become so well-known that it need not be mentioned in the world of the Arabian Peninsula. And aside from this and that, many of those who uphold the civil world responded by assigning those who specialize in the science of summoning spirits and questioning them to ask about the Nejdi policies. And indeed, they showed them the curiosities and strangeness of the processes of that policy until it conflicted with the two allies. This is apart from the fact that it is naturally known also that rule and influence are power and might. This can be understood from the story of one of the kings who when he went for a walk in the wilderness saw a patch of black moving about. The king said: 'They are goats,' and one of his companions said: 'They are crows.' When they neared it, crows flew. The king

said: 'They be goats though they fly.' Thus, this rule is also shrewd and politic. I do not say all this for an ulterior motive; nor do these words emanate from envy or sadness towards the esteemed Saudis or any of the princes; for my request to abdicate has long since passed and the esteemed Saudis are in their world...

Al-Yarmouk, Issue № 506
7th December, 1930 CE

Al-Hussein Defends Himself
(King Hussein Publishes his Memoirs)

Part Five

Which, since then, is known. I entrusted [Sanaa's] Deputy with my abdication before the known official body and my verbal and written communiqué of that trust to His Excellency the Imam of Sanaa through his official deputy who came to us during the Hajj of 1340 AH / 1921 CE to discuss the subject. Indeed all of that was in order to preserve the blood of the people of the land and the wealth of the land, and also for more causes for the multiplication of its speedy progress and growth. The least of which is what happened to the pilgrims from Yemen and my declaration to the delegations and all those who came to perform the religious obligation of Hajj. And those of them who visited me from among the sons of the countries of the [Arabian] Peninsula. And those known Excellencies who came to me yesterday when I visited Trans-Jordan, to elect who they see fit of their esteemed capable brothers to go to whom they choose of the princes of the land to reach an understanding about what constitutes the everyday benefit of the land. All the expenses of their trip and all its requirements I will provide gratefully to Your Excellencies now,

or I will deposit them. I will also hold myself accountable not to veer away from you in opinion in all that is decided. This is a declaration and promise to do what is necessary for the aforementioned trip. Then there are my instructions to my deputies to the Conference of Kuwait which concerned themselves with returning the authority and rights that every prince of the Arabian Peninsula inherited from his father or grandfather that was taken from them by the hands of violation and transgression. And further, that anyone of them who transgresses this plan will mean that we will all be against him. This is so that we may refute all that is said about us and attributed to us regarding sensitivities and feelings towards all the princes of the land, indeed against the land. I am committed to ensuring the lands' security, tranquillity and welfare. The Almighty's knowledge of my conscience and reality is enough. As for nationalist feeling, which is the second reason for our renaissance, if there must be legitimate support that would make it more palatable, then the testimony of the sophism of the Indian Caliphate and its ilk towards the public to reach their own ends which they themselves know better than anyone, is the most important support for that [nationalist] feeling. And above that are God's words: '... *Help one another to righteousness and piety*"...' (*Al-Ma'idah*, 5:2). This noble verse shows the necessity of coming to the aid of those of my people who plead for help as they face plunder, theft, and being turned out of their homelands and being exiled from them. What could we say about not answering when chivalry says:

> For when their brother calls to them for aid
> They do not seek his proof first be arrayed[1]

1 The Muslim poet Qurayt bin Anif; (*bahr al-basit*).

Particularly after I gave my word and guarantee to the Turkish authorities when a delegation of *mujahideen* from Hejaz came to me before our renaissance and I answered them that the true way to reach an effective benefit would be a general pardon of the Syrian and Iraqi public. To release their prisoners and return those who they had driven out of their homes so that they may undertake this mission and be trained well in all sorts [of armaments] until they reached the highest ranks. I stand ready to place the number you choose and select of my sons to be held by you as security in lieu of what you fear of them. They rejected this. After that could there be friendship and good will towards that authority from my people? How could I possibly save face and not respond to the cries for help from those noble lands? What argument or clarification is needed in my answer after their rejection and what can be understood from it? By truth, in my answer to the cries of my people in this state is undeniable proof to those who wish to diminish me by asking 'what good has come to you from your renaissance?' For they have not ruminated on the words of the poet:

A man must strive for what brings benefit
His duty's not to have perfected it

Outcomes are in the Hand of the Almighty and that is aside from what follows from my rejection, for the sake of the Arabs, regarding what Great Britain desired and declared in its missive from His Majesty's Deputy, as mentioned. Diminution and lowness would have been the only result of ignoring the cries for help from out people. This is apart from the gathering of the people of Mecca against me to dismount me from my horse twice when the heat of war reached its peak morally and practically in the land. And their holding me to account regarding

what had to be done to remove the burden that strangled all the land. Can we imagine, O sons of chivalry and honour, with the situation as it is, ignoring these duties and ridding ourselves of their obligations as we face these disasters, or even finding a way to make them palatable? Were we to see death manifest before us, I would, I swear, bear this obligation that nationalistic and religious feeling decree on us. Ignoring it is a diminution and disgrace that would be inherited by one son after another.

Al-Yarmouk, Issue № 508
10th December, 1930 CE

Al-Hussein Defends Himself
(King Hussein Publishes his Memoirs)

Part Seven

The Arabs forsook [their cause] and the motivations behind that led the Arabs and their land to the situation they are in now; and the requital *'of the Hereafter is more terrible and more enduring.'* Then bring anything other than that if you are truthful. Our Lord, do not cause us to go astray after You have guided us. By God's grace, the events will prove to you that the source of this is not drawn from us out of abasement or wretchedness. A contemplation of our repeated behaviours will refute and negate all these assumptions and their like. The least of which is the defeat of the aforementioned Excellency before Ibn Rashid in the well-known Battle of Jerab in which he asked me for provisions and I sent my son Abdullah with what was required of soldiers. But his arrangements were to speed up the fighting and my son did not catch up to the battle. Nevertheless, [Abdullah] he remained in the face of His Excellency's enemy in the village of Al-Sh'ara for a month and a half until he was forced back from whence he came. This is what is required to be clarified regarding the fighting with the forces of His Excellency in Ta'if and then their reaching Mecca. This has been taken by some

people as an opportunity to espouse that we arose against the authority of the [Committee of] Union [and Progress].

Now I oppose the great ally's opposing policy and intentions whose results have caused Wahhabism to attack Ta'if with catastrophic results and led it to threaten the rest of the land with pain. It also laid the results of this policy at my doorstep, that I suspect that their declaration of this opposition and their admitting it is an acknowledgement and judgement on themselves and their like of an eternal ignominy that will fill the east of the earth and its west. For whereas they said and declared yesterday that I sold the Arab lands to the great ally and placed the Two Noble Harams under its protection; today they declare that we oppose it so much that we pushed them to use Wahhabism to force our hand.

I swear that we cannot find nor imagine the words to describe these morals and their calculations. But their declaration and their confessions which God made them utter are their proof to us of our eternal pride and honour, not least of which is our adherence to the noble Hadith: 'None of you will have complete faith till he wishes for his Muslim brother what he wishes for himself.'[2] The only opposition we have towards the ally is our dignity in preserving the rights of our brothers the Palestinians, the Syrians, the people of Aleppo, and the Iraqis, for independence in their land like the independence of the Hejaz and the rest of the [Arabian] Peninsula as was agreed to. It is not an opposition based on something I fabricated or an issue I suggested that was outside our decisions. I sacrifice all that is precious and dear for the sake of this purpose and I do so without pride and without favour; for it is the duty and obligation of every Muslim and every Arab. I swear by the honour of my fathers and my ancestors that I am as concerned about the rights of constancy and favour to the grand ally and its noble people, and my

