

Opening keynote address

HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan



The Global Economic Crisis and its impact on Fragile States

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I am overwhelmed by your hospitality. At the age of 62 I still look over my shoulder when people refer to me as “Your Royal Highness” because I expect to see someone of a symbolic stature. You might ask what on Earth is a prince doing talking about human rights? The fact is I had the privilege of being brought up in a rough neighbourhood. I met Golda Meir in 1969 and Yitzhak Rabin in 1971 – long before it was safe or fashionable to talk to Israelis. Shimon Peres once said to me, “We are surrounded by enemies”. I said, “Do you think you have a problem? We are surrounded by friends”. (Laughter)

After almost four decades of public service, I was finally released to pursue my passions, which basically include a dialogue between believers and non-believers – human beings all. I shall never forget, as I said yesterday at a meeting with Post-doctoral Fellows from the Foundation for Interreligious and Intercultural Research and Dialogue, hosted by the University of Geneva in the tradition of this great country’s hosting of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues (ICHI) in the early 1980s, and as I reminded Martin Griffiths earlier today at the Humanitarian Dialogue Centre, when the late Sadruddin Aga Khan and I took the initiative of inviting twenty-eight nationalities to call for a New International Humanitarian Order, we did not expect Lloyd Axworthy and the Foreign Minister of Norway to develop this call into only two words – human security. We expected that three categories of issues would be addressed: man against man, man against nature and man-made disasters.

The world in which we live is not *the West and Islam or the West and the rest*. The West is heterogeneous, Islam is heterogeneous and Territoriality Identity and Migration (Movement) (TIM)¹ are heterogeneous definitions of the suffering of millions of people all over the world. I welcome the Vice President of Sudan who is among us today (applause), by saying when I had the privilege of initiating the Hashemite Charitable

Organization in Darfur where we worked in 1986 with a Leper community, no one was interested in Darfur at that time. Darfur is well documented in approximately 60,000 papers at Durham University, as being a centre of learning in the days of Sultan Ali Dinar. Today however, Darfur is significant because of the humanitarian crisis. I would like to pay tribute to my son (30 years old), who is running a hospital for 1100 outpatients every day and providing an umbrella under which *Médecins Sans Frontières* has joined us in working for those unfortunate people.

I do not need to remind you of the principles described in the *Golden Rule* and the *global ethic*, but I would like you to guess (this is a quiz for all of you) which family of believers said, “Blessed is he who prefereth his brother before himself” – *The Bahai*. “A state which is not pleasant or enjoyable for me would not be so for another; and how can I impose on another a state which is not enjoyable to me?” – *Buddhism*. “Do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you” – *Confucianism*. “All things whatsoever you would that others do you even so to them” – *Christianity*. “You shall love your neighbor as yourself” – *Judaism*. *Islam* – “No one of you is a believer until he desires for his brother that which he desires for himself”. *Sikhism* – “do not create enmity with anyone, as God is within everyone”. And the *Native Americans* say, “Respect for life is the foundation – the great law of peace”.

I would like to thank the late Henry Dunant, who proposed that war should become more humane. I would like to thank the ICRC who I hope will join our post-doctoral graduates in understanding the cultural affinity of working with others all over the world. Thanks also for the memory of Indaji Trikhii from India who proposed a standing facility for the training of peacekeepers – not only in uniforms and blue helmets but in blue overalls, working with communities to help them help themselves.

As a member of the International Commission on the Legal Empowerment of the Poor (LEOP), I believe in education for citizenship. Yes, we hear of *education for skills* and *education*

¹ Prof. Dr. Lothar Brock, Germany.

