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DOCTORAL THESIS IN “INFORMATION COMMUNICATION
SCIENCES”

**How International News is Constructed-
The Case of the Arab Spring**

Publicly presented and defended on 29 March 2019 by

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I. Appendix Instructions

This appendix includes transcriptions to interviews and news videos used in the analysis of the PhD thesis entitled “How International News is Constructed- The Case of the Arab Spring”, by Sawsan Atallah Bidart from the University of Bordeaux Montaigne.

The video transcriptions included in this document are only abbreviated versions of the transcriptions made and used. For access to the news videos as used by the researcher, one will have to access the digital appendix, made accessible on: <https://tinyurl.com/yda7ecds> and also submitted on a USB key to the doctoral school of the University of Bordeaux Montaigne and all members of the jury.

This appendix has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the doctorate degree of Information and Communication Sciences, along with the following required documents:

1. The thesis, written in English, with a bibliography
2. The thesis summary, written in French
3. A digital and printed appendix

All submitted documents can be found on:

<https://tinyurl.com/yda7ecds>

II. Interviews

I. Interview Transcription 1- Agence France-Presse Bureau Chief

Interview with Pierre Feuilly, Bureau Chief, AFP Bordeaux

Date: 03/03/2016

Q: Pouvez-vous vous présenter et dire votre rôle ici et les autres rôles que vous avez eus à l'AFP ?

R : Je m'appelle Pierre Feuilly. Je suis journaliste à l'AFP depuis 1970 et avant à la Radio Télévision Publique Allemande et encore avant, de 1966 à 1968, à la Radio Télévision Publique Française (ORTF). Et à l'AFP, en plus de 45 ans j'ai eu l'occasion de faire beaucoup de choses.

J'ai été pendant 17 ans Chef du Service des Informations Générales. C'est là où, pour la première fois peut être, vraiment directement, j'ai eu à m'occuper du Monde Arabe. Sous un aspect, évidemment, pas très drôle et même plutôt triste puisque c'était la fin des années 70, les années 80 et 90. C'est le terrorisme. Et une partie de ce terrorisme était spécifique pour les français (le Front de Libération National de la Corse, Action Directe, etc.) mais d'autres groupes terroristes opèrent en France. Evidemment eux étaient issus du Moyen et Proche Orient. A commencer par Carlos. Les groupes, émanations de différentes organisations palestiniennes radicales, comme le Front Populaire pour la Libération de la Palestine avec Djibril, Abou Daoud. Après, dans le registre qui concerne un autre grand pays qui n'est pas vraiment arabe mais qui est proche quand même c'est l'Armée Secrète Arménienne pour la Libération de l'Arménie, donc qui menait en France des attentats anti turcs donc contre la Turquie. Les Fractions Armées Révolutionnaires Libanaises qui ont mené des attentats très importants en France, notamment l'attentat antisémite de la rue des Rosiers.

Après j'ai été pendant 10 ans directeur de l'Agence France Presse pour l'Allemagne et 6 ans directeur de l'Agence France Presse à Vienne pour l'Europe Centrale. Et depuis Décembre 2013 je suis maintenant directeur régional du bureau de Bordeaux de l'AFP pour la région du Sud-Ouest.

Q : Est-ce que je peux demander où vous étiez pendant le Printemps Arabe ? Vous étiez directement impliqué ?

R : Pas directement non. Pendant le Printemps Arabe j'étais soit en Allemagne, soit à Vienne. Alors évidemment il y avait des répercussions mais sous l'angle diplomatique. Evidemment l'Allemagne étant l'un des principaux pays de l'U.E. suivait de très près l'évolution dans le monde arabe. Et idem pour l'Autriche. Ne serait-ce que parce que, à Vienne, il y a le siège des Pays Exportateurs de Pétrole. Donc toute évolution dans un pays arabe, surtout quand c'est un

pays arabe producteur de pétrole, comme par exemple la Lybie. C'est suivi de très très près bien entendu.

Q : Pour préciser par rapport à la thèse, ce que j'essaie d'étudier c'est l'évolution des informations internationales en regardant aussi l'introduction des journalistes citoyens. Et pour pouvoir faire ça je me suis fait un grand corpus de vidéos sur le Printemps Arabe. Donc les questions que j'ai, je vais peut-être vous poser des questions spécifiques au Printemps Arabe.

R : L'AFP a été fortement impliquée sur la couverture du Printemps Arabe.

Q : Donc on commence ?

R : OK

Q : Première question : quelles étaient la provenance ou les sources des informations et les procédures de sélection de ces informations par l'AFP pendant le Printemps Arabe ?

R : Le Printemps Arabe ce n'est pas un événement qui débouche de nulle part. Il y a des antécédents. Comme vous le savez, l'AFP c'est une agence de presse mondiale. Donc il y a des bureaux, avec des journalistes, des photographes, des vidéastes, dans quasiment tous les pays du monde puisque l'AFP est représentée aujourd'hui dans 202 pays. C'est pratiquement autant qu'à l'ONU. A peine moins qu'à la Fédération Internationale de Football. Donc il y a des bureaux qui sont là depuis des dizaines, voire, pour certains d'entre eux, depuis 100 ans. Donc, évidemment, l'AFP est fortement implantée dans tous les pays du monde arabe. Et historiquement depuis très très longtemps. Donc, traditionnellement, comme dans beaucoup de ces pays ce ne sont évidemment pas des pays qui connaissaient une très grande démocratie, même les pays qui disposaient d'un parlement élu ce n'était pas un parlement disposant de beaucoup de moyens et dont les conditions d'élection étaient assez douteuses. Donc il y a toujours eu une opposition. De tous temps. Une opposition civile, civique, démocratique ou parfois violente, armée. Dans certains pays arabes. Et, de par son rôle, l'AFP a évidemment toujours été en relation avec les gouvernements, les dirigeants, etc. Mais a toujours été aussi en relation avec les mouvements d'opposition. Ou simplement des mouvements de défense des droits de l'Homme. Même si il n'y en avait pas dans tous les pays arabes. Mais c'est évident que, notamment dans les pays d'Afrique du Nord, la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme et d'autres associations dont des associations d'avocats, etc., ont joué un rôle très important. Et ils sont à l'origine de beaucoup d'informations que, sans ces sources-là, le monde n'aurait pas connues. Et donc, évidemment, l'AFP, depuis toujours, avait des relations très étroites avec ces mouvements, ces associations. Et donc les relations avec ces informateurs se sont encore plus développées à partir du moment où le Printemps Arabe a démarré dans tous les pays. Sans oublier que, pour beaucoup de pays arabes, c'est un élément important, beaucoup de ces opposants, une partie de ces opposants, vivent en France. Ils sont en exil en France. Depuis très longtemps. Avec lesquels évidemment on a des liens. Et évidemment il faut avoir en tête que l'AFP emploie un grand nombre de journalistes, de photographes, de vidéastes et/ou de personnel administratif aussi, d'origine arabe. Enormément, puisque l'AFP diffuse depuis plus de 70 ans maintenant, un service en langue arabe, spécifiquement fait pour le monde arabe. Donc tout cela donne une masse de sources d'informations extrêmement considérable. Parce qu'une partie des journalistes ont de la famille dans les pays. Donc l'information circule. Et aussi, parfois, les ambassades étrangères dans ces pays-là, certaines ambassades, ça dépend évidemment beaucoup de l'ambassadeur ou de ses adjoints, peuvent être des sources d'informations importantes. Parce que c'est parfois de très bons observateurs de l'évolution de la vie politique dans un pays.

On a beaucoup de contacts directs parce qu'on est présents sur le terrain. On est là. Depuis toujours.

Q : Est-ce que je peux demander si vous travaillez aussi avec d'autres agences de presse ?

R : On travaille, à peu près, avec tout le monde. Dans tous ces pays, chaque pays dispose de sa propre agence de presse, qui est une agence nationale, la plupart du temps gouvernementale. Et donc soit on a des accords de coopération, soit des accords d'échange avec ces agences. Toutes, de l'agence saoudienne à l'agence TAP tunisienne à l'APS algérienne ou la MENA égyptienne. On travaille tout le temps, depuis très longtemps, avec elles.

Même les chaînes locales, évidemment Al-Jazeera ; l'apparition de la chaîne Al-Jazeera a joué un rôle important, c'est clair, cela a été un changement important. D'ailleurs Al-Jazeera est un client de l'AFP. Un client important même, dans le monde arabe. Mais c'est sûr que la durée très ancienne du travail fait par l'AFP dans ces pays, l'attention que les journalistes de l'AFP ont portée depuis toujours aux mouvements d'opposition ou simplement aux mouvements des droits de l'Homme, ça nous a beaucoup facilité la tâche quand le Printemps Arabe a éclaté. Parce qu'on avait partout des contacts. On connaissait beaucoup des acteurs du Printemps Arabe, qui évidemment, dans le monde, étaient des inconnus. Nous on les connaissait depuis longtemps. On avait d'étroites relations avec eux.

Q : Est-ce qu'il est correct de dire – parce que je suis libanaise et quand j'étais au Liban j'ai rencontré Zawya, Zawya.com, qui était l'agence pour le Moyen Orient, juste au début en fait - quand ils ont commencé, ils m'ont dit qu'en fait il n'existait pas une agence de presse dans les pays arabes. Est-il correct de dire ça ? Parce que, en fait, ils m'ont expliqué que comme tout le monde utilise les agences de presse - AFP, Reuters - au lieu d'avoir notre propre agence de presse...

R : C'est un peu vrai dans la mesure où toutes les agences de presse nationales étaient, jusqu'au Printemps Arabe, les agences gouvernementales. Donc évidemment, la manière dont ils rendaient compte... Cela dit, après, le Printemps Arabe a amené des changements. Si on prend l'exemple de l'agence tunisienne Tunis Afrique Presse, la TAP. C'est une agence qui a changé de direction. Des journalistes qui, déjà, avant, faisaient ce qu'ils pouvaient, là, tout d'un coup, ils ont eu beaucoup plus de liberté. Nous même on a, à plusieurs reprises, nous sommes allés à la TAP pour former des journalistes pour expliquer comment ça marche, parler des technologies... On a pris aussi en formation, à Paris, pas mal de cadres de la TAP. Et on l'a fait pour d'autres aussi. On l'a fait au Yémen. On l'a fait en Irak. On l'a fait dans plusieurs pays. Quand on peut le faire... On l'a fait en Egypte aussi. Avant, c'est sûr, ça s'appelait « agence de presse » mais bon... Tunis Afrique Presse, du temps du régime de Bourghiba, il y avait la censure... On ne pouvait pas faire grand-chose. Mais ça a beaucoup changé. Donc aujourd'hui, même si, évidemment – parce que utiliser Reuters, utiliser l'AFP ou utiliser Associated Press - c'est un peu normal parce que on ne peut pas demander à ces agences purement nationales, elles n'ont pas de journalistes dans le monde entier, elles n'ont pas un correspondant au Japon, en Chine ou n'importe quoi. Donc pour avoir les informations internationales elles sont bien obligées de passer par l'une des trois agences mondiales. Il n'y a pas d'autre solution.

Q : Donc j'imagine que vous travaillez aussi avec des journalistes citoyens...

R : Bien sûr. Des journalistes citoyens qui, souvent, de toutes les manières, existaient déjà avant le Printemps Arabe. On peut donner l'exemple de l'Algérie où, souvent dans des conditions très difficiles et parfois en prenant beaucoup de risques d'arrestation, la prison, voire même la torture, les journalistes algériens, professionnels, parallèlement au travail qu'ils pouvaient faire, assuraient un rôle de journalistes citoyens et sont à l'origine de beaucoup d'informations

importantes sur les exactions ou les fraudes du régime du parti unique. Et l'Algérie ça a été – en plus pour la France évidemment et pour l'AFP c'est un pays particulier parce que il y a tellement de relations avec l'Algérie – mais en plus ça a été pendant des années un conflit très très dur (entre le GIA et le FLN, ça a été terrible).

Q : Et donc quand vous recevez de l'information ou vous êtes contacté à partir d'une agence de presse qui travaille pour les journalistes citoyens, comment est-il possible de vérifier ces informations ?

R : De toutes les manières, nous sommes obligés de vérifier. On peut toujours publier un communiqué d'un gouvernement ou d'une organisation, c'est toujours possible. Cela dit, on fait toujours des vérifications après. Mais tout ce qui émane des journalistes citoyens, même si avec certains on a des relations très fortes, on a une très grande confiance, mais il faut quand même vérifier. Parce que, dans toutes ces affaires-là, on court le risque de quelqu'un qui a été très honnête et très professionnel et un informateur très sûr mais qui, à un moment ou à un autre, bascule, devient manipulé par un groupe, une organisation. Et donc, à partir de ce moment-là, c'est délicat. Donc on est toujours obligé de vérifier et donc tout est vérifié. Par exemple, à l'AFP, nous ne publions pas sans vérification les annonces par l'organisation en Syrie, l'Observatoire... (- c'est ANA -). On ne publie pas... Si, on les publie. Mais après vérification. Ce n'est pas toujours fiable.

Q : Est-ce que vous pouvez me dire comment vous vérifiez ?

R : Comme on a énormément de monde sur place, notamment quand il s'agit du nombre de morts. Ca varie souvent dans des proportions gigantesques. Le nombre de morts, le recours à la torture, qui est malheureusement un phénomène qui peut être fréquent, ou, puisque en Syrie il s'agit pratiquement d'une guerre civile avec des fronts, des positions qui sont occupées par les uns, attaquées par les autres, etc. Donc là il y a nos équipes qui sont sur place et nos informateurs dans tous les secteurs. On a énormément de moyens de vérification. Et très rapides.

Q : J'ai lu un article du dirigeant de l'AFP qui dit que, en fait, vous ne travaillez plus en Syrie, qu'il y a beaucoup de risques... Est-ce que j'ai bien compris son article ?

R : Je ne crois pas ça. Non. On est toujours présents en Syrie.

Q : *Quotation of the article.....*

R : On a un bureau à Damas. Mais, parfois, quand la situation s'aggrave, nous sommes obligés de prendre des mesures de précaution et donc de retirer nos équipes ou de les déplacer de Damas à... ailleurs par exemple. Comme, parfois, on est obligé de retirer aussi des gens qui sont sur le front. On avait aussi des gens à Alep qu'on a été obligé de retirer.

Mais surtout ce qu'on fait beaucoup plus maintenant, c'est des missions ponctuelles où une équipe (journaliste, photographe et vidéaste) va 3 semaines ou 1 mois quelque part et essaie de faire le maximum. Et nous avons en permanence une équipe à la frontière Turco-Syrienne. Qui est très importante. Mais, par exemple, quand il y a eu la bataille de Kobane, quand les milices kurdes ont tenté et réussi à reprendre la ville, on était avec les kurdes.

Q : J'ai eu l'opportunité de parler avec Euronews. Et en fait il m'a expliqué que pour vérifier les informations, eux, ils utilisent un organisme qui s'appelle Storyful, qui valide les informations avant de les publier. Est-ce que vous utilisez ces types d'agences ?

R : Non parce que ce travail, nous, on le fait nous-même. Storyful on a des relations avec eux. On regarde ce qu'ils font, ce qu'ils publient. On le regarde. On s'y intéresse mais ce travail de vérification on doit le faire par nous-même. C'est essentiel.

Q : Donc quand vous recevez une photo par exemple, pour vérifier où elle a été prise, c'est vous qui le faites ?

R : Ça, c'est nous qui le faisons. Et notamment nous n'utilisons pas de photos qui viennent d'Internet. Nous ne les utilisons pas.

Q : Donc si vous recevez par e-mail, par exemple, d'un organisme que vous ne connaissez pas, qui vous dit que c'est ça qui se passe aujourd'hui....

R : On va vérifier, on ne va pas l'utiliser. Il y a tellement de gens avec qui on est en relation. Avec les médecins qui opèrent dans les hôpitaux ou partout, parce qu'ils sont en première ligne. Par exemple, quand il s'agit de parler du bilan des morts ou des blessés, c'est mieux de parler avec le médecin-chef de l'hôpital à Alep, plutôt que de prendre le communiqué d'une organisation...

Q : Est-ce que je peux prendre un exemple : en Syrie, à la fin de ce qu'on a appelé le Printemps Arabe. Quand ils ont découvert le problème (l'usage) du gaz Sarin, si je me souviens bien, les journalistes n'avaient pas le droit d'entrer. Est-ce que l'AFP avait des personnes qui étaient là pour filmer ?....

R : Non. Nous n'avons pas eu accès à ça. Le seul moment où on a pu avoir un accès c'est avec le chargé de mission de l'ONU qui était chargé de vérifier sur place. Et dans la zone qui n'était pas sous le contrôle de l'armée syrienne et qui était sous le contrôle de différents mouvements.

Q : Donc les vidéos que l'on a vues sur les différentes chaînes d'information ça venait de... c'était des journalistes citoyens ?

R : C'était des journalistes citoyens. Parfois c'était de la propagande, parce qu'il y a aussi de la propagande. Nous, on n'a eu accès qu'avec l'émissaire de l'ONU.

Q : Quelles étaient les procédures de production de ces informations par l'AFP pendant le Printemps Arabe ?

R : Ça passe par nos bureaux. L'AFP a plusieurs centres, même si Paris est le siège. Nous avons différentes directions régionales et la direction pour le Proche et Moyen Orient est basée à Nicosie. Nous avons un très gros bureau avec un « desk » en langue arabe. C'est lui qui évidemment, au départ, est en charge de toutes les vérifications, des filtres... Et tout arrive là-bas. Toutes les informations arrivent à Nicosie. Puis après sont répercutées dans le monde entier.

Q : Et comment ont-ils décidé d'utiliser ces informations ? Par exemple, les documents photos, les vidéos, comment présenter ces informations ? Par exemple, si on a des scènes de guerre ou de violence, est-ce qu'on utilise ou pas ?

R : Toutes les scènes de violence, l'utilisation d'images montrant des scènes de violence, ça doit être validé par les responsables de la rédaction. Un journaliste ou un photographe « de base » ne peut pas, lui-même, envoyer, tout seul, ce genre d'images. Ça doit être validé. Et évidemment il y a des photos que nous ne diffusons pas. Ou des vidéos que nous ne diffusons pas. Même qui ont été faites par nos propres journalistes. C'est la violence... Il y a le problème, notamment, des exécutions d'otages. Ça pose problème.

Q : Donc par exemple, la mort de Gaddafi ?...

R : La mort de Gaddafi alors ça nous l'avons... On était là... Ca on l'a diffusé. Il y avait des photographes qui étaient sur place. La mort de Gaddafi ça n'a pas posé de problème. Mais parfois c'est surtout... L'un des très grands problèmes c'est les exécutions d'otages, les images d'exécutions d'otages. Parce que ce sont des civils. Parfois la famille n'est même pas au courant. Pour les familles ça représente un choc terrible de voir ces images. Et donc, à quelques très rares exceptions près, on ne les diffuse pas. Même quand l'Etat Islamique, via leur site Internet, envoie des images d'exécutions d'otages, on ne les diffuse pas.

Q : Quand vous traitez une information, est-ce que, pour vous, votre audience c'est « nous », les gens qui vont écouter les informations, ou est-ce que ce sont vos clients, les chaînes comme Al-Jazeera par exemple ou Euronews ?

R : Nous, on diffuse les informations. Evidemment on ne les diffuse pas dans la rue. On les diffuse à un client qui paye pour ça. Mais, derrière le client, il y a des lecteurs de journaux, des auditeurs de radio et des téléspectateurs. Et donc nous, on doit tenir compte du fait que on ne s'adresse pas seulement aux journalistes des télévisions, des radios ou des journaux qui sont les clients de l'AFP. Au-delà de ça on s'adresse au lecteur de journal, à l'auditeur de radio, au téléspectateur de la chaîne de télévision. Donc, aussi, l'AFP doit avoir un souci très didactique et pédagogique. On ne peut pas diffuser l'information en considérant que ce n'est pas la peine d'expliquer le contexte, etc. parce que nos clients sont les journalistes et ils connaissent... Non. Au-delà de ces journalistes, on s'adresse directement aux citoyens dans le monde entier. Donc il faut, sans cesse, avoir une vision très pédagogique et expliquer le contexte, rappeler l'histoire...

Q : Vous avez un peu répondu à la question suivante qui est : comment les informations du Printemps Arabe étaient-elles diffusées par l'AFP ? Est-ce que vous pouvez me dire, par exemple, est-ce que vous avez diffusé les informations sur Internet aussi ?

R : Oui. Puisqu'à l'AFP il n'y a pas seulement ce qu'on appelle le « fil » mais on est également très présent sur Internet. Et aussi sur les grands réseaux : Google, Yahoo, MSN, etc... En plus nous avons nos propres comptes Facebook, Twitter, sur lesquels on travaille massivement. C'est permanent.

Q : Quelles étaient la provenance des informations et les procédures de sélection de ces informations pour les chaînes internationales comme Al-Jazeera, France 24, Press TV... ?

R : On ne sélectionne pas en fonction des clients. Ils sont nos clients et donc ils reçoivent tous la même chose. Par exemple en vidéo, il y a différentes procédures évidemment. Il y a des clients qui sont abonnés au « fil vidéo » de l'AFP donc qui reçoivent toute notre production vidéo. Et ils peuvent l'utiliser comme ils veulent à condition de citer l'AFP. Il y a des clients qui ne sont pas abonnés au « fil vidéo » de l'AFP mais qui achètent « à la pièce » en fonction. Parce qu'ils peuvent voir sur AFP Forum. Il y a tout. Ils peuvent voir toutes les vidéos qu'on a. Ils peuvent les visionner. Et s'ils s'intéressent à l'une de ces vidéos ils envoient un courriel à l'AFP et ils l'achètent. On leur vend et ils en font ce qu'ils veulent.

Ensuite, il y a des clients qui sont, eux, intéressés uniquement à des thématiques précises, ou à un pays précis. Il y en a certains qui ne s'intéressent qu'au sport ou qu'au football par exemple. Donc on leur crée des filtres et ils ne reçoivent que ça. Donc c'est très diversifié. Mais à la base, un client qui est abonné au « fil vidéo » reçoit toute la production de l'AFP, quelle qu'elle soit. Sur Twitter, par exemple là c'est le bureau de Bordeaux, on en envoie tout le temps (là c'était il y a trois minutes...).

Q : En parlant de Twitter, comment a évolué le journalisme international avec le web 2.0 ? En termes de traitement des informations, c'est-à-dire la provenance, la sélection, la production et la diffusion des informations. Est-ce-que vous trouvez un grand changement ?

R : Twitter, Facebook et tout ça ont apporté du changement, ça c'est clair. Parce qu'aujourd'hui il y a des chefs de gouvernement, des chefs d'état, qui communiquent par Twitter. Donc l'AFP, comme Reuters et Associated Press, on a été obligé de s'adapter. Très rapidement.

Q : Donc ce n'est pas juste un outil pour diffuser les informations...

R : Non c'est également pour en recevoir. Absolument. Il y a bien une trentaine d'informations par jour qu'on reçoit via Twitter. On finirait par les avoir aussi mais beaucoup plus tard. Twitter c'est vraiment quelque chose d'important pour nous.

Q : Est-ce-que cela a changé, pour vous, aussi, comment on consomme les informations ?

R : Oui. Ça change bien sûr. Parce qu'il y a tout ce qu'a apporté le téléphone portable, le smartphone. Donc à l'AFP on dispose aussi de toute une série d'applications pour smartphone. Sur le téléphone on peut consulter, on peut choisir, si on veut consulter le « fil » en arabe de l'AFP on peut le faire.

Q : Est-ce-que ça a eu un effet sur le traitement de l'information ?

R : Non. Pas vraiment. La seule chose c'est que pour, parce qu'on a un service Multimédia, qui est le site Internet de l'AFP, pour lequel travaille une rédaction dédiée, spécialisée et détachée. Donc c'est sûr qu'au niveau de l'écriture, il faut une écriture plus directe, plus nerveuse, plus ramassée aussi, des phrases plus courtes, etc. Mais c'est plus une question de présentation et d'écriture qu'un changement sur le fond. Sur le fond, les informations sont les mêmes.

Q : Est-ce-que vous pensez qu'il faut être beaucoup plus vigilant par rapport à quelles informations on va envoyer parce qu'il y a tellement d'endroits où nous, en tant que consommateurs d'informations, on peut vérifier ou essayer de vérifier ?

R : La première chose : pour nous, il y a une règle absolue c'est qu'avant de mettre une information sur Twitter ou Facebook on vérifie d'abord qu'on l'a diffusée sur les « fils » de l'AFP. Twitter et Facebook ça vient après. C'est en deuxième position. Il faut d'abord donner l'information de base aux clients abonnés à l'AFP etc. Et après on la met sur Internet.

Q : Et en termes de « feedback » sur Twitter ou sur Youtube des consommateurs des informations, est-ce-que c'est important pour vous ? Est-ce-que c'est quelque chose que vous regardez ?

R : Oui on analyse ça de très très près. Chaque jour on fait une analyse des informations de l'AFP qui ont le mieux marché sur Twitter, celles qui ont été le plus « re-tweetées ». C'est ça le critère. Et on le fait chaque jour.

Q : Suite à un reportage ou une information que vous allez mettre sur Internet, si quelqu'un répond avec du contenu généré par lui en fait, est-ce-que vous prenez ça au sérieux ?

R : Si quelqu'un nous répond on regarde de quoi il s'agit. Parfois on lui répond aussi. Parfois cela peut arriver qu'il y ait des remarques tout à fait justifiées. Cela dit, sur la masse, il y a tellement de choses qui n'ont aucun intérêt, écrit n'importe comment....

Q : Est-ce-que vous trouvez que le rôle du journaliste a changé ou a évolué. Par exemple, corriger les fausses informations est beaucoup plus important aujourd'hui. Est-ce-que vous trouvez que votre rôle en tant que journaliste a changé ?

R : Je ne pense pas que ça ait beaucoup changé parce que nous, nous sommes des grossistes en informations et donc la vérification de l'information c'est la condition essentielle pour être fiable. Si vous ne faites pas ça vous n'êtes pas fiable. Les clients n'ont plus confiance en vous. Parce qu'une agence de presse mondiale, elle se doit de diffuser de l'information fiable. Donc qui ont été vérifiées. Et donc ça demande un très gros travail. Et ce rôle on l'a toujours eu. Avec des responsabilités très importantes. Dans l'histoire, pendant des années, l'AFP était la seule agence de presse indépendante présente au Nord Viêt-Nam. Donc c'était une responsabilité très lourde parce qu'on était tout seul. Il n'y avait pas Reuters, il n'y avait pas les américains évidemment. Et quand l'AFP a annoncé, parce que la nouvelle n'est pas venue des Etats-Unis, le premier bombardement américain sur le Port d'Haiphong (au Nord Viêt-Nam), qui était un port stratégique et que l'aviation américaine bombardait. Ca a fait un choc terrible. Mais tout le monde l'a cru. Parce que c'était de l'AFP. Si c'était le gouvernement Nord Vietnamien qui l'avait annoncé le premier, vraisemblablement pas grand monde les aurait cru. Mais le fait que c'était l'AFP, tout le monde l'a cru. Et tout de suite après, la Maison Blanche a été obligée de faire une mise au point. Ils n'ont pas pu faire autrement.

Q : Est-ce-que vous pensez que le rôle des journalistes (qui ne travaillent pas pour l'AFP) qui travaillent pour les chaînes internationales a changé parce qu'aujourd'hui l'audience n'a pas une perception de tout ce qui se passe autour d'elle ou dans les autres pays ?

R : Dans les télévisions ça a changé parce que l'offre d'images est gigantesque. Y compris dans la rue la personne qui, avec son téléphone portable, fait des photos. Et les envoie. Sur Internet. L'offre d'images est gigantesque. C'est dans ce flot d'images énorme, comme il n'y en a jamais eu, maintenant qu'il faut trouver les bonnes, il faut faire le tri, etc. Donc ce n'est pas évident.

Q : Quels sont les défis rencontrés par le journalisme international depuis le web 2.0 et comment relever ces défis ?

R : Pour nous, le web n'a pas changé grand-chose. Il y a un certain nombre de dangers. C'est que, avec les réseaux sociaux, et plus particulièrement Facebook et Twitter, les agences de presse comme Reuters, l'AFP ou Associated Press courent le risque qu'une information importante soit sur Twitter ou sur Facebook avant que eux même la diffuse. Donc évidemment c'est toujours gênant et donc il y a le risque, pour ne pas être en retard, de s'exonérer d'un certain nombre de vérifications et diffuser l'information, pour être sûr d'être les premiers alors que, pour autant, on n'est pas encore absolument sûr que l'information soit vraie. On sait des choses mais tout n'est pas vérifié à 100 %. Alors là, la peur d'être battu par Twitter ou Facebook ça joue un rôle négatif considérable. Parce que ça amoindrit l'acuité des vérifications. Ça pose des problèmes. Parce que c'est l'existence même de médias indépendants et d'agence de presse présents dans le monde entier qui est mise en cause. Parce que, après tout, pourquoi ne pas satisfaire... il y a pratiquement tout sur Twitter et Facebook. Sauf que sur Twitter, sur Facebook, il n'y a pas le contexte, il n'y a pas le background, on ne sait pas, on ne sait pas très bien.

Q : Est-ce-que c'est vraiment grave d'être 5 minutes plus tard ?

R : C'est ennuyeux. Pour nous c'est ennuyeux. On préfère être devant. En général on est devant.

Q : On voit des erreurs. Par exemple, pour la mort de Mandela, trois mois avant sa mort, un journaliste a publié sur Twitter qu'il était mort et en fait il était vivant...

R : Oui là bien sûr. Sur les décès, c'est catastrophique.

Q : Est-ce-que vous pensez que les journalistes jouent un rôle sur la perception de l'audience sur une information ?

R : Oui, c'est sûr que la manière de présenter l'information, la manière de la diffuser, peut jouer sur son audience. Ça c'est certain. Oui, oui, ça c'est clair.

Q : Par contre vous dites que toutes les informations qui sont traitées par l'AFP sont identiques pour toutes les différentes chaînes.

R : Absolument.

Q : Donc après c'est à eux de décider comment ils veulent présenter ces informations ?

R : Le client est libre de faire ce qu'il veut, après. Mais nous on donne la même présentation.

Q : J'ai vu, sur le site Internet, que vous travaillez avec Citizenside...

R : Oui. C'est un partenariat. C'est-à-dire que c'est nous qui leur fournissons des contenus qui les intéressent. Nous ça nous intéresse parce qu'ils sont très public, ils sont bien connectés. Pour nous ça fait une vitrine supplémentaire.

Q : Mais vous n'utilisez pas les vidéos qu'ils ont.

R : Non, non. On peut en utiliser, de temps en temps, sur des sujets précis où on n'est pas. Ça peut arriver. Mais eux ils utilisent des vidéos de l'AFP aussi.

Q : J'ai compris qu'ils avaient été achetés par l'AFP récemment, donc qu'il y avait un pourcentage qui...

R : Absolument. On est actionnaire chez eux.

Q : Et ce que j'ai compris c'est que leur but c'est de récupérer les vidéos, les photos que les journalistes citoyens font et après c'est eux qui le diffusent.

R : Voilà. Donc nous ça nous intéresse parce que c'est une source d'informations nouvelle. Donc c'est important. On s'est intéressés dès le début à ça. Parce que, en plus, quand il s'agit d'images, il y a un problème extrêmement complexe, c'est le problème des droits. Un problème auquel il faut faire très attention. Parce qu'en fait chacun est propriétaire de l'image qu'il a fait, que ça soit une photo, que ça soit une vidéo. Donc il faut être bien sûr, avant de l'utiliser, d'avoir conclu un accord en bonne et due forme avec celui qui a fait la photo, avec celui qui a fait la vidéo, pour pouvoir la diffuser dans le monde entier. Donc c'est quelque chose de très compliqué.

Q : J'ai lu quelques articles qui parlaient de comment vérifier la source d'une image qui vient d'un journaliste citoyen et, en fait, ils parlaient un petit peu, par exemple si c'est fait en Syrie on va regarder s'il y a le drapeau syrien à côté, si c'est marqué en arabe et des choses comme ça...

R : Bien sûr. Ça c'est tout à fait classique. Surtout que souvent les images qu'on regarde, qu'on nous propose, elles sont faites à partir d'endroits où on a été ou quelqu'un qu'on connaît est sur place, etc. Donc ça c'est des vérifications qu'on fait qui sont assez faciles. Mais, cela dit, il faut quand même voir qu'il n'y a pas beaucoup de gens qui essaient de nous abuser, de nous fournir des images qui viennent d'ailleurs. Il n'y en a pas beaucoup. Le vrai problème c'est plutôt ce que j'appelais les vidéos ou les photos de propagande, qui sont fait par des groupes

structurés, etc. Ça c'est très différent. Alors là c'est de la propagande. Mais ça se repère assez facilement aussi. Ce n'est pas très compliqué.

Q : Est-ce-que les gouvernements ou les organisations internationales ont un mot avec l'AFP par rapport à quel type d'informations chercher ou pas ? Par exemple, avec la propagande, est-ce qu'il y a des conseils du gouvernement qui disent « non, essayez de ne pas trop montrer ça »...

R : Les gouvernements ils ont toujours une position particulière, parce qu'il ne faut pas oublier que, vous avez les journalistes citoyens mais les journalistes professionnels sont aussi des citoyens, donc ils ont aussi une responsabilité de citoyen. Ils ne sont pas seulement journalistes. Donc ils ne peuvent pas non plus publier n'importe quoi. Notamment, par exemple, à l'AFP c'est une règle absolue, on ne peut pas publier une information qui est de nature à aider un criminel à échapper à la police ou à la justice. Ce n'est pas possible. C'est interdit. Donc là aussi il faut faire très attention à ce qu'on publie.