2 Narrated in *Bukhari* and *Muslim*.

preservation and solicitude for its rights and interests that touch upon the rights and interests of my people, as would be one of its own noble people would feel for the benefits and interests of his people. This is the summary of the dealings and the result of the events. We abridge the elucidation of what should be elucidated of the subject [by saying] through my declaration as just said, or by assuming that I died. And they accepted my abdication since then, and more importantly, and I clarify my words here: do not incriminate the land for my crime of hesitating to withdraw. That is sufficient and there is no answer to that, no matter where their arguments or disagreements take them; neither with regard to what they attribute, nor with regard to what grows from my alleged opposition. No, indeed all that necessitates the reasons for those alleged claims which appeared and crystallised from their saying yesterday that we sold the land and put the Two Noble Harams under protection. And their saying today that we oppose those whom we sold the land to etc. And furthermore, my words 'do not incriminate the land' represent the degree of my political caution and how grudging I am when it comes to the land and those who are on the land and its policies, indeed even its lowliest people. But as I said in my missive issued in *Dhul Qi'dah* 1335 AH / 1917 CE in response to one the noblemen of my people in Egypt, and which was published by *Al-Qiblah* newspaper on the same date: 'How be it with a builder who has a thousand destroyers behind him?' Yesterday the people hesitated to aid me in abdicating and here I am today withdrawing from the affair so that you may form your opinion on the matter. And as for my tying my abdication on those dates to their acceptance, it was to handle military affairs until despair reached its breaking point.

We return to what was attributed to us, or any form of judgement issued against us from any party regarding our endeavours; most

importantly what is said about preparation, and preserving the land from trespasses. We say that the future will show the truth and its contents from all aspects. And it is alright to say to those who will examine history to consider the numbers of losses in our soldiers and their soldiers in the Battles of Ta'if and Al-Huda in which the general commander, not only of that force but of all the Nejdi forces, was killed as a result of an injury in the latter battle. And that his aide avoided returning to Ta'if and went to the Village of Al-Ukhaydar east of Ta'if, about thirty pasrsangs away, and stayed there until I travelled from Jeddah. In truth this has no bearing on why he came to Mecca. Nevertheless, if we assumed everything that the people assume, the heavens did not fall upon us piecemeal, God forbid, nor did the earth release its devils. We were not attacked by a regimented army with its canons and tanks and troikas in a way that would require the tumultuous tremors that caused harm by those who want ill for the land, even if it is through the eye of a needle, and all that the people talk about that diminishes it fame and the multiplicity of its honour. Do not chivalry and honour demand that if they are as true to defensive caution and ardour for the homeland and its honour and the honour and fame of nationalism which is inherited from father and grandfather then these things require ...

Al-Yarmouk, Issue № 509
11th December 1930 CE

Al-Hussein Defends Himself
(King Hussein Publishes his Memoirs)

Part Eight

Duties from their sons. The least of which is for whoever it is possible to enlist to enlist; two per cent of the inhabitants of Mecca and Jeddah who total two-hundred thousand. It is certain that fifty or sixty per cent of them are excited, and the testimony for that are those who came to the aid of their brothers the Syrians, not in the typical way; but may God fight narcotics and those who cause narcosis and those who are narcotised. Notwithstanding, he arose against the forces of the [Committee of] Union and its canons, artillery and machineguns with his own reserve soldiers and set up in his palace while the bombs and canons of the Ajyad Fortress exploded within it day and night for three weeks until the Almighty eased it for us to take it and the Jarwal barracks and its soldiers over. And my youngest son and deputy in Jeddah took over that port during those weeks without a bullet reaching me from the allies, as I said. Is it imagined that I would leave the House that the Almighty chose to be the Qiblah of people, and which he added to his Monistic Essence; and which contains the great Haram; my land which God has honoured with clear verses of awe for those who we know

better? Those whose commander's helper dared not stay in Ta'if after his general commander died as a result of his injury? Indeed no, for I am the son of he who said:

> By God, they'll never reach you with their horde
> Till over my dead body, earth is poured[3]