for life, but the so-called Arab world will produce 55 million unemployed males by the year 2050. Why is it that the proposal of our friend Juan Somavia, Director-General of the ILO echoing the proposal I put forward in the 1970s for an International Labour Compensatory Facility, when I addressed the Brandt Commission, cannot be implemented? Why can't we start training these young people to travel to countries with manpower needs and with some form of recognition of their social security requirements on returning to their countries? I addressed the MENA Summit in Casablanca in 1994, when we spoke about the need for USD35 billion over a decade, for twenty-four countries from Morocco to Turkey inclusive, to encourage the will to stay; to provide clean drinking water and cheap energy – solar energy – and to create a supra-national concept for a water and energy community for the world like the concept of a coal and steel community for Europe. It took you civilized Europeans, the Franco-Prussian war, the First World War and the Second World War to come to a blinding flash of the obvious (I'm not talking about the Swiss) (laughter) which was defined by Professor Lauterpaacht the elder, at Cambridge University when he wrote *Ideas for a Law of Peace*. You said, Cornelio (Dr. Sommaruga), a few minutes ago, that we have to move from state security to world peace – from state peace to world peace. But as one of our Post-doctoral Fellows said yesterday, we have to change the credo of those in authority from the narrow belief in state power and narrow nationalism. We have to develop global commons on the basis of developing regional commons.

The area encompassed in this ellipse (refer to map below) could extend further east, further west and to Latin America – the *encuentra* – the meeting ground – the *chemin des idées*. It is high time that we recognised that there is “one world civilization and ten thousand of cultures”². I did not attend the Alliance of Civilizations meeting because I don't believe in alliances which are exclusive and I do not believe in the plurality of civilizations either. I believe that we have all given and taken from each other. If you look at Google Earth, you will find the dolman extending from Europe all the way to China – the free-standing dolman pointing at a higher truth than our fleeting and mortal existence.



May I explain the map by saying that as we can see, the Indian Ocean is presently the channel for 70% of the world's

petroleum and is therefore a passageway to some of our system's chokepoints, notably, the Suez Canal, the well named Babel el-Mandab (the gateway of tears) the Strait of Hormuz and then ultimately the Straits of Malacca.

- Babel el-Mandab has an oil flow of 3.3 million barrels a day. The oil source is Arab Gulf States and Iran, and the primary destination is Europe and the United States.
- The Strait of Hormuz – 16.5 million barrels a day and its oil source is Arab Gulf States and Iran, the primary destination being Western Europe, U.S.A., Japan and other Asian countries.
- The Straits of Malacca (the place of encounter in Arabic) has an oil flow of 15 million barrels and the primary destinations are all Asia/Pacific consumers including Japan and China. The source – Arab Gulf States, Iran and West Africa.

In 1996 there was the concept of securitizing China, as expressed in American think tanks. I believe that the work of 'Voices from South East Asia' and the ESCAP region (which includes in the Asia-Pacific region the participation of the United States and Australasia in helping to stabilise this region with different regimes – Thailand and Vietnam for example), is important in bringing examples of stability to South Asia. My wife was born in Calcutta in the last days of Imperial India before independence. Members of our family, by extension, have married Sikhs, Parsees and most recently a Hindu. So inter-cultural stability is not an academic exercise for people like us.

We are looking, not at global crude oil combustion as remaining the predominant energy base for civilization and of course we can expect the Indian Ocean and its chokepoints to become hotbeds of acute resource conflicts. What I am talking about is the people living next to the pipelines. We always hear of international studies on the history of conflicts that should provide us with a keen lesson in causality – human banality – greed. During the past 60 years, protracted civil wars in diverse nations – from Liberia, Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the mountain range of West Papua, Indonesia – have all revolved around "high value" natural resources like diamonds, minerals, timber and oil.

Moreover, our current food system is entirely dependent on finite resources and is heavily reliant on fossil fuels for powering irrigation pumps and for the mechanization of crop production and food productivity. These finite resources are rapidly being depleted making our food system dangerously unsustainable and in need of urgent reform. While the 20 billion dollars pledged for food security at the recently concluded G8 summit is welcome, the more pressing concern is the innovation of more sustainable food production.

If we want to see a rise in the level of the Dead Sea in the *futile crescent* – which we once used to adoringly refer to as the Fertile Crescent, we must remove the labels of Israeli, Palestinian, Lebanese, and Jordanian. I never quite understood why Kofi Annan wanted the United Nations

to become a part of the Quartet. The P5 have a very important role: they provide us with a lot of weapons to make us feel so secure. They also have the responsibility to tell us how to do it.