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT POUR LA PARTICIPATION EN ENTREVUE
avec Sawsan Atallah Bidart Doctorante en Science de l'Information et de la Communication
Thème de thèse : L'évolution du media international- Une étude du traitement de l'information à
travers les reportages sur le Printemps Arabe

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1. Objectifs

Le travail consiste à recueillir un témoignage sur la production de l'information pendant le Printemps Arabe. Cette démarche complète une observation de vidéos sur le Printemps Arabe et des recherches théoriques. Elle vise à mieux comprendre et analyser le traitement de l'information internationale. Ce formulaire vous est proposé comme cadre éthique à l'entrevue.

2. Confidentialité

L'enregistrement de l'entrevue et la transcription de l'entrevue seront conservés sur un serveur sécurisé. Les informations issues de l'entrevue seront utilisées dans le cadre de cette thèse, dans lequel vous pourriez être cité. Ce travail pourrait être réutilisé après sa publication.

Comment souhaitez-vous être cité ?

- Je veux être identifié sous mon vrai nom : ~~(Remplacer avec votre vrai nom)~~ Pierre FEUILLY
 Je veux préserver mon anonymat et être identifié sous un nom d'emprunt
 Je veux être identifié comme anonymat représentant de l'organisme qui sera nommé :

3. Contact pour publication

Je voudrais qu'on m'envoie la transcription de l'entrevue :

J'accepte d'être recontacté à propos de ce travail

Tel/Portable : 06 71 52 96 54

Email : Pierre.Feuilly@afp.com

Adresse : AFP 29, rue Esprit des lois - 33000 BORDEAUX

4. Consentement

La nature du travail et la confidentialité des informations qui seront recueillies au cours de ce travail m'ont été expliquées.

NOM

Pierre FEUILLY

Signature

P. Feuilly

Date

03/03/2016

English version



II. Interview Transcription 2- Agence France-Presse Correspondent

Interview with Sammy Ketz, Bureau Chief, AFP Beirut and Syria
Date: 11/03/2016

Q. Please present yourself by stating your current role at AFP and what your role was during the Arab Spring.

A: OK. My name is Sammy Ketz. I am AFP Bureau Chief of Beirut and also in charge of Syria. I am covering the Arab Spring but especially in Syria because since the beginning I am going there. I am going there from the regime side not from the rebel side because I know them for a very long time; I've been in this region for 30 – 35 years, I know them very well. So you had to decide on what side you would be and it was decided would be on the regime side (to cover the news). We have other journalists who are on the rebel side but now it is too dangerous so AFP asked me to be on the regime side [line unclear].

Q. So who is covering the rebel side (the line cut)?

A: Now we are covering by some Syrian journalists who are on the spot, but we don't send on the rebel side because it's too dangerous. We are not sending staff from Paris or other regions to there but we have sending us on a daily basis. You have to know that for us we make a difference between citizen journalists and activists and journalists. Journalists are paid, they receive an AFP salary. Activists and citizen journalists are not.

Q. OK, so the citizen journalist, you don't pay, whereas the other journalists you do?

A: No I mean the activists we are not paying because they are activists. We have one of our journalists who is based on the other side of Aleppo and he is working with us and we are paying him. He is part of our team. In conclusion it's very important for you to know the difference between journalists who are working with us and citizen journalists and activists. It was big problem seen 2 years ago with Reuters; they are mixing the two. And so we always make the difference between our journalists, citizen journalists and activists.

Q: So even citizen journalists for example, the AFP wouldn't pay citizen journalists because you consider them to be independent?

A: No, because we will put that they are citizen journalists. We will mention them as citizen journalists. We are mentioning when he is an activist, when we are mentioning when they are citizen journalists and when are mentioning when it's our journalists. This is a very important point.

Q. What are the sourcing and selection processes of news stories by AFP during the Arab Spring? So, with you specifically with regards to the Arab Spring, you covered Syria and were not in the other countries in North Africa.

A: Yes I covered Syria. No, I was not in the other countries. I just worked with Syria, I didn't go to the other countries like Tunisia and Egypt. AFP assigned me to take care of Syria.

Q. So from what you're saying, at the beginning of the uprising before it became a war, your sourcing was through the regime basically?

A: No no, I said from the beginning it was that we had contact with the regime. But we had lots of sources because it was very easy to speak with the people so we have lots of activists who didn't give their names because they were afraid at the time and we have also the human rights organisations. So we had to always balance our stories between what we had from the regime and what we had from the human rights organisations, from activists there and from different sources that we had on the ground.

Q: And did you also work with other press agencies?

A: No, we are never...we are working with Sana because it's their official press news agency, because we need to have something from the regime. So, we had to use Sana because the regime are sending their statement or whatever they want to broadcast to Sana.

But we have also our own sources inside the regime. And I wanted to stress on one point. The thing of this revolution is that you have plenty of organisations, human rights organisations, different kinds of organisations; it was difficult to choose to know what is true and what is not true. After a while, we decided that the Observatory of Human Rights Organisation in Syria are the most trustable. So, we decided that they are our main source. Lots of our competitors and others criticised us because we used the Observatory, but now all of them are using the Observatory because it was clear that they are they are the most trusted organisations in Syria with the very big number of sources that they have. So that's one point, they are one of our main sources.

Q: Why all the other organisations were critical at the beginning?

A: Because they were giving all different numbers, either they were exaggerating the number or they were giving wrong stories and so I don't criticise them but they were not professional. But I think with time we discovered that the Observatory was the most trusted organisation.

Q: How do you verify other sources? Is there a process that you go through, is it a gut feeling, and are there specific investigations, how exactly do you verify your sources?

A: Usually, that's the most important question that we have. We have to cross information. Let's say, I will give you an example. We have, during the siege of the old city of Homs, we have a person there, he was an activist and his name was, I will ask...his name was Yazan...and he was an activist who was speaking with the press. But, day after day, and every week, we saw that he's very very honest and good at giving the news. It's a guy, I mean to tell you the truth because it's a lovely story, I mean because, we never saw him. We were speaking with him and we were calling him and he was giving me the news and *unclear* one day he left Homs and after 2 years, this person, this Yazan, we discovered him and we saw him and we ...and it was a very emotional meeting and he stayed in Beirut and after that we helped him to go to France. And we have plenty of stories like this that we had contact with activists by Facebook, by different ways to speak with them and that's the way. So how we can be sure? We try to cross between our information, by what the observatory is giving by what the person is giving. It's all a question of time. We have some activists that we were using in the beginning but then we found were not very professional, so we were using them for cover but not for information But it's a very long process of checking of information and verifying can tell a long time.

Q: You mentioned Facebook, especially because you're talking about activists. Is there an ongoing investigation online on social networks to see which activists are sharing the most, perhaps, accurate or organised information that you can get in touch with?

A: Yeah, I mean we have...let's say now we have...our AFP journalists OK, we have an office in Beirut and in Damascus, we have 4 persons there who are working with another bureau de chief, we have another journalist, we have a video guy, a camera man and also our photographer, OK, so this is one. On the other side we have a person on the rebel side of Aleppo, we have somebody in Douma, and we have other journalists who are working, they are AFP journalists in this region, we have photographers, we have also videographers working there...after we have these persons that we are speaking with them, but for example we have an activist in Daraa, we have an activist in Lattakia, and after than we have organisations. We have an activist...For example, we have Raqqa which there was a time when we had activists, but they all left now, so we are working with more or less with the organisations in Raqqa.

Q: Can I also ask, many people are telling me that the role of Al Jazeera is very important. Even your colleague in AFP Bordeaux told me the same thing that they worked closely with Al Jazeera during the Arab Spring. Did you work closely with Al Jazeera during the Arab Spring? How did you work together?

A: I'll start by saying that I don't share this opinion, but I'm speaking about Syria. Because they were very one sided, they were very biased, and also they were only on one side and not the other side I think. So they were, I found that there were times when they were giving information which was not true or exaggerated. So, I don't think that they were the most accurate and they had their own agenda and it was not accurate and I don't think that we used so much Al Jazeera. I don't remember that we used Al Jazeera, but I am speaking about Syria. *Unclear* so I think that generally maybe but every time we used a source, we were checking and generally we were never using Al Jazeera as a source. Never. Except when it was an interview that Al Jazeera did. But as a news, we never use any news agency and we never use TV channel...

Q: And you spoke a little bit about this, citizen journalists and activists that you were in touch with; did you sometimes get contacted by citizen journalists directly, for example via email, would they send you a photo or video footage of something directly to you?

A: For the photo, I will tell you, I think you should speak with our photographer, our chief photographer, which he knows more about this.

For us, I mean, we find that when we receive by phone or some activists were moved to Beirut and gives us a phone number and it was there when we asked "do you know someone there", so it was a network, you know. We built a network and like this, you there are some, how to tell you, it was something very very emotional because sometime you have people who were completely under siege or they were completely in some place and their only way to speak was with us, you know. I have one of my colleagues, and she was speaking with them and they were speaking not only about the situation, but about, also of their job and how it is and you know my wife and you know my mother, so they were a part of the family. So you have to understand it was a journalist job, but it was also a kind of relationship with people which we never saw them and we will never see them. It happened that we did sometimes, but it happened that some of them die, some of them move to another place, some of them we lose their contact, but it was always something very strong...

I want to make a point. I mean it was a relationship with the people you know. But, to tell you a story. One of our colleagues, she was talking with a person, I'll ask where...yeah we have a colleague she was speaking with an activist in Hama and she was calling him every day and she was laughing with him and at a certain point the mother of this guy came and said "ah, you have to know that my son is married and I will mention to his wife". The way it was so intimate, it was so important for him that...I mean to give you a part of the story.

SAtallah Bidart: That's amazing, really really amazing. It's nice to see that you're not just doing your job but you're also building relationships with other people and because you're their only point of contact, they feel happy to talk to you I guess.

Yeah, as I told you the guy from Homs, we even saw him. He came and after we were so, yes it was so strong, that we were, he came and he found a job and then after that we took him to *Suret  G n rale* to ask for his papers because he wanted to stay and then after that we helped him to go to the French embassy and he is now in France and we have another one he was injured he lost his eye, he was a photographer, he is in France also. It's is a long story of relationships, friendships and professionalism in a way.

SAtallah Bidart: That's amazing, really really nice.

Q: You mentioned in the case of Al Jazeera that in some cases they didn't present the news well by reporting their point of view or exaggerating. With the case of AFP, how do you decide of what to use in terms of footage and images. At the end of the day you are not a channel, you're a press agency, so I presume it is very different, the way you present the news is very different.

A: You want to know....can you repeat the question please?

Q: Yes. I want to know, after you get so much information, from all your sources, through your journalists, your informers and activists, how do you decide what to use in terms of all this information that you've collected to present to either your audience or your clients?

A: I mean, I think we are presenting what we consider we have to or you have very hot news, like when then rebels took a very important position of the regime or the regime took another position of the rebels so you have to give the hot news, you know. And after you have... you know in the beginning... you know it's interesting because in the beginning when the first people were killed, we were giving a news to say that, an alert when 1 person is killed and then after that when you arrive to 1,000 we are not giving anymore for each death and after when you have 10,000 you are not giving unless every 10,000 and now that we are 270,000, we are only giving by 20,000. You understand what I mean? So, obviously....we are.... the Observatory is giving the number and we are giving it.

As for other stories, every day we are giving a wrap to identify all the information of the day, what we have, we are giving it politically or and after that we have the human stories that we decide to write. This week for example, it was the ceasefire. So, we tried to do a few stories about the cease-fire. The first story, the cease-fire, it was, you know the first day, people didn't know how to move because since two years it was constant bombing and shelling and the first day that you don't have shelling, it's quiet, you know, almost disturbing. So we did a story from the two sides, you know, we mixed our stories from our guy in Aleppo and our guy who was in Damascus with the regime. After, we did another story about the soldiers who have nothing to do, they were in their positions but they have nothing to do. After, we did a story about doctors, really we did the two sides. So, we try to take the human sides, because let me tell you it is very difficult to understand what is living a war and you have to explain, there are some things that people never knew about it. So you have to explain some of the stories of the people and then oh yes they will understand.

For example, I was in Aleppo let's say less than a year ago. Aleppo it's exactly like I was thinking that I arrived in Germany in 1945...I saw it was Beirut in 1975...In Aleppo, you have two Aleppos, you have the regime side, the rebel side, you have the green line and you have the old city. And I tried to explain the two stories of the two sides together and I asked our journalist who was on the other side to do the same story to explain what it is to live on both sides. For example, to give you an example, before, to go from one side to the other side, before the war, it took 15 minutes. Now it takes 7 hours, because you have to pass Jubrat al Nusra, after that to Daesh, after that you have to pass by some criminals in the dessert and after that

it's so we try to always explain to the people who are not ... who are not... I mean to explain what it means the situation... I mean we did a story about the green line but always to explain what it's been, we did a different story about I don't know if it's helping you but....

25:00

Q: Yes, thank you, it's helping me, but I think I need to ask you more direct questions. After you do your story, you know, you've gone out there to collect information, you've taken your photos and content, how do you decide which part of this information to show or to present?

A: I don't know how to... I mean... I don't know how to answer to you because every day we have a different story. I mean, today, I mean, it's a ceasefire, so we did a story, we did a story about sickness and another story in Aleppo, another one in refugees in Beirut, another one in the rebel's ... in the regime's side. You know... how the war changed their lives. So we decided to do that, we'll do another story about the.... about the rebels and what's going on... it's difficult to tell you, but you know we have every morning, we have to see if we have something to say or not, if it's we have brutal shelling and if we have 15 deaths... it's really, it's it's very..... I cannot answer you. We are putting piece by piece together to tell a story. For the point of the photo, you have to check also when you receive a photo, you have to check if this photo is true or not true, you have your own photographer but you also have to check if they are not fake, if it was not... so you have to speak with our photographer because they have different types of checking about the photos. But for the news, it's difficult to tell you, but I can tell that for example, I will tell you, it was a time that they said that brother of Assad of Bashar, Maher was injured, when there was an explosion, his two legs. So we took time and we checked and it wasn't true so we didn't cover that. The problem is that with new kind of information over the internet... the problem is that you will never be the first because you have a guy who has data but you have to be the most accurate. And I think that in the 5 years of working on Syria I can say that we think we were the most accurate, but we didn't give some wrong information, maybe some, but I think very very very few and it's taking time because you have to have at least 2 sources confirming the same information and if you have another one who are not confirming you have to find other sources to be sure to be so sometimes it's taking time and sometimes the people are saying "ah but you are getting the information after your competitors". Yeah they may be right, but we are sure about our information.

Q: And do you have certain rules that you always abide by? For example, we never show violence, or violence against children, or things like this?

A: This is for the photo, you have to ask. But what we are never doing is to interview a prisoner. We never interview a prisoner with the guards. This is a rule, I mean I know that for the photo now about violence, about... we never also quoting statements from ...*unclear*. We are paraphrasing, you understand what I mean?

Q: You are never giving statements from whom sorry?

A: No no, we are giving statements but we are not giving the direct quote from Islamic State. Yeah, we are never giving statements from the Islamic State. We are never giving the quote; we are paraphrasing.

Q: OK, you are paraphrasing because, why? Are they too violent, is that why or...?

A: Yeah, because we are not here to do some publicity, yeah I mean we are not a channel for them. So what we can do is the most appropriate thing, which will be that when we are going with the army, we have to write that went with the army. Yeah, more or less that's why....

Q: With regards to how you diffuse this information, so the news, I know you have your website, I know you have certain applications...But is the news that we see as the typical audience on your website the same as what your clients like the channels like Al Jazeera and France 24 use?

A: Absolutely. Definitely yes. We don't have any different views from one side and the other side. I mean it's always the same. If it's not, it would be terrible and our clients wouldn't trust us and they would leave. It's absolutely the same news you know and we are never giving different views for this and that according to their political opinion, never.

Q: Ok, so there isn't....I mean because...from what I understand, the channels buy the information from you, is that right?

A: Yes. They are buying the information on a monthly basis. They cannot ... generally they cannot buy 1 information and not the others. You have a subscription and you will receive all the news. For the photos it's different because you can buy photos by piece.

Q: And do they not get extra information since they are buying it? I am just wondering because they are actually making a payment, these channels to AFP, don't they actually get any extra information from what we have on the website?

A: What do you mean?

Q: I mean, the information they receive, do they receive it by email or do they have to log onto a system to access the news?

A: It depends. Some people receive by email, some people receive by satellite or they have different ways, yeah...

Q: And then it is up to them to use this news in the way they want?

A: After that, they can use it to cut, to do what they want about it.

Q: So, I presume then, correct me if I'm wrong, that the way you present the news is usually with more facts than any opinions because it is kind of like raw data.

A: You cannot have an opinion. If you wanted an opinion, you have to ask some experts to give their opinion. So it's clear that if there is an event, you have to ask to some experts which are not always the experts, but we have to ask them, to have their opinion about this and that. We are conceptualising the information by asking the expert to explain what it means, what they are thinking about it.

Q: And then do the news channels receive the information or the news from AFP before you actually publish it on your website or is this at the same time?

A: It depends...I have no idea how it...I cannot tell you exactly, but I think that generally all the news receives it at the same time. I think that for public news they receive it immediately, but even that I don't see how they do that....

Q: Do you have any idea about the whole news production process used by other channels or do you just, you know, leave them to do their work once you've given them the news you leave them to do their own work, you're not involved?

A: You mean the competitors or what?

Q: I'm talking about channels like Al Jazeera and France 24, euronews...

A: Yes, yes, say what you said.

Q: I'm saying, do you know about the news production process or do you just provide the news and then leave them to do what they want with it?

A: Yeah, we leave them to do what yeah. Sometimes, they can call us because they don't understand something or ...

Q: How do you think, in your point of view, how has international journalism evolved with Web 2.0 (with the introduction of so many social media platforms, in terms of news consumption, in terms of news production, in terms of the relationship between the journalist and the audience, in terms of the role of the journalist?)

A: I mean, I think that it was an evolution you know, in the beginning it was unclear, we didn't understand. As I told you before, we have to be the first and we have to give the right information. Today it's not important to be first, because you will never be the first, you have Twitter, you have these kinds of things. So we have to be the more accurate information.

Now also, from the other side, we are using Twitter, we are using Facebook, we are using all these kinds of audits to have our information to be certain about types of...to speak with people...we are using all these tools that didn't exist before but we are using them now.

But I don't know if I answer to your question.

Q: Yes, yes you are answering actually. And what about perhaps the way news is consumed by the audience. Do you find this has evolved and in what way?

A: In which way? I don't understand what you mean?

Q: Do you find the way people check the news today has changed?

Yeah, I think it's changed. Now, the people are looking, I see first they are switching from one side to the other side. I think they are looking on the websites to see the information that they agree with. They are not looking about information that they don't agree with. For example, people who are pro-regime or against the regime will seek information that they agree with. They are no looking, most of the time, at information that they disagree with.

Q: That's interesting, so you think people are selecting, people are selecting information?

Yeah, they want to be sure about...they want to be sure to read information about the right side And they are not looking, I think most of the people I saw, they are not looking about contradictory information.

Q: So, do you actually at AFP look at feedback from the audience? Do you look at comments that people put online with regards to a news story that you have published?

Yeah we are looking about it, but yeah. What has changed also is that before we were before is that we arenewspapers, radios, tv.... Now we are But we have some feedback from ...in fact not very much, but we have some feedback from some people who say they are not agreeing about this and that we are from this side or we are from that side. *Unclear*.... Sometimes if they see the information is not going in their side they will criticise.

Q: So, do you actually use their feedback?

No. Never. We are concerned about their feedback, but we are not using it.

Q: I actually read an interesting article that you wrote with regards to citizen journalism and information, sorry, wrong information going round on the internet. Do you remember what I'm talking about? You basically showed a picture of what seemed to be a Syrian child buried between his two parents? So I was wondering if you can tell me more about this point of view.

Yes yes...exactly. Yeah, it was a story of a child laying between the tomb of his two parents. It happened that in fact the photojournalist said it's absolutely not what it was said to be, it's my cousin and it's not tombs and so after that he was criticised because *unclear*. But I think that, yes, you have to be so yes you have to be very accurate... *unclear* to be sure that you are

on the safe side because you can see how horrible it is and that's when you discover that it's not true.

Yesterday it was the story about the 22,000 jihadist list. It was the names of the people who are in Daesh, you've seen the story from yesterday, it was everywhere, it was a list of 22,000 jihadists. Then after that, we checked about it and out of the 22,000 it was only 1,700 names because the names were repeated a few times. And after that, we checked that it was, I mean, the way that it was done is not the way Daesh is using. So, we tried to understand which tactics... so all the time, you have to be very aware, you know and to be sure that what you have it's true and it's not... And sometimes you have another ...For example in Aleppo, some days in Hama, sometimes the regime took it, sometimes the Daesh took it and sometimes after that it was.... so we are not giving all the time that one side took it. We wait for it to be clear and then after some time we give a story saying that 4 or 5 times change of hand from one side to the other...because I don't think that people will understand that OK it was one day with you and the other day with them.

Q: So, do you think that your role in AFP is also to correct wrong information, for example, this list of 200,000 [20,000] people in ISIS?

Yeah we did a story on it yes. And we asked also for experts to give it and we cannot say that if it's true or not true but what we can say is that there are some doubts or there are some questions about it *unclear* but we can say that there are some alerts about it so we are not sure about it or not. And that's more or less our job, you know to keep it and to yeah that's more or less what we have to do about it.

You know, I have to say something else. I have to say that in the beginning, I mean, more or *unclear* who were against the regime, they were concluding that the regime would fall in 5 or 4 months, and I think that, the problem is that, I don't like to say that but most of the media coming to Syria don't know the history of the country, I mean they are thinking that the story of the country starts the day they are arrived in the country and finishes the day they are leaving the country and this is not true, the history of the country started much longer before they came and will continue after they leave, so if you are not reading about the country, if you are not looking about the it, if you are not understanding the system of the country, it's very difficult for you to have an idea of what's going on. At that time, they were talking in the media but we have to understand that each country has its specificity, Tunisia, Egypt Yemen and Syria. And it was clear in my opinion that the regime would fight till the end and that Bashar will never back down and that it will not be so easy for the regime to fall. And so, it's quite important to understand the history of a country. Syria is very particular like Lebanon I think in that it's not easy when you have communities, when you have sects to understand the country.

I have to say that in 32 years....35 years now that each time I'm going to Syria I discover something else and it's the same for Lebanon you know. I remember when I came in Lebanon in the beginning of the 80s, a journalist told me: "You know Sammy, after one month in Lebanon, you have the feeling that you understand everything, but if you stay more, you will understand that you understand nothing". And that's the beginning of the way to understand.

S Atallah Bidart: I think I agree with you actually on that one.

And so it's taking time and I think you cannot; it's not very easy.

Q: So how does, actually, this question is not in the guide that I sent you but if you allow me to ask it, how does AFP work with regards to, you know, investigating news throughout the Arab Spring. So for example, you are in charge of Beirut and Syria and then what about the other countries in North Africa. Do we have one person per country?

A: I mean, we have one bureau in Tunisia, we have one I mean for Yemen it was in Dubai, and we have one in Egypt, what else, we have one in Libya and yes we have more or less officials

in different countries yes. But it could be good if maybe you ask to our Editor in Chief for the Middle East and he can give you more of an idea of how it works directly about the work. I am much more focused about Syria and Lebanon.

Q: And so actually, from what I've read, the central hub of news in the Middle East for AFP is in Cyprus, right?

A: Exactly, yeah the centre is in Cyprus *unclear*. And yeah, this is our hub, for different reasons, it was decided to be based in Cyprus. It was difficult to find a place where you can, in the Arab world where we can stay and we can work, and we also had to have a news wire with Israel within the Middle East. It would have been either Jordan or Egypt and it wasn't convenient for us.

Q: So basically, all your editors in chief from the different countries in the Arab world, you basically send all the news that you produce to Cyprus and then they work with it?

All our team ... We are in Beirut 6 journalists, 2 in French, 2 in Arabic and 2 in English. We are sending all the stories to, I mean we are editing the stories together but then after that we are sending it to Nicosia. And in Nicosia, Cyprus they are looking at it and checking on it and then after they send it to the clients so I think that if you want, you have to speak to our editor in chief in Cyprus and I will also send you our contact of our photographer in Beirut who can tell you more about how he is working about pictures.

Is it ok...or?

Yes, thank you so much for answering all these questions.

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT POUR LA PARTICIPATION EN ENTREVUE
avec **Sawsan Atallah Bidart** Doctorante en Science de l'Information et de la Communication
Thème de thèse : L'évolution du media international- Une étude du traitement de l'information à
travers les reportages sur le Printemps Arabe

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1. Objectifs

Le travail consiste à recueillir un témoignage sur la production de l'information pendant le Printemps Arabe. Cette démarche complète une observation de vidéos sur le Printemps Arabe et des recherches théoriques. Elle vise à mieux comprendre et analyser le traitement de l'information internationale. Ce formulaire vous est proposé comme cadre éthique à l'entrevue.

2. Confidentialité

L'enregistrement de l'entrevue et la transcription de l'entrevue seront conservés sur un serveur sécurisé. Les informations issues de l'entrevue seront utilisées dans le cadre de cette thèse, dans lequel vous pourriez être cité. Ce travail pourrait être réutilisé après sa publication.

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3. Contact pour publication

- Je voudrais qu'on m'envoie la transcription de l'entrevue ;
 J'accepte d'être recontacté à propos de ce travail
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Email :
Adresse :

4. Consentement

La nature du travail et la confidentialité des informations qui seront recueillies au cours de ce travail m'ont été expliquées.

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III. Interview Transcription 3- Al Jazeera English

Interview with former Al Jazeera English international correspondent Peter Greste
Date: September 2017

So, I have been doing a lot of reading about your work, and your history, and all the different things you have done. I understood that you were invited to Egypt by Al Jazeera English around December 2013 to take on a role as a correspondent. When you arrived, were you just thrust into the job or did you receive any training with regards to communication with the news team, with regard to the editorial line of Al Jazeera English, things like that?

PG: You've got to wind the clock back. The deployment was part of my routine work as a correspondent and I had been working for Al Jazeera as a correspondent since 2011, so I had already had a couple of years of work with them in East Africa and Southern Africa, and I received a copy of the editorial guidelines and the star guide – the standard documents that most credible news rooms have – and I also went through a hostile environments training with them as well, again as a matter of routine. I was also hired – I had 15 years with the BBC and I went through similar processes with the BBC – hostile environments training, editorial guidelines, editorial policy, those sorts of things – and so I was hired largely, or at least in part, on the strength of that work and that reputation with the BBC. Now, Al Jazeera has a lot of former BBC employees working for it, the editorial approach is very similar to the BBC's, and it was really an extension of that kind of training, that kind of experience and background, and so there wasn't much more specific training in that regard. I think it was accepted that I had the necessary experience and editorial qualifications.

SA: Okay. So, with regards to, for example, no go areas and people you should not be talking to, because that is specific to Egypt, did you have any of that information?

PG: No, in a case like Egypt where I had no real experience before, no deep understanding of the politics of the place, I worked very closely with the local staff; with Mohamed Fahmy, who was the Bureau Chief at the time, with Baher Mohamed who was one of the producers, but also several of the other local producers and fixers, and so on, and always worked with their guidelines, their guidance and direction around where we should go and what we should be doing. They also provided the kind of editorial – the first line of defence, if you like, because again they knew and understood the story far more intimately than I did. They had a much better grasp of the facts of the story and so if I ever said or wrote anything that was questionable they would immediately challenge it and we would deal with it then and there.

So, as I said, they were the first filter for both editorial issues but also the practical issues around safety and security in the field.

SA: So, onto my second question with regards to your sources of information. Did you work closely with other press agencies or did you have to work with citizen journalists, and how did you verify your sources?

PG: For a start, the Bureau – I didn't have a great deal of contacts, in fact I had no real contacts Egypt. The Bureau had a very hefty contact book, and they understood, they knew all of the key players. They had a lot of the analysts and so on who, again, they knew as a Bureau and trusted as a Bureau, the analysts, the sources and so, again, what I would do is work through the established network of contacts that the Bureau already had. We worked with agencies – the trusted agencies. Again, insofar as they were providing agency copy and any stories in breaking news, but what we would do – again, as any professional news organisation would – is we always made sure that we cross-checked those stories with second sources. So, if something broke on one of the agencies we would spot it and we would then make some phone calls to verify and confirm the information ourselves. Only then, once we had our own verification, would we then broadcast anything.

SA: Okay, because I know that during the crisis in Egypt there were a lot of citizen journalists that came out and they were publishing information, and I wondered if as journalists you are allowed to just quote information from citizen journalists, or do you have to have an official source of information?

PG: Well, the problem with a place like Egypt is that – and this is true, I think, of most conflict zones where it is very difficult for us as individual journalists to cross the front lines. In Egypt, there weren't necessarily physical front lines, but there were ideological lines that made it very difficult for us to go into some areas, you know – a lot of pro-Government agents, a lot of pro-Government supporters were very anti Al Jazeera and so it was very difficult for us to go into those areas and similarly we obviously couldn't go into the middle of some of the protests – the anti-Government protests – and so we would always rely on those so-called citizen journalists. Now, we were always very careful about how we used that information. Obviously, citizen journalists who are embedded in one side or the other have a particular interest in supporting those sides, and at the very least have a particular bias, and we had to account for that and strip away some of the more ideologically tainted information you might get, and you also work with people and develop a sense of trust for those, you know, you understand who is likely to give you straight information, which of those citizen journalists.

Again, in the case of Egypt, what we did was we knew for example that there were certain pictures that one news organisation called Rust, which is very close to the Brotherhood, was giving and generally their pictures were pretty solid. There was one set of pictures of some police beating a female protester in one of the Muslim Brotherhood demonstrations, and we cross-checked that information with a lot of other social media sources, and it all seemed to check out; it all seemed to be verified. The pictures that we saw were recognisable, the location was recognisable, there were quite a few other tweets from around that particular time that appeared to be original tweets, some with still images of the same event that all seemed to confirm and verify what we were getting from Rust. And we trusted Rust, even though we knew that their material was probably ideologically driven. The fact of that incident could still be verified and we still trusted Rust to at least not lie about or fake that particular incident.

SA: And would you, as a channel, have to say the source, or would you just say, ‘citizen journalist source’, or ‘activist source’?

PG: Generally speaking, we would acknowledge the source.

SA: Okay. I think you answered my third question, saying who you worked with mainly, most of the time. You worked with the Chief of the Bureau, but did you also have a cameraman with you at all times, for example?

PG: Well, being a television organisation we are not much good without a cameraman! Yes, we did. We had several local crews who were working with us.

SA: Okay, and were you often in touch with the headquarters in Doha, or were you always – I mean, for example, when you had to do live broadcasts, were you given some information prior to the live broadcast as to what they wanted you to focus on? Were you given some live news that maybe you had not seen before going live yourself?

PG: We always had these conversations with Doha, with head office, around what the story is. Of course, they are the ones that decide if they want to take a live cross or not, and we always have conversations around the kind of areas and topics that they want to discuss, but as the journalist the words that come out of my mouth are my responsibility, and so I would never have discussed or agreed a particular set or form of words, or a particular position or policy. What we would do is discuss sometimes the questions and I would generally give the questions to make sure that I was comfortable answering. I would give those questions to a presenter. They would say, ‘There’s been a development, we’d like a cross on the latest demonstration, please, or a cross on Muslim Brotherhood reaction to a particular development, or some cross on some security incident,’ and I would say, ‘That’s fine, why don’t we do it with these questions’, and again it’s up to the presenter to ask those questions or to go off on their own. A lot of them would generally do that but, as I said, what comes out of my mouth is my responsibility as a reporter and so I would have those conversations. That’s a part of normal discussion around what news organisations are putting to air. There wasn’t editorial direction in that respect.

SA: Okay. With regards to the news production procedures, how did the news team actually decide what to use in terms of images because I presume you have lots of images, you have lots of different interviews, different types of shots? What did you actually decide to send off to Doha at the end of the day? What made you decide, were there certain editorial lines you had to follow or were you journalistically deciding that this was more important than something else, for example?

PG: Well, the way the system works and let me talk in general terms first and then I can deal with the specifics. The specifics for Egypt weren’t particularly different for any other place. What happens is there is an initial discussion between you and the commissioning editors about the story that you are going to cover and they have to agree that this is a good story, and worth doing, and then you discuss the approach that you are going to take to the story. Generally speaking, it is up to us as reporters to explain what it is that we are going to be doing and if Doha has an issue then they will raise it and we will have a conversation around that. Again, that’s a part of normal – I’m kind of wary about implying that there is (and don’t get me wrong, I am not trying to second guess which way you are going with this), but any news organisation has conversations and arguments

and debates about the best way to cover a story, about the kinds of angles that we ought to be taking, who ought to be going into those sorts of stories and it was no different with Al Jazeera. But, again, because as a reporter it is my voice that goes on, I've got to be happy with that first and foremost. It's up to me to deal with that. So, there are two sources of veto – the editor has a veto over it and I have a veto over it as well. If either of us decides that we don't like what's being offered or what's being suggested then the story doesn't get done.

Once you get down to the nitty-gritty of the story, once we have agreed the overall approach to it (and most times really in my case, and I'm sure it's because I had good relationships with Doha, in most cases it was simply me saying, 'This is what I think we ought to be doing, this is how we are planning on approaching it'. So, we would go off and gather all the material and again it varies from story to story, of course, but generally speaking, if we couldn't get all of the shots and interviews ourselves then we would do one of three things. We would either ask for library material, or we would ask for agency material, which we knew was around, or we would ask Doha to bring in interviewees to add in to the story. In the case of Egypt, because it was very difficult for us to physically go and interview Muslim Brotherhood figures, and it was easier for Doha to get those guys on Skype, what we would do was discuss questions and the kind of soundbites that we were looking for from those interviews. Doha would then get them, they would report back to us with what was said and then we would work out the best soundbites to use in the story.