But God fought narcosis and its effects in anesthetising the nerves of those who came from Muslim countries to this land and led to there being a variety of people. We have asked our brothers all over the homeland to preserve their youth from its results. The government that established the known institutions in the land did so without borrowing a single *barrah* or *dirham*, or even charging them the tax of a *fils*, or a *baysa*, indeed not even the equivalent of a mosquito's wing. Nor did we enlist their elite, let alone their sons or progeny or their families and the like which would give them the minimum way to earn the right to demand anything large and small. They enjoy, by the favour of God, everything that one could desire that is allowed by the shari'ah. They are the rulers of the land and its heads and masters and leaders and judges and workers and soldiers. As are the pilgrims, for they, by God's leave, would come down to the land of the Two Noble Harams as a safe abode in which they had no complaints of harassment and suffered no loss of rights. Indeed if they lost even the smallest thing on the way to Medina, the government would ask them to swear an oath that they had lost it and would recompense them from the government's treasury.

Those who cause narcosis should not think that the government's foregoing punishing them for the aims and results of their actions against

3 Said by Abu Taleb (Abd Manaf bin Abd Al-Muttaleb bin Hashim from Quraysh, father of Ali bin Abi Taleb ﷺ)

the land, and indeed even against themselves, is out of any material or moral deficit; as is proved by its rising against the government of the Union in Mecca, Medina, Ta'if and Jeddah in one day. Rather, it is their ignorance in the first place, which we know from their choosing private benefit over public benefit in terms of substance and the meaning of indulgence in narcotics. The necessary benefits necessitate that the nobility of the land, and those of them whose insight is illuminated by God, consider that 'an ignoramus is his own worst enemy' and that the results of punishment and its effects and hardships fall back on the public of the land. And above all that, they should consider the words of the Prophet ﷺ: 'O Allah, forgive my people for they do not know.[4]' And that the truth and its justice will naturally arise for those who are fair and take heed of consequences and make it the most important reason for deterrence and restraint. 'And everything that will transpire will come soon enough' and '*So God shall surely know those who are sincere, and He shall surely know those who are liars*.'

As I have declared, my main method has been to avoid all that affects the peacefulness of the land, particularly *mujahadah* and their judgement of its results. I saw fit that I abdicate out of concern for many aspects of that meaning and they need not be mentioned. And my journeying away from the land is one of those meanings. For those who would like to see it as they choose, as befits one who is drugged, I ask the Almighty for kindness and *tawfiq* for what He loves and accepts; and this out of the Almighty's mercy and generosity.

Aqaba, 2 *Jumada Al-Uwla* 1343 AH / 1925 CE

4 *Al-Bukhari*, narrated by Abdullah ibn Mas'oud رضي الله عنه, agreed upon.

The arrival of Sharif Hussein bin Ali in Amman, Jordan on 18 January 1924 CE as the newly proclaimed Caliph, being greeted by local notables and the Commander of the Arab Legion, Major-General Frederick Peake.

Sharif Hussein bin Ali, newly proclaimed Caliph, in Amman, Jordan on 18 January 1924 CE, receiving allegiance from local notables—accompanied by Musa Kathem al-Husseini (to his right), former Chairman of the Arab Executive Committee and Representative in the Palestine National Congress.

Sharif Hussein bin Ali, newly proclaimed Caliph, emerging from the royal palace in Amman, Jordan on 18 January 1924 CE.

Sharif Hussein bin Ali's funeral procession in Jerusalem on 4 June 1931 CE.

Sharif Hussein bin Ali's funeral procession in front of The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem on 4 June 1931 CE.

APPENDIX I

To the Noble British Public from Al-Hussein bin Ali

The noble British people are famed for their steadfastness and seriousness and I personally am familiar with all that that means. Therefore, I thought to clarify my opinion in the court of good conscience and public opinion regarding the injury and deceit that have befallen my people, the Arabs, and their land. When His Majesty's Government called on me and I saw what was in that call of admittedly shared material and moral benefit, without those infringing on any nationalist or religious feeling, as is known from my many official publications, I myself arose with my people after deciding known articles to preserve and ensure their affairs and their future. So we delved into the fray of battle side by side, with me thinking that I was fighting beside the honour of the entirety of the British nation and not beside [individual] members of it. I did not think that my connection to them would dissipate as soon as they were gone. And like my certainty in that noble nation's greatness, I forged forth full of confidence and answered that call, uncaring that the balance of the scales tipped on the side of other parties in Kut Al Amara, in the Channel, in the Dardanelles and in other European battlefields, as is known. The impact of my people and I standing side by side with the sons of the British nation is known.