The United Nations is a monitoring body – of course there are two gate crashers to the *nuclear club* among us: Pakistan and India, but somehow they got away with it up until now. But what I find deeply disturbing is when the Copenhagen Climate Conference (March, 2009) took place, not one country from the whole of the extended Middle-East region – a region that produces CFCs – was represented. Why? Because we do not have a system of collective representation. Yes, you can tell me that we have the Organization of The Islamic Conference and the Arab League. I have participated in preparatory papers for two economic summit conferences for the Arab world, one in Amman and one in Kuwait. When I asked the heads of state in the Amman conference if they would give me half an hour to allow some young talented Arab experts to tell them something about the challenges facing us in terms of desertification, one of them said, "This is siesta time." I responded by saying, "The Arab world has enjoyed a siesta for the last 600 years, isn't it about time we paid attention?"

Ladies and gentlemen, in our Middle East region we do not have an ECOSOC – an Economic Council and a Social Council. We are hypocrites – all of us. We meet with Israelis in United Nations meetings in New York and in Geneva and probably in most of the region, but we do not raise supra-national themes such as water and energy. We meet to discuss political issues and to play Byzantine politics. The time has now come to look at major themes like solar technology. Ironically, climate change offers humanity an opportunity for a quantum leap in sustainable development and peacemaking.

The concept of DESERTEC aims to harness the solar and wind power from the deserts of the Middle East and North Africa (incidentally I must say I am not a businessman). The use of HVDC (High-Voltage Direct Current transmission lines) facilitates efficient transfer, with projected losses of less than 5% per 1000kms. DESERTEC scientists project that within the next 40 years, solar thermal power plants could generate over half of the electricity needed for the entire EU-MENA region.

So I ask myself, what is the opposition to such thinking? I come back to the established corporate clubs: *oil* and *nuclear*. I don't see why a win/win situation cannot be discussed in an ECOSOC, which discusses all the options for energy within the region and then decides what is most practical. Today ambassadors of industrialized countries travel around the capitals of the region marketing their particular product. If, like my tiny country, you get a proposition to remove a large quantity of yellow cake six metres below the topsoil, that is of green water, which means the humidity on the surface removed, nobody can convince me yet that the cost

of disposing uranium is not more than the cost of investing in solar panels. The destruction of an oil or gas pipeline is costly, but if you destroy a solar panel, you can easily replace it. So why do we not have a demonstration plant on the Egyptian side of the Gaza border to bring clean water and clean energy to the people of Gaza? The city of Sana'a – that historic and beautiful city – is now mining fossil water. There is thus a possibility that this precious resource is going to be rapidly depleted.

As for environmental degradation, given the cumulative causality between environment and security, climate change and its reverberations have the potential to set in motion developments that will change the collective security of our region in a fragile and increasingly unilateral or binary world.

We talk of interdependence. I don't want to be interdependent if it means that I take crumbs from your table. I want to be intra-independent, like for example, the Benelux Concept³ which was proposed so many years ago by the respected figure of Abba Eban, in reference to the relationship between countries on both sides of the Jordan River. If you respect my identity, I respect your identity and we have mutual respect in the context of TIM, as mentioned earlier, then we could work towards a carrying capacity for demography in relation to human, natural and economic resources.

Recent scientific developments accentuate the need for fast and decisive action. In their fourth assessment report, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) found that "the global atmospheric concentration of Carbon Dioxide has increased from a pre-industrial value of about 280ppm to 379ppm in 2005". Moreover, "the annual carbon dioxide concentration growth rate was larger during the last 10 years than it has been since the beginning of continuous direct atmospheric measurements..."

So I ask you in this meeting over the next couple of days, if you are prepared to discuss adaptive capacity? Are you prepared to ask whether there is a collective responsibility in your respective regions? Is there an ECOSOC that meets every day during the three months that we call a quarter of the calendar year and then presents its reports to ministers? Does it meet in the context of a third sphere of *ad hominem* representation of government, the corporate world and civil society?

Most of our countries today are run by policemen and *parvenu*, especially since the GWOT (Global War on Terror). If you are "talking down" to recalcitrant minorities in your countries, it is easy to put them on a terrorist list. I believe that in the name of the GWOT, many of our regimes are terrorizing their populations. I believe, and if I may be provocative, the time has come to talk about democracy in terms of empowering our citizens in that third sphere of conversation.