I then write the story and normally with most reporters we have a script approval process, so the reporter writes the script, the script gets sent off to Doha, the script editors have a look at it, approve it and the approved script then goes back to the reporter who edits the story and sends it back. In my case, what I tended to do was to write and edit at the same time, so I had an edit package and then I'd send the script off for approval and if there were any changes, and there almost never any substantive changes, it was more over syntax – maybe an awkward line here or a suggested change or something like that - and then they would let me know and I would just re-edit that little bit and send the piece off.

SA: Okay. So, in some cases, from what you are saying, Doha was able to get interviews with, for example, the Muslim Brotherhood. How were they able to get those interviews? I thought that you would be the person who put them in contact with people in the region? In this case, this was not always the case?

PG: No, not always. There were cases, for example, such as the time when there was an interim Government that was organising new constitutions and elections, and they would frequently make a statement and we would need some kind of line out of the Muslim Brotherhood. We could get them over the phone to get what the Brotherhood's position was or anticipate the likely response, but we still needed someone on camera and as I said it was very difficult for us to physically go and interview those guys because they were being watched and we didn't want to upset the authorities. We didn't want to provoke them, but we also recognised that we needed those soundbites, so Al Jazeera would then phone up their Muslim Brotherhood contacts and if they couldn't get hold of the ones that we wanted then they'd find someone else who was an appropriate spokesperson, interview them on Skype and then insert those soundbites into the package.

SA: Okay, I see. And were there times when you just sent raw material to Doha or did you always have whatever material you sent basically with your voiceover or you speaking direct to the camera?

PG: No, we almost never sent unedited or raw material. The only time I would send script without pictures was when there was agency material or library material that needed to be edited in in Doha. But in those places, I would get a fairly substantial, very detailed, shot list so I would have a pretty good idea of what was needed to go in there.

SA: Okay. My next question is with regard to how the news was diffused or distributed by Al Jazeera, so I don't really know if you will know the answers to these questions, but basically I have been working on a series of reviews that have been published on YouTube by Al Jazeera, so one of the questions is which videos do they decide to upload onto YouTube, for example, and the other is how do they decide whether to keep it with Al Jazeera English or to share it with the other Al Jazeera channels and the different editorial lines?>

PG: Okay, I can't answer that in any sort of detailed or substantive way. I know – my understanding is that almost all of the packages that we produced for the programmes were presented online in some form. I don't know how they decide which ones. I was never a part of that policy and I don't know what the decision-making process for that was. Most times, in most stories outside of Egypt or some of the more contentious areas, what we would do is the packages that we produced were all theoretically available to the other services of Al Jazeera. If they wanted to and decided they were interested in them they could translate them and re-broadcast them. In the case of Al Jazeera Arabic, in Egypt, we specifically asked several times to make sure that any of the stuff that we produced for Al Jazeera English from Cairo was not re-broadcast on either Al Jazeera Arabic or Mubashar Misr. That was because we were aware that those channels had been banned, and we didn't want to re-broadcast our material back on those networks. It is one of those things where what happens in principle ought to be quite straightforward, but sometimes that Wall of China, if you like, was breached and we complained about that quite a lot. What happens is that all of the material goes into the central servers and technically they are ring-fencing some stories off from other parts of the network, but it isn't as straightforward as it should be. I don't really understand the mechanics of it back in Doha. I do know that we asked for and it was generally agreed that it shouldn't happen, but sometimes it did.

SA: Just to confirm, it was only the Arabic Al Jazeera channels that then were shut down in Egypt?

PG: No, there was Mubasher Misr, which is Egypt Live, which is specifically for the Egyptian channels. They had been shut down, but they continued to broadcast into Egypt online, as a streaming service rather than as a satellite or cable TV service.

SA: And the Al Jazeera Arabic channel was banned, right? Or not at all?

PG: I don't know, to be honest. I'm sorry, I couldn't tell you for certain. I just don't know.

SA: Okay. So, the other question I had was what were the main differences between working as a correspondent in all the different locations that you represented Al Jazeera English in, and for the brief period that you presented in Egypt as well?

PG: I think – let me put it to you this way. Al Jazeera as an organisation was very interested in Africa, particularly because it fitted Al Jazeera's overall brief. 'A Voice for the Voiceless' – broadcasting from the global south to the global north, in a way, and I always found that Al Jazeera was very, very receptive to stuff from Africa – the stories that we produced from Africa. They were also, of course, very interested in the Middle East and in Egypt in particular. The big difference was that most people in Doha didn't know that much about Africa, so they didn't have much of an opinion on it, they didn't have much background, they didn't have much experience of African news and African affairs, so there wasn't much debate around the stories.

Egypt was very different. The Middle East was very different, because Doha was embedded in the Middle East, everyone that works there is much closer to Middle East politics and Middle Eastern affairs, and so everybody in Doha has a view about those sorts of stories and was much more engaged and much more likely to challenge the way you approached a particular story and argued through it. I wouldn't say that there was – I never experienced what people might call 'editorialising'; there was never any attempt that I felt to push me in a particular editorial direction. It's just that there was a lot more engagement over the detail of the story than there was from other parts of Africa. As I say, I attribute that more to the fact that they were in the middle of the Middle East rather than in the middle of Africa where I was.

SA: Okay. Did you also find; you mentioned a little bit earlier that it was also a bit difficult for you to approach certain people, like the Muslim Brotherhood, because they were considered you could not speak to them. Did you have this in other African countries, or was this the first time you had encountered the problem where you could not introduce certain people from the public?

PG: The problem was the physical challenges of getting them on camera that was always a problem, and no it wasn't unique to Egypt. In Somalia, we had contacts with Al-Shabab, but we couldn't physically go and interview them, partly because Al-Shabab was constantly being attacked but also because they had a nasty reputation for chopping foreigners' heads off and for kidnapping foreigners, and I didn't particularly want to become another one, even though we had what I considered to be a fairly decent relationship of trust with them. In Congo, there were a lot of war lords that even though we had contact with them, we had their satellite phone numbers, we couldn't always get across to speak to them. We had contacts in the south of Sudan, in southern Kurdufan, where we had similar issues with the rebel movements that were there. There are just times when physically you cannot cross those lines, but that doesn't mean that we don't have contact with those people. They've all got satellite phones, they've all got mobile phones, most of them have internet accounts and emails, and so on, so you can reach them, you just can't physically sit down with them in front of a camera.

SA: This just made me think of another question that's not actually on the document, so you can tell me if you want to answer it. I was wondering if when you work in such conflict zones you are allowed to have a bodyguard or someone to protect you when you go into these dangerous areas?

PG: It depends on the place. Let me start by saying that it's very, very rare. The first position is generally to work without bodyguards, and particularly without armed bodyguards, because our view is that that makes you more of a target, not less. We think that if we carry weapons or we have bodyguards who carry weapons, then we think that that's more likely to engage anybody who wants us in a gun battle, and we don't want to be in that position. We also think that if you carry weapons you are intrinsically seen as hostile, when in fact as non-combatants we are not hostile. Our role on the battlefield is as observers, not participants. If you carry weapons you really become a participant, even if that's not the way you see things.

In places like Somalia, though, or Baghdad, that's very different. Just by virtue of being a white face you make yourself very much a target. In Somalia, kidnapping was rife and so we always worked with local bodyguards who were very heavily armed, because just by being a white guy it's enough to make yourself a target and being independent, being unarmed, is not only foolish and not really an option, it's kind of expected. It's not unusual for anybody of any importance to have bodyguards, and so in that respect we wouldn't have been seen as anything unusual. Baghdad was similar, you know, just by dint of being a white guy in that environment you had to have bodyguards or you risked being shot. We know this from bitter, bitter experience. In Mogadishu, back in 2005, the producer that I was working with, Kate Peyton, was shot in the back. In Somalia, there were two other journalists, Amanda Lindhout, a Canadian journalist, and cameraman Nigel Brennan were both kidnapped when they were trying to work without bodyguards and they spent over a year as hostages in Somalia. Another cameraman, Mark Madler, was shot in the back of the head when he was filming at a political demonstration. So, when you see that, when you have that experience, you realise that actually it's just sheer stupidity to go without. And, you know, there are similar experiences of journalists being killed and kidnapped in Baghdad too.

SA: And it's not a problem with the network when you contact the headquarters and say, 'I need a bodyguard,' – they don't say, 'You shouldn't be going to that place'. They'll provide one for you?

PG: Oh no, it is always a big issue. It is always an issue in the sense that it's a serious change of policy and it's also involves serious expense. It's a costly business hiring bodyguards, and you can't spend that money without a discussion and, as I said, editorially it changes the dynamics. It radically changes the way you are seen and the way that you operate, the way that you function in an environment like that, and so you have to have sign off. When I say that it's a serious issue, it's not to say that they would instinctively resist it, but it's got to be discussed at the very highest level, because it sets precedents, it changes the nature of the journalism. When you show up to interview someone and you've got some armed bodyguard standing behind you, it changes the nature of your relationship with the people that you are interviewing, and very rarely in a good way. If you simply rock up as a bloke with a notepad and a pen and a cameraman it makes it a lot easier. It is a much more equal kind of relationship. Now, as I said, in places like Baghdad, and Mogadishu, it is recognised that that is how you simply have to do business, and actually the change in relationship isn't that serious. But, it's not something that anybody does lightly and as journalists we always, always have an instinctive dislike of operating with bodyguards. No-one likes it and no-one wants them. Where possible, we avoid it for those very reasons, but sometimes if you want to cover these stories then the only way

of doing it without getting yourself killed or kidnapped is to bring a bunch of goons along for the ride.

SA: Okay. I wanted to ask, based on your experience with other networks, did you see specific differences between working for Al Jazeera English and the others in terms of how you worked and who did the roles in terms of the editorial line, in terms of certain things that are perhaps allowed or not allowed?

PG: Not really. The only differences in my mind were relatively minor. Differences of corporate style, corporate culture, but not in any significant editorial way. No, I couldn't say that there was any different shift there. The only thing is that Al Jazeera had, by dint of its editorial approach to stories, and partly by dint also of its location, it had a much more global view of events. It was much more interested in stories from the developing world than the BBC ever was. The BBC has a very London-centric, a very Anglo-centric view of the world and obviously, stories for the BBC that had a British angle would get priority. Or stories that reflected a kind of Euro-centric view of the world just because when you are sitting in London that's what you tend to see, that's how you tend to think and understand the world.

SA: What about you in conflict zones, when you requested information and you said you were representing Al Jazeera or you were representing the BBC, would you get the same kind of feedback based on their reputations did you have either difficulties or more ease at getting in to get an interview, for example?

PG: Not really. Al Jazeera had a strong reputation and people would respond to it quite well.

SA: Can we do one more question, or would you like to stop here?

PG: What's the question?

SA: This is the one basically where I said during your time in Egypt, Al Jazeera Arabic and the Government received a reputation for being sympathetic to the Muslim Brotherhood, and I wanted to ask you if as a journalist, you would think this is accurate? If yes, why, and if not why not?

PG: The short answer is I don't know. I don't speak Arabic and I wasn't able to make that kind of judgement. I really wasn't. All I can – other people said it was, some said not, it's really difficult for me to give you a considered view on it because without speaking Arabic it's really tough.

SA: So, it's an easy answer actually! I have three more questions. Do you want us to do them today, or do you want to do them some other time?

PG: Can we pick this up tomorrow, if that's okay with you? Or you can send them to me by email, if you like, and I can try and write a response.

SA: Yes, that would be good.

[The rest of the interview was carried out via email]

i. Email Communication questions with Al Jazeera Correspondent- Interviewee 4

Re: Interview Guidelines for PhD Thesis

Sep 15, 2017 2:54 AM

Hide details

Peter Greste > SAWSAN ATALLAH BIDART

Hi Susie,

Answers below...

Good luck, and don't hesitate to get back to me if you have any more questions.

Regards

Peter

From: SAWSAN ATALLAH BIDART <sawsan-ghazi.bidart@etu.u-bordeaux-montaigne.fr>

Reply-To: SAWSAN ATALLAH BIDART <sawsan-ghazi.bidart@etu.u-bordeaux-montaigne.fr>

Date: Wed, 13 Sep 2017 10:06:03 +0200 (CEST)

To: Peter Greste <petergreste@gmail.com>

Subject: Re: Interview Guidelines for PhD Thesis

Hello Peter,

Thank you very much for the time you gave me earlier today and the insight you offered into being an international correspondent for Al Jazeera English.

As you suggested, I am sending you my 3 final questions via email below. I would really appreciate it if you could respond to my questions by email.

1. What are the ways in which a news network maintains its independence despite being owned by a government? Do you think AJ English did a good job of maintaining independence during your time as a correspondent in Egypt? How?

The main ways a network keeps its independence is to keep a clear firewall between the government and the newsroom. It isn't always easy – even the BBC gets cranky calls from British ministers, demanding they take a particular editorial line, particularly when it comes to reporting on the World Service.

There needs to be three things to keep independence:

1. Legal barriers, making it clear in the organization's charter that there must be no editorial interference by governments
2. A strong, reliable source of funds for the news organization that is not vulnerable to the whim of the treasurer.

3. A culture of editorial independence and an acceptance of that culture by the government.

On paper, Al Jazeera has the legal independence it needs to operate without interference. The funding is still vulnerable to pressure from the government, but most importantly, there was a solid culture of independence, that came with the staff that AJE hired from places like the BBC, CNN, the ABC here in Australia, and other similar, highly respected networks around the world. I never saw any attempt to interfere with my stories, and I was not aware of pressure from above. That isn't to say it didn't happen, but I was never aware of it. I think that on balance, Al Jazeera English did a pretty good job of protecting its independence. Of course there are elements of self-censorship in there... Al Jazeera never did much reporting on Qatari affairs, and I think that is a reflection of how nervous it was about criticizing its masters, but I consider that to be a sin of omission, rather than evidence of direct pressure or coercion.

2. In a letter from prison in Egypt, you referred to US President George Bush's famous words "you are either with the government or with the terrorists" and then you asked "How do you accurately and fairly report on Egypt's ongoing political struggle without talking to everyone involved?" What is your opinion on censorship today in an interconnected world where the label "terrorism" is used loosely by governments?

See my book, due out in October, "The First Casualty". (There will soon be a French version available, by the way... ;-)) I think governments are using national security to chip away at freedom of the press and freedom of expression more broadly. Sometimes – as in Egypt – this is a very cynical redefinition of "terrorism" to include 'the opposition'. Anything that is a threat to 'national unity', can be defined as 'terrorism', and of course that often means criticism or questioning of government policies. But equally, I think places like the US, Australia and (yes) France are all doing similar things. It isn't always cynical – no politician wants to be accused of being "soft on national security" by arguing against tougher security measures, but in all those three countries, we have seen the ability of the press to do its job and hold governments to account eroded. President Obama used the Espionage Act of 1918 to prosecute more than twice as many people than all his predecessors combined, and in almost all of those cases, he went after either journalists or their sources. In Australia, the government has introduced metadata legislation that gives government agencies access to anybody's metadata without a warrant. That information has been used to track down the sources of politically embarrassing leaks – not of breaches of national security. With regards to censorship, I think self-censorship is a bigger problem than official censorship. Few governments deliberately censor the press these days. Instead, they use intimidation, or terrorism charges in the way they did with us in Egypt and the way the Turkish government has done, and of course that leads to journalists censoring themselves.

3. Related to censorship is the safety of journalists. As an AJ staff in Egypt, prior to your arrest, did you feel safe? Were you given appropriate tools for protection (helmets, bullet proof vests, training...)? And going forward, what, in your campaign to protect other journalists from being arrested or harmed, would you say is crucial for both governments and organisations to put in place so as to protect freedom of speech and journalists?

In Egypt, I never felt unsafe before our arrest. I was aware of a lot of pressure on Al Jazeera, but out in the streets, I never felt especially vulnerable. We had personal protection equipment, including body armor and helmets, and I think all of us had been through hostile environments training. (I had been through four or five courses and refreshers with the BBC, and one with

Al Jazeera). Physically at least, I was not concerned. I think more broadly, we need greater understanding by governments of the vital role that a free press plays in a functioning democracy. By damaging the press, they damage the system that has made places like France, the US and Australia some of the most successful on earth. There needs to be more robust legal protection of the media and its independence, and governments need to roll back – or at least build protections – into national security legislation that currently undermines press freedom.

I look forward to reading your responses.

Best wishes,
Susie

ii. Email Communication questions with Al Jazeera English Head of News Gathering – Interviewee 5

Interview with Heather Allan- AJ English Head of News Gathering from 2009-2015
Date: 2017

- 1. As Head of News Gathering to AJ English, during the Arab Spring, where were you based? Did you personally have to move as the Arab Spring moved?**
I was based the entire duration of the Arab Spring at AJE HQ in Doha. That was my base for my entire tenure as Head of News
- 2. Could you describe your role in news production vis-à-vis the news team of AJ English? Who did you have to work with and what were their roles in news production?**
I am not sure what you are asking here, but I will try answer. At AJE we had two arms in the news division. News gathering, which included all global coverage, the field teams, the foreign bureaus. Then in Doha HQ there was News Output. This is the in house news production team that actually put the shows together. That is, the writers, editors, in-house producers and reporters. So New Gathering brought everything into Doha, and News Output put everything out to air from Doha. This is a similar set up to the BBC and ITN and CNN.
- 3. What were the sources of information and the procedure of news selection by AJ English during the time of the Arab Spring?**
 - a. Press agencies, which ones?** *All press agencies. AP, Reuters, AFP, BBC, NYT, The Guardian, local Arab press agencies, our own people. Twitter, Facebook and other social media.*
 - b. Citizen Journalism Press agencies? Which ones?** *I don't believe we used Citizen Press agencies.*
 - c. Citizen journalists directly** *We had our own bureau staffed with our own journalists, and they in turn had their own sources on the ground.*
 - d. How did you verify your sources?** *As much as possible verification was done by our staff on the ground and by the news desk in Doha, as well as the interview bookers/producers who booked guests for air. We also used an independent service called Storyful. This is a verifying service used by most mainstream media outlets.*
- 4. What were the news production procedures by AJ English for stories from the Arab Spring?**
 - a. How did the news team decide what to use in terms of images, videos, (for example, showing scenes of violence, war...etc far shots, close shots**

By and large we did not want to show gratuitous violence, but we also needed to be sure we were showing the truth of what was happening on the ground. It was up to

the cutting producer and editor to decide how the actual material was edited in house. Our field reports always came in edited.

b. How did the news team decide how to present this news (e.g.: with a correspondent, in studio, facing camera, off camera, etc...)

Again, it was up to the News Output senior producer to decide what each news hour should look like. What the lead stories should be, and the show rundown. The questions you are asking in this regard were not something Newsgathering did. Like the title implies, we gathered the news, we didn't produce the on air product. If an Output producer wanted a field reporter or correspondent in their allotted hour, Newsgathering would set it up.

c. Did international correspondents send their material to Doha to be produced for air, or did Doha receive reportages that were ready for air from various correspondents?

All reports from the global teams came into Doha edited. It would be a very rare occasion that we would package in house, and that would usually be for logistical reasons, or for the safety of the field team.

5. How were news stories from the Arab Spring distributed by AJ English?

a. AJ English only, shared with other AJ channels

By and large most of our material was used only on AJE but other AJ channels were certainly able to access our material and use it.

b. Online channels: AJ website, social media platforms

AJ Online websites and social media platforms could use any of our material, and field teams also contributed directly to those platforms.

c. Who was in charge of these decisions?

No-one was in charge of these decisions. There were three main editorial meetings every day, which were attended by senior staff of all outlets and entities, so everyone knew what was and was not happening in the newsgathering world. Any questions and issues regarding coverage, logistics, usage, problems would be discussed in these meeting, and throughout the day there would be continued dialogue. A Newsroom not a vacuum. All players are at the table and there is a constant information flow.

6. In terms of taking in new AJ English staff, such as freelance or permanent international correspondents, is specific training offered? (communication with news team on the editorial line, stories sought, interview types, angles, safety in the countries they are based, no-go areas for journalists...)

Yes there is training of new staff, both for new hires and freelancers. As much as possible they are given hostile environment training, and time in Doha to meet all the people they will work with and for. But we had a wide variety of freelancers with very different skill sets. Each one would be handled differently depending on where they were, what we expected them to do, what they were covering, what the situation was on the ground, safety. It is never a one size fits all approach. All stories and story pitches had to come Doha first for clearance to proceed. If it was a risky deployment the pitch had to come with a risk assessment before decisions were made on continuing. You ask about "angles" I am presuming you are talking about the way things are shot? Again, the majority of our camera people including freelancers are professionals. They do what they do best without being micro managed about how to shoot. Safety always very important and we definitely had no-go areas and times.

7. **What are the main differences (challenges or otherwise) you can think of when you look back at how AJ English covered the news for the various countries that had an uprising? For example: Bahrain (Saudi troops coming in), Egypt (downfall of Mubarak & then Morsi), Libya (the death of Gaddafi), Saudi Arabia (women's right to vote), Syria (Sarin gas in Ghoutta), Tunisia (Bouazizi death & the president fleeing), Yemen (the president fleeing)...or others you can remember more clearly.**

I am not sure what you are asking here. The main differences to what? If you are asking about challenges, there were many. Bahrain we covered extensively, until we were totally banned and our staff threatened with Immediate arrest and jail. No-one covered Bahrain like we did. We got the Saudi troops arriving, and we even got a documentary shot that won critical acclaim. Shouting in the Dark. Egypt. We had a fully staffed and functioning AJE bureau in Cairo, in addition we staffed up with many extra teams from around the world. Safety was the big concern as well as the constant harassment from Egyptian authorities, especially towards AJ, and by extension AJE. Libya, we went into with many teams, both from the east, and from the west. Again, this was a very dangerous situation on the ground and safety was a major concern. Saudi Arabia. We could never get into Saudi to cover anything ever except the HAJ and that would be extremely limited. We covered Saudi like everyone else, from outside the country. Syria, we covered in the very, very early stages of the conflict, either through or Lebanon. As the fighting escalated Syria was an absolute no-go zone for AJE and I believe remains that way. AS AJ we would never be given a visa for Damascus although we tried often. This is not to say we didn't cover the story but in terms of boots on the ground in Syria, it's an absolute no-go. Tunisia we covered constantly and still do. We had no real issues there. Yemen. We covered constantly, before the current war and situation. We had staff there almost all the time until again the situation on the ground became so dangerous we couldn't stay. It is now a no-go country.

8. **You have worked with other media networks in the past. Can you think of any specific differences that impacted your work when it comes to news gathering & production?**

The main differences for me, working at AJE, as opposed to other mainstream media, was the incredible stretch/reach of the news operation. We had bureaus in parts of the world no one else bothered about. The commitment to having bureaus in Africa, Central America, South America, and Asia was for me the best, and the biggest difference to the other outlets. The commitment to hiring local journalists from these countries was uplifting, And the dedication to actually covering news from these countries was extremely gratifying. AJE has a true world view, and covers the world I believe like no-one else can do, or wants to do.

9. **What are the ways in which a news network maintains its independence despite being owned by a government? Can you give some examples from the Arab Spring?**

All I can tell you is that in my tenure at AJE I saw no influence from the Qatari government in our editorial management of the channel. Certainly there was no influence from them in our coverage of the Arab Spring. I can only talk for AJE. It would be naïve of anyone to think that behind the scenes conversations and pressure were being exerted, but in the day to day running of things we had editorial freedom. All this being said, the one place it was hard to do stories on was Qatar itself. We did get a few through, like the plight of migrant workers, but it was extremely difficult to

get anything done in and on Qatar. On the few occasions we could do anything, it was usually dog and pony shows with visiting dignitaries or conferences.

- 10. Al Jazeera as a network has been the target of various organisations, governments and groups for some time now with attacks on the network ranging from bombs and office closures to journalists being beaten and arrested... What needs to be done to ensure there is freedom of speech and representation of reality by journalists on an international level in an interconnected world that seems to predefine what perimeters of reality can be represented by the media?**

The attacks on Aljazeera I believe are unfair and strike at the very heart of freedom on the press. As we have said on every occasion that we have been challenged, journalism is not a crime. However, it is very subjective. Even if countries, especially in the Middle East, disagree with AJ and it's news product, it is still the most robust organization out there. Many leaders find it threatening to them and their regimes, many countries do not like coverage they get or find it unflattering. Examples would be some of the following. a) AJE has been covering the plight of the Rohingyas in Myanmar for months. Not just this latest round, but months and months before the rest of the world press got it onto their radar screens. b) the degradation of the Delta by oil companies in Nigeria. Also in Nigeria, we were the first up to Maiduguri when Boko Haram kidnapped the school girls, and we constantly cover the follow up. c) the Australian detention centers in Nauru. We got in and covered, under cover. d) Just recently we were deep in the Amazon where loggers reportedly killed 10 members of an ancient tribe. The reporting we do, not all of it. but a lot of it, resounds with our peers in the industry. When we have been attacked, numerous news organizations have come to our defense. The international journalism committees and organizations have also done the same. I believe that we should all stick together and support one another because on any given day it could be another organizations turn to be vilified and shut down. Our only defense is strength in numbers, and loud, clear voices.

IV. Interview Transcription 6- Citizenside/Crowdspark

Interview with Laura Placide, Editor in Chief, Citizenside Newzulu, Paris
Date: 25/03/2016

Q: Can you start off by reminding us just for the purpose of the recording who you are and what your role is at Citizenside Newzulu?

R: OK. My name is Laura Placide and I'm the Editor in Chief at Newzulu.

Q: Can you also try to present Citizenside from what you know about it, from your experience with it, because you are actually working there? What are the objectives of Citizenside, a little bit about who you work with and who are your clients?

R: OK, so Citizenside is a crowdsource newswire. We work with professionals and amateurs alike. They send us content, footage and videos, exclusively, both spontaneously and on request also. We send news calls or sometimes we also have assignments. Those people send us news, send us content, either on the site or on the mobile app that we have. That content goes into a platform that was built for verification purposes. So, then the journalists that we have, they verify the content. That verification is both technical and human. The technical verification is done through IP tracking, meta data matching, making sure that everything is correct on the file front let's say. Then, there's the human verification that is, 'did that happen where it was supposed to happen at the time it was supposed to happen? What happened exactly? who was there and so on'? That content, once verified, once those verifications are done, the content is packaged for distribution. It's published on our site first and then packaged for distribution. The distribution is done largely through third parties such as AFP in France, we also work with Associated Press, but we also have a network, more local newswires such as Press Association in the UK, the Associated Press in Australia, the Canadian Press and so on. We work with, I think the count is, 21 partners, newswires. And we also distribute our content directly to some people. If the content is sold then the content producer gets 50% of the sale.

Q: Do you have your own journalists?

R: We have a team here in Paris and also one in New York that work, so we cover round the clock news. And yes, we have our own journalists, because the people that send us content are mostly not journalists. They are just content producers, whether they are professionals or amateurs and then it's our job to turn it into journalistic content. So, we do the verification, but also, you know, sometimes it lacks that slight angle, or you know, just a small thing to be journalistic content. So that's our job.

Q: And do you actually train any of these amateurs? Is that part of your role?

R: What we do is really community management in the purer sense of the word and that is that we help that community and we try and tell them what we want in terms of content, what our partners and clients want. But we also try and help them into producing better, more efficient, more saleable content. So, we work really closely with our community. We have tutorials...we were in touch with them, you know, a lot of them. We have some 40,000 contributors at the moment. We're in touch with a lot of them on a daily basis trying to help them improve their work, but also, we are trying to teach them about safety, we are trying to help them gain access to some events sometimes, whether it's, you know, for a political event, we might deliver

accreditation, but it's just when you provide a media letter to someone in a conflict zone, you know, that gives them some kind of security. So we also do that, and we definitely try and help them cover the news better, especially in conflict zones or developing countries that don't have like free press or anything.

Q: With the Arab Spring, did you get a lot of news via citizen journalists from various countries?

R: Yeah, we worked. That was a busy year obviously. We managed to get content from I think all the countries that were touched by that specific event. It was almost exclusively coming from citizens, so from amateurs. We also had some professionals, but the business was different at that time, so it was mostly amateurs. And we were looking for content from everywhere, because we are here to cover the news, so we were trying to manage and get content from Syria and Yemen and Tunisia and so on.

Q: What is the relationship between Citizenside and AFP? What was your role in locations where they are already based during the Arab Spring?

R: AFP is a partner, it's a distribution partner so they don't commission us to do anything. They get the content that we give them basically. So even if they have bureaus in some of those countries, we are trying to get content with a different angle, a different perspective. They have their journalists and those people produce really good content, but they don't have access to the crowd and to the citizens. And so that's what we were bringing to the table and we're still bringing to the table today. And that's why those people work with us, because they have access to traditional formats and traditional reports. We provide them perspective from the crowd which is quite different.

Q: How is human verification done by you if you don't actually have journalists in those locations? From what I understand, you have journalists in New York and in Paris, not in the Arab countries, so how were you able to verify those stories?

R: So, we have a community of dozens of thousands of people that we know quite well. Some of them, we use as ambassadors and also to help us verify the contents. We check, fortunately, today, you can check a lot of things through the various tools that the web gives us and if we don't have those information, you know quick phone call, we know someone that might know someone. We never distribute a content if we're not 90 – 95% sure of its authenticity and so on. So, we use a lot of our network to verify stories. Because we are dealing with so many topics at once, you know, we are across everything that is going on, or at least one of us in the newsroom is gonna be like, not a specialist, but some kind of specialist of a particular area of the world. Specifically for the Arab Spring, I remember using a lot of our community. There were people that we knew well and trusted that helped us verify the content. Because it was a really biased conflict, you have to be really careful with your sources, because they obviously had an opinion. But our role is not to distribute opinions, it is to distribute facts. So we always confront several sources. If we don't have several sources, we just don't go with it. So, either we use everything that's out there and also our network.

Q: Do you use Storyful?

R: Yep, Storyful is one of the main organisations dealing with UGC. They don't have a community but they source crowds.

Q: How do you verify live streams?

R: with live streams, the technical verifications are pretty easy, because you know that the people, that the person is shooting from there, so at least that's one information that we have.

And also we do geolocation, so once you have that, you're quite satisfied with that, at least the technical verification. And then, we have someone that is in start of cleaning the incoming streams, so it's not verification per say, but we prevent anything that might have nudity or profanity or anything of the kind to our partners or our clients that might receive the streams. And then also, we have quite the expertise among us in the newsroom, so if in it's a specific area, one of us or a couple of us should be able to identify the city, we might have someone looking at the stream and someone else looking for pictures from that city, to make we can determine where exactly it happens and so on.

[Geolocation] is not IP, because when you use a smartphone, the IP is usually the IP of the provider, so what we do is to geolocate the contents or we do gps trails, it depends.

Q: So, what was the production process of news stories during the Arab Spring?

R: Well, it depends on the way we were receiving the content, because at the time, as you are well aware, the internet wasn't as good as it is now and also a lot of those countries actually cut internet access or limited them and the social media weren't as powerful as they are today. So we were receiving the content through the site, a little bit through the app but not that much but a lot through emails and other means. So, sometimes we had to upload the contents. What we were doing is just the same process that we are doing for every content that we get, which is that we verified everything that was in those pictures or footage, that means every.... Because a lot of the images that we received were also manipulated, like edited and so on. So, it was real important to... and also because of the bias of the conflict and so on, a lot of people were trying to send us stuff that they wanted out there. But, when we get content that has a political bias or something, it's our job to make sure that first we mention the sourced bias, so if we don't give their name because sometimes they want to remain anonymous, especially during the Arab spring, but if we know that that person is an Assad supporter or someone from the opposition, it was important for us to make mention of that. It's just a mention and then I think 95% of the time, the caption, the description, the copy that went with the article, the content, was modified by our journalists to be purely factual and not like for example, we received something saying "Assad is killing his people" for example and what we turned it into was "An attack happened at that time in that city". So we turn into journalistic content.

Q: Because at the end of the day, you have your partners who are going to buy that raw date from you and present it in the way they want to?

R: Yeah. But it's not our job to.... Our job is to distribute content with the facts. We're a newswire, we're not biased, and we're not owned by any political party. We all have our political opinion, but that has nothing to do with the job. So, the aim is really to give the facts to the media that are going to buy the content so they are able to do whatever they want with the content, but at least we're not biased to any political parties.

Q: So after making such changes to the content and uploading it, do all of your clients have access to the same kind of information or do they have requests, for example, you mentioned assignments?

R: Yeah, but it was quite different at the same. Currently, we have 21 partners, in the past we had AFP and a couple of media in France. Citizenside and what is now Newzulu has changed a lot since the Arab Spring; it's not the same company at all. I was there for both but the difference is that it's just not the same company. But in that sense, the content is always the same. We distribute the same content to everybody. We're not going to send a different caption for a Russian partner or an American Partner or so on. They just receive the exact same caption because it's objective and factual, so we don't have to change anything.

Q: So, it was a lot simpler during the Arab Spring with regards to distribution of the content, because you had one particular client, which was AFP?

R: It changes in terms of revenue, but it doesn't change much, the fact that we have one or twenty partners. For us it's the same distribution, because, as I just mentioned, we send the same content. And then, it's just the technology that we have that enables us to distribute to all of those people rather than just one.

Q: Were there things during the Arab Spring that you wouldn't accept to post apart from points of views?

R: We never distribute graphic content if it's not necessary to the story. If it isn't the story itself or it's not absolutely necessary to the story. You can tell the story of a murder without having to show the body.

Q: In Gaddafi's case for example, did you show the body?