After that, the heavy clouds that had been obscuring the horizons of the East cleared. They had been foreboding that war there would develop into a religious war and only God knows what horrors that would have caused. I struck the highest possible example for the world in leniency and dedication to the defence of exalted principles. The Arabs in Iraq and Palestine and the Levant heeded my call. In my hands I have the documents and official and private declarations of every assembly and club written by the hands of the men of politics, and there is a consensus in all of them that said that the Arabs would be rewarded for this fidelity with their independence and unity and the termination of the hardships they had endured. Indeed the Arabs depended on and trusted in, after God, the renowned British nobility and honour. The nobility and honour that is attested to by their refusal to enter into a unilateral concession (*sulh*) with the Bedouins who promised them all kinds of independence shored up with official and certain guarantees when he felt the intensity of the shock which befell him materially and morally from the Arabs fighting him and their standing by Great Britain and its allies against him. A sign of that loyalty is that official telegram which was signed by the Foreign Minister of Great Britain. From its sentences acknowledgements of Arab independence and unity burst forth, and from its letters flowed firmness and pride regarding their holding firm to that wish. Also, that it would not be imaginable for them to have any concession (*sulh*) that did not have in its main articles the independence of our land and the freedom of our people. He signed it on behalf of His Majesty's government and it was delivered to me by the representative of Great Britain to Jeddah on 8th February, 1918 CE.

Therefore, I call upon the British nation and draw their attention to what has befallen its allies the Arabs; and there are few allies in the world today. Their unity is torn, their land is occupied and separated; which

has led the Islamic world in particular, indeed most of my people also, to accuse me of selling the land to Britain and its allies. This is an insult and wound to the honour of my family and a blackening of its history and all that means; something which even he who is the most deficient in honour would refuse. All of this is without my knowing that a crime had been committed, notwithstanding their trust in Great Britain and their loyalty to it—if that can be considered a crime.

The Arabs, who see themselves driven by what remains in their hearts of fidelity to their great ally and what their primordial nature of loyalty to oaths and acknowledgement of favours imposes on them, have charged me today to inform the esteemed personages of British glory that they do not want from these issues what could be interpreted as any blemish on [their] gratitude for what they have done in their positions or what is within that meaning in terms of interpretation. And they do not deny Great Britain its eagerness for the benefit of its homeland and its people and its ardency to maintain that holy and honourable purpose. But they also do not doubt that its noble personages and the reaches of gratitude do not make it acceptable to limit these noble sentiments and honourable pursuits, around which the happiness of lives of nations and peoples revolve, only to Great Britain. In addition, they wish to clarify the command of the Hadith that says: 'Love of homeland is from faith'. Yes, in this clarification they only wish to make known their confusion and the degree of their inability to conceive the result of their position which puts them between two momentous choices: the rights of loyalty and the rights of homeland, as just mentioned. I place the issue of their position on the stand of noble British public opinion so that they will not fall under blame or reproach if they undertake another plan to push away this great insult that will blacken their glorious history regardless of the step that has been taken and its future. And so that they will not