Seventy per cent of educators in American universities (and

³ Benelux Concept (Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg economic union), Abba Eban, Israel.

we thank them for that because this represents brain gain) are not of American origin. In terms of percentage and ratio to population, there are more Arabs teaching in American universities than there are Indians or Chinese. When you ask them, "When will you return to your country?", they say, "Only when you establish a meritocracy and only when we can get ahead on what we know and not on who we know." Our region is being lobotomized. We have the rich and the very rich and the poor and the very poor. The talent in between is being lost. In fact Thomas Friedman shamelessly said in one of his recent articles, "Let's go and buy the best and the brightest". An Indian friend once said to me, "Better brain drain than brain in the drain" (laughter).

The lopsided implications of natural disasters on women are well documented and, as a tri-institutional study surveying 141 countries (that had experienced a natural disaster over a 21 year period) concluded, natural disasters lower the life expectancy of women more than that of men. Likewise, the stronger the disaster, the stronger this effect on the gender gap in life expectancy.⁴ So the question of the empowerment of women is not just being socially correct; the question of the empowerment of citizens is not just being socially correct. We have to recognise that our most valuable resource is to stand up and warn of the impending human disaster. You have given me that opportunity. When Al Gore received the UNEP prize for *global warming*, I received the same prize, representing West Asia, for talking about *human warning*. Why should one be exclusive of the other?

As for environmental insecurity and fragile states, the *climate change* induced threat of water scarcity is devastating. Estimates project that by 2025 water scarcity could affect up to five billion people (about 1.7 billion people are already affected). I started my work with the Club of Rome when I met Aurelio Peccei in the late 1960s, early 1970s. The computer model tells us that 40 billion tonnes of topsoil are blowing away every year because of the urban sprawl – undisciplined urbanization. The eight Nile Basin countries will require the equivalent of five full Niles by the year 2050, not one depleted Nile River. Therefore thinking supra-nationally and intra-independently is essential for saving our regional identities.

In the Middle East and some parts of Africa and Asia the needs of the people are more important than those of all of us. We do not count. The people about whom we speak already face acute water shortages. With nanotechnology, you can reduce the pathogenic bacteria in water to less than 200 colons. We can turn grey water into water suitable for irrigating vegetables. I had the privilege of bringing the first computer into Jordan in 1970 which was half the size of this hall and although I am a moron when it comes to technology especially in the operation of e-mail (I have she-mail – my

4 Neumayer, E and Thomas P, (2007). "The Gendered Nature of Natural Disasters: the impact of catastrophic events on the gender gap in life expectancy", 1981-2002." London School of Economics, University of Essex and Max Plank Institute for Economics, London.

wife) (laughter), I do listen. The gentle art of listening is as important as the noble art of conversation. I remember the Israeli moderator of *Pa Politico* telling me once that in Israel, the noble art of conversation is a martial art. I do not know whether we Arabs taught the Israelis or if was the other way around, but certainly there has been some cultural exchange. Moreover, these regions lag desperately behind in water infrastructure development and an aggravation in droughts would largely ravage these areas. Experts' project that Lebanon, (the Middle-Eastern country with the highest amounts of rainfall), will face acute water shortages as demand for water increases (by about 80%), due in part to projected exponential population growth.

In terms of users, we have United Nations' mandates (since 1949) for Palestinian refugees. We have a UNHCR mandate for Iraqi refugees, but we have no mandate for stateless people. Justice M. Hidayatullah, former Vice President of India, died before he could conclude his part of the study on migrants for the work of the ICIHI. As for Displaced Persons and Internally Displaced Persons, all these people are regarded by Bretton Woods Institutions as 'political economy'. So you look at a country's economic fact sheet and you are told that the GDP is doing very well. Robert Kennedy said, "Yet, the gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education, or the joy of their play; it does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages, the intelligence of our public debate for the integrity of our public officials. It measures neither our wit nor our courage neither our wisdom nor our learning, neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country it measures everything in short except that which makes life worth while. And it can tell us everything about America except why we are proud that we are Americans." GNP is everything except that which can put a smile on a child's face.

President Obama and Ban Ki-moon said that 2009 is the year of *climate change*. I suggest that it is also the cusp for us to change our mindset. I come here willingly, taking the responsibility to stick my neck out because my worthless neck is less important than the necks of millions of people who represent our future, our children and grandchildren. We have to be truthful with ourselves and with the other.