R: We didn't have the image, so that's quite different. But in some instances and it's not the Arab Spring, but 2011 was also the year of civil war in Nigeria, for example and you know, you had to show the really graphic content to depict the horror of what was going on. So, you had to show the burning bodies, the burnt bodies, those nightmarish images. During the Arab Spring, sometimes you had to, because like in Egypt, it was a really violent conflict and so on. You had to show police brutality or the army and sometimes you didn't have to because you know, just a massive protest with people, you know, carrying flags and signs and so on, is enough to depict what the image is actually about, what that specific event is actually about. And sometimes, among those twenty photos that you have of a protest, someone is going to, like, the photographer is going to add a photo of a body on the side or something and it's not absolutely necessary for people to understand the violence of the protest, to show that body, so we might dismiss that image. But, it's really on a per story basis.

Q: Do you in some cases cooperate with other channels. I've had some feedback from some of the people I've interviewed that Al Jazeera played a very big role with regards to communication of information by citizen journalists, specifically in Tunisia, and I wanted to know if you agree. Did you cooperate with them?

R: No, we didn't work with anybody, because we rely on our community and they were the one helping us getting content, they were the one helping getting other people on board that might be in different cities, not just the capital cities, but there were also stuff happening everywhere else and so on. We didn't at the time, but we do it now for some specific events, at the time it was less on our own.

Q: Is there a specific profile for the citizen journalist? Are they all activists? Do they approach you or do you approach them? How are they approached?

R: There's not a profile, because, as I said, our community is divided between professionals or at least freelancers let's say, there might be semi-pros and pros and amateurs. For the professionals, obviously there is some kind of profile, content has to be good, has to be high quality let's say. For the amateurs, it's about being in the right place at the right time. Because, usually, they don't go and, you know, say 'this morning, I'm going to cover that'. That's not what happens, these people have real jobs or not journalistic jobs and they witness something on their way to work or on their way to the restaurant or something; I couldn't tell you what the typical contributor looks like because they are so varied. It might be a student, it might be a 60 year old grandma in Oklahoma that was just on her way to wherever and she witnessed a car accident, so it's really and, those people, some come to us directly, some we go and find on social media or anyway we can find them and we don't target a specific type of people.

Obviously, you need to be a little bit, not tech savvy, but like, technology friendly, because you need a smartphone, not a smartphone, because in Africa sometimes, we can't really talk about smartphones, but at least a phone that shoots photos. And then, there is no other criteria than having content.

Q: So, I noticed that on your website you post the videos there and I noticed that you also share the videos on different social media as well like YouTube etc. And I noticed that you have comments. I was wondering if you look at these comments. Is it part of what you do on a daily basis? Is it important to you as an organisation to read those comments?

R: Well, I don't personally. But, we have someone that is supposed to take care of that. It's important obviously, because those people that are commenting on stories are also potential contributors. Sometimes they're happy with the content, sometimes they insult us. It's the web and comments are probably the worst thing in the word sense, I don't know... But then also because we are a crowdsource platform... you know, freedom of speech... I don't mind if somebody doesn't like the video that we've published. They can express themselves as long as they're not racist or offensive to one of my staff or to the person that shot the content. You can be in a position with what we post, I don't mind, it's just that we moderate racism, offence and so on, the rest....be my guest.

Q: How do you see that journalism has evolved with Web 2.0, because you are working in this field specifically, have you seen that there is a big change in the role of the journalism?

R: Well, I'm going to talk about what I know, which is User Generated Content. When I worked first at Citizenside in 2010, you didn't see that much User Generated Content in the news. Now, it's always and every single time the first images that you see when there is breaking news. So, the evolution in journalism is that now, media organisations rely on the people to be the first witness of the event and that you get the news as fresh as it can be. Whereas, before, you had to wait a little bit for a crew to arrive, or for a news organisation to find a correspondent or just to find someone, but that someone was always late.

Q: That's interesting. So, would you say then that your clients, you know other media organisations, would you say that sometimes they use your content just to find out about something new, rather than to actually use it before they actually send their own team down there?

R: It's not to find something new, but we often manage to get content before they do, because we have people on the ground, so, you know, when something breaks, like, we're probably going to have the first, maybe not in a very timely matter, at the time it happens, sometimes we do, but it's just, we're going to have....you know, taking the Brussels Attack, we're going to have videos of the explosion, no journalist was there, because they didn't know, whereas someone who is travelling from ..is going to be there, is going to send it to us. Those are going to be the first images that are shown on TV. So, it's not that they're now finding out things through us, sometimes they do, but it's just that we provide them....UGC provides them with the instant news and the first images of every single breaking news. When it's a planned event, it's completely different. What people want to see from the Brussel's attack is not that ambulances arriving, they want to see that, but first, they want to see the actual explosion and no news organisation has footage of the actual explosion. It had to come from someone on the ground, someone that wasn't a journalist and someone that's going to share the content if they're on social media or through a platform like ours.

Q: Once they do buy news from your platform, do they have to say that this is footage from a citizen journalist?

R: They have to give credit to us and the contributor, if the contributor is OK with having their name out there, so yes, on most of our platforms, our partner platforms, it's mentioned that it is UGC and not professional journalists. At least, it's in all of our agreements that they have to credit the author of the content.

Q: So, would you say the role of the journalist – not the citizen journalist- would be more to verify the content?

R: I'm not saying that that's what journalists should be doing now. My team- that's what we're doing, because we have to thaw through, I don't remember how much it is, but it's in dozens of millions of images are shared on Facebook every day. That is not news until it is actually verified by someone with a journalism degree, someone that has journalism background, that understands the news, that verifies everything. Twitter, Facebook and so on... the difference between those platforms and what we do is that we actually verify information and that prevents people from sharing hoax, videos that were taken in Russia for the Brussel's attack. I feel this step is really important. That's what my team is doing, sourcing content, verifying it, turning it into journalistic content. A news is not news to me until it has been verified.

Q: With regards to content selection, correct me if I'm wrong, when a citizen journalist posts some information/news on your website, it basically gets put up on your website and then after some days, if nobody buys it, then it simply gets discarded?

R: No, the site is not a sales platform, it's not a marketplace. The site is just for show, to show people the type of content that we want. We choose what we want to put up there and usually what we put up there is the content that is not usually, it's 100% the content that is on the site is content that we distribute to our partners.

The way we distribute to our partners is that- the content that we have is shown on their platforms. It's not discarded or anything, it's just that because it's news, it changes all the time. But, we have images as far as as 2010 on AFP platform for example and then people can search through it, buy it if they want. You know, if you want a portrait of someone who hasn't been seen since 2010, then they might buy the picture from that time. It's not discarded, but we do, we do, we validate about 45% of the content that we receive. So, there's a strong selling chain of what we want and what we don't want. Those are based on news factors, but we also work closely with our clients and partners to understand what they want and the content that they expect from us. So, sometimes it might be news but local, or sometimes it might be news but way too covered, so there's no point in us adding to everything, unless it's amazing content.

Q: Do you sometimes work with the local press agencies?

R: Yes.

Q: Do you buy news from them or do they buy news from you?

R: No, we never buy news. We never pay either a contributor or a news organisation upfront. We only pay people when they get published basically. What we do is...it's exactly the same process as AFP and so on...it's just that they're regional newswires, so Press Association is the newswire for the UK and they distribute our content in Ireland and the UK.

Thank you

V. Interview Transcription 7-

Euronews

Entretien avec Stéphane Gillet, Rédacteur de Chef Adjoint, euronews
Date : 03/03/2016

Transcription

Q. Est-ce que vous pouvez dire pour l'enregistrement votre nom et votre rôle chez euronews ?

R. Je m'appelle Stéphane Gillet, je suis actuellement Rédacteur en Chef à euronews. Je suis à euronews depuis une dizaine, quinzaine d'années, donc je connais bien la chaîne. Auparavant, j'étais journaliste à Canal+, à France2, en presse écrite, à Libération... Mon rôle en tant que Rédacteur en Chef Adjoint à euronews c'est pendant 4 jours et 4 nuits d'affilée, je suis responsable de l'information dite « chaude », c'est-à-dire, toute les news qui passent à l'antenne. On fixe les priorités éditoriales, mais j'assume la gestion, c'est-à-dire le quotidien de l'antenne, de la hiérarchie des sujets, etc. Donc, les procédures de décisions éditoriales, puisque je crois ça fait partie de vos questions, elles reposent sur mes épaules ou celles de mon collègue qui fait lui également 4 jours et 4 nuits. Elles reposent sur nos épaules en ce qui concerne la gestion du quotidien de la journée. Fixer les priorités éditoriales pour le quotidien, décider du traitement de l'actualité. Mais en amont, on a un service qui s'appelle le *Forward Planning* qui est là pour la prévision des événements, j'ai mon rédacteur en chef qui envoie les journalistes sur le terrain, donc c'est une autre gestion. Evidemment, puisque c'est une gestion à plus long terme.

Q. Donc, vous étiez là pendant le Printemps Arabe et vous avez pris quelques décisions pendant ce temps aussi ?

R : Oui. J'étais là pendant le Printemps Arabe. Euronews est une chaîne spécifique comme l'est France24 mais à moindre échelle c'est-à-dire que nous avons 13 rédactions. Autant de rédactions que de langues à l'écran. Il faut savoir que l'image est la même pour toute la planète. Il n'y a qu'un seul euronews, mais pour le texte, pour la rédaction des sujets, pour l'enregistrement des voix dans les sujets, il s'agit de 13 rédactions différentes qui travaillent de façon synchronisée.

Donc, pour nous, le Printemps Arabe était une richesse parce que, et une chance également, sur un plan purement organisationnel j'entends, car nous avons une rédaction à part. Donc, il est évident que nous étions à même de réagir peut être plus vite et avec moins d'erreurs que d'autres qui n'ont pas cette chance.

Q. Est-ce que l'information que vous avez sur Euronews Anglais, Arabe et Français est la même ?

R : La plupart de temps c'était la même, mais elle est traitée différemment. C'est-à-dire que les journalistes, concrètement, si je prends la basse des choses : je vais demander à un chef d'édition de concevoir un sujet sur tel thème avec tel angle mais je lui laisse une liberté éditoriale pour son traitement. Le chef d'Édition avec un monteur va monter le sujet avec des sources d'images et des images qui nous sont propres, envoyées par nos correspondants, et des images d'agence. Et il aura pour autres sources d'information, toutes les agences écrites. On est abonnés à douze agences écrites. AFP est une de ces agences. On a énormément de sources

d'informations on va dire « institutionnelles ». Pas « institutionnelles » mais professionnelles. Logique. Je ne parle pas là des citoyens qui filment des images. Donc il forme toutes les informations sur des images qu'il a en sa possession et va monter un sujet. Ce sujet va être montré aux 13 journalistes de 13 langues, les 13 langues d'euronews. Et en fonction de cette image, en fonction des informations qu'ils ont par eux même, qu'ils ont de façon globale en anglais et en français, mais qu'ils peuvent avoir également de l'agence d'information écrite dans leur propre langue de leur pays, et bien ils vont écrire le texte. C'est-à-dire que l'information de base est la même mais elle est traitée individuellement par un journaliste de chaque culture, de chaque langue. L'information sera donc identique avec des perceptions souvent différent. Mais ces perceptions ne doivent pas remettre - en principe, ça fait partie de notre ligne éditoriale - ne remet pas en question l'entièreté du sujet. Cela dit, il y a des filtres culturels, il y a des informations qui ont besoin peut-être d'être plus précises dans une langue parce que l'évènement se produit là et peut-être un peu moins dans d'autres.

Q : Avec quelles agences de presse travaillez-vous ?

R : Nous travaillons avec 15 agences de presse, dont AFP. J'ai une veille. J'ai ma propre méthode. Je n'engage pas euronews. J'explique ma méthode d'organisation. J'ai pris 4 agences qui pour moi étaient des agences plus importantes. A cause de mon affinité de langues et aussi parce qu'elles étaient plus globales, plus internationales. Donc je me sers par exemple de *Reuters*, je me sers d'*AFP* effectivement – français – j'aurai pu prendre AFP en arabe mais je ne parle pas arabe. Je prends une agence russe et une agence espagnole. Avec ces 4 agences-là j'ai une veille permanente sur l'actualité. Et donc évidemment, lorsqu'une agence donne une information on ne va pas tout de suite réagir à l'image, à l'écran, soit la chaîne. On va attendre une confirmation. On va attendre une deuxième source différente pour pouvoir considérer qu'il s'agit d'une information. Il ne faut pas qu'une deuxième agence se contente de reprendre les propos de la première, il faut qu'elle ait par elle-même une autre source d'information. Il faut recouper de l'information avant de réagir. Nos concurrents ne prennent pas cette précaution, ils ne le font pas. Mais, nous avons choisi de parfois avoir quelques minutes de retard, mais de lancer des informations qui ont pu être vérifiées le plus possible.

Et j'ai d'autres sources d'information qui sont les journalistes de notre rédaction sur le terrain et qui nous apportent quand même des informations très directes et très précises.

Q : Est-ce que ça vous êtes arrivé, peut-être pendant le Printemps Arabe, de recevoir une information à partir d'un journaliste citoyen ?

R : Ça c'est un problème immense auquel sont confrontés désormais tous les medias d'information et encore plus les medias d'informations internationales. Pour nous, cette problématique n'a pas démarré avec le printemps arabe, elle a démarré auparavant avec la première... avec cette révolution Iranienne. Il y a eu énormément de répression en Iran, or les seules images que nous avons en notre possession, les seules sources d'informations en tous cas, c'était des journaux citoyens. Ca n'avait pas ce label-là à l'époque. Mais il s'agissait de résistants, on va dire, qui nous apportaient leurs images avec des iPhones, ou avec des petites caméras. Donc on a été confrontés à ça. Ces images, qui étaient, dont on sentait qu'elles étaient sincères, qu'elles n'étaient pas fabriquées. Mais ça nous parvenait de façon totalement anarchique et surtout on ne pouvait pas vérifier ces informations.

On a la chance d'avoir également une rédaction Iranienne, mais en langue Iranien en Perse à euronews, et on a pu vérifier beaucoup de ces informations et donc on a pu informer de la situation en Iran grâce et uniquement grâce à ces vidéos amateurs. C'était la première fois. Ensuite le Printemps Arabe, ça s'est énormément développé évidemment. Particulièrement la Tunisie, particulièrement la Syrie.

Q : Comment vérifier les informations quand la source n'est pas un professionnel ?

R : le problème est énorme. Tout le monde n'a pas trouvé de solution à cela. Nous, on gère maintenant ce type d'image d'une toute autre façon, c'est-à-dire qu'on utilise - vous savez qu'il y a des agences dites « écrites », des agences « d'images » - Apidief, Reuters, Eurovision – on utilise ces 3 agences d'images. Désormais ces agences véhiculent ces images citoyennes, de quel camp, peu importe le camp d'où elles proviennent, en apportant le plus possible d'informations, mais très souvent en se déchargent, c'est-à-dire donc, dans le document écrit qui accompagne ces images, Reuters ou *unclear* disent en toutes lettres qu'ils ne sont pas en mesure de vérifier ces images. Donc, que les images, nous arrivent directement via email ou qu'elles nous arrivent par les agences, le problème est le même : il s'agit de vérifier. Nous sommes abonnés depuis déjà quelques années à une toute nouvelle agence qui s'appelle Storyful. Alors, Storyful c'est basé en Irlande et c'est une agence qui est chargée de filtrer. C'est-à-dire, c'est sont des journalistes qui vont enquêter sur les images, vont essayer de déterminer leur véracité, pour savoir si c'est un hoax ou si c'est un faux. Ils sont très performants, c'est leur métier. On ne peut pas utiliser les images toute de suite; on attend d'avoir leur feu vert et d'avoir les renseignements qu'ils peuvent donner sur ces images. Alors, il s'agit de renseignements de deux natures. Est-ce que c'est réel ou est-ce que c'est un faux ? Lorsqu'ils peuvent nous renseigner, ils le font. Auquel cas évidemment on leur fait confiance parce que pour l'instant, ils ont toujours été fiables.

Ils nous apportent un deuxième segment qui, pour nous, est très utile également, qui est 'quelle est la propriété de l'image, est-ce qu'il faut rétribuer quelqu'un pour utiliser ces images, est-ce qu'on peut avoir l'accord de la personne qui a tourné les images pour les publier ? Il y a beaucoup de procès un peu partout pour tous les médias et c'est un petit peu dramatique pour ces médias pour des problèmes de droit à l'image. Une image qui arrive, elle n'est pas forcément contrôlée quant à sa propriété. Donc, il y a la justesse éditoriale : est-ce que c'est réel ? Est-ce que c'est faux ? Est-ce qu'on peut obtenir des informations complémentaires qui nous permettent de situer par exemple, géographiquement, où ont été prises ces images ? Et puis il y a un problème de propriété qui se pose. Donc, Storyful c'est une agence qu'on paye pour ça. Et, pour l'instant, ça marche plutôt bien. Ça marche tellement bien que maintenant je crois qu'il y a deux ou trois concurrents. C'est un tout nouveau système d'agences d'images.

Q : Quelles étaient les procédures de production des informations par euronews pendant le Printemps Arabe ? Comment décidez-vous quoi utiliser en termes de photos, vidéos, par exemple des images de scènes de guerre ou de violence et comment décidez-vous si vous allez le montrer ou pas ?

R : Ok quelles règles on se fixe par rapport à ça (la violence) ? A euronews on a une règle très stricte qui est : on ne montre jamais la mort en direct. On ne montre jamais l'instant de la mort. C'est vraiment une règle absolue. De même on va éviter – si il y a une vaste explosion au loin, on va la montrer même si des gens sont morts dans cette explosion - mais, je veux dire, montrer physiquement une personne qui meurt c'est quelque chose qui, pour nous, est un blocage total. De même toutes les images de violence sur les enfants c'est interdit. Ce sont des interdictions qu'on se fixe nous. De même, lorsqu'il y a un attentat - vous savez qu'on a des psychologues qui interviennent assez souvent dans notre rédaction pour les journalistes parce que la violence des images sensible est quelque chose d'insoutenable et les gens partent en dépression à cause de ça. Donc on prévient ça en interne. Donc ça veut dire qu'on ne va pas l'infliger à nos téléspectateurs. Lorsqu'on a des monceaux de cadavres avec un attentat on ne le montre pas évidemment. Et globalement, on ne montre pas de cadavre en close-up (gros plan). Ce type de règles pour nous, sont des règles fondamentales.

J'ai été entendu par le CSA comme beaucoup d'autres chaînes sur ce qu'on applique à propos de la dignité humaine et de la violence. Et je dois dire que le CSA ne nous a rien reproché. On est la seule chaîne en France à laquelle ils n'ont rien reproché. Donc ça veut dire qu'on est peut être assez stricts.

Par contre, il y a des exceptions. Je me rappelle très bien à propos du Printemps Arabe justement, le début du conflit en Syrie. Je me rappelle que j'ai pris la décision de faire une exception et je ne le regrette pas. J'ai montré en gros plan des cadavres tout bêtement pour montrer que toutes ces personnes qui avaient été tuées, qui étaient alignées au sol. J'ai montré qu'ils avaient leurs mains liées dans le dos, qu'il s'agissait donc de prisonniers qui avaient été exécutés. Ce genre de choses, ça a du sens. Sous prétexte de ne pas choquer les gens, ce qui est louable, ne pas le montrer c'est une faute professionnelle. Lorsque la violence a un sens réel, on peut passer outre. Par exemple l'image évidemment de ces enfants au Viêt-Nam qui sont dénudés et qui courent pour s'échapper d'un village qui est bombardé, évidemment il y a de la violence mais dans certains cas il faut montrer cette violence parce qu'elle nous apprend quelque chose. Et c'est plus fort que toute autre règle. Mais c'est très rare.

Q : Donc, ne pas montrer le cadavre de Gaddafi. Par contre montrer les scènes des victimes de gaz du Sarin en Syrie ? Ça vous avez montré ?

R : Oui, on l'a montré effectivement.

Q : Comment décider comment présenter les informations ? Avec un correspondant, en studio, dans un débat, sans commentaires ?

R : oui, on le fait sur à-peu-près tous les registres. Les monteurs en « no comment » on les mêmes règles que nous. C'est-à-dire, ils n'ont pas le droit d'agir sur un montage. Ils ne peuvent pas dénaturer l'information avec un montage. Ils doivent la montrer de façon la plus brute possible sinon « no comment » n'aurait pas de raison d'exister et ils doivent épargner les images de violence lorsqu'elles sont trop « hard ». Ça c'est pour « no comment ».

Des débats, oui, on en a. Ça nous permet d'approfondir des choses. Mais on en a très très peu parce qu'on est multilingue. Donc ça veut dire que, si on a 13 langues, ce serait traduit mais pas tout. C'est trop. Donc on en a, mais très peu.

On a l'information du journal, qui est une information rapide qui est faite en sujets de 50 secondes à 1 minute 30.

Mais, on a aussi une équipe qui fait uniquement de l'analyse, c'est-à-dire qui donne l'information en perspective, qui la resitue dans un contexte.

Et j'ai deux à trois sujets approfondis qui font 2 – 3 minutes dans les journaux chaque jour.

Et donc, on utilise assez souvent, évidemment ce type de choses. Lorsque j'ai un correspondant qui est sur place évidemment, je vais mettre en avant le correspondant sur place. Parce qu'il nous apportera -bien sûr nous aurons les informations par les agences écrites- mais lui il nous apportera son vécu personnel, son expérience par rapport à ce qu'il a trouvé et ce sera évidemment bien plus riche.

On touche à un autre problème de traitement de l'information qui est : équilibrer. Pour nous, on est une chaîne internationale. Vous avez vu : 13 langues. Beaucoup de cultures. Beaucoup de points de vue différents. Et le plus possible, nos sujets doivent être équilibrés entre les adversaires. Que ce soit dans un conflit entre Israël et Palestine, on essaie de donner, de refléter l'avis des deux intervenants. Le conflit syrien, c'était la même chose. Le conflit en Ukraine et Russie c'était exactement ça aussi.... Nos journalistes sont tenus de donner les deux versions qui sont en opposition. Ça c'est un souci permanent.

Q : Comment les informations du Printemps Arabe étaient-elles diffusées par euronews ? Par exemple à la télévision (13 chaînes), sur Internet, sur Youtube, sur des réseaux sociaux numériques ?...

R : On a changé un petit peu depuis le début du Printemps Arabe. Auparavant, notre priorité était la TV et ensuite le Web. C'était vraiment un ordre chronologique usuel : on démarrait par le sujet TV et le même journaliste qui avait fait le sujet TV ensuite le déclinait en Web. Désormais c'est souvent l'inverse : le Web d'abord et la TV ensuite. C'est de plus en plus fréquent et ça le sera de plus en plus. Quand je parle de Web c'est effectivement le site d'euronews mais ça peut être aussi Twitter, il va y avoir tous les réseaux sociaux. Ils sont présents chez nous. Youtube, au niveau d'une dizaine de chaînes Youtube qui nous sont dédiées et on a une énorme audience sur Youtube.

Q : Avez-vous les mêmes informations publiées à la télé et sur YouTube ?

R : Je ne peux pas répondre pour ça, car je ne suis pas responsable du web. Je suis impliqué, mais je ne connais pas tous les détails. Mais, oui, nous avons publié énormément d'informations qui étaient à l'antenne sur le web, sur YouTube. Mais, je ne peux pas répondre à la question « est-ce qu'on a TOUT publié ou pas ? »

Q : Donc, vous ne pouvez pas me dire, si c'était égal à tout ce qu'il y avait à la télévision ?

R : Je ne pense pas que le traitement était réellement différent. Si la question est 'est-ce qu'on a modifié des choses', non pas vraiment. Par contre, dans le web, je ne parle pas de Twitter, Facebook, je parle du Web, il y a souvent plus d'informations, plus de détails dans le web, évidemment, parce que un sujet à la télévision est limité par le temps. Tandis que sur le web, on n'a pas cette limitation.

Q : Est-ce que le temps dédié à YouTube est plus important pour vos diffusions ?

R : Je ne sais pas, car je ne travaille pas sur YouTube. Mais, je sais que c'est très important pour nous. Je sais qu'on a beaucoup de journalistes qui travaillent directement pour les chaînes euronews YouTube. Mais je ne peux pas vous dire, quantitativement, lequel est le plus diffusé. Je ne le sais pas avec précision.

Q : Comment a évolué le journalisme international avec le Web 2.0 ?

R : J'ai reçu sur Twitter hier l'annonce de la mort d'Omar Sy. Il est mort dans une fusillade à Los Angeles. Et ce matin sur mon compte twitter j'ai eu la réponse d'Omar Sy qui disait que « la connerie humaine se décuplait sur la planète ». C'est un bon exemple, non ? Donc, on évite de tomber là-dedans. Je vous dis, pour nous, vérifier l'information c'est la clé. Globalement, c'est la base primordiale, qu'elle soit en télé ou qu'elle soit sur le web. Donc au départ il y aura une vérification de notre source.

Le fait d'avoir, en ce qui concerne le Printemps Arabe, d'avoir des journalistes sur le terrain ou des reporters, qui peuvent vérifier des choses directement, parce qu'ils sont sur place, ou parce qu'ils ont été sur place et ils qu'ils ont gardé des contacts et qu'ils peuvent se renseigner de façon indépendante, c'est vraiment quelque chose de très précieux. D'avoir une rédaction arabe ici à Lyon, au siège d'euronews c'est également très précieux pour identifier un lieu, pour mieux comprendre les tenants et les aboutissants d'une chose, donc, on a été profondément favorisés.

Maintenant, je vous ai fait part des réserves qu'on avait. On les a toujours. Il y a très peu de journalistes qui sont en Syrie pour des raisons évidentes de sécurité et d'accès, donc pour envoyer leurs images, donc on se sert énormément des vidéos amateurs, mais on les vérifie le plus souvent possible. Il est bien possible qu'on ait fait quelques erreurs, mais je crois, très, très peu.

Le feedback qu'on a sur le web est intéressant, parce que, généralement, on a autant de reproches d'un côté que de l'autre, d'un camp comme de l'autre. J'en déduis donc qu'on doit d'être assez équilibré quand même.

Q : En termes de l'audience ? La relation entre le journaliste et son audience, vous regardez le feedback...

R : On les surveille [Notre audience sur YouTube] en permanence. Alors est-ce que ça influe sur le traitement de l'information ? Non, parce que on n'est pas.... pas au quotidien on va dire, on ne fait pas une revue complète de toutes les réactions pour construire notre information du lendemain. Ça ne marche pas comme ça. Mais c'est très important d'avoir connaissance du feedback pour se situer, pour voir si on a commis des erreurs et donc éventuellement pour les rectifier. C'est quelque chose qui peut se produire. On se débrouille pour rectifier les bêtises qu'on peut faire. Bon, je ne veux pas m'auto-féliciter, mais on a tellement de régulation dans la rédaction, si un journaliste voit à l'antenne une information qui n'est pas exacte on va en parler, on va essayer de vérifier un petit peu mieux l'information, on va le rectifier. Souvent les imprécisions qu'on a à l'antenne on les règle plus en interne.

Q : Le rôle des journalistes :

R : J'ai du mal à dissocier le Printemps Arabe en matière d'évolution de ce qui peut être la montée de la consommation de la télé en numérique. Donc, évidemment, le fait que chaque téléspectateur puisse, à un moment ou un autre, parce qu'il est confronté à une réalité qui se passe en bas de chez lui, devenir lui-même reporter et fournisseur d'images aux autres, c'est quelques choses d'extrêmement important. Donc, qui ne peut que renforcer le rôle des réseaux sociaux et aussi qui ne peut qu'influer sur les médias traditionnels comme la presse écrite.

Nous ce qui nous intéresse beaucoup plus actuellement c'est le basculement de la consommation d'images. A euronews, on est en train de faire une véritable révolution qui a démarré déjà il y a quelques années avec la montée en puissance de toute notre activité numérique. Pour nous, je vous dis, on est en train de donner la priorité de façon bien plus importante à tout ce qui peut être numérique puisque la TV, qui bien souvent, pas pour toute l'actualité, pas pour tous les types d'information mais qui souvent ne passe qu'en numéro 2 dans l'urgence. Parce que tout bêtement aussi les gens qui regardent euronews désormais ne le regardent pas uniquement à la TV. Ils regardent souvent sur leur téléphone portable, ils regardent dans l'avion... Ils regardent un petit peu partout. Il y a plein de moyens de diffusion qui ne sont plus les moyens de diffusion traditionnels.

Donc nos priorités, elles aussi, elles changent. Le contenu de l'actualité ne change pas réellement, c'est juste la façon de la présenter parce qu'on est obligés de s'adapter aux différents médias évidemment. Mais, nous, nous avons de plus en plus de journalistes qui sont complètement dédiés au numérique, qui sont complètement dédié au téléphone, à Youtube, à Twitter, etc...

Q : Quelles sont les spécificités d'euronews English ?

R : On ne change pas l'information suivant les langues. Ce n'est pas exactement ça. L'information c'est la même, mais comme elle est écrite par un journaliste de la propre langue, et généralement l'anglais, elle est internationale. Mais si c'est l'espagnol, on va dire ça sera écrit en espagnol par un journaliste espagnol, c'est une perception culturelle espagnole. Non seulement il est espagnol mais, en plus, son public l'est. Evidemment, l'information ne change pas, mais son interprétation peut-être parce ce qu'elle a d'autres références. Elle est différente en espagnol qu'elle pourrait l'être en français ou en anglais. Egalement, lorsqu'un sujet... On a fait hier un sujet sur le parti socialiste espagnol qui essaie de se trouver au Cortès et au Parlement Espagnol une majorité, il est évident que dans le script espagnol, il y avait beaucoup

plus de détails qui, pour un public plus international, seraient des détails inutiles parce que telle personnalité n'est pas connue en dehors de l'Espagne. Là oui, ça diffère. Mais, l'information globalement est la même. Elle est écrite par des journalistes différents, mais elle est la même. On ne la change pas par rapport aux nationalités. Alors maintenant pour l'anglais, euronews en anglais est diffusé partout parce que, si vous avez par exemple Canalsat en France vous pouvez avoir accès à 6 langues différentes pour euronews. C'est-à-dire qu'il suffit de programmer un canal son différent et on a directement euronews en anglais ou en russe. C'est très utile pour les diasporas qui sont dans les différents pays. Euronews est diffusé mondialement. Donc il m'est difficile de vous dire où elle est diffusée uniquement en anglais parce que c'est le diffuseur satellite sur place qui va décider. Par exemple en Asie – on est de plus en plus diffusé en Asie – et j'imagine que la langue ça doit être l'anglais.

Fini. Merci Beaucoup

VI. Interview Transcription 8-

France 24 Freelance

Correspondent

Marine Olivesi, France 24 freelance correspondent

SA: Thank you so much for your time and for agreeing to do this interview with me. So, first of all, I don't know if you had a chance to look at the questions I sent you, and the form?

MO: Yes, I did briefly, I got home not so long ago and looked at it briefly, so I did get an idea of the direction, like where, what type of questions you want to ask.

SA: Okay, great.

MO: I don't know if you had planned to ask me that for start, but I just wanted to give you a little bit of context about my reporting in Libya, and specifically the fact that even though I was working with FRANCE 24, I was not staff, and my relationship with them was basically for a couple of months where, at first, I started filling in for the English-speaking correspondents, but I was not really involved ever in producing packages. Meaning that I'm not the one who was really pitching the packages, whether it's one-minute, three-minute stories. I was put on board, asked to get on board by a friend of mine, David Thomson, who was working as a correspondent for the French channel. And he was staff, he was a designated staff person for France 24 and right after the fall of Tripoli, we connected, and a few days later, the person who was working as the English correspondent with him- because they work in pairs- was going to leave, so he needed someone to fill in, but mostly for the live stand-ups.

So, I wasn't really involved in shooting pictures, but because there were still a lot of live stand-ups at that point, and the first day I started with France 24 is actually the day that Sarkozy and David Cameron came to visit Tripoli. So that was completely mental, because we had to back-to-back, we were live half an hour, or every half an hour basically... and I'd never done TV, I'm a radio person, so I was working... I'd never done TV before.

SA: You're kidding? So, thank you for clarifying, that was actually going to be my first question, I wasn't sure if you actually worked for them, or you work with them, or you were consulting or you worked for...

MO: My status was very - I was a freelancer who at first just helped out with the live stand-ups, and then, the same night, so after my first day when Sarkozy and Cameron visited Tripoli and Benghazi, the battle for Sirte started, so David asked me if I could come with them because he knew that he needed someone to translate the packages he'd be doing and he needed someone to do live stand-ups as well, so I went with them, and it basically went on and on for a month, and halfway into it, about two weeks after we arrived in Sirte, David Thomson had to leave, because he had been in Libya for quite some time and basically his bosses didn't want

him- wanted him to have a break, and so basically, because at that point the battle for Sirte was dragging on, I was sort of left on my own covering the French and the English. And the thing is, because I was not expected to, again, I was never expected to shoot videos and produce packages. At that point Tripoli had fallen, it was just a matter of, Sirte was just a couple of neighbourhoods that remained under the control of Gaddafi loyalists, so it was just a matter of time, and also nobody knew that Gaddafi was in Sirte, so it seemed like, for them, it was a way to keep someone in Sirte that they could phone in several times a day, whenever there'd be new developments, but I was not staff for them. And I continued working for the radio stations, I was filing stories for... [inaudible] usually, so I was continuing my work, my job on the side, but every now and again, and like on slow days, France 24 would call me two or three times.