be true to the saying: 'He fled from death only to fall into death'. That is the easiest insult which their enemies and enviers can cast at them. Those who would say to them: 'If you had stayed as you were before, you would not have suffered all that has befallen you.' As for the Hejaz, it is anyway standing with its privileges and independence, before and after. Patience in the face of what the Arab Ummah has come to in regards to the betrayal and distrust it suffered before the Islamic World and the entire East, and in my eyes, in regards to [Great Britain's] glorious history is an absolute impossibility, indeed it would be supernatural. I am speaking not as a warner but as a reminder. Great Britain's fame was the pillar of its true greatness in the East, before its armadas and sweeping armies, and it is in great need of renewing that standing. I say this with the frankness and fidelity of an Arab. It should start to remedy this through its treatment of the Arabs who were her allies and have been faithful to her until this very moment, despite the disasters and tribulations when the war was overt, and now that it is covert. I will not go on, the situation speaks for itself. My hope is that the dear British nation will push away from itself the disaster of these burdens, and that it will redress its allies, the loyal Arabs who held firm to their covenant with them. It is better for it to have a loyal and strong ally that enjoys unity and independence than to leave it torn and humiliated as the Arabs are today. Only God knows where desperation and hopelessness will lead them, for this is the end of the tether. I say this out of fidelity and loyalty, and I have met my duties, and all praise belongs to God[1].

Mecca Al-Mukarramah—The Hashemite Palace
15 *Rabee'ul Thani* 1342 AH
24 November 1923 CE

1 Document in the Department of the National Library of Jordan (م خ 109/24)

APPENDIX II

Lisan Al-Arab
25th and 26th October 1924 CE

Instrument of King Hussein's Abdication

We paused before this historic document which was sent by His Majesty King Hussein to His Eminence Shaykh Abd Allah Siraj, Deputy Prime Minister of the Hejaz Government. In it His Majesty declared his abdication from the throne and his protestation of limiting the authority of the new government. We have also learned that he sent copies of it to the consuls of states in Jeddah before he travelled to Aqaba. Below is the text of that document verbatim:

'I paused before Your Excellency's telegram communiqué issued on 5th *Rabee'ul Awal*, 1343 AH issue 4 by the *locum tenens* of the High Palace. It included that the Jeddah Association Body refers to my desire to abdicate, a matter which I had declared I would do at the desire of my folk or even the simplest folk and with utmost east and expansion; from the first year of our renaissance, and I still declare it till this day. My desires and intentions are restricted to the causes of the comfort and wellbeing of all the land and its happiness with its complete independence. I do not care to whom its leadership passes, albeit that the honour has been directed to my son Ali,

with the condition that the state of our Hejazi government and its influence be restricted to the area of the Hejaz only and for it to be a constitutional government.

Therefore, since our renaissance is founded on; first and foremost, the independence of Arab countries with their declared borders, then enacting the commands of God's Book and the Sunnah of His Prophet in the lands of the Two Noble Harams; the limiting of the authority of the Hejaz, on which communications are ongoing with those concerned in the matter of the Arabs' independence in their land, should not be. Particularly when we consider the esteemed Saudis' endeavours to seize Ha'il, the base of the Emirate of Al-Rashid; Al-Jouf, the headquarters of Al-Sha'lan; and their determination to control Kuwait and their attacks on 'Asir, the Emirate of Aal 'Ayedh; indeed their infringement on Mecca Al-Mukarramah. And the Imam of Sanaa's endeavours to annex the land of the Hashid and the Tuhama, the Shafi'is. And the esteemed Al-Idrisi's attempts on Al-Hudaidah and its environs. And their making it (i.e. the Hejaz) a constitutional government that rejects the application of the commands of the Qur'an and Sunnah, particularly in the two Noble Harams, and applying instead human laws is something which the rites of Islam and the obligations of religion and noble morals reject in letter and in spirit. This is aside from that being in contravention of the foundation of our renaissance, for which the blood of the Hejaz in particular and the Arabs in general was spilled, and their money and their lives; all for those two holy and noble causes. Therefore, inform the revered [Jeddah] Association Body, and all whom should be informed, of my emphatic objection; first, to the limitation of the authority of the Hejaz, as mentioned, for what it causes of disconnection between the Arabs and its depriving

them from their basic rights in life. Second, to the replacement of the application of God's Book and the Shari'ah. Therefore I reserve the rights to my objection and my abjuration of the letter and the spirit of all that I have mentioned, and so it is released.

Hussein
15 *Rabee'ul Awal* 1243 AH /1925 CE