The term 'climate refugees' has acquired some notoriety and we have already had a preview of the disaster waiting in the wings. Hurricane Katrina temporarily displaced over 1 million people. Similarly the catastrophic monsoon floods in Bangladesh devastated the economic and demographic landscape of that country and left over 21 million people homeless. So too the Yangtze floods displaced over 14 million people.

What about health? The global health ramifications of global warming are staggering. Extreme air temperatures, air pollution, as well as temperature and humidity increases, are leading to an exacerbation of respiratory and cardiovascular disease, asthma, malaria and dengue fever. Eighty per cent

of the refugees under the age of 15 (with whom we deal from Iraq and Palestine, are suffering severe trauma and we do not have the psychiatric capability to care for them. When you take the mask off the face of a so-called suicide bomber and you see a 12 year-old child, you ask yourself what has changed? When His Eminence (as he was at the time in 1993), Cardinal Ratzinger gave me the *Catechism* in Arabic, he asked me, "What do you think?". I said, "How can I as a Muslim say anything about what I think of the Holy Text?". But on one occasion I said, "We are working with morals, values and ethics, each of these emotive words has its own history and its own provenance", but when we come to the table (as Baroness Helena Kennedy in the United Kingdom put it so well in her book *Just Law*), we need to ask what is our position, and here we talk about law in the hope that one day we will have a law of peace, – unequivocally and unambiguously – on civil liberties, on the sanctity of human life, on the environment and how to protect it? The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) is using one word in Arabic from us – hima – the protectorate – which is a combination of protecting the physical and the human environment.

Finally after many years since 9/11, a ZAKAT foundation has been established in Malaysia. We Arabs are a minority in the Muslim world. So whenever there is a successful example, let us learn by analogy, let us learn from others. When we were accused of normalization after signing the peace agreement with Israel, I brought Vietnamese and Poles to talk to our opposition figures. I asked, "Which of you has more credentials in terms of the struggle for national identity than the Poles and the Vietnamese?" They built themselves up not only with the conditionalities of Bretton Woods; they built themselves up because they believed that their struggle continued from war into building peace.

As far as violent conflict and instability is concerned, most conflicts have their origins in the struggle for the control of strategic resources. We straddle the strategic resources of the world. If we were in New Zealand nobody would care about us and we are paying the price. There are three strong states in our region – Israel, Turkey and Iran. As for we Arabs with all our pan-Arab commitment, we are merely bystanders to the control of strategic resources and strategic waterways.

One "nth" of the three trillion dollars spent on weapons to create a fund for a Middle East Development Bank that was called for by Paul Volcker of the United States, could create a cohesion fund to empower the poor and to invest in soft security, smart power, insider power and to pull the rug from under the feet of fanatics who don't need collateral, but when they ask for lives and blood they get an immediate response.

A lot of the problems I have described exceed the rigid parameters of the so-called sovereign states. Our harvesting of natural resources cannot exceed regeneration rates. So, too, our waste emissions should not exceed the assimilative capacity of the environment.

It is for that reason that I believe in the concepts of global commons and regional commons. The Helsinki Process put it in three clear clusters – basic security, current security, composite security (including preventative security). I would add human dignity and humanity described in one word – *culture* – which is an afterthought.

Before the Bamyán Temples were destroyed, I asked the UN Secretary-General if five or six Muslims could be sent to talk to the Taliban, to tell them, as Muslim to Muslim, that what they were contemplating was not in my name (the name of Islam). Instead a French Ambassador was sent, a Spanish Ambassador was sent and a Japanese envoy was sent. Some of them were not received and the money of the latter was ineffective. Yet, we Muslims are accused of everything ugly that takes place in this world. In the *Catechism*, you see a dialogue with our Creator – of love, of commitment and of conviction. But between his creations, you see a dialogue of ugliness.

We speak of the global financial upheaval. We are already witnessing a decline in Official Development Assistance (ODA) and yet billions of dollars are owned by Muslim institutions which should have been put on the line yesterday, for partnering, with the world, to improve the human condition. It would be difficult for me to get a vote in the Arab world if I was to run, for instance, for the position of UN High Commissioner of Refugees because I would publicly question, the purchase of weapons to create job opportunities elsewhere and suggest that more thought be given about our own people.