Of course, on crazy days like the day Gaddafi died, I would be non-stop with them on the phone, and the day it happened, actually, nobody knew, of course, like me, that he was there, and we were very few journalists on the ground because after a month, a lot of the journalists who had been covering Sirte day-in, day-out were tired of it, it seemed like there wasn't much at stake, it was just a couple of neighbourhoods left. No one had any clue that Gaddafi was inside, so that's why we were left, maybe, a dozen journalists, overall, including... Yeah, I mean there was a Reuters team, there was a AFP team, so maybe that was like 4 or 5 people, there were 3 or 4 freelance photographers, myself, a couple of other people and that was it. Because it came after, such a, every day we'd go there and kind of see the same things, after a while, like, it cost a lot of money for newspapers 6:10 or for radio stations to keep staffers in a place like that, and even freelancers, we stuck around for quite some time like at some point the interest in the story was also sort of decreasing because it seemed like a footnote, like it didn't seem to matter as much, like all the rest of the country was degraded so, so that's why we were so few at that point, and it was also a time where there were elections, the first elections coming up in Tunisia, so a lot of the freelancers in the region had moved back or were on their way back to Tunisia to cover the elections. And so that's why also we were so few that day, and then obviously everybody trickled back and, you know, and came back running the night of and the day after.

SA: And can I ask, so you say that they were calling you for live stand-ups, but were you with a cameraman or were you always alone?

MO: So, there's the thing, the first couple of weeks when David was still there with me, it was him and camera man and myself, so at that point, David was, maybe not once a day, but regularly sending footage; whether it was raw footage, whether it was walk and talk that we'd be doing on the front line, but I would basically be doing the same things he was doing in French, but I wasn't really in charge of producing anything. I'd be focusing on the reporting and whatever but I wasn't really involved with producing footage, and when he left and the cameraman left as well, after that, because I don't own any equipment and I'm not doing TV so I was really clear that I could continue working for them but just as, just doing live stand ups, phoners, they phone me and I give them the updates, I would be doing the reporting anyway, so I'd be able to keep telling them stuff that I see, and what's going on, and so on, but I wouldn't be producing packages for them.

SA: Okay, so you also worked, I then presume then that you were not in touch with the producers at France 24 when you had to call in, were you given a live-feedback of what was actually taking place?

MO: Say that again?

SA: I'm just wondering if, so back then you did not have a cameraman and you were not in charge of producing the videos yourself, when something happened, for example, the death of Gaddafi, if we look at that situation, when they called you in to speak, were you aware of what footage they were showing while you were speaking?

MO: Yeah, well, the very funny thing and that's why I think it will always be the craziest day of my career, after two years of experience, what happened that day, actually, it goes both ways, it's both producers or editors calling you when they see things on newswires that matter and they want you to either, they check in with you to see if you know anything, if you can confirm what do you have to say, what you saw on the ground depending on where you are and then they can think "Oh, okay, so that's great, you've got enough to talk about it from where you are, so we'll phone you in and you'll answer a few questions live," so, either it goes that way, when they just see things on newswires and they want you to just add, and especially when it was Sirte-related, and I was going there every day, so they- that was a way for them to cover the news of the day, but sometimes it was the other way round, it's just the reporter was there who's letting them know about something that happened and that day, the crazy thing is, actually when I went in with the AFP team that morning - we were carpooling and we were going, they wanted to leave very early so we left very, very early in the morning- and between we were all sleeping in Misrata because there was nowhere to sleep in Sirte, and it's a couple of hours drive, so four hours in the car every day, so we were going, we left Misrata around 6 and about half an hour before we arrived in Sirte, so we were still quite a way away from Sirte itself, we heard a massive detonation, and that was , if I remember correctly maybe 7 -7:30, and it was massive and we didn't quite get it because we were still pretty far and it was quite unusual and we could hear it distinctively even though we were very far, and we were like "What the heck?"

So we continued and then when we- as soon as we arrived on the outer edges of Sirte, that's when we realised that something unusual was happening, that that day wasn't a regular day, because up until then, every day we'd arrived, we knew exactly where the frontline was, we saw the same people, and I mean it was very routine, like, for the Libyan fighters, they had established bases, their field hospital, and their checkpoints, but that day we quickly understood that that pocket of loyalists that were holding the couple of neighbourhoods for weeks, it had burst, that pocket had burst, and they were scattered all around because we could hear fighting in places that before were safe, or it was as if the two dozen or hundred people that were still in those neighbourhoods were on the run and there were skirmishes in a lot of different places, and for us it made the situation very difficult and dangerous because we were not sure, like, there could be shots on your right, on your left, we had no sense of, "OK, these people are here, these people are there, the frontline is there." There was no more frontline. And that is something we realised very early on because again we did not see the signs, the usual signs okay, like that's the checkpoint, that's the field hospital, it was kind of mayhem, and there were skirmishes in different places so we quickly understood something big was happening, and when, at that point, France 24 was calling me, like, when we checked in, there was already on the wire there were already some indication that indeed things were happening and this might be the end. Now, like the problem with so many times in the beginning of the Libyan uprising was [unintelligible], but that day it felt indeed like something was about to something big was happening, and because we did not feel quite safe inside the city and we still had to find a place where we could work and where we could interview people, and we decided to go back to the field hospital that's right on the outskirts of Sirte and that's when basically we stayed there for a while because we really weren't sure where to go in a safe way because no one could guarantee that there weren't some Gaddafi loyalists hiding here or there, or... and so that's when I did, I think, the first three-four lives of that morning with France

24, so the phoners, both in French and in English. I have never seen the footage so I might have got a few things wrong with the time and with the work, that's what I remember... The first few phoners of that day were from that field hospital, after the first one I think when we were kind of in the middle of the town and we felt very unsafe, we retreated back, and we stayed there... and I was still with the AFP team then at that point. We stayed in the field hospital for maybe a couple of hours, interviewing people, trying to figure out what was going on, and it was typical to piece it together but every time they called me basically they would read to me what were the latest in terms of newswires even though, I was with the AFP team, so I was seeing what they were seeing, and basically it's not like they tell me something that I don't know but sometimes they add because usually, AFP or Reuters, they would have a couple of scenes in different places in town, so it's a little bit more comprehensive and usually when the producer calls you he gives you the latest, what was the latest on the newswires so that you can sort of adjust with what you're seeing and most of the time, it checks out, like sometimes it's things that you can confirm because they tell you somethings happening in Tripoli but you're not there, but in a case like that the news was about Sirte, I was there, and it was sort of, it all kind of, your reporting and the reporting provided by the newswires complement each other. and after that they basically, the weirdest thing happened, I think it was around 11, but again, it could be a little bit before or after, there's an ambulance that comes into the field hospital and that stops, and I don't know if you heard footage of us describing that?

SA: I heard footage of when you were waiting for the ambulance to arrive, that's the one I heard, actually, I'm not sure I heard the one where the ambulance actually arrived...

MO: Okay, so that one was actually after then, probably, because at the first field hospital it was an ambulance that arrived that the door was still closed and it stayed there for like 10-15 minutes. People started gathering around, and everybody kept saying, Gaddafi's inside. So, at that point, that's the first I hear of, and that's the first field hospital that's really close to Sirte, and I'm like "What, again?" We were very surprised. Again, it comes in the context in the country where the number of times Gaddafi has been pronounced dead or safe, or you're really being very cautious with this kind of thing, we were not taking it as a joke, of course, but we were like, Okay that's the new thing today, Gaddafi.

SA: I noticed that in your words, when you reported that, and all the channels were saying that Gaddafi had died, you were very careful in your words, you were very cautious in your statement, people are saying that he might be dead...

MO: Yes! Because the problem is again, it would be interesting to count not so much Gaddafi himself, but it would be interesting to count how many times Mutassim, for instance, Mutassim Gadaffi had been announced captured or killed during the revolution, it's insane, like, at some point, we were running a count with my friends, and between Saif [Gaddafi] and Mutassim they had been killed dozens of times over. So, it's very like, you really try, unless you've got eyewitnesses, you get footage, you get something that is, you can't take that for granted, like okay, well I'll run with that, you can't. So, when they started saying that, because the ambulance never opened its doors, so nobody saw who was inside, so it was very odd, and after a while, like, when we realised okay, everybody's saying that we didn't understand why it was staying there, the ambulance left without anything. And after that, basically, I was like, "Okay, so what's happening?" Everyone was saying "Look, this ambulance didn't stop here, but they didn't stop at the big field hospital," that's I don't remember how far away from Sirte, that's a much bigger hospital, so it sort of made sense somewhat that they would want, because there were quite a lot of people, it wasn't unmanageable, but maybe they thought, "Oh, we're

gonna drive to the other field hospital that's more remote, that's better equipped, and, we'll warn that Gaddafi-" because at that point it was clear that he was not dead probably, "We'll drop him off there, we'll treat him there." And so, I thought, "OK," so, then a couple of rebel fighters told me, they were like, "Do you wanna come? 'Cause we're going to come check it out..."", and I was like "Sure! I've got nothing better to do!"

So, and he was like- the great thing about Libya, honestly, and that's something that made it so difficult then to adjust to covering Syria and other places, and that point in Libya you had almost zero risk of kidnapping or anything nasty happening, if you were away from the frontline, in terms of rebel fighters and how they were, you knew nothing bad, pretty much, would happen to you. There were a few journalists who were killed either in Misrata on the frontline or because they went further than the frontline and ran into Gaddafi loyalists. But as for reporting from the rebel-held side, there were, to my knowledge, there had not been any incidents of kidnapping or of weird stories of...

So, at that point that's why there were also a lot of freelancers like myself like it was, I kind of hate saying that but also it was a great conflict to start war reporting, because somehow you were logistically you had a lot of internet access available to you in a way that was really bizarre but like Libyans were really good at they understood that part of the war was also an information war, and they made it available to journalists very fast, but in terms of security in general, they were more than welcoming, and one of the reasons of course is they kind of saw us and it's something that we had to struggle with because of course you don't want to be the mouth piece of one group of a conflict, but they saw us as the, we were the journalists, we were on the ground, and there was NATO in the sky, and we were all part of the same team. Because the narrative at that point was so much anti-Gaddafi in the international community, the French, the Americans, the Brits, were pounding the Gaddafi holdouts, like it was a - journalists were documenting in a lot of cases especially at first, Gaddafi, the human rights violations, and war crimes, and this and that, the story was very one-sided up until at least later in the revolution when there was an uglier side of the Libyan fighters and the revolution that sort of emerged at some point, but you see what I mean, they were very welcoming, and they were always, always very happy to pick up a journalist and take him wherever to, so that part was easy, so for me there was nothing unusual that day of just going with them to that field hospital, and of course France 24 was not really telling me to do this and do that but I knew that if they were taking him to that field hospital, I should go also and check it out.

SA: Right, okay, okay. So, what-

MO: Do you want me to continue on that?

SA: Yeah, continue on that, maybe you'll answer my question, what I wanted to ask maybe through that story you're telling me, is what actually confirmed to you that OK, Gaddafi is dead? Was it a mobile phone footage, was it...?

MO: OK, so, after that, we went to the bigger field hospital and that's when maybe that I don't know because I remember also doing interviews from there where basically on my way that was, on my way from the first field hospital to the second field hospital. At that point, I had not talked to France 24, it was in between, in the top of the hour, so after that weird Gaddafi in the ambulance, or the so-called Gaddafi in the ambulance coming, I had not checked in with France 24, and but I always had my sat-phone ready because I knew that it was their way of calling me whenever they wanted a live. And as I was on my way from one field hospital to the other, the phone rings, I ask the guys who were driving me to stop because it's very

difficult to do a live in a moving car with a sat phone, so we're in the middle of nowhere, cause that stretch of the road is absolutely nowhere, so I asked them to please stop for a minute and the problem I had at that point is so, what happened when I was in the car, with these guys, of course I ask them, "So what makes you say, what makes you think this is Gaddafi?", like, I was still trying to figure out why people think that, why are people saying that?, because at that point it was still very confusing. And then, to my utter astonishment, they're like "Oh, but because look, we have-" all the three of them, had footage of Gaddafi on their cell phone. The footage of Gaddafi on their cell phone, the very footage that...

SA: Three of the people in the car with you, you mean?

MO: The Libyan rebels that were taking me from one hospital to the next, when I was pressing them on why, they pulled out their cell phone and they showed me some of the footage that we saw on the news, on the TV for, maybe an hour later, the footage that was emerging of basically Gaddafi still alive but being beaten up, dragged, whatever, like, bloodied, and they had some of that footage, so clearly they were there during the capture of Gaddafi and they had themselves recorded that footage, and it had happened maybe half an hour an hour earlier. and then I was like "What?!" and my problem then is, it was really bad cell phones, it wasn't an iPhone or anything, it was a really bad cell phones, the quality of the footage was really bad, my problem is, I knew that was Gaddafi, but honestly at that specific time, I couldn't, like, it's clearly Gaddafi, at that point when France 24 called me, you know how I told you what they do - they read to you the latest newswire and that sort of becomes the main news and they want you to come and tell that. Usually, when you have time in a newsroom, the anchor calls you before and sets up the questions before with you and they're like "OK, AFP says that, so what about I'm asking you this, and then what do you think is a good prologue?" That's how you work out your questions like that, so there is no surprise, you put in a little bit of you reporting, the anchor can put in the news, the top news, but because they were calling me every hour because it was a crazy day, whatever, they skipped that part, we were just in basically straight in live, hang on a second, you're live in a minute because when something it's more of an update hour after hour, we didn't have much of a conversation with the producer before to set up the questions and do all this, so when the anchor sort of gave me the main news of the day, I was already live and they were like so "Sirte, live!", and the problem is at that point, what they were seeing on the news tickers on the newswires, there was no mention of Gadaffi still. because they were still at "So, Sirte is really falling, there's confirmation that blah, blah, blah," I don't really remember what they said, but they did not mention Gaddafi at all, so to me it said immediately, "Okay, so none of AFP, who were probably were still trying also to- have heard about it but were still trying to confirm the news, none of the major newswires had broke the news, so what do I do?", knowing that all I have is a very bad cell phone footage where I can see a guy that really looks like Gaddafi and you know what, I think that's what I ended up saying, I didn't know really I didn't have a chance to have a conversation with the producer about how we would put the news, like, "How do we make sure we're being careful enough, but at the same time it's massive news," you know, you want to have a balance and then in my head for a second I'm like, I don't want to be the one like "And now, this in, Gaddafi's been captured,". It's bullshit.

SA: Yeah, I understand, it's a fine line. So, the thing is, from what you're saying, you don't actually have to wait for the newswires to officialise it?

MO: Well, no, because with news like that it is so massive, you'd be silly not to at least mention what's been happening, it might be weird, it might be not confirmed, but at the

same time I was also a lot more comfortable getting into that news knowing that I'd seen some footage. if I hadn't seen the footage it would have been even trickier, it would have been just a rumour, but because I had these guys who had a video, there's no other footage going around of Gaddafi in that state, it's not like it could have been a fake one, and he was clearly Gaddafi as well, so at that point, like there's no way I'm not getting into that, that would be a journalistic a big no-no, like you've got it, you've got a massive scoop, the question is, how do you tell the news knowing that you haven't seen him, and it's all very blurry and newswires are also trying to figure out how to report it, so I think it just ended up honestly on that first, and I think it was around 11, 11:30, but I'm not sure, or maybe a little bit later, I think I ended up just saying it straight, like, "So you know, there's that rumour that Gaddafi has been captured, there's video circulating on cell phones of Libyan fighters where we can see someone that really looks like Gaddafi," and I swear I think I used that word like, it's someone who really, really looks like Gaddafi, because I couldn't say 100% you know, I, so you just say whatever you as a person or reporter has seen, even though you've got very sporadic information and it's still very blurry and confusing.

And what's funny and interesting, I remember going to France 24 visiting their office a month later and that's the way they told it to me, you know usually the news anchor, because the producers are always busy with the next segment, the next person on the air, they don't really listen to what the reporter is saying live once he's live, because that's already old news to them, like a lot of the producers, the anchors, of course sort of is with you, but as far as the producers are concerned they've already made that interview happen, they're already onto the next segment, and the next thing coming up. and it's only when the anchor, and I think I saw it was the English, it's only when the anchor paused after my first answers like "What? You're saying that it is possible that Gaddafi has been captured this morning?" that apparently the newsroom froze and that's when one of the editors in chief told me, when I came to visit, that at that point he thought "Holy moly, it's either the greatest scoop or it's the biggest...", you know, the most... He didn't know, because the problem is, their first reaction was to check newswires to see if anyone else had the news and no one else scored good, that's again something they told me, because I wasn't checking the news at that point, for 15 - 20 minutes no one else had the news out, until AFP put it out, and what they decided to do in the end is take a picture- they had also, you know, met fighters that had similar footage, and the photographer had decided to take a picture of the footage on the cell phone. And AFP, after apparently quite an interesting ethical conversation internally, because they weren't sure "Should we, it's a picture that our photographer had taken but of second hand material, so is it, can we?", and they were struggling with the same problems, like "Can we say Gaddafi's been captured on the basis of that? Is it fair to put out that picture as AFP knowing that we're taking a picture of a camera that wasn't gathered by any of our reporters?" And that delay in their internal conversation of whether or not to put out the picture is what created that gap of like about 20 minutes where at France 24 they were going crazy trying to figure out who else had the news, and freaking out that maybe I was just going completely crazy...

SA: That you weren't actually, yeah, sure...

MO: Yeah, and then AFP released the picture, and then they were like, "Okay, well we'll say that, that's that," but at that point, so the news that he'd been captured was pretty much out there, the problem was then we went back in the car and went to the field hospital where he was supposed to be taken, and then what I was told is "Yes, the ambulance, we saw it, but it didn't stop," and I was like "Well that's odd, because the first field hospital, they don't want to make him stop there, then they tell everyone we're going to the second field hospital, the second field hospital he doesn't stop," It's bizarre, because on the video you can still see that

he's alive and yet they haven't stopped treatment for him neither at the first or the second field hospital, and now at the hospital they were saying "Oh, he's going to Misrata, straight." So, at that point it was "Okay, everyone was going with Gaddafi's been captured," because yes, after an hour, an hour and a half there was so much footage coming out, it wasn't like there was enough evidence and enough first hand witnesses and so on, but still, you still hadn't seen any journalists who'd seen Gaddafi or a confirmation from a doctor, or- it was still very confusing and to make things worse, because they were on their way to Misrata and the ride is so long, there wasn't a lot of options at that point to confirm the news, and even though when fairly soon after that, I think- I think the National Transitional Council, the NTC - which was the Libyan authority - the opposition government, had announced that he'd been captured, and by the time I myself made it to Misrata, they had announced he was dead.

SA: So, it was the NTC, you had to wait for the NTC official announcement that he'd died, right?

MO: Okay, so that's another problem, that's another problem, because when I was at the second field hospital, the guys who had driven me told me "Okay, we've got to go back to Sirte because there's still Mutassim Gaddafi on the loose, there's still a couple of Gaddafis", one of Gaddafi's sons actually who was there, they wanted to go back- I wanted to go to Misrata because there was nothing for me in Sirte, since the main news was Gaddafi, and I was without a car because remember, I'd come with the AFP team, and then in a pure, again, Libyan moment of greatness, I met a doctor that I had bumped into a few times before, and he's like "Oh, you want to go to Misrata, no problem, you're going to be there before the ambulance, hop on the helicopter." Because they were helping some of the injured Libyan rebel fighters get quicker to the [unintelligible word] and I was there just at the right time, and the helicopter was leaving and it was like "So, to get on the helicopter, you'll be the one, you'll be there before the ambulance makes it to Misrata," and then so when, I remember when we landed - that's for the anecdote - but when we landed in Misrata, there was like a bunch of mostly Arab speaking, Arab channels' cameras on the tarmac and everything, they were convinced Gaddafi was in the helicopter! So, they were all waiting, and I was like "No, Gaddafi's not in there," but then, so, I made it to the hospital, to Misrata hospital, where he was supposedly going to be taken, but at that point, so the NTC was saying Gaddafi's dead, and the problem with that again, is that "Okay, you know, all we have is footage of him alive, injured but alive, in videos, and after that, apart from the NTC saying he's dead, there's nothing." There's no doctors to interview, there's no body to see, no one had taken pictures, apart from, I think there's Holly Pickett, a freelance photographer who was there, took a picture that's one of the pictures that made it to Parimage from far when we see him in the ambulance that apparently opened its door at some point, but we can't identify him in the picture, we don't know if he's alive or dead, like, there's no visual confirmation there's nothing not a single... so, the NTC says he's dead but the NTC, as far as we were concerned, they're being fed information from the rebel fighters on the ground, and they're not there themselves, there hasn't been a guy dispatched from the NTC to check his body and confirm he's dead, and again there's no doctor, there's no hospital, there's nothing, and it's also very weird that he was alive and then he was dead, and they didn't stop at any of the hospitals, there's something very fishy about it.

So, in the lives that... I remember staying at the hospital for maybe a couple hours, continuing doing lives with France 24, but that point I was saying "Ok, he's announced, the NTC says he's dead," but I was pointing out the fact that there's so much uncertainty about what happened to him within those 3 - 4 hours because again, we see footage, we have footage, we have a big hole where we don't know what happened and then the NTC says he's dead but no one can confirm where he is, and what happened to him, so, I was pointing

those out because that was the only thing I could do. And I didn't want also to take the NTCs word for granted because again for me, the fact that nobody has seen him or has had footage, it was hard to just go 100% with it. it's not because the authority says something happens, if you know that the authority is, in that regard, just over-reliant on rebel fighters on the ground, you can still take it with a grain of salt. And at that point I met a French freelance photographer at the hospital, and we were like "Okay, we're not going to stay there forever, because honestly, he's not coming, dead or alive, he's not coming to the hospital." And at that point there were a few interesting rumours that the body of dead Gaddafi is at the mosque, so I think one was Al Arabiya saying that, Al-Jazeera was saying it was at the souk in Misrata, all rumours because they were reporting it at the same time again, their reporters were in Misrata and they didn't have any footage of him, so for me that just says it's weird, but we were like "Okay, let's go check out these places," just on the off side and we had nothing better to do at that point because it was... and I remember talking to producers at France 24 like letting them know, "Oh we're looking for Gaddafi's body," and they were kind of chuckling, and they were like "Oh yeah? Good luck, good luck to you," because really we had no idea. They were saying they went to Misrata but the ambulance could have gone somewhere else, like, but again, that was the best thing I could do at that point, so him and myself before that, so we go to check out these places and we don't see any dead Gaddafi anywhere and then we really hit a wall around, I don't know, 4:30 - 5, and we were like "Okay, what are we going to do now?" and we decided to stop, and we were like "Why don't we just call every single Libyan number that's on our phones?" like every single one, we don't care if we had, again, we had nothing better to do, we don't care if we met that guy months ago, if that guys even in Misrata, or from Misrata, let's just call everyone, and ask them if they know where Gaddafi is. Because again, that was the best thing to...

SA: That's thorough investigation!

MO: Well, you just do with whatever, you know, and the thing is he got lucky, because at some point, so everybody was like "No," it wasn't going anywhere but then he called- he'd been based in Misrata for a while and he had quite good contacts there, and he called a businessman who told him "Call me back in 20 minutes", like "Okay, that's interesting," and then he called him back and then he was like, "Look, you go to that place, there's a roundabout, there's going to be a pick-up truck coming to pick you up and get on the pick-up truck and go." We didn't know where! The guy on the phone didn't say anything, you know, he was just literally like "Get on the pick-up truck," and we were together so you know, we just decided to do things together that afternoon because it was just, it's often easier and you can brainstorm and you can sort of pool resources and... so we were tagging along, and we were like "Okay, let's go to that place and get on the pick-up," again, no risk of kidnappings in Misrata, that's why we do this shit that we'd never do somewhere else, but we get on the pick-up and then it starts getting dark and we start getting outside of the city and then I'm like "Really, is that a good idea? Is that a good idea?" and then at, it must have been 7, 7:30 maybe, we arrive in a very fancy house outside of Misrata. I have no idea if I'm east, north, west, but like, I don't know where I am, but it's just a very fancy mansion, there are a lot of people outside. When we arrived there, people, some people took us, dragged us through the crowd, got us inside the garage, we don't see anything because it's so packed, that we don't understand what's going on but then they pull us closer and closer and then we arrived at the centre of the garage and there's Gaddafi's body on one side, Mutassim, his son, on the other.

SA: Wow, Okay.

MO: And then I'm like "Yeah, I guess he's dead." And at that point basically, so he ended up in a random businessman's garage because that guy was the guy who had been providing food and fuel for the main rebel forces for months, and they basically- when they captured Gaddafi, they did not call the NTC to know what to do with the body, they called their buddy businessman and told him, and told him "Hey we've got Gaddafi, what do we do?" and he said, "Come bring him over," you know? So, he was there in a random house, until at least later that evening, but then he was transferred into that refrigerator, like frozen, like, it had a market in sort of, I don't know how you call them, stuff that produces cold, like, but for a few hours he was in that random house. And basically, by that time, it was 8 o'clock and once again, they put me live without really, the news is again, "Well, the NTC says Gaddafi's dead, Gaddafi's dead," okay, and then the first question is like "Do you have any more confirmation on the fact that Gaddafi's dead?" "Well, like yeah, I just saw him!"

SA: But right there and then, you had no cameraman to- or were you not showing footage?

MO: No, okay so that's the thing, I had no cameraman and also, at that point I didn't even own a smart phone, I had my recorder, my radio recorder. I had left my computer with, in the car of the AFP team I was with in the morning, so I just had my phone, several phones and my recorder, but I didn't have a camera. My friend fellow journalist had a camera and was taking pictures, what happened to him though is very unfortunate, which is, once he was done snapping the pictures, it was crazy because he would have had the scoop of any other photographers, it's so important that the first picture usually is the one that sticks. With newswires that's the one that circulates and so on. He took the pictures, and then he thought, "Oh, I've got to go ASAP back to my hotel, file the pictures," you know. And I thought, "Okay, I don't have to go back, I can do my lives from here for a bit," like, I just stayed there, not inside the garage but outside. And I was just, I started reporting live and interviewing people from outside that house, but he went back and a few minutes later, like as I was sort of with my phones and, with my notebook, pad and so on, there's a guy who comes in and is like "Do you need anything, do you need internet? We've got internet in the house." And the crazy thing is, we didn't even ask, meaning that that photographer could have filed his pictures straight away from the house, but it seemed so unlikely to have internet, in that kind of place that he just thought "Oh I've got to go back to the hotel right away," and in the time it took him to go back to the hotel, file, the AFP photographer had arrived and took pictures, and had the scoop which is very unfortunate because for a freelance journalist, it's a massive break when you're a photographer

But as far as I was concerned, no, I didn't have any footage to show them, I didn't have that, you know, the AFP team arrived maybe half an hour, an hour later, so they fed, you know, the images that they used were images from newswires. I was just there to confirm like, "Okay, this is, here is where is where he is," and I didn't have the image to confirm it, but me being there was good enough of an improvement towards, "Okay we know he's dead," it's not just the NTC saying he's dead or, because, also, the NTC had announced before people being captured when they were not, or Gaddafi's son being dead when they were not, that also happened, which is why, even when it's the NTC saying it, it wasn't good enough. For me, as long as there was any journalist who had footage or who was able to say "I'm seeing it, I have visuals, like, he's dead," I wasn't taking it. And yeah, so that, and then journalists started to arrive throughout the evening and then a lot more the next day and saw Gaddafi in that container, where, the frozen container where he was put for a few days, yeah.

SA: Okay, and so then the next question was, I think, all the channels started asking how did he die, was it the rebels, was it NATO, how was it, how did he die?

MO: Yeah, so I mean, it took, and that's the problem, because also when I left that garage, I mean, I knew a lot of people would start asking a lot of questions about it, about his injuries, but I'm not a medical expert. It was very difficult for me because I could know he had, he had sustained several injuries in several places but it was impossible for me to tell like that, "Oh, that's what killed him." And what became sort of clear early on is that the big boom we had heard when we were on our way was actually the NATO bombing of the convoy trying to flee, so he had been already injured then, he had been injured during his capture, he had been injured during his beating up, it was, I couldn't say definitively which one of these was the... but it clearly, there was sustained injuries, throughout the day, throughout that morning, and it might be like the combination of all of that, though he might also have been stabbed one last time while in the ambulance, because apparently the ambulance stopped randomly on the way, because probably when they were, they would sort of parade him and "Oh, here, we've got Gaddafi," like on the, it's a long road, so, and the question for me was really, "Was he still alive when the ambulance stopped at the first field hospital? And did they decide at the second field hospital not to stop because he was dead already? But then why didn't they stop at the first field hospital?"

And what's interesting and I think what's, I mean, I was able to sort of have a little bit more information being there that day, but I remember the next day, the BBC team was interviewing a guy who was in the car, the commander the so-called commander of that force who was in the ambulance with Gaddafi, and because the BBC team had not been there, you know, so I was told "Okay, you can stand there, but you can't record and you ask questions later," and I was like "Okay, sure, I'm going to listen to whatever he's telling you first," and it was interesting, because he said, "Oh you know, we didn't stop at the field hospital because it was so crowded, there were no beds available, there were hundreds of people surrounding the ambulance, it was not safe, so we decided to go to the second field hospital, and by then he was dead." So it was a very convenient story, but the interesting part is, once they were finished with the interview and allowed me to continue, my first question to that guy was, pretty much "Well, look I'm sorry to say this, but I'm really sceptical about your explanation, because I was there at the first field hospital when the ambulance stopped, and no, there were like two people in there who were being treated at that point, the hospital was not at all overcrowded, and there were free beds, and no there were not hundreds of people surrounding the ambulance." Yes, there were a few dozen people, but it was still manageable, it wasn't you know, a crowd that they couldn't get Gaddafi out of there, that was just bullshit, so you know, I told him that, I told him, "Look, your explanation, as far as I'm concerned, is not good enough, it doesn't check out." I don't quite remember what he told me, probably his answer was very much like "Oh, but yeah, but there was this and that," and trying to deflect and, there was nothing convincing but the interesting thing is the kind of follow up you can have by being there and have the... of course, like the BBC team wasn't, and they still need to report, and so you, but that's the problem with, when in a case like that, you're so much better off as a journalist being able to tell them that's bullshit when it is, but you can only do that when...

SA: When you've actually been there?

MO: Yeah, exactly, and I think it was only a year later that the Human Rights Watch had produced like a comprehensive actual, a day, a year after it came out, in the end, the first anniversary of Gaddafi's death, where they issued a comprehensive report about again, like,

what happened that day and I think that's to date one of the most detailed, what really went down, hour by hour, and who did what, and, but at that point it was the rebel fighters who were pushing the line that said "Oh, you know, he was injured with the NATO bombing, then he was injured during the capture," of course they wanted to minimise the beating up and the.. because for them it was a better version of the story to say that it was NATO plus the capture because you've got to capture the guy so if, you know, if he's been injured at that point it's not as bad as being injured while he was already captured, so they were trying to emphasise that at the expense of all the ugly stuff that happened the half an hour, an hour while he was dragged in the streets of Sirte and before he was put in the ambulance.

SA: So very interesting, really, really very interesting, everything you've told me, thank you so much. I have a question with regards to ambiguity in the news. While looking at a lot of news stories on the Arab Spring, I get the feeling that news seems to be reported in a very simple way that is either this or that. All details are not given, like I think you mentioned that while you were recounting your story, you said that a lot of information had been given about things that are anti-Gaddafi, it was only later on that you started hearing... Is this some kind of line that's given to you by France 24, or...?

MO: No, I think again, like, I think there are two things and it's funny because when I told my husband, my husband is Libyan biologically, and when we had a conversation in the car this morning, [Unintelligible passage] to you and we talking about it because he worked as a fixer, so he worked with foreign journalists as a fixer in Libya, that's how he started journalism in 2011.

SA: What's a fixer? Can you...?

MO: A fixer is a guy who basically does everything you can't do because you don't know the place, you don't know the language, you don't know anyone...

SA: Okay, I didn't know! Now I have learned something!

MO: So basically everywhere journalists go - especially in war zones - we find people, it's not really a job, I mean, it becomes a job, but it's not something that there are very few people who do that for decades like, because it's usually in the interest of news organisations to keep switching between places and places, so it's not sustainable to be a fixer forever, but in a place like Libya, for instance, a lot of journalists arrive, a lot of them don't speak Arabic, they've never set foot in Libya, they don't know anything, they need guides basically. And usually those are people who speak some English, at least. People who you know, have good connections, are, and in Libya it sort of became - a lot of people, especially the English speakers, instead of fighting, they decided to help journalists, to facilitate, and that's also very interesting [Unintelligible word], different conversation, but that's also a problem, because in Libya they refused to be paid at the beginning, they did that for the revolution. So, they were taking us, driving us, and all the journalists - do not believe anyone who tells you they haven't done it - like all the journalists used people who volunteered, basically, as drivers, as translators, sometimes, they would take us to their families to sleep, to stay the night, because there were no hotels. So they were really the people that we relied on, who we would be telling, "Look I'm trying to do a story about Gaddafi, think of who we could interview, take us there, translate the interview," the problem is of course - and you see where it's going - you rely on people that don't necessarily, that aren't journalists, that also have their heart in a specific place when it comes to that conflict, and it's telling too, when I'm telling you

that most of them it was either, join the rebel forces or become, help with the journalists, it's clearly, it tells you these were not independent people. A good fixer is supposed to ideally, to have contacts in both sides, but it wasn't practical in Libya, it was impossible. You couldn't ask your fixer in Benghazi to have contacts from, you know, they were all, for their safety as well, working, operating within one side, and the problem is of course that journalists relied on their translation which was a huge problem. Because you could interview people telling you one thing, and they would want to, they would think "Oh, this isn't too good for us and our image," and not translate that. Most of them wouldn't have seen the difference because they don't speak Arabic, so after a while, in places where like in Syria and places where conflict goes on for a long time, you have sort of a professionalised fixers guild that emerge where its people are being paid, which is a lot more if you think about it, like "I paid you, you're not helping me out, volunteering for your cause, you're doing it because it's a job and I pay you." So that's the way to guarantee their independence, or unbiased, which is not a perfect but it's at least, you're paying them, it's a job. But at that point most of them refused to be paid, why was I talking about this? Because....

SA: You said you were talking about ambiguity...

MO: Ah yes, my husband. Yeah, and the funny thing is, we went back to that problem, of whether or not journalists were biased during the revolution, and we both agreed that we have-, we were biased, but I don't think its necessarily the product of, it's the product most of all of access. We had very easy access to the rebel side. To go to the Gaddafi regime's side, first of all as a freelance journalist, you couldn't, you had to be sponsored by a big news organisation and so on. And second of all, it was very expensive, and news organisations would pay for a week or two weeks, because it gave them the side from Tripoli and so on, but third of all, it was even less - it was even more biased because when you weren't reporting, journalists who had been on those trips, they all reported being put a minder on, a minder is a guy just designated by the authorities to just follow you everywhere, make sure you don't talk to the wrong people, intimidate the people on the street to talk to them to make sure they don't say anything against the regime. Most of them were not even allowed to go out of the hotel without being on those big tours that the Gaddafi regime was organising - every morning they would go to see the new NATO bombing site, and see how much damage NATO was creating and so on.

But it was even, at least on the rebel side, which was very easily accessible, by whoever, very cheap as well, because they provide everything, and anyway like there weren't really, currency wasn't really a thing, like they would exchange everything, it's quite a wealthy country. At that point, I remember it was only my second or third trip that I saw Libyan money at that point they were sending goods, they weren't using the money. But in any case, we had access to that, and people were, from what I remember, I was never told "No, you cannot put that on record," or I was never told, "No you cannot." They were trying to help, and they knew that overall the story was their side in the sense that most of the human rights abuses, most of them, were done by the other side. Most of the horrible stories you would hear were done by the other side, so they weren't, they were welcoming journalists, again, they saw us as on par with the sky, the drones, the planes in the sky, for them it was part of, it was team.

SA: [unintelligible] fight for the rebels?

MO: Exactly, which was tricky because, again you, if you had a chance to find someone who was a good fixer, you had to explain, like it's important that you translate

everything to me, it's important that you don't, usually what often happened was you asked a question, the person speaks for two minutes and then you've got a translation of 15 seconds, and you're like, "Wait, wait, so can you, can we do that again, like I'm sure there are some details that I would really want to hear, so..." You're trying your best to, because that's, for them, it's something they've never done, it's also not a job so you've got also to train them, so it takes time, and I'm sure like a lot of us were fooled by translations that were, we were operating with, again, I honestly think most of us did the best we could, but also at that point, during a good part of the revolution, there was no massive outrageous acts by rebel forces that we witnessed, and we suddenly weren't told "Don't report it," it's just we didn't witness them because those, the ugly side of the revolution happened towards the end, and I think that was reported. I think the first incident that I remember of something being a little bizarre and that tells you a lot about them really thinking- the rebel forces - really thinking journalists were on their side. I remember we were put - after the liberation of Tripoli, the first few days we were put in a school, we could sleep there and whatever, and while we were walking in the school, with a Dutch colleague, we were like "Oh that's interesting, there's a lot of black people that are being kept in rooms downstairs," and we were all sort of asking the same questions, they had not realised that it was problematic to put upstairs the journalists and downstairs the migrants they were rounding up and arresting. They had not, because as far as they were concerned we were with them, we were telling the same story of how bad Gadaffi is, period. They didn't know that it's a story that journalists could be interested in - basically you're arresting every single black person, which is a lot of people in Libya, because they were like, out of a country of six million people, there were a million migrants and sub-Saharan Africans, you're arresting all of them in Tripoli that you can find, and accusing them of being mercenaries, even though it was mostly a false charge. It was one of the first things that most journalists saw as "Okay, so this is not quite right," and they were surprised at first that we were interrogating them about it, because they were like, "What's the big deal? The enemy is Colonel Gaddafi," and it's funny because I remember a conversation with one of them, where I was explaining literally to the rebel fighter, "Look, don't be surprised that the journalists are going to start asking these questions because now you're the ones in charge. So, what do you want us to ask the questions about, you're the ones in charge, you're the ones deciding to round up these people, it's not going to be Gaddafi's fault on that one, it's yours!" But in the very first few days that tells you how for them, it was, we were not chasing those stories, even though, and we weren't, so when they emerged, we were...

The second thing, of course, is Sirte became really ugly, there was a lot of looting, there was a lot of burning houses, there were a lot of bodies that, dead bodies, that we weren't sure what happened, and they were clearly executions and so on, and when journalists had access to those, I think you can find quite a fair amount of stories out there during that month during the battle for Sirte that talk about it. Same thing, in between Misrata and Sirte, there is a small town called Tawergha, that's a town, a small town where, it's black Libyans so it's an ethnic tribe, a different type of ethnic tribe, they're black. And basically, because the Misratis had accused them of having participated in the seizure of Misrata during the revolution, which was very violent, they took it out on the Tawerghans when they could and basically burned down their entire town. The problem is, every journalist going to Sirte which was a lot of us every day going back, and on the road, you can see the burned down village. And we saw it, so we started questions, there's a lot of stories about what happened in Tawergha, during that month between mid-September and mid-October, when journalists, especially when we were, covering Sirte became sort of more of the same every day, so we were, that was a will also to cover something else, so all of these stories I think were told when there was a chance for us to have access to them, to witness them.

You can't quite report on something you don't know is happening, like, we knew of course it's war, so we knew of course there was some ugly stuff happening somewhere, but unless you got a hand that it's happening and you've got evidence and you've got, you know, you're not going to be reporting on it. And that's where I, sort of disagreed with my husband, in east Libya I had seen earlier on in the revolution, there were apparently evidence of apparently, like massacres in east Libya and, because he was sort of, he was a fixer, so he was sort of pitching stories to journalists, so like okay, so today we can, why don't we do that, or why don't we cover that? it was, a good fixer will not just be being dragged from one place to the next and translate, but will also suggest story ideas. And he would, he had that one example, he'd heard that there were bodies that it was possible to go see them, it was very fishy, it was probably Gaddafi loyalists who had been executed, and he had, I don't remember which team he was working with at that point, but he asked them "Do you want to go?" and apparently they were like "Well, no, it's not really a story we want to cover," and so for him that's the example of, it probably happened down the line that, especially at the very beginning of the revolution, there were probably a few occasions where journalists turned a blind eye, but I wouldn't say it's a general - I wouldn't generalise it. I think when things really started to, when they were clear indications that on the rebel side there was also stuff happening that wasn't so pretty, I think a lot of us still reported it when we had a chance, so it's not editorial but one more thing, sorry my answers are so long...

MO: I would say you're right when you say like it's not a matter of initially making it black or white, but it comes out that way because also it is so darn difficult to tell stories that are complicated. Of course, a good journalist will strive to do that, and you constantly want to capture the grey, and the nuances, and the... but it's often very difficult, especially when you work in the field with limited resources, a lot of pressure, plus it's a hostile environment, you're, it is tough. I'm not giving that as an excuse, but it's also a matter of... to some extent, and that's not necessarily the case in Libya, but in Syria it was clearly the case, Syria became so complicated, that at some point you couldn't sell any more stories, like as a freelancer, I was based in ??? on the Turkish-Syrian border for two years. It was so difficult to interest editors because the story was becoming so murky. Whether it's something we like or not, at the end of the day selling a story - when you're freelance, and so many freelancers have been covering the Arab Spring, I think that's the difference between the other wars, between Iraq and Afghanistan, where you need to be staff because you need to be embedded, because it costs so much money, because the threshold to be - to get there is just so high, with the Arab Spring it's kind of a free for all, the way Bosnia was, also for a generation, how it was kind of easy to just go in, it was close, go in and have access and start reporting. But so many freelancers, and like for freelancers, you rely on, you make a living on being able to sell stories to editors, and when stories are, I mean, it's sad to say but sometimes the truth, like when stories are catchy, when stories are easy to digest, easy to understand, and are a little bit more black and white, that's what it takes to interest an editor. if you start sending a pitch about how there's these rebel brigades but that one, and that one, they're kind of the same but a bit different, and, like, no one is going to be interested, it needs to have a fresh [unintelligible word], it needs to have an angle that's easily comprehensible. I was often told also, your stories on the radio - because I'm a radio reporter - I was often told, you've got to imagine you're talking to people who are in their car, with their kids screaming in the back, and you're still trying to tell a story, and they still have to remember something, to get something out of it. So, because a lot of Americans listen to, I mostly work for north American radio stations, and a lot of American seem to listen to the radio in their car, which is a noisy environment, which isn't like with headphones and, or while cooking, or when they're doing something else. And that's the great thing about radio because it's a great way to reach people but the setback is if you overload

with information, if it becomes too complicated, people are going to stop listening, and the problem with radio is when they stop listening, you've lost them. When you're reading a story, you can always go back and read again the last paragraph that you didn't quite understand, radio, you lose them and probably they've gone onto the next story. So, you've got a, by definition, whether it's to pitch a story which you will have to make understandable by editors who are sitting in Boston, or in New York, or who have no idea, no clue of what you're talking about - because some of them do, but a lot don't, like a lot of them have never been on the field, they haven't been to that part of the world. Whether it's to sell new stories or whether it's to tell your story to an audience that's also very removed from where you're telling your story from, you're going to have to dumb it down to some extent. That doesn't mean you give up on all your journalism standards and you decide, "Okay, who cares? I'm just going to simplify to the extreme the story." But that means, if you want people to take something out of your story - and I've always seen that the goal is not with one story to explain everything, but little by little, the accumulation of stories that will create a better understanding. One story isn't going to be able to capture all of the grey and all of the details and that's not true. It's going to be impossible in a 3 - 4-minute story.

So, you know your limitations and you've got to work with that because, yes, if we were all given the chance to do hour-long documentaries, you have a [unintelligible word] so, too, it's not the problem of that going to the more simplified versions, which is a good observation because it's true, that's more the result of the difficulty of telling very complicated stories in a way that still intelligible for a western audience. And sometimes it goes too far, like one of the things I hated covering Syria, is at some points, and that's why ISIS got so - on the media it was ISIS everywhere - is because it made the story all of a sudden so clearly understandable. For about two years, for the first year of the Syrian revolution, the story was kind of clear, because it matched the narrative of other, Arab spring. Then it became a lot of rebel groups that nobody really understood where they were aligned, where they took funding from, what they wanted and so on. and so, you've got the rebel groups that are less and less seeming like they're the good guys but Bashar [al-Assad] is still the bad guy, and then you've got the entrance of the very, very, very, very bad guy! And then again, it becomes a much easier story to digest.

SA: You're spot on, I think! Can I ask, so when you worked in Syria, did you cover the news for several organisations? You were a freelancer, or did you work for your own particular...?

MO: Yeah, no, I was still a freelancer, every now and again, when I was, because I was based in ???, but then again, I still did some, I still filled in for France 24, same thing during phoners etc., from ???, not from inside Syria. When I was travelling from inside Syria I was mostly reporting for American and Canadian radio- on a very side note, because I don't know if that's something you found if you checked my background or whatever, but for your research I know it always helps sort of to establish someone as being legitimate. One of the stories I did in Deir ez-Zor, won the, do you know Bayeux, the war correspondent award?

SA: No, sorry...

MO: There's a war correspondent award in a place in France called Bayeux, that's kind of the, sort of, because there is not, there are very few, if not none, other war correspondent award specifically, and it's based in Bayeux, it's an international award, and I won the top prize for one of the radio stories I did from Deir ez-Zor for the CBC, that was in 2013.

SA: Now I've learned that, congratulations!

MO: Well, that was a while back! But yeah, they've got entries, like it's all categories, so it's French radio, TV, I think there's one web and photography field also. But, and at that point, what was interesting the year I received the award was, the colleagues who won the TV award was also a freelancer, like so many, like, it used to be an award that was mostly going to staff because that's what, otherwise it wasn't really kind of reporting that was an option for freelancers and then you've got really, 2012, 2013, you had so and since, so many of the people who are being given awards in that, for that prize who are freelancers, and that really has changed the business as well.

SA: Wow, so basically from what you're telling me, because it's true, and you're what I had heard a lot of, during the Arab spring, was actually the number of citizen journalists that came out, what I didn't know so much about, freelance journalists so I'm...

MO: So, citizen journalists are a little bit different in the sense that citizen journalists helped a lot of news organisations to report the news when they either didn't have access to the place, or because they were everywhere, and when you send one team, the team cannot be everywhere, so having people who, citizen journalism worked better in Tunisia, in Egypt than it did in Libya or, so... In Syria, it also worked to a certain point, but... I think it was never a matter of, it was a few of those citizen journalists were really committed to doing journalism, then sort of special, like managed to get contracts with news organisations, especially in Syria because it dragged on for so long, and because at some point western journalists couldn't go in, so what would they do? That's what started the best citizen journalists, they would send them equipment and they would use that footage, they'd use their reporting. So, it was basically, it was those citizen journalists being armed by better equipment, by news organisations.

Now the problem with that, again, because it's always double-sided, I think in places like Egypt, Tunisia, it was a great way to gather information from a lot of different places, and it was seen by the news organisations as it helps get a better picture. They never replaced journalists, but it helped having footage, lots of footage from a lot of places, we can have eye witnesses to talk to and so on, but in Syria at some point it really replaced almost journalists, because these people were put on contract, or the best of them, who were put on contract, with whether it's AP, whether it's a news organisation who needed the flow of images not to stop, but who could not rely, at the same time, on their own journalists, or even any other freelancers, because westerners couldn't go in. So, basically you have the citizen journalists who, and then the problem is, like "Okay, they've been given equipment, great, but have they been given any training, any safety equipment? They were given a camera, but did the news organisation send a flag jacket for them? Send a helmet, send a sat phone?" The same equipment they wouldn't dare to send their staff reporters over there without, so that's a problem freelance journalists had as well, like, we were all often operating in a way that was substandard compared with the staff, but with these citizen journalists, because they all become on contract with news organisations, they've got full responsibility for them, and yet a lot of news organisations did not provide the same duty of care for them than they were for staffers.

And photographers were often on the scene the first, like here's that story of that, I think he was a Reuters photographer, that very young photographer, who died on the frontline in Aleppo, I think it was two- three years ago. And the main problem that came, apart from the fact that it wasn't too clear whether he had had safety training, is that it wasn't even clear whether he was over 18. There were a lot of people saying he was still a minor, and when he died like a lot of people in the community started raising voices, that this guy had become, I'm not sure he was on contract with Reuters, but he was a regular contributor to

Reuters, and originally he was a citizen journalist, and Reuters way of - you'll have to check whether it was Reuters, by the way, because I'm not sure about that - but the editors explanation, their way of explaining themselves was, like "Oh, you know, we told him it was too dangerous and he shouldn't go that often to the frontline," but at the same time, every time he did go to the front line, even if it was every day, they would buy his stories, and his pictures. So, you can tell people to be safe and to be careful and not to do something, but if you enable it by, and his people who had been living in a diseased town, a city for years, and when Reuters pay - even if it's very low pay for what they usually pay - but if they pay you 50\$ per picture, it's still a lot of money for them. So, there's going to be - the incentive to take these risks are huge! So you can't make you feel like you've done the right thing by telling them not to go, at the end of the day he's still taking the pictures, you're fully responsible, and that's one of the things that really upset me with some of the news agencies, including AFP, because there's one such guy in Syria, and there's someone I met when I was doing my report there, was like a citizen journalists, always, one such photographer, very talented, who had not done journalism before, obviously, but just was a good photographer, had a good eye - and a few months after I met him, and I left, he was killed. And this guy had been working quite regularly with AFP, and AFP, at that point, I was really upset, because the least you can do is recognise someone has taken risks for you, and that its one of yours, did some work that you considered being good enough to be published, and give him the respect that you would give any other journalist who's been working putting his life on the line for you. Their first comment, and it was really, it really seemed like it was the way to... a big disclaimer to avoid any loss, any problems in the future was "We just want to make clear that when the shell landed and killed him, he was on his bike coming back from a family dinner, he was not working for us," and that is so outrageous when you know how these people work, because whenever I'd meet him, he always had his camera, there's not an on and off switch, okay I'm going to work at 7am, I'm off work at 5pm.

SA: It's not a 9 - 5 job like in Europe...

MO: No, you see, these guys always have their cameras and were always ready to take pictures whenever something happened, which is whenever, because you really never knew, and he could have taken great pictures in the half an hour before that, you know, but AP's way of just saying "It's not our problem, it's not our fault, because yes, he died, but he's not our responsibility," basically. And it really made me so angry because at the end of the day, it's not like his family would go and sue AFP for whatever, or ask for money, but it shows such a lack of basic human respect for the work that they're doing, so in some cases I feel like they're, the way they've been handled, these journalists especially the ones who really stuck to it, and became, had a much closer working relationship with big agencies. It got a little ugly, and I don't know if since they've sort of rectified it and they were a lot more careful clearly, after, to provide, I think there was some effort to provide safety gear, to provide training and so on, but yeah, it was, been a tricky...

SA: In the case of France 24 and the contract you had with them, were you trained in any way or...?

MO: I didn't have any contract with...

SA: Oh, you didn't have a contract, I thought you had...

MO: I never signed anything!

SA: Oh my god, okay, so in the end you weren't really protected by them either, were you?

MO: I mean I wasn't at all... I mean, I did things in Libya, that clearly, it's not like I wouldn't recommend people to do it, but I would certainly tell people, like, I would, I remember telling off several people because they wanted to go to Syria, and act as if it was Libya. I would never tell an inexperienced journalist, like I was, to go to cover Syria. I'm not saying never go cover war, but don't go cover that war, because at the end of the day there are some wars that are easier to report than others, there's always an element of "It's dangerous," but they're not all the same. In terms of equipment, David Thomson had an extra - because I was filling in for, like, someone who'd been there before, he had an extra Flack jacket, helmet, sat phone, so I was using those, when he left, he let me alone, I kept it, he let me, he obviously let me keep it, have it. And I returned them I think originally, that's the reason I went to visit them in Paris, because I had to return the gear.

So, they let me have that, but they didn't ask for anything else, like, but at the same time, at that point, very few people were asking freelancers, have you done what we call HEFAT, which is Hostile Environment First Aid Training. So, yeah, now it's become a lot more I think, with Syria, a lot more news organisations are trying to ask those questions and make sure you've got insurance, or you've got your flag jacket, you've got all of that that I didn't really have in Libya when I went, because again so many bad things happen in Syria, so many journalists got killed, got kidnapped, that at some point it became, it was clear that saying "He's a freelancer" is not good enough to exempt the news organisations from any responsibility. If you've been working with someone, taking his work on a regular basis, you're expected to be, of course, so the one responsible for his well-being to some extent. So, a good news organisation should pay for the hostile environment insurance that comes, that's very expensive insurance, that you can get through RSF, but that's too expensive for freelancers, usually, to afford. Like they should provide safety gear, they should provide that, some do, a lot more do now, these days than they used to, but it's still...

SA: And as a freelance journalist, do you choose the location you want to go to and then you just say OK, I'm going to report from there, or are you actually, trying to sign a contract with...?

MO: Well, it depends, for it can be a little bit of both, some journalists - once you've established with, freelance journalism, becomes a lot easier once you have two or three clients which are your main clients, two - three news organisations that you very regularly work with, because then editors know you, your pitches get answered immediately, people know who you are, know that you can deliver, so... At the beginning it's hard because nobody knows you, nobody knows what you're capable of doing, whether your reporting is solid, so at the beginning you've got to convince people that you're good enough, and that's one of the problems of the attraction of war for freelance journalists, is it's a good way of eliminating a lot of competition, because not a lot of people go to wars, and as a freelancer, it's a lot easier to sell a story from Libya than it is from Paris when you've got, I don't know, hundreds of staffers, plus several established... so there's the problem, is that it can also lead to that okay... originally when I went to Libya, like I was actually in Tunisia for several months before then, I had no intention of going to Libya, or wherever. It happened more just through, I started reporting on refugees at the border, and this led to that, led to that, but originally that was not at all my intention, but it happened also to a lot of freelancers, they get an opportunity, and they're like "Okay, that sounds like it's safe enough, and I should do it," and they go. But I've basically been able to decide where I live and what I do. Sometimes you don't really choose

because it's more, you've got to say yes to, even if you're not too excited about a commission, you've got to take it, because it will pay the bills. Sometimes you have a very close relationship with a news organisation, so they're the one telling you they would really like to send you there, or there, what do you think? It's more of a collaborative effort. It depends, but me, for the first year, it was really like, me reaching out to people, saying "I'm there, do you want that story?" And that's how a lot of freelancers start.

SA: That sounds really tough! Okay, thank you very much I don't want to keep you much longer, I'll...

MO: You were really like, even my editor has been really good, it's been an hour and a half,

SA: I know, it's been really long, I told you half an hour, and wow, okay!

MO: But that's okay, I get also very, I mean, those are important, I'm glad that some people are doing research about it, and you know what, I also just like the fact that the Arab spring created such a huge hope and enthusiasm and then it kind of backlashed and became the winter, or whatever, how the analogy people are coming up with to say that it's all gone to hell, but I don't - and when it comes to journalism coverage of it, I think, like, it's as with everything else, I think it's a very interesting topic because it reflects really how the news organisation is shifting and the pitfalls of some of the, working in that environment and so on, but I think that it's great that you're doing research about it, because it tells you a lot about the state of the industry, but it also, like anything, if you want to be nuanced enough, like there's, it's not like all the bad journalists they're all reporting anti-Gaddafi, or, because that's something that I heard as well, like, the western media all were all in cahoots to take down Gaddafi and take down Assad, and this is ridiculous and you're often trying to explain to people the conditions in which we work that create also those restrictions and those difficulties...

SA: Yeah that's what I mean, that's honestly why I really wanted to speak to a journalist to see really what was it was like for you guys working from the ground, because it's very easy for us to say, or for us to criticise by just watching the videos, but I don't think it's enough to just watch the videos to understand why you made certain decisions, and that's why the conversation was really, really helpful for me, thank you.

MO: One day I'll be courageous enough and I'll go back to check out the lives that I did that day because now I feel like I don't want to watch them or hear them just because I'm so scared that I would be so, I would just cringe, because it's difficult when you, I'm sure it was far from perfect but again, like, that day, that's one of the editors at France 24 told me, "What mattered is that you were able to give true events, the story, there was the stuff we had on the newswire and there was the stuff you saw that had enhanced the story," and it probably wasn't perfect delivery but that's the kind of- and another editor told me "Oh, but you're so lucky, you,"-she's in her 50s,- like, "you're so lucky, every journalist who lived for, like, going through one, one day, one of these days, and you already had it, and you've got like two years of experience!"

SA: Well no, honestly, what caught my interest is that with the videos I watched of you on, I mean not of you, but your voice I heard, on France 24, was really, the excitement in your voice, and you were really able to relay what was happening there, that it was a state of confusion, and madness and nobody was understanding what exactly was happening, and

again, you were also very careful to not say okay we know for example, Gaddafi is dead, you were very, very careful, and I thought that was very impressive. and that's why I said, "Oh, if I can speak to you, that would be really great to understand why..."

MO: When is your research supposed to be- what's your time line...?

SA: So, I'm doing a PhD, and because of the PhD I don't have a deadline, I'm allowed to take as long as I want on it, but I would like to finish it this year, the end of this year... so I'm currently writing it up, and actually, that's one thing I wanted to ask, so if I finish writing it up in December, I should be able to present it sometime, early next year. So, that's actually something I wanted to ask you, I've been actually recording us, but if you tell me you don't want to be recorded, I can just press delete and not use it...?

MO: No, no, that's fine, like, there's nothing there that I wouldn't stand by...

SA: Okay, so is it okay then that I also say that it's you, it's Marine Olivesi?

MO: Yes, of course!

LETTER OF CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATING IN AN INTERVIEW
with **Sawsan Atallah Bidart, PhD Researcher in the Science of Information and Communication**
Thesis Theme: The evolution of international news- a study on news processing via news stories of
the Arab Spring

Researcher
Sawsan Atallah Bidart

Research Laboratory
MICA- Media, Information,
Communication et Art suivi par
Noble AKAM

Email
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montaigne.fr

1. Objectives

This work consists of recording testimony on news production during the Arab Spring. This work will be further completed with an observation of news videos of the Arab Spring and theoretical research. It aims to understand and analyse the production of international news. This form is provided as an ethical framework for the interview.

2. Confidentiality

The recording of the interview and its transcription will be saved on a secure server. The results of the interview will be used for the thesis and you may be quoted. This thesis may also be used by others after its publication.

How would you like to be quoted?

- I would like to be known by my real name: [Replace with your real name] *Marine OLIVESI*
 I would like to remain anonymous and be identified by a pseudonym
 I would like to remain anonymous but as a representative of the organisation which will be named in the thesis

3. Contact and communication

- I would like to receive the transcription of the interview
 I accept to be further contacted with regards to this work

Tel/Portable :

Email : *marineolivesi@gmail.com*

Adresse : *11 bis bd Dubouché, 06000 NICE, FRANCE*

4. Consent

The nature of this work and the confidentiality of the information shared during this information were well explained to me.

NOM

*OLIVESI
Marine*

Signature

Marine Olivesi

Date

16/10/2017



VII. Interview Transcription 9- France 24 Permanent International Correspondent

David Thomson, International Correspondent for France 24

SA: So, I got your details from Marine Olivelsi, who worked with you for a slight period of time in Libya, and basically, she told that because she only worked for a brief period of time with France 24, you may be able to give me much more information. Basically, what I am really trying to look at is how news is produced, and especially during the Arab Spring. So, I have a few questions that I have in front of me, but maybe we can start off by you saying what your experience with France 24 is, in terms of journalism and specifically with the Arab Spring.

DT: You mean for the time I was in Libya, or up until now?

SA: Maybe you could even come up until now – why not?

DT: Okay. So, my experience with France 24 at the time when I was in Libya – actually I got my degree from a French-Canadian school, which was in Bordeaux, by the way, and my dream was to work with other French internationals, because I was fond of African news, what was happening in Francophone Africa and so my goal was to be a correspondent in a Francophone African country. The main radio in those countries is RFI; it is a very important radio in those countries so that's why I wanted to work for RFI. So, after school, I went and I worked as a freelancer for RFI, and then there was what they call in French the 'fusionne', where RFI had to merge with France 24 under President So, I went to work for France 24 after school at the desk for two years and I got bored and I asked for to go and cover events in the Ivory Coast – at the time there was the war in the Ivory Coast and that was also the moment when the revolution occurred in Tunisia. So, my chief told me to go to Tunisia and work there because I had no knowledge of the country or Arab countries at the time, but still I decided to do my work there in Tunisia and so I worked as a correspondent for RFI and France 24, and two weeks(?) after my arrival, RFI sent me to the war in Libya. So, I started covering the war from Libya for both media – RFI and France 24.

SA: So, with regard to the Arab Spring, you mainly focused on Tunisia and then Libya. And this was specifically for France 24 - the French version, yes?

DT: Yes, when you work for France 24, some people (not in my case because my English is not good) work in both languages, but in my case I worked only for the French channel, but the English one and the Arabic one also got my footage ...

[END OF PART ONE]

[PART TWO]

DT: ... the war, no experience of everything over there – when I think of it now, it seems to be really irresponsible! Those from the media and me – I remember in Tripoli when the Battle of Tripoli occurred and the Fall of Tripoli, when Gaddafi got shot, we were the first, with two other teams, I think it was Sky News and France 2, to enter the city with the rebels, and that was actually the first day of my life when bullets came in my direction. I actually didn't realise what was happening when somebody was firing at me, because I didn't know the noise of the bullet, so when you've got somebody firing at you, you don't necessarily hear the noise of the gun, but you just hear the whistle of the bullet and actually the bullet was travelling in my direction and I didn't know. Friends of mine told me, 'Lay down, get on the ground! Somebody is shooting at you!', and I didn't even notice that. So, now I know but at that time I didn't.

SA: So, you learnt through experience?

DT: Even with Marine we had this problem with one of our team who was really hurt because he was hurt by a [2:13] in the chest, and I can't remember if Marine was there or not – I think she was. You know, we were not prepared at all.

SA: But did they give you, for example, any bullet vests, or nothing?

DT: No, no, they didn't actually. Bullet jackets had been sent for us by the special envoy, because when they knew that we took on work too heavy for foreign correspondents and we needed back-up, so when they found staff – a back-up team to help us – because it is impossible to do everything when you are alone, and you are tired, so those people came with the jackets.

SA: Bullet vests.

DT: Bullet – what?

SA: Bullet vests.

DT: Bullet vests, okay. They came with bullet vests and they left those bullet vests for us.

SA: Okay, right. So, in fact there was never really a France 24 office in Tunisia or in Libya? You were there really on your own?

DT: Yes, absolutely. But what we called an office was just our home.

SA: And when you were there reporting, did you have a cameraman, or did you do most of your reports on voice only?

DT: At the beginning, I was there with a friend of mine who was a cameraman and actually I was working like this with friends, who came with me. They were freelance and we just did the money we earned 50/50. But that was another problem, because everybody does not work the same in those situations, so we were put in this situation where I had to beg people to come to do the footage, but those people had no insurance – nothing! I didn't have any insurance either, so it was a crazy situation and we were in a war zone. Some

of them, I remember the last one, that was when I decided to start to shoot the footage by myself.

SA: Really?

DT: Yes, because the last one got really frightened. He had never been in a war zone and had never seen dead people, so actually it was a big shock for him. He was always afraid, he never wanted to go too close to the combat, which I completely understood. So, at that point I decided to start working by myself and to do everything by myself. I mean, to write, to film and to do the broadcast.

SA: Wow. Sounds like a tough situation that you were in – a very tough situation. So, if we continue talking about training. If we think about the editorial line of France 24, so for example the stories that they were interested in. Did they tell you, for example, ‘We want you to go to this particular part of Libya and get information from there,’ or was it you who had to do the investigation and phone France 24 and say, ‘Hey, I have a story’?

DT: Actually, it was both, but it’s a bit of an exaggeration to use the word ‘investigation’, because when you are covering a revolution, when you are covering a war, you don’t really have to investigate – the news is everywhere so you just have to take your microphone and the story finds you. It doesn’t need investigation, you don’t have to search for information. It’s just covering what is happening in front of your eyes. So, actually, I’ll only speak about the Libyan situation because it was different from the Tunisian one. In the Libyan situation, we were just following the rebels and we were following the advance they made every day on the Gaddafi forces. So, we were just following one battle after another, you know? So, we had two direct lines on TV just to talk about the immediate situation, and then we used to make stories about who the rebels were, the [8:47] they had, their lives, and so that was it, actually.

SA: Okay, but my question is really was it you who decided to go and interview the rebels, or was it the station, was it France 24 who told you, ‘We want you to get us more information on the rebels; we want to hear their story’?

DT: it was both, actually. Many times in the day we had the editor on the phone and we used to say, ‘Okay, today we have this, we have that, if you want we can do this report,’ and it was a discussion. Sometimes it was the channel who saw a piece and called us to do something about this, to do the same actually! So, what was difficult is that when I was in Libya, from Paris they don’t really know the difference between the East or the West Front, between Benghazi, Beirut or Tripoli, so whether I was in Tripoli or when I was in Beirut, I had no idea what was happening in Benghazi because it was impossible to see it but still in Paris they wanted me to talk about the situation in Benghazi just by reading a press agency story. But that’s problem of every correspondent of every media.

SA: So, that’s an interesting point that you raised – where it is that you actually get information from as a correspondent. You mentioned that you work sometimes with press agencies. Did you also have to work with citizen journalists, with people on the ground that are not journalists but perhaps activists or rebels? How did you get you information on a daily basis?

DT: In Libya, you have really true activists, so you couldn't rely on them to get information. The information we had was just what we were seeing, I mean I am talking right now particularly about the Libyan situation, but in Tunisia it is not the same way of working. In Libya, all I did about – talking about information on the trouble, all I had was only what I saw, what I was seeing at the time. That was the only source of information especially in Libya because in Libya, honestly, nobody is trustworthy. The rumour I have sourced from is [12:15], so you couldn't be sure of anything unless you saw it. So, that was the rule in Libya.

SA: Okay. So, nobody is trustworthy in terms of the information that they give you, so you had to really verify the information?

DT: Yes. I was only sure of my information if I saw it.

SA: Okay, I understand. Although towards the end, when Gaddafi died, Marine was explaining to me that she had to at the beginning she had to focus on the videos that were going around on the rebels' mobile phones but again she did also say the same thing you said. She said that until she saw his body she could not confirm that he was actually dead.

DT: I remember that she was the first French reporter to do so, or maybe the first Western journalist to be able to confirm this.

SA: Yes, she mentioned that to me as well! Obviously she was – it's something to be proud of, of course.

So, if you go back to Tunisia – when did you actually arrive in Tunisia? Was it after Bouazizi had died, I guess?

DT: Actually, I arrived in Tunisia two or three weeks after the revolution – after the fleeing of Ben Ali, so I was a bit afraid of arriving after the battle, but it was not really the case. I arrived on 3 February.

SA: Okay, and you said that the way you got news in Tunisia worked completely differently – in what way?

DT: Yes, in Tunisia it was a completely different situation. So, you work in a transitional way in Tunisia – you had sources, political sources, activist sources; you had official sources, you had demonstrations every day in the streets, so you could also talk to people in the streets who were just demonstrating. You had the official guys – so you had plenty of sources in Tunisia. People that you were able to follow during the months, during the years, so it was a more transitional way of working in Tunisia.

SA: Okay – I guess it's because in Tunisia there were still demonstrations – it really was an uprising, whereas when you were in Libya, it was more of almost a war.

DT: There were – how can I put it? – a few main differences. In Libya, very soon get a f turn off the internet and people in Libya didn't have the same access on internet than in Tunisia. So, you had much less media activity on the internet in Libya than in Tunisia. It was really not the same, but completely different. In Tunisia, during the revolution you had strong figures that emerged who became in a few days really famous. You could see

them in the streets, you can phone them, you can meet them, so that was a bit different, and the regime was not the same – I mean, Gaddafi was much crueller than Ben Ali, many more people were killed in Libya and I felt it was not the same pressure.

SA: Okay, I understand. Another question I had is with regards to the news production process, so the procedures by the France 24 team. So, you mentioned that in some cases it was a friend of yours who was filming, in other cases it was you who had to film. How did you decide what type of shots to use, what type of information to use? Were you told by France 24, for example ‘We want close shots’? Were you told ‘We want a specific angle’? Were you told, ‘We want to see violence or not at all’? Things like that.

DT: Yes, so you have many questions in your question! Ask me again if I don’t answer them all. We are talking about the form of the package. In France, the package is that the editor – in your questions are you talking about the combat team; the war team?

SA: Yes, also it could have been with the war, yes?

DT: Because, in general, if you are talking just about how you should, the editor – that’s the same for all news companies and news outlets – is just going to say an aesthetic way, ‘This is not good, or ‘This is good’. That’s all. Okay. So,

SA: But what I mean is some channels you will notice that we don’t see the journalist. The journalist will only give the voiceover, and on other channels we will see the journalist actually speaking to the camera. Are there specific preferences by France 24?

DT: That – you are speaking of two things. I would say the Anglo-Saxon way of doing TV journalism and the French way. English people, American people – is it right to say Anglo-Saxon?

SA: Yes, definitely, yes.

DT: So, Anglo-Saxon people, when they shoot a report, the one who is writing, the journalist (which we call the *rédacteur* in France) appears in the footage. So, he is in the footage, is seen by the people, and is part of the package. That is not the French way of doing a report. You begin to see in France that you only see on TV the journalist at the end of the package, doing what we call the *plateau*, which is a kind of conclusion of the package. But you never see the journalist in the report in the package. That’s more of an English way of a doing the thing, or the French way.

SA: Okay, I did not know this. Thank you.

DT: So, to answer the third part of your question, actually I was a bit shocked because when I first went to Libya, one of the editors on the channel asked me to bring back combat scenes. That’s what they wanted. They wanted to see fighting, they wanted to see the war. And that’s a bit shocking when you are an editor, instead of saying, ‘Be careful, don’t go too close to the combat’.

SA: So, how did you do that? Were you close to the rebels? Who were you close to to be able to get such shots?

- DT: Yes, at that time in Libya, it was easy to work. As French, we were really welcomed by the rebels, which was a bit funny because most of the French are left-wing and the rebels were right-wing but they were welcoming us and yelling ‘Vive Sarkozy! Vive la revolution!’ So, it was very easy to work with the rebels because they were really nice with the French. It was not the same with the regime. I went on both sides and the regime was very much less friendly, of course, with us, and so you weren’t ... if you wanted to go in the first line, I remember a time with the rebels – they were not really trained, they are really bad soldiers – I remember even then sometimes they didn’t really know where the frontline was. I remember we were all in a rebel pick-up, we were driving and suddenly I heard a shot and that’s when I figured out that we had crossed the front line! But it was completely disorganised, so it was easier to work than other wars, I think, but it was also more dangerous because the rebels had no experience.
- SA: I see. And so, I think you have touched on an interesting point there, saying it was a bit more difficult for you to work with the regime than it was with the rebels, and so this meant that you were not really able to show both sides of the story but not because of your fault, but because they did not want to share much information with you. Is that it?
- DT: Well, working with the regime was working in a dictatorship which was developing, I would say, a kind of old-fashioned propaganda which was almost funny sometimes. I mean, you had the actors everywhere we were sent by the regime and then comedians would sometimes be there – I remember one day, we were sent to a town which had just been reconquered by the regime, and they had put for us, because we were all put in a bus – a Gaddafi bus – all of the French journalists were kept in a motel which we had no right to leave. Every journalist has a regime following us, more than closely, they were even sleeping in the motel room next to you, and they are working all the time so you were always with those people, and when the journalist bus arrived in the town you had always people cheering us with the red flag, the green flag and pictures of Gaddafi, saying ‘[Arabic]’ which was the slogan of the regime. Those people, you could see them in this kind of situation one day and you could see exactly the same people – I saw the same man, I am sure – praying in another town. It was so obvious and that was a difficult part of working with the Libyan regime.
- SA: Another question I have is with regards to how the news was distributed by France 24. So, I am not sure if you have this information, or if I need to speak to somebody else within France 24, but is there a decision with regards to what news is put on the English, French or Arabic channels?
- DT: Yes, that’s a really good question because it’s not the same line between the French, the Anglo and especially the Arabic, which is really different. So, the Arabic channel is what represents today and it was a good sign, but honestly, I would say that the standout journalists of the Arabic are not the same as the French. I was very often annoyed by what I saw on the Arabic channel because it was not so accurate as the French, it was really not the same. But what I can say is it was good working with France 24 at that time, because at that time it had a really good image among people who – I mean, the activists, the rebels, they had the impression that this channel helped them, and in a way, it was the case. It’s true.

SA: We think about France 24 as a state channel because it is owned by the French state. Can you tell me what ways you think it has been able to maintain its independence despite being state owned?

DT: Can you rephrase the question?

SA: Yes, I am just trying to understand how, as a state channel, France 24 maintains its independence, or shows that it has not the same view as the French state, but really gives fair reporting?

DT: Honestly, I would say – I don't know if the editor or the director of information has precise orders from the French Foreign Affairs Minister – maybe yes, but I don't know actually. But what I would say is that I think it's not even needed because at that time during the Arab Spring, most of the French journalists had a kind of [29:26] of the situation and that was my application to it. At that time, we had the feeling that the move, that history was moving in the right direction. Bad regimes, bloody regimes, were all falling one after the other, the people were seeing the demonstrations, the rebels were seeing on the phone, it was an innocent way – they were sympathetic people that were presenting themselves to a democracy, so at that time I think the vision of French journalists was quite the same as the French Government in that situation at that time. It was not necessary to try to give direction to the journalists, because ...

SA: Okay, I understand. I wonder if you have any opinion on this – I know you have written some books on jihadism, so maybe you have an opinion on this, and I wanted to know what you thought about it. I feel that ever since September 11, we tend to hear a lot of 'us versus the other' saying that 'Okay, this is us reporting from the West', and then we have the other, especially also lately with regards Isis as well. I don't know – do you think that this somehow affects you in terms of reporting a correct image or accurate image of what is happening around the world today, or even during the Arab Spring? I tend to feel that there are some reports that we see, and there are others that we don't see, because maybe journalists cannot go and speak to someone who is perhaps labelled as a terrorist, so we don't hear the terrorists' point of view. Would you agree?

DT: What do you mean by 'us and the others'?

SA: I noticed, for example, during the Arab Spring that there were a lot of groups that were labelled as terrorist so, for example, if we look at Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood was very quickly labelled as terrorists and we had the issue with Al Jazeera, for example, who tended to interview the Muslim Brotherhood and so they were shut down and so the Egyptian Government said they were dealing with terrorists, when they were trying to get news from the other group, the opposition. But the opposition became the terrorists. Do you see what I mean?

So, I don't know what you think about this, and how you can work around it as a journalist?

DT: At that time, we can also talk the situation in Egypt because it is very interesting but it is very different to Tunisia. When I worked on jihadism, I only worked with primary jihadi sources; I mean I only interviewed the jihadis themselves. In Libya, you were able to talk to everyone on the rebel side. It was an interesting time – nobody, no group

was really labelled as terrorists. Even the former Al-Qaida militants in the East, journalists were even able to go and see them and to get interviews with them, so you were able to talk to everyone in 2011. But then the situation deteriorated. In 2011, you were able to talk to everybody. It was not a problem, not an issue. It is only starting from, I would say, 2013, that we were beginning to – it's not that we had different people in front of us but the same people started to show their true face or they got radicalised by the situation, but they didn't offer the same speech as they did in 2011.

SA: Okay. So, you feel that today it is them that do not –

.....remainder of interview not used in analysis.....

III. News Corpus

I. Al Jazeera English

i. Bahrain Al Jazeera Transcriptions

1. Transcription _15 Mar 2011 Brutal attacks' alleged in Bahrain

Journalist Voiceover:

Struggling to breath and gripped by violent convulsions, one of over a thousand casualties admitted to this hospitals over the last three days. Doctors say they have never seen people so badly affected by teargas.

GHASSAN DAIF DOCTOR: It's basically really really dangerous and these symptoms usually last for over eighteen hours... after eighteen hours. This shouldn't be used on civilians.

Journalist Voiceover:

And it's not just protestors who are being treated here. These are ministry of interior ID cards. Hospital staff claim they were found on armed men sent to intimidate families of the protestors. Doctors say most of the police brought to this hospital were wearing civilian clothes.

This police man struggles to answer questions on what he was doing in the predominantly Shiite neighbourhood in which he was attacked. He has Syrian citizenship and says he wants to contact his embassy. In beds beside him are many more injured protestors.

ALI AL AKL DOCTOR: they have to stop this brutal attack against the Bahraini citizens. They are innocent OKAY? (crying) no repeats please. And they are using also the Saudis... Emirates... and the Kuwaitis recruiting...and we have no weapons...they could easily kill everybody but we will not die.

JOURNALIST VOICEOVER: Staff here are exhausted. They sleep here in the corridors and tiny rooms among the leftovers of their rushed meals. Many are afraid to leave the hospital.

JEHAN NURSE: The previous night I slept in the hospital. I didn't leave till now. They said all...that bad guys...they are roaming around my areas... and one is shooted with the guns in his abdomen behind my home. So they told me don't go home back.

JOURNALIST VOICEOVER: There is little hope some of these injured people will every fully recover. Doctors say this protestor has wounds to the head and chest. They say if he does survive he'll never be able to look after himself. He is 29 years old and married with five children.

2. Transcription 21 Mar 2012 Bahrain's reforms leave monarchy and opposition divided

Journalist Voiceover:

It's been almost 4 months since King Hamad of Bahrain was given a gloomy assessment of how his security apparatus treats civilian protestors and political detainees.

Now a national commission says all the reforms recommended in the earlier report have been implemented. They king commented on some of the progress made.

Translation from Arabic into English by Al Jazeera English:

Necessary administrative and legal mechanisms have been put in place (Headline: HAMAD BIN ISA AL KHALIFA KING OF BAHRAIN) to implement the required plans in the medium and the long-term. This has included security and judicial reform, enhancing educational curricula, establishing a plan to reform the media, working tirelessly to ensure that employees are reinstated.

But in a subsequent news conference, opposition groups blasted the report as misleading.

JASSIM HUSSAIN (Former opposition member of Parliament): “The quality tries to say that everything is back to normal...All the problems have been solved...but in reality, that is not the case...”

Some of the main accusations against the government were related to human rights abuses such as torture and illegal treatment inside detention centres, something which the king had earlier accepted as great mistakes which never should be repeated.

Journalist speaking to camera: We’re here inside the interior ministry and we’re being taken on a tour by a police officers who are explaining to us that those interrogation practices and illegal behaviour against detainees have now become a thing of the past.

We’ve been shown clean and comfortable interrogation rooms with a separate space where detainees can meet with their lawyers in total privacy and in the main Bahrain jail, we visited wards where prisoners are trained in carpentry, handicrafts, painting and other skills, but here we were not allowed to film or to see any political prisoners. There are no political prisoners in Bahrain, officers told us. But the opposition says there are over 700 political prisoners and until the government recognizes them as such and releases them, the crisis will continue.

All Comments

Comments are disabled for this video.

3. Transcription 25 Mar 2011 Pakistani workers in Bahrain live under fear

Journalist Voiceover:

Many of these men are very afraid. A high percentage of Bahraini’s military and security services are Pakistanis. But most of these men work in low paid jobs in the construction industry. They say that they have been targeted by thugs wanting revenge for the violence by the military during its crackdown on the Pearl Roundabout protestors.

MOHAMMAD IQBAL CONSTRUCTION WORKER: The civilians are being attacked over here... Bangladesh, Pakistan, Indians...just they go for their job...and they are all labourers... actually the labourers are being attacked over here, not the police men.

Journalist Voiceover:

Around 250 Pakistani men are taking shelter at this community club. Many are too afraid to leave. This man says he saw his roommate killed.

MOULTAN ASLAM CONSTRUCTION WORKER: He kept hitting him. One man was severely injured. He was hurt on his head and arm. His arm was broken. The one who died was Abdulmalak. He came out of his room and they kept hitting him and left him in the alley and that’s where he died.

Journalist Voiceover:

Some of the men were seriously injured in the attacks. Baba Jarved says his house was stormed by groups of men wielding baseball bats and knives. He was beaten unconscious.

Life was hard enough for these men even before the political crisis and subsequent violence in Bahrain. Many say they haven't been paid in months. Some don't even have their passports because their company bosses confiscated them when they arrives.

DAOUD CONSTRUCTION WORKER: I want to save my life. So I want to go back to Pakistan as soon as possible. 13 days ago when fighting, I called triple 9, but nobody helped...no ambulance...no police...so I'm afraid. Too much afraid.

Journalist Voiceover:

The rights organisation, Human Rights Watch, is concerned the government will blame the suffering of these men on the protesters, who after a month of largely peaceful demonstrations also suffered shocking acts of violence.

Al Jazeera, Bahrain.

4. Transcription Saudi Concerned by Regional Strife

Journalist Voiceover:

Riyadh, this sprawling city with sleek glass towers and an ever changing skyline; a sign of its wealth and power. But the wave of pro-democracy protests across the middle east and north Africa is seen here as a major source of concern.

Journalist speaks to camera (Hashem Ahelbarra Riyadh):

The Saudis are closely monitoring the mass protests shaking the region. A key ally was toppled in the Egypt, a Shiite revolt in neighbouring Bahrain, calls for political overhaul in Oman and Yemen faces an uncertain future.

Journalist Voiceover:

Saudi forces rolling into Bahrain's capital Manama to provide help to the embattled Al Khalifeh royal family. The Saudis view the unrest there as an Iranian plot to spread radical Shiite ideology and destabilise the region.

MOHAMMAD AL-ZULFA FORMER SHURA COUNCIL MEMBER:

Bahrain is not only for Shiites (unclear)...maybe they are about 50% or around that... but they have no right to say we will establish an Islamic republic just to copy Iran and to be a puppet of Iran in this important part...and to us Bahrain it is very important...it is a red line.

Journalist Voiceover:

Suspicion of Iran runs very deep in the predominantly Sunni kingdom. With its coffers swollen by huge oil revenues, Saudi Arabia is also offering cash to Bahrain and Oman to mute popular discontent. Human rights activists warn that Saudi support for authoritarian support in the region may backfire.

MOHAMMAD FAHAD AL-QAHTANI CIVIL & POLITICAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION:

Fortunately, they are throwing their power and their authority and their leverage to maintain their statuesque and I don't think it's going to survive in the future. But that's not the way you build your own foreign policy.

Journalist Voiceover:

But the biggest challenge to the Saudi royal family is the arrest in Yemen. Saudi Arabia shares a long porous border with its poor volatile neighbour. Their fear is a protracted conflict there could potentially spill across the border.

Hashem Ahelbarra, Riyadh

5. Transcription 15 Mar 2011 US calls for political solution in Bahrain

Journalist Voiceover:

Bahrain, this tiny island nation is turning into one of the biggest areas of concern for President Barack Obama. Home to the US fifth Fleet, the fear is that this will be a staging ground for proxy fight between Iran where 92% of the country is Shiite and Saudi Arabia a majority Sunni country now looking towards Bahrain where the Sunni monarchy rules Shia majority.

[In text on report:

BAHRAIN'S SECTARIAN SPLIT:

IRAN

92% SHIA 7% SUNNI

BAHRAIN'S SECTARIAN SPLIT:

SAUDI ARABIA

5+% SHIA 90+% SUNNI

Amidst the violence, US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates visited Bahrain telling reporters he was confident the royal family was ready to talk to the protestors and make big concessions. The pentagon says he wasn't told two days later this would happen. More than a thousand troops pouring into Bahrain from Saudi Arabia.

Jay Carney White House Spokesman

We were aware of obviously the invitation... Military response is not a solution to the problems in Bahrain or other countries in the region.

Journalist voice over

That has been about the extent of US criticism. It has chastised the protestors for instigating violence but cause for restraint from government forces and it hasn't said that Saudi troops should leave.

Hilary Clinton US Secretary of State [Not indicated]

But I said the very same thing to the foreign minister of Saudi Arabia that I've just said now. I said that the security challenges cannot be a substitute for a political resolution.

Journalist voice over

A message both secretaries Gates and Clinton hope to deliver in person during a visit to Saudi Arabia. But both visits were cancelled, US officials citing health concerns of the Saudi ruler. Experts say Saudi Arabia is sending a clear message to the United States.

Jean-Francois Seznec Professor of Arab Studies

I think the Saudis want to make sure and to give the point to the United States that it's their region, it's their business and we are not going to meddle with how the Shia are being dealt with.

Journalist to Camera

The Obama administration has made a point to say that its recommendations in Bahrain are made out of friendship. It has sent an assistant secretary of state to Bahrain to try and negotiate a solution.

Patty Culhane, Al Jazeera at the White House

ii. Egypt Morsi grants himself unlimited powers

1. Transcript Jul 4 2013 Coup in Egypt generate mixed reactions

Journalist voiceover:

Events in Egypt have sent shockwaves through the region. This is Tunisia, where the Arab spring began and where now the Islamist Ennahda party is in power.

Passer-by on the street in Tunisia: [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of this Al Jazeera English report]

It's a blow to the Arab revolutions and a blow to the young democracies in the Arab countries. We feel sorry for Mohammed Morsi because he is an elected president and he was overthrown by the soft coup.

Journalist Voiceover:

In turkey, where the conservative government of President Erdogan has faced its on protest movement, there was harsh criticism of the military's actions.

Ahmet Davutoglu, Turkish Foreign Minister [Translated from Turkish into English for the purpose of this Al Jazeera English report]:

No matter what the reason, it is unacceptable for a government which has come to power through democratic elections to be toppled through illicit means and even more, a military coup.

Journalist Voiceover:

But in Syria, President Bashar Al Assad was quick to endorse the fall of President Morsi. He told the state newspaper that "What is happening in Egypt is the fall of what is known as political Islam. Anywhere in the world, whoever uses religion for political aims, or to benefit some and not others, will fall.

In Saudi Arabia, King Abdullah congratulated the Egyptian army. "We strongly shake hands with the men of all the armed forces...who managed to save Egypt at this critical moment".

In the Gulf state of Qatar which had supported Morsi's government, it said: "Qatar's policy has always been to stand by Egypt and the will and choices of its people".

Israeli officials are refusing to comment in public, but what happens in Egypt matters here. Egypt and Israel enjoy a cold peace. Security is its primary concern.

Moshe Maoz, Middle East Analyst:

As long as the army is behind the scenes and runs the show, maybe the cooperation will continue. This has been always the case...the two militaries as I say are sort of coordinating together.

Journalist Voiceover:

In Gaza, Hamas inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood is also refusing to comment. It had hoped for close ties with the Morsi government. His removal brings ne uncertainty.

Nasser AL Arini, Gaza Resident [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of this Al Jazeera English report]

We want the new regime to open the crossing for us to lift the siege and end the political agreements with Israel. When Morsi won the elections, we expected many good things for Gaza, including ending the siege. But Morsi contributed to the siege by imposing more restrictions on Gazan people.

Journalist Voiceover:

The fall of Egypt's first democratically elected government has stunned many in the region. The genie of popular protest is well and truly out of the bottle once more. Leaders throughout the Middle East are watching nervously.

Simon McGregor Wood, Al Jazeera

2. Transcript Jul 2 2013 Egypt's president refuses to step down

Journalist voiceover:

A defiant president addresses a divided nation. Mohammed Morsi spoke to the Egyptian people for the first time since this latest crisis. His message was clear: he is the legitimate leader of all Egyptians and only the ballot box will remove him from office.

Mohammad Morsi, Egyptian President [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of this Al Jazeera Report]

If the price of safeguarding the legitimacy is my blood, then I am ready to sacrifice my blood for the sake of stability and security of this homeland.

Journalist voiceover:

The embattled president also had a message for the military. He warned them not to interfere in politics, also urging those gathered on the streets across Egypt, not to allow for any conflict with the army.

Mohammad Morsi, Egyptian President [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of this Al Jazeera Report]

Do not confront the army or use violence. I am the president of Egypt addressing all Egyptians. No violence towards one another or the army or the police.

Journalist voiceover:

The message wasn't received well by those gathered on Tahrir Square. Their demand was and remains for Morsi to resign.

Unnamed Protestor

The Egyptian people or the majority...the vast majority of the Egyptian people want this president to step down. He cannot threaten us...he cannot threaten us with violence. If he refuses to meet our demands and unfortunately also try to imply that he is going to be ready with confrontation with the army.

Journalist voiceover:

Morsi supporters came out in force in several parts of Egypt. One of their main rallies was outside Cairo University in Giza. As night fell, the mood changed. Several protestors were killed as gunmen fired at those gathered. [Footage from Al Jazeera Arabic]

Thousands have also continued to camp out in Nasser city, many openly declaring that they too would sacrifice their lives to ensure Morsi remains in office. The army has not specified what it will do once its 48 hour ultimatum issued on Monday expires. And what military leaders accept as a concession may be different from that considered acceptable on the streets. As the political deadlock continues, so much at stake for all sides, Egyptians are bracing for tough times ahead.

3. Transcript Jun 29 2012 Egypt's president-elect takes 'symbolic oath'

Journalist Voiceover:

He came he said to swear allegiance in front of the people who chose him. Mohammad Morsi assured the thousands in Tahrir square that they are the power holders now.

Mohamed Morsi Egypt's President-Elect (Translated from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English Report)

No institution, no authority, none, can be above this will. The will of you. Your will. You are the source of the powers. The nation is the source of the power. The nation is the one to decide and the nation is the one to give unity and the nation is the one to appoint and hire and the nation is the one to fire.

Journalist Voiceover:

At one point he even took off his jacket, showing the nation that he wasn't wearing a bullet proof vest; that he is one of them. But even people here at sceptical. This rally was called in order to pressure the military into handing over full power to the president. In the last few weeks the military council has stripped the new president of his commander-in-chief title and it's unclear if he will be able to choose all his own ministers. Already the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces has said that field marshal Tantawi will remain Defence Minister.

Journalist to Camera [Sherine Tadros Cairo]:

Critics say that the Muslim Brotherhood often tell people what they want and then go back on their word. The fear is that Mohamed Morsi is just trying to appease the nation and then will end up accepting the limited powers that the military hand over to him.

Journalist Voiceover:

On Saturday Morsi will swear allegiance in front of judges at the Supreme Constitutional Court, the same court that dissolved the parliament handing even more power to SCAF. The big questions for Egyptians going forward is not just what a Morsi presidency will look like but

whether finally a democratically elected civilian president will have oversight over the unelected military.

Sherine Tadros, Al Jazeera, Cairo

4. Transcript Aug 6 2013 McCain calls ouster of Egypt's president a 'coup'

Journalist voiceover:

The two American political heavyweights, both republican senators are the latest foreign envoys trying to find common ground between the two opposing camps. John McCain was forthright:

John McCain, U.S. Senator:

We also urge the release of political prisoners. We also urge the national dialogue, a national dialogue that is inclusive of parties including the Muslim Brotherhood.

Journalist voiceover: And for the first time, this acknowledgement:

John McCain, U.S. Senator:

We've also said that the circumstances of the former government's removal were a coup.

Journalist voiceover:

Music to the ears of the Muslim Brotherhood, who have consistently argued that the Morsi removal was illegal and that he should be freed.

Mohamed Abdel Qodus, Muslim Brotherhood [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the Al Jazeera English report]

You cannot have the leader and his deputies in jail and facing trial soon. A call for a peaceful solution. You cannot have all political leaders and Muslim Brotherhood leaders in jail, their assets frozen and ask people to go home.

Journalist voiceover:

Morsi supporters have been maintaining a visible presence on the streets for more than five weeks. But it is the pro-military supporters, those that called for and welcome the overthrow of Mohamed Morsi, who are now asking questions.

Journalist to Camera:

There's also mounting pressure coming from the streets. Many Egyptians are growing impatient and are actually asking when is Major General Abdel Fateh el Sisi, the man they personally mandated, going to take action.

Journalist voiceover:

Against this backdrop of attempted and so far failed foreign mediations, an impatience on the streets for the rival camps of perceived inaction and a real fear that the prolonged impasse will only lead to more violence.

5. Transcript Aug 18 2013 Middle East expert Robert Fisk

Robert Fisk:

Well, I think people you know have almost grown used to massacres in Egypt and that's what they are. I mean, I've got to a point now it's quite normal to walk into a Mosque and count bodies on the floor. These little blood bars, and sometimes not very little, are becoming almost normal and that's the extraordinary thing, and it doesn't seem to shock people in the way that you might think, not now anyway. It's quite normal to open your paper in the morning and see the pictures of dead bodies. It's quite normal to hear rifle fire, in this, one of the most ancient, wonderful cities in the world, extraordinary. And the amazing this is that the police really have been given pretty much permission to shoot anyone they want. This is after the State of Emergency. I've been amazed at the promiscuous nature of the police firing say outside the Fatah Mosque a couple of days ago. They were even firing at motorists on the road. They were firing at my driver and myself at one-point, a policeman wearing hoods by the way. This has become a kind of normality to see cops on checkpoint duty on the Nile Bridge just down the road from here after curfew wearing hoods, is quite extraordinary.

Anchor voiceover:

Do you think that everyone on the interim government is on board with this kind of behaviour? Does everyone agree with this line that they're fighting terrorism?

Robert Fisk:

Well, they're beginning to sound more and more like Bashar Al Assad, talking about his opponents even when they were peaceful in Syria two and a half years ago. The language is almost identical: terrorists, fundamentalists, extremists. I think the latest phrase that came up with was malicious terrorism that being presumably a nice kind of terrorism we don't know about. Extraordinary language, they're using and they're demonizing millions of people. I mean, maybe they're not a majority in Egypt, sure, the Muslim Brotherhood, but they're demonizing millions of people who are Egyptians and they're as much you know the children of Egypt as the children of General Al Sisi are.

Anchor:

Absolutely. And as the international community hears this message, to what extent is it buying into it?

Robert Fisk:

Most of the diplomats here, I am told- and I try to stay away from diplomats, but most of them I am told are very much aware of what is really going on, which is what I'm talking about now. Whether they say that to their Foreign Ministries, I don't know. But the reaction from abroad, I mean the Egyptians are saying "how could the foreign governments treat us like this"? I think the reaction from abroad is pathetic. I mean Obama almost gave a green light to the coup when he referred to those against Morsi what did he say? Many Egyptians, millions of Egyptians perhaps a majority, he said, that must have made the generals smile in Egypt. And as for the EU statement, it's pathetic, I mean they will reconsider. When? When is the deadline for the end of violence before the statesmen of the European Union sit down and decide that they won't give any more money to Egypt, which presumably is the blackmailed they applied?

Anchor:

Do you think that when it comes to the EU that they are fearing a mass influx of Egyptians into the EU?

Robert Fisk:

Ah yes, our wonderful frontiers of the EU which must remain so perfect. I don't think they really think that the Egyptians would do that. You know, rich countries like Iraq and to some extent Syria, these people can get abroad, but I don't think Egyptians have the money to get out of their country. And you've got to remember that there are vast areas of Cairo totally unaffected by the violence that's going on. So I don't think that gonna happen. But I can tell you that at military headquarters in Cairo, they won't be shaking in their boots when they read the EU statement.

Anchor:

Well, certainly they're not shaking in their boots it seems over fears that the US might cut off its military aid. I mean that can certainly turn out unclear for the money.

Robert Fisk:

Well, I think to keep the Egyptian military on the side with the Israeli peace agreement, they'll go on paying that 1.5 billion bribe to the Egyptian army. Where the Egyptian army would be most hurt would be if somebody interfered with their business dealings since the senior officer for the Egyptian army is mixed up in shopping malls, banking and other large financial concerns. That would be an interesting subject to see what one could do about that if one wants to put pressure on the military. But no, I, the other thing that you've got remember is Egyptians are very proud people. And there's one way of trying to bring them in on your side and that's to accuse foreigners of interfering and the good ol' foreigners will always interfere and sure enough, that's who they're bashing, the foreigners and of course as you've just shown on our programme; the western press.

Anchor:

Looking at the Muslim Brotherhood, we're hearing the Prime Minister looking to dissolve it. Is that a realistic option for the coming days, weeks?

Robert Fisk:

Well I remember when the British government banned the IRA, but the IRA did not go away in Northern Ireland, did they? You know, I think, you see, we are following a kind of pattern which we've seen in Syria. You have an opposition, it is largely peaceful, so you bestialise it, you demonize it, you ban it, you drive it underground and in the first act of violence, even if it's in face not from the Brotherhood, they will be accused of it and then they'll be called terrorists and the world will be asked to sympathise with poor Egypt fighting the war on terror introduced to use of course by our friend George W Bush.

Anchor:

And, if it does go underground, it's still going to survive, cos I mean, it's spent many years underground already.

Robert Fisk:

I think you've got to realise, you must be romantic about the Muslim Brotherhood. You know they collaborated with the British when the British controlled Egypt. They collaborated with Mubarak; they were talking to Mubarak even when he was losing power. They weren't in Tahrir Square in the January/February 2011 revolution and they'll cooperate with who they

want. And remember we've got the Salafists, the Nour party which got 24% in the parliamentary elections. They're backing the generals and they're backing the interim government against the Muslim Brotherhood. That I think is why Saudi Arabia is now prepared to give billions of dollars of aid to Egypt, because they want to keep the Salafists. They don't care very much about the Brotherhood. They might become a little too liberal for them. So you've got to realise that when you look at the politics here, it pays to be a little bit cynical and don't be romantic about anyone.

Anchor: Always a pleasure to listen to Mr. Fisk. Thank you, Al Jazeera.

6. Transcript Morsi falls and Tahri

Journalist voiceover [Footage of Tahrir Square]:

When it was finally confirmed that the military was back in charge after staging the Coup d'Etat, Tahrir Square, the scene of Egypt's Revolution little over two years ago, erupted. Once again, a movement sparked by the country's youth has led to the overthrow of a leader. Protests organised by the Tamarod movement had been calling for the country's first democratically elected president Mohammed Morsi to go for days. And demonstrators listened where they could, to hear the Minister of Defence who was flanked by political, religious and social leaders, announce Morsi was no longer in power.

Abdul Fatah Khalil Al-Sisi [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the Al Jazeera English report] Masr TV (Egypt State TV):

This Roadmap includes the following:

- Suspending the constitution provisionally
- The chief justice of the supreme constitutional court will declare an early presidential election
- The chief justice of the supreme constitutional court will run the state's affairs in the interim period and until a new president is elected

Journalist voiceover [Footage of Nasr City]:

But in Nasr city where supporters of Mohammed Morsi had gathered in their thousands, it was anger and frustration. Many here, after hearing Morsi was out, swore an oath to protect their country.

Morsi's whereabouts are not known, but in an audio addressed to his supporters, he said a full coup had taken place against him and the people. Several senior members of his Muslim brotherhood party have been arrested and arrest warrants issued for many others.

Mohamed Beltagy, Muslim Brotherhood Senior Official [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the Al Jazeera English report]:

These people who took to the streets are here to prove their first experience of democracy in Egypt is threatened at birth by the military coup against the constitution.

Journalist voiceover [Footage of Alexandria City]:

This latest crisis has gripped, divided and hurt Egyptians. And those divisions were played out violently on the streets of Alexandria.

[Footage of Tahrir Square]:

Egypt's army, which has maintained a grip over the country since 1952 made its presence felt on the streets and in the skies. And again, by staging this coup, has shown that two years after the revolution, it appears to remain the most powerful voice in Egyptian politics. The head of Egypt's constitutional court will be sworn in on Thursday. He now needs to provide a plan to try to unite the people.

Emma Hayward, Al Jazeera

7. Transcript Jul 5 2013 Morsi's fall from power

Journalist voiceover:

Morsi's fall from Power on June 30th, a mass protest against him marked his first anniversary in office. An unprecedented number of people are filling the streets in major cities. Anti-Morsi protestors marched on the presidential palace and his supporters organised their own rallies, the protest organisers Tamarod then gave Morsi a July 2nd deadline to stand down or face an open ended campaign of disobedience.

The army followed by issuing Morsi 48 hours to meet the people's demands of face and impose solution. Morsi opponents packed Tahrir square; his backers join a sit-in in the Nasr city neighbourhood, fighting between rival sides, leaving 16 people dead. Morsi, refusing to quit. Then on July 3rd, the army gives its solution. Egypt's military chief announcing that Morsi had been deposed. The following morning, his replacement, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, Ali Mansour, sworn in, as the interim president and on Friday, Mansour dissolved the upper house of parliament.

8. Transcription Jun 24 2012 Celebration in Egypt as Morsi declared winner

Journalist Voiceover:

Moments of almost unbearable tension as those in Tahir square waited to hear the result. Announcement made by male in Arabic (name not provided) Translated from Arabic to English on Al Jazeera Report: Dr. Mohamad Mohamad Morsi 13,230,131, that's 51% of the vote.

Journalist Voiceover:

Then there was jubilation as the hundreds and thousands realised that their candidate had become Egypt's first democratically elected president.

Away from the square though, there were also millions of voters disappointed. Followers of Ahmad Shafiq. The slim margin of Morsi's victory making defeat all the more bitter.

Unnamed Defeated Voter 1 - Translated from Arabic to English on Al Jazeera Report:

The results are null and void. The judges were under pressure. The Brotherhood said they'll burn the country and do this and do that so Marshal Tantawi who really takes care of this country should have presented the announcement of these results.

Unnamed Defeated Voter 2 - Translated from Arabic to English on Al Jazeera Report:
Where is the Egyptian army? The army has to rescue Egypt. The result means devastation and destruction. The Brotherhood cannot rule this country. The only solution now is for the Egyptian army to control and govern Egypt.

Journalist Voiceover:

During the celebration by Morsi supporters, one of the first formal messages of congratulations came from the Supreme Council of Armed Forces which is due to hand over executive authority to the president in six days. They remain disturbing questions though as to the extent of power the military is prepared to give up. But in his first speech to the nation, Mohammed Morsi made no reference to differences with the ruling military, calling for divisions to be put aside in a plea for national unity.

Elected President to Egypt Mohamed Morsi - Translated from Arabic to English on Al Jazeera Report:

We are all Egyptians both Muslims and Christians. With great civilisations and that is how we will remain. We will fight all those who will try to interfere with our unity. We will have to show the world we will have a revolution of development with peace and dignity for all Egyptians. I am willing and determined to build the new Egypt and build the new democracy and I will engage and use all my efforts to bring that. I will work hard to safeguard the security of Egypt with its roots in the arab world and Africa.

Journalist to camera:

As the celebrations continued into the night, a clear point of confrontation has already emerged. The new president says he will not take his oath in front of the constitutional court as the military council says he must. He insists that he will do it before an elected parliament that the military council has dissolved.

Mile Hanna, Al Jazeera, Cairo

9. Transcription Dec 8 2012 Egypt's Morsi rescinds controversial decree

Journalist Voiceover:

It was annulled just as quickly as it was issued. At a late night press conference, the controversial decree giving the president unprecedented powers was cancelled.

Spokesperson at the National Council Addressing the Press Conference: Translated from Arabic into English on the Al Jazeera report (Headline in Arabic):

The repealing and its legal context is a replacement. The president replaced the articles which caused a lot of misunderstandings with new articles to allay the fears to get rid of any of any ambiguities. The new constitutional proclamation also does not protect any powers of the president or any legal challenges

Journalist Voiceover:

The news came after a meeting between the president and various political and public figures. The so called national dialogue meeting happened right here at the palace. The president attended the first 30 minutes and then handed over to his deputy. Among those who attended were representatives from the Freedom and Justice Party, the Salvation party and other parties but none of the key opposition players were present at this meeting.

Their condition for entering dialogue was not just to annul the decree but also to postpone the December fifteenth referendum on the Constitution. That referendum is still going ahead and the main opposition groups say protests will continue. They call the latest concession meaningless.

Khaled Dawood National Salvation Front Spokesman

The announcement is very frustrating. It's a continuation of the stubborn attitude that the president has been dealing with since he started since he started issuing the constitutional declaration on the 22nd of November.

Journalist Voice over

The republican guard has beefed up security around the presidential palace erecting concrete barriers to try and stop the protesters getting closer. All this as the military issued its first political statement since the crisis began two weeks ago. It said:

“Dialogue is the best and only way to consensus in the interests of the nation and its citizens, otherwise we will be driven into a dark tunnel of disastrous consequences, which will not be allowed”. (Quoting Egyptian Military).

The president's move to annul the decree puts the ball firmly in the opposition's court, making him look like he's meeting them halfway. It may also get Egypt's judges back to work to supervise the referendum as judicial oversight has once again been restored under the new decree. On the surface then, some concessions from the president but in reality the deadlock continues and Egypt's political future remains uncertain.

Sherine Tadros, Al Jazeera, Cairo

10. Transcription Aug 12 2012 Egypt's president asserts authority over army

Journalist Voiceover:

It was a bold and surprising move by President Morsi sending a message after a long power battle with the military that he is in charge. After more than 2 decades, Egypt has a new defence minister. General Al Sisi's appointment along with a new chief of staff were announced on state television by the president spokesman.

Translated from Arabic to English on Al Jazeera Report

Yasser Ali Egyptian Presidential Spokesman

The president of the republic has decreed the following:

First to appoint Chief Justice Mahmoud Mohamad Mickey as the Vice President

Second to refer the field marshal Mohammad Hussein Tantawi Suleiman the Chief Commander of the Armed Forces and the Minister of Military Industries to retirement as of today. And in recognition of his services to the nation to grant him the Nile medal and appoint him as the advisor to the president.

Journalist Voice Over

In a speech Sunday night, Morsi praised the armed forces, and said he wanted them to concentrate on their role of protecting the nation.

Translated from Arabic to English on Al Jazeera Report

Mohamed Morsi Egyptian President

The decisions I've taken today are not directed at any specific person and I did not intend to embarrass any institution or narrow the freedom of people born free. I did not intend to direct my decision at any particular person to send a negative message or bad intention and God knows what I meant by these decisions. I meant the good interests of this nation and these people.

In addition to the sackings, Morsi annulled the controversial constitutional addendum that transferred much of his power to the military. Instead, he issued his own addendum giving the president full executive and legislative powers. The decision was made a week after an ambush in the Sinai left 16 Egyptian soldiers dead; a real security lapse providing a first opportunity for the president to make sweeping changes to the military establishment. A general in the military council said the dismissals were made with their consultation. Some analysts say the new defence minister and Sisi also a member of SCAF was key in engineering the shake-up and getting rid of Tantawi. But the sweeping changes have caused a political earthquake.

By getting rid of 2 of the most powerful men in the country, Mohamed Morsi had set a new stronger tone for his presidency. The months to come will show whether these moves will disempower or simply reconfigure the military council.

Sherine Tadros, Al Jazeera, Cairo

11. Transcription Nov 22 2012 Egyptian president assumes sweeping new powers

Transcription

Date uploaded by Al Jazeera English on YouTube channel: 22 Nov 2012

Date Aired by Al Jazeera English on Television channel:

Headline in text on video: Morsi Decree Egypt's President Announces New Powers

YouTube video title: Egyptian president assumes sweeping new powers

Channel: Al Jazeera English

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tYd-c3k9VIA>

Minutes: 02:37

Journalist Voiceover:

The presidential spokesman announces sweeping change as Egyptians have become increasingly critical of a president too slow to deliver a promise of the revolution. On Cairo's streets, Mohammad Morsi's supporters hailed the news, for then this gives the president the authority he needs to sweep aside the remnants of the old regime, the ones who they believe have been stalling the pace of the reform. The president's decree prevents any authority overruling his decisions including the judiciary. It also prevents the assembly drafting the country's new constitution from being dissolved and the declaration orders re-trials to all those charged with killing or injuring protestors during the revolution.

Journalist to camera [Peter Greste Cairo]:

Across Egypt there's been growing frustration at the lack of any real progress since last year's revolution and at the lack of justice for those who died in its name. By announcing the retrial of officials accused of being responsible of the bloodshed, the government is addressing one of its critics' most stinging complaints.

Journalist Voiceover:

But if there was joy in one part of Cairo, there was fury in another. Protestors flooded into the streets angry at what they see is the abuse of presidential authority. The news that the president now has the absolute power to issue decrees unchallenged has them deeply worried. In a rare show of unity at a chaotic joint news conference, the head of the lawyers' syndicate warned the president to reverse the order.

Sameh Ashour Head of Lawyer's Syndicate (In Press Conference):

We ask for the following: bring down this constitutional proclamation and dissolve the constituent assembly because it has lost its legitimacy and we call for a national dialogue to agree on a new mechanism to bring together all the forces and other factions in the country to stop this Islamic wing from taking over.

Journalist Voiceover:

Morsi supporters say the opposition isn't so much worried about the country as it is about the overthrow.

Mohamed El Baltagi Secretary General, Freedom and Justice

Today's decision is a serious problem for former regime figures, because they were hiding behind the Prosecutor General Abdul Majeed Mahmood who concealed evidence implicating them in the crimes committed against protestors during the revolution. There'll definitely be a move from such figures to delay the decisions made today.

Journalist Voiceover:

And so an announcement that people hoped would move the country further from its authoritarian past, appears to have driven it towards a more confrontational future.

Peter Greste, Al Jazeera, Cairo

12. Transcription Jun 30 2012 Mohamed Morsi sworn in as Egypt's president

Transcription

Date uploaded by Al Jazeera English on YouTube channel: 30 Jun 2012

Date Aired by Al Jazeera English on Television channel:

Headline in text on video: Egypt's Choice President Morsi Takes Oath of Office

YouTube video title: Mohamed Morsi sworn in as Egypt's president

Channel: Al Jazeera English

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAss7JV0whE>

Minutes: 02:40

Journalist Voiceover: Right till the last moment, it wasn't clear whether the people of Egypt could be able to witness this historical moment as it happened. The swearing in of Mohamed Morsi was built as a private ceremony, but in the end state television carried the pictures live.

Egypt's Chief Justice invites the new president to take his oath. By agreeing to be sworn in here rather than in front of the parliament, Morsi is effect making a concession to the army.

Mohamed Morsi Egyptian President (Translated from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English report):

In the name of God Almighty the merciful, the compassionate, I swear to God almighty to uphold the republican system, to respect the constitution and the law, to fully safeguard the interests of the people and to safeguard the independence of the nation and its total integrity.

Journalist Voiceover: A 21-gun salute greets Mohamed Morsi as he arrives at Al Azhar University. This will be his first official speech as president. The head of Egypt's military authorities is in the front row of the audience. It's still not clear what powers the army will hand back to the president. Morsi used his speech to try to draw a line between the civilian authorities and the army.

Mohamed Morsi Egyptian President (Translated from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English report):

The elected institutions will come back to complete their role. The Egyptian Armed Forces will go back to their main job to maintain and safeguard the borders of this country. This is their main task.

Journalist Voiceover: It's a year and a half since the people of Egypt rose up and overthrew Hosni Mubarak. During that time, there have been upheavals, but some people wonder how much has really changed.

Unnamed Egyptian Comments to Camera in Arabic (Translated from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English report):

We are waiting for political steps that will make this a reality. The presidential team, an independent prime minister, a coalition government. These are all the things that will turn this speech into a reality. Other than that it is all nice talk but we need a way of implementing it.

Journalist to Camera:

So people now have a democratically elected leader. But the parliament they voted for was dissolved by the army. It's been a day full of symbolism but it will take some time to know whether the new president is just a figure head.

Journalist voice-over:

The day ends with a ceremony at a military base in Cairo. This is the moment when with great fanfare the army hands over to president. In reality military high command retains enough powers to shake the political process in Egypt for some time to come.

Jacky Rowland, Al Jazeera, Cairo

13. Transcription Dec 8 2012 Morsi calls for constitution to move ahead

Journalist Voiceover:

Another night of protests at the president's doorstep. The republican guard has beefed up security around the presidential palace erecting concrete barriers to try to stop the protesters getting closer.

All this as the military issued its first political statement since the crisis began two weeks ago.

It said:

"Dialogue is the best and only way to consensus in the interests of the nation and its citizens, otherwise we will be driven into a dark tunnel of disastrous consequences, which will not be allowed". (Quote by Egyptian Military)

The so-called national-dialogue meeting happened right here in the palace. The president attended the first 30 minutes of the meeting and then he handed over to his deputy. Among those who attended were representatives of the Freedom and Justice party, the Salvation party and other parties but none of the key opposition players were present at this meeting.

Leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood criticised the boycott. They called press conferences to accuse the opposition of not being interested in finding a political solution.

Mohamed Badie Muslim Brotherhood Supreme Guide Translated from Arabic into English for the Al Jazeera English Report

The Muslim Brotherhood has adopted dialogue as the only way to deal with all opposition. But what has been happening on the streets is not the legitimate opposition, it is not a difference of opinion but corruption and criminality.

Journalist Voiceover:

According to one analyst, the Brotherhood's tone is getting increasingly defensive:

Mustafa Kamel El Sayeh Political Analyst

The Muslim brothers believe really that there is a conspiracy against them. Although it is very difficult for them to provide any evidence that there is such conspiracy. But this is ...you know...a basic feature of how they approach these things.

Journalist Voiceover:

Opposition leaders say they are ready to talk but insist the president must delay next week's referendum if he is serious about his willingness to amend the constitution. As the deadlock continues, Egypt's political future is looking more and more uncertain.

Sherine Tadros, Al Jazeera, Cairo

14. Transcription Nov 25 2012 Morsi's assumption of sweeping powers polarises Egypt

Date uploaded by Al Jazeera English on YouTube channel: 25 Nov 2012

Date Aired by Al Jazeera English on Television channel:

Headline in text on video: Egypt Unrest One Killed in Protests Over Morsi Decree

YouTube video title: Morsi's assumption of sweeping powers polarises Egypt

Channel: Al Jazeera English

URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_JLEOTAomGE

Minutes: 02.17

Journalist Voiceover:

It's difficult to pick exactly who's for and who's against the Egyptian President in the chaos. This is the northern city of Damanshah outside a regional headquarters of the Muslim Brotherhood. Opponents of Morsi and his presidential decree trying to force their way in. Morsi supporters fighting back with anything they can grab to keep them out. A teenager died in this violence, the first death in 3 days of unrest across the country. The decree to extend Mohamad Morsi's presidential powers has polarised opinion. Protests in Alexandria, El Arish and here in Cairo a strong show of support.

Mohamed Abdo Morsi Supporter (Translated from Arabic into English onto Al Jazeera Report)
I'm here today to support President Morsi's decisions. He should have taken these decisions when he became the president.

Journalist Voiceover:

But in the same city near Cairo's Tahrir Square, an equally forceful display of opposition, police resorting to tear gas to quell the anger.

Hafez Ismaiel Anti-Morsi Supporter (Translated from Arabic into English onto Al Jazeera Report)

Before any dialogue, Morsi has to retreat from the constitutional declaration he has announced because we don't trust his promises anymore.

Journalist Voiceover:

The crisis is already hurting the country's economy. The stock market plunged by almost 10% on Sunday, one of the biggest falls since the days after for President Hosni Mubarak stepped down.

In an effort to ease the crisis, Morsi says he'll talk senior judges. In a statement, he described the decree as a push forward for Egypt and that's likely to be his message to members of the judiciary.

"this declaration is deemed necessary..." he said "...in order to hold accountable those responsible for the corruption as well as other crimes during the previous regime and the transitional period".

But it's the spectre of the old regime that has many worried. Sweeping new powers that make him immune from being overruled, a situation some say is reminiscent of the leader he replaced.

Mereana Hond, Al Jazeera

15. Transcription Jun 30 2012 Who is Mohamed Morsi

Journalist Voiceover:

Selected by the Muslim Brotherhood last year to lead its political arm the Freedom and Justice party, 60 year old Mohamed Morsi is known for being conservative and forceful but not too prominent within the organisation. Although his public speaking improved during the campaign it was not his style and demeanour that won him votes, it was the vast structure he had supporting him. The Brotherhood promoted him as the one who could deliver on the revolution's aims and bring the economy back from the brink. Morsi tried to ease the fears of women and minorities like the Coptic Christians by guaranteeing them that his presidency would not threaten their rights. He also promised to resign from the Freedom and Justice Party if elected. But despite these assurances, some people feared that under a Morsi presidency there would be more senior members of the Brotherhood like its financier Khairat el-Shater who would end up running the country. These critics said that this could result in a more socially conservative state with the military retaining a prominent role.

Morsi has already said that he will choose his defence minister only after consulting with the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. In an election that pitted old against new, Morsi appeared new. And in choosing him over Ahmed Shafiq, it seems most Egyptians agreed.

Dominic Kane, Al Jazeera

iii. Egypt Tahrir Sq seized

1. Transcription Apr 9 2011 Clashes erupt around Cairo's Tahrir Square

Journalist Voiceover: A new day and a different victor little sign here that 24 hours ago that tens of thousands were jubilantly and peacefully asserting a renewed sense of national unity. Among them, this group of army officers who defied the explicit orders of their superiors and joined the demonstrators on the square. Fearing arrest, they decided to spend the night and an eye witness recounts what happened then.

Unnamed eye-witness (Translated from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera report)

At 3am, the military came down to the square outnumbering the protesters. They took away the army officers from Tahrir and hit us with batons and Tasers.

Journalist Voiceover:

This amateur footage shows a sequence of events: the army troops break through a ring of protesters and move into the inner square. More soldiers approach from another direction. And then from an outer perimeter, a soldier apparently isolated from his unit is attacked by a group of civilians. Impossible to ascertain whether the attackers are protesters who'd been dispersed or some other unidentified group.

Eye witnesses say the army officers who'd been taking refuge in the square were taken away in an armoured vehicle. And then a ...unclear... stones thrown from the streets around the square. Unclear... of gunfire heard were the warning shots of direct fire is again difficult to ascertain. For a period of time, the troops then move into the surrounding streets conducting what appeared to be search operations. At one stage, a wounded civilian crosses paths with an injured soldier is being taken for treatment.

Legal sources say as many as 15 civilians were detained by the army and they may face military tribunals. The fate of the soldiers who were arrested is not known at this stage.

Journalist to Camera

As the public contemplate what happened overnight, a new point of conflict is clearly defined. It's a point between the people and an army that many believe is no longer serving the country's interests.

Mike Hanna, Al Jazeera, Cairo

2. Transcription Apr 1 2011 Protesters return to Egypt's Tahrir square

Journalist Voiceover: They returned to Tahrir Square, thousands of Egyptians, to chant of the revolution. People want the downfall of the regime. For them, the much hated past is still present. That is why Friday's protest was dubbed the "day of cleansing". They feel that the revolution is not only incomplete, but under threat.

Kamal Khalil Leading Figure of Revolution (Translation from Arabic to English for Al Jazeera English Report)

We didn't achieve the aims of the revolution. The figures of the Mubarak regime have still not been held accountable for killing our children and stealing our wealth.

Journalist Voiceover:

Activists are demanding the prosecution of Hosni Mubarak, his family and top aids for illegally amassing billions of dollars. The ruling Supreme Council of Armed Forces has already arrested a number of top officials in the former ruling party but it was only a day before Friday's planned protests that three top associates of Mubarak were prevented from travelling on corruption suspicions.

Journalist to camera:

It has almost been two months since Hosni Mubarak stepped down from power. Undoubtedly, there have been a number of changes since then. But for many Egyptians, those changes are just not enough.

{Pictures of woman shouting in Arabic into a microphone before an audience.} Where are the changes? They asked posing the question directly to the head of the ruling armed forces, Mohamed Hussein Tentawi, a man many fear is not working for the interests of the revolution.

Mohammed Al Zuhairy Pro-Democracy Supporter (Translated from Arabic into English for the Al Jazeera English Report)

He was with Mubarak for 20 years. His loyalty is not to the people but to the former regime. We want Tentawi to leave power.

Journalist Voiceover:

Powers however, have to be transferred to civilian rule in a few months, when parliamentary and presidential elections are scheduled to take place. But it is the time from now to then that worries many.

Rami Nour Pro-Democracy Protestor (Translated from Arabic into English for the Al Jazeera English Report)

The army is stalling and we don't know why. They haven't dismantled the former ruling party. They still hold positions in local government and they will take part in elections.

Journalist Voiceover:

[Zoom on picture of a man held by a woman] During the revolution, many like Mahmoud, paid with their lives in Tahrir Square. ...unclear... that will keep Egyptians coming back as they fight to create what they believe is a real democracy.

Zeina Khodr, Al Jazeera, Cairo

3. Transcription Nov 21 2011 Tahrir square overnight February 3

Journalist Voiceover: The front line of their sultan protestors in Egypt. The security forces have plenty of fire power. These pictures suggest they are willing to use it on unarmed civilians. As the offer who opened fire retreats, a voice in Arabic says: "Well done sir, you got him in the eye". Activists say this is the man who fired (zoom on armed police officer).

Other pictures also obtained by Al Jazeera show heavy hand tactics used by both security forces and military police against protestors. Everyone on the streets seemed to be considered a target

a legitimate target for a beating. The unconscious, the defenceless, perhaps even the dead were shown no mercy.

In Alexandria, activists say snipers target protestors. The green flashes in the tree said to be from their laser signs. This footage was filmed moments before Ali Bahaa al Sinusi was shot dead. Cries among the crowds and moments later, blood stains the street. Activists say it's the blood of Ali Bahaa al Sinusi (photo of dead man that has been tortured and another blurry photo of the victim standing and holding a demonstration sign).

Back in Cairo, Tahrir Square, some of the chants call for an end to military rule: "Down with the military rule". And chants too, taking aims specifically against the Field Marshall Tentawi, the head of the ruling military council: "We came down asking for change, we don't want to be ruled by the Marshal".

The revolution in Egypt may not be over, whilst the violence continues on the streets. The information war will be waged using social media.

Omer al-Saleh, Al Jazeera

4. Transcription Nov 20 2011 Violence breaks out in Cairo's Tahrir Square

Anchor from Studio:

We're taking you live to Cairo. We are looking at images of the streets in Cairo, following clashes between protestors and riot police. Our correspondent Sherine Tadros is on standby overlooking the scenes that we're just watching right now. Sherine, tell us what's led to this latest clash between police and protestors.

Journalist Voiceover (Live from Cairo):

Yes, if you can hear me Ghida, what you're seeing right now is that the military police is actually moving into Tahrir Square with force and they are trying to clear the square. This all happening, just literally in the last 2 minutes or so. They are firing tear gas canisters at the protestors and up into the air and people are running in all sorts of different directions.

Anchor from Studio:

And this Sherine follows a day or two of sit-ins in Tahrir Square. The people trying yesterday to clear the square of protestors trying desperately to get the situation under control before the parliamentary elections that are scheduled in about a week or so. How much force is the police using though? And yesterday they were said to be clearing the square themselves. Today they seem to be back and forth.

Journalist Voiceover (Live from Cairo):

Yes. I mean, what we saw actually on Saturday when they tried to do this is much...less people, there were about 200 people when they tried to do it and it was actually just the normal police. Now we are seeing the military police and riot police... they're in full riot gear, they have batons, as you can probably hear...they are firing into the air. I believe that is the sound of tear gas being fired into the air. It could also be rubber-coated steel bullets which has also been a tactic they have been using. But you can see just the utter chaos, I mean what is happening now is they seem to be outnumbered. Umm I don't know if you can see now...the cameraman should be showing you someone has actually been set on fire, total chaos here in Tahrir and really as I was saying they are completely outnumbered. You can hear what the people are

saying, I'm just going to let you hear that for a second: they're saying "the people demand the overthrow of the regime". Similar...similar slogans, similar words that we heard during the uprising... during the revolution and now even more teargas that being fired... You can see that they are firing the teargas right into the protestors...right into the protestors...right into the streets around the main circle where people are and now people are picking up the gas canisters and they're throwing them right back at the police and they are moving in right now from one of the entrances...from Mahmood Mustafa...one of the entrances into Tahrir...they haven't moved...there are another 3 exits or entrances...people are flooding towards those exits and the police are coming in more and more force and that you can see as well...I can see right below me here...people are being beaten ...beaten by the military police...there is an old man standing right in the middle of them ... middle of the police...and he's being beaten as I speak by one of the batons...so completely chaotic situation. And right now, what we're seeing are people moving towards the Egyptian Museum and Asr al Nile Bridge. Those are the two main exits where people are moving towards. They are....clearly trying to clear the square by force.

Anchor from Studio:

Quite extraordinary scenes that we are looking at live in Tahrir Square Shereen, scenes that follow a cabinet meeting that was chaired not so long ago, a couple of hours ago by the Prime Minister himself Essam Sharef, feeling the pressure, feeling the heat of what is going on in the streets, trying to bring the situation desperately under control and as you say, the chants are getting louder and getting angrier towards the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces of Egypt. A lot of the demonstrators in the last 24hours directing their anger at the leadership itself calling for the overthrow of the defacto head of Egypt and as well criticising the government officials, calling them essentially thugs. What has led though, to this direct scene of chaos? This all began as a peaceful sit-in. What has led the police to come out in such numbers today?

Journalist Voiceover (Live from Cairo):

Well clearly, there was a decision made at that cabinet meeting, where they were going to be discussing what the next tactic should be on the ground here. Clearly, there was a decision made that force was going to be the next move here for the police to clear the square and that is what we're seeing right now. There was talk of perhaps proposing a curfew but you know...what we're seeing right now is that as the teargas is being fired into the people, as they're trying to clear the thousands of people in the square, they're coming back. I mean they're being hit by these teargas and then they're retreating slightly, but then they're trying to come back into the square so um...what is going to be the next move by the police, because this...this teargas tactic isn't quite working because of the sheer number and resolve of the protestors? This is just turning into a clear battle: protestors against the police. Um...so it's unclear now exactly what the next move will be but there has to be something else...something else coming. So as you were saying, the cabinet meeting for several hours, we didn't hear that it had taken any decision, but clearly we are seeing the decision being implemented here on the ground.

Rest of live video now available on YouTube...

iv. Libya Gaddafi killed

1. Transcript Oct 24 2011 Muammar Gaddafi to be buried in secret desert location

Journalist Voiceover:

It had become the main attraction of Misrata. A wholesale market, where the bodies of the deposed Libyan leader, his son Mutassim and the former defence minister, were on display since their killing in a cold food container.

Some came here to see for themselves that their leader of 42 years was really dead, perhaps hoping that it would put closure to 8 months of war. But at times, it looked like a grim parody of a disgraced leader with little respect shown to the deceased. The constant stream of visitors meant that the cold room was no longer cold, which meant the slow decomposition of the corpses.

The fighters in Misrata were proud of their catch, but the trophy of war had become a burden, more than anything else. Everyone has a different opinion on where to bury Gaddafi and his son. Kamel Salem says he was among the fighters who captured Gaddafi. He proudly displays a gun allegedly taken from the former leader but that is as much as he wants.

Kamel Salem, National Transitional Council Fighter (Translated into English from Arabic for the Al Jazeera English report)

They can do whatever they want with it as long as he is now buried in Libya. We want the country, clean, safe and stable. They can cremate him, throw him in the sea, I don't care.

Journalist Voiceover: The NTC under pressure over the circumstances of Gaddafi's death have succumbed into an inquiry into how he died in captivity.

Mustafa Abdul-Jalil, Libya's Transitional Leader, (Translated into English from Arabic for the Al Jazeera English report)

We have indeed requested, based on international demands, that the death of Gaddafi be investigated, as he died during a clash in crossfire with his supporters.

Journalist to camera: The bodies were removed from the food container under cover of dark. It seems that no compromise was met with Gaddafi's tribe who had asked for the bodies to be handed over so they could be buried in Sirte according to Gaddafi's will. The National Transitional Council says the three men will be buried but in a secret location probably somewhere in the desert. This is a decision that is likely to further alienate Gaddafi's supporters at a time when national reconciliation is very much needed.

Hoda Abdel-Hamid, Al Jazeera, Misrata

2. Transcript Oct 21 2011 NTC plans secret burial for Gaddafi

Anchor in Studio: Let's take you back to the main story we've been following. Libyan authorities now saying they're planning a secret burial for the former Libyan leader Muammar Al Gaddafi. This of course after he died following the fall of his home city Sirte, which is where our correspondent Tony Birtley is currently located. We can go to him now.

You were there, well, all throughout the developments of yesterday Tony. How are things looking now? Is Sirte completely secure and in the hands of the NTC?

Journalist speaking to the camera Live from Sirte:

It seems to be completely secure and in their hands. But I'm actually standing, Sami, in a place where you mentioned about a secret burial for Gaddafi. Well I'm the location where the followers who were going out with him were left dead here. Their bodies are scattered over this entire area. And we're getting an idea now of what exactly happened when they tried to make their breakout. You see behind me these are burnt out vehicles and all behind me is littered with bodies, basic petrified corpses, sitting at the wheels of their cars. And it seems that the final coup-de-grace was delivered by NATO as these men tried to escape. And we've now worked out that there were three main groups coming out with Gaddafi; main group here behind me probably with Gaddafi. Another group over there and one more group down there. And it seems that early hours of yesterday, at first light, they came and broke out of the city – the centre city district number two is about 2km from here. They came, encountered heavy fire, came down this road and this is where NATO we are told struck with such force that it's left these charred vehicles and charred bodies behind me. We've counted something like 50 bodies in total, something like 20 vehicles and we get an idea now what happened. Gaddafi, we are told, from here, ran away to about 80m, a 100m down there to a culvert underneath this road and that's where he was found. We are told by a number of people we have spoken to that he was very much alive then. According to Human Rights investigators, Gaddafi was taken. He was then beaten, he was kicked, he was put on the bonnet of a vehicle, driven down the road, he fell off that and hurt himself. And then he was put on the back of the vehicle and driven off. We are told at that point he was not wounded. Of course, we're being told that on the way to Misrata, he died and that may be as a result of cross-fire. But according to Human Rights investigators, they are questioning that account of what happened. But down here, all the bodies suggest that there was also something else going on, because according to the Human Rights investigators, particularly the place behind me here show the signs of what they say is execution and they want the NTC to launch an investigation into this. They want to check exactly what happened on that morning when Gaddafi was taken. They say he was very much alive and they're questioning the version being given by the NTC saying that he was killed in cross fire.

Anchor in Studio:

So some question marks there on the official version of events Gaddafi's death. What about the fate of some of the key figures who apparently managed to get away so far, like say Saif al Islam, how much concern is there over his fate?

Journalist speaking to the camera Live from Sirte:

Well there's big question marks as to where he is. And they've never had a direct sighting for him unlike most of the others. I think the hunt will be on to try to find him. The odds are that he's probably in the south of the country. But you never know here, we did think until a few days ago that Gaddafi was not here. In fact he was in the south of the country. That was the version the NTC gave and they said he was showing up on satellite tracking. That turned out to be totally incorrect. So we don't know... I mean a lot of the main players in his regime came to grief here and this was their final resting point. This is where the whole thing ended.

We see people coming now and treating it like some kind of holiday venue. They're taking photographs. They're posing for souvenir snaps and for them of course it's completely different. The fighters I have spoken to don't seem to care whether Gaddafi was executed or caught in cross fire. They care that he is dead and they say now he's dead, they can actually move on and build their new Libya. With him being alive they think that they couldn't have done that. So it's a double edge sword; for them it's important, for the rest of the world they say, well may he shouldn't have been executed, if indeed he was.

But there are lots of question marks and the investigations that will be launched, at the end of the day, I don't think will make much difference. But, you know, in terms of clarity, in terms of the transparency, they need to know what really happened on Thursday morning.

Anchor in Studio:

Talking about the new Libya, Tony, there is a question of course of the situation that prevails now. Are people trying to take revenge? How much control is there? What happens to the Gaddafi loyalists who are left? Is there an amnesty? And so on...

Journalist speaking to the camera Live from Sirte:

Well, we don't know about that. I know the NTC is saying there should not be revenge and retribution. That's been the theme all the way along, but you're dealing with people who've been engaged in battle, with people who've lost their friends, their loved ones and you know, anger takes a long time to subside. So, there are some, I think, who want revenge, and we have spoken to people who've said they know of those people. By and large, we haven't seen that ourselves personally. We have seen prisoners being taken and paraded in the streets. We have seen some signs of physical abuse and they have been taken off, we don't know where to. There are a number of bodies, we understand being prepared for burial. We don't know the circumstances in which they died. But you've got to understand, this was a pretty brutal conflict. The last 13 days was pretty horrific in terms of the amount of fire power that came down and spirits were running very high and emotions...I think that's the key here...the emotions were running high also and people were pumped up and they've been waiting for this moment for 8 months and finally here it was, so I think maybe some people could have lost control. It's normal sometimes in those circumstances. I think now the NTC has got to rain in that kind of need for revenge and retribution. And also, I think they've got to rain in the amount of weapons that are at large. I mean this country was awash with weaponry and Gaddafi equipped his country beyond their needs. And everywhere you went in this country, you found huge ammunition dumps, which was part of the downfall of Gaddafi in the end as well. But all these groups, some say some with different agendas, are armed to the teeth and the question is, can the NTC rain them all in, bring them under the umbrella of a national army and get that army to control all the weapons. If they can't do that, it poses problems for the future.

Anchor in Studio:

Alright Tony Birtley, I guess time will tell. Thank you very much for that, live from Sirte.

3. Transcript Oct 20 2011 NTC's Mahmoud Jibril on Muammar Gaddafi's death

Al Jazeera Journalist interviewing:

The end of a very dramatic and historic day here for Libya. How would you sum up the day? And tell us about your now personal position now

Mahmoud Jibril: Chair of NTC Executive Committee

Well, I would sum it up in just one word: relief. You know when you have a real, real pain in every part of your body and all of a sudden, a sense of relief. We say Al Hamdulah- thank God you know for this day. People who are my age and older, they were just almost pessimistic that we would live until we would see this day. So thank God you know, after 42 years of dictatorship of the worst kinds of regimes in the world, you know. I don't think a humanity has ever seen such type of regime. We did it. Those young people did it. And this historic

thing...that I would claim it's not ...there is no precedent for it in history. Even the French revolution was not like this, you know.

Al Jazeera Journalist interviewing:

And your own role now, is it over?

Mahmoud Jibril: Chair of NTC Executive Committee

No. it's not over. But it's a different role.

Al Jazeera Journalist interviewing:

Are you stepping down as Prime Minister?

Mahmoud Jibril: Chair of NTC Executive Committee

Yes. I committed myself to this. I pledged that I would step down the moment the regime is folding. And I'm going to live up to my word. Too, there is a bigger and much important role in my opinion is to take care of civil society organisations, to take care of young people, women, try to bring up to their potential and play an equal role to men. Those young people, this is their future. Not us, you know, the people who are in 50s and 60s. The future is for those young kids you know. But they need somebody as a mentor to advise them, to help them translate their dreams into some sort of electoral program, try to help them produce their own leadership, to be ready enough for the election day.

Al Jazeera Journalist interviewing:

Will we see you on the political stage again when elections come around? Are you going to stand for office do you think?

Mahmoud Jibril: Chair of NTC Executive Committee

Well no. I hope that I see young candidates you know, from both segments, women and men you know winning all over Libya to be the new parliament made of those young people.

Al Jazeera Journalist interviewing:

Thank you so much prime minister for your time.

4. Transcript Oct 21 2011 Questions remain about Gaddafi's death

Journalist Voiceover:

These are the gruesome remains of