We Arabs, all of us, are racist despite all the nice words that we've heard. We treat Asian workers abominably; we treat Sudanese workers and even our fellow Egyptian workers abominably. There is no social safety net within our region. Why is it that those who are considering ODA do not agree with us on a criterion? When I say "us" I mean so-called moderates with a sting in their tongue. I am a moderate – maybe I am a radical because of the sting in my tongue, but I have never killed anyone and I don't think the time has come or will ever come when I would even contemplate it.

Gandhi spoke of the seven deadly sins which apply to the collapse of our financial institutions.

1. **Wealth without work** [illusory "wealth creation" – a predatory system executed through the issuance of risky securities, market indiscipline, and speculative bets - **essentially making money out of nothing**].
2. **Pleasure without conscience** [corporate and investment stakeholders manipulating the system (all for the pleasures of wealth) **without conscience or due diligence** - gambling with the trajectory of our collective future in the process].
3. **Science without humanity** [We talked "applied financial science", markets and commodities, but we did not talk humanity].

4. **Knowledge without character** [we developed complex indices like the Gauss copula function (better known as the formula that killed Wall Street), **without developing the requisite character** to refrain from using our ever expanding knowledge to our common detriment].

5. **Politics without principle** [we engendered political systems that gave us the so called "**freedom to choose**", while neglecting to tell us that our choices were between irresponsible options. This is why the empowerment of the poor in citizenship is so relevant].

6. **Commerce without morality** [We failed to understand that what may be right for commerce, may be wrong for morality].

7. **Worship without sacrifice** [we worshiped at the altar of the market, instead of at the altar of our spiritual creeds which mandate **sacrificial alms** – the alms that would enable those on the peripheries of our society to bridge the dignity-deficit and participate as stakeholders in their development].

Three billion human beings are legally disempowered, existing on the peripheries of the Bell Jar. In terms of unilateralism – as things stand, we do not as yet have a system for the allocation of our global commons – the environmental, genetic, social, intellectual, and cultural resources that fall outside the domain of the public and private sphere.

We need to start discussing themes. Water has become a commodity not a human right. Air has become a commodity not a human right. Can we shoulder these responsibilities? Can we call for a post-Westphalian international order? The Middle East Citizens Assembly (MECA), is a further example of trans-boundary social networking that I believe really can help to transform our human environment. Inspired by the Cold War era Helsinki Citizens Assembly, its aim, involving over 24 nationalities, is to generate a supra-national civil consciousness all the way from Morocco to Azerbaijan to tackle issues of common concern. In this context, participants from states even with no diplomatic ties

work together to raise the voice of the “silenced majority”, to build solidarity and civic affinity, and to promote democracy, pluralism and transparency. Quite frankly, those who believe in an irrational approach, have no moral authority. I hope the moment comes when we can talk about raising religion above politics. Let us create the kind face of religion and culture through foundations that do something for others. Can we move towards an age of intra-dependence, multilateralism and multicultural thinking? The key to our future is to move away from customized contributions based on binary relationships and towards a contract of generations based on regional commons. I hope we can live up to our expectations. Peace be with you.

HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal

HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan is a prominent figure in the world of international intercultural relations, initiating and founding numerous international committees and institutes for intercultural understanding. Prince Hassan is a founder and now President of the Foundation for Inter-religious and Intercultural Research and Dialogue (FIIRD), which was established in Geneva in 1999. The Abraham Geiger Award 2008 was conferred upon Prince Hassan as a voice for global sustainability, reconciliation and inter-religious understanding. Prince Hassan's courage in defending pluralism, promoting understanding among different cultures and enhancing dialogue between Jews, Muslims and Christians is underlined by acting as the President Emeritus of the World Conference of Religions for Peace. In June 2003, following the UN General Assembly resolution 56/266, HRH was elected as one of five regional experts in the Independent Eminent Experts Group, appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to implement the Declaration and Program of Action of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance that took place in Durban, South Africa, in 2001. HRH is a prolific contributor to newspapers, journals, magazines and periodicals, as well as specific publications on regional and international issues. Prince Hassan is also the author of nine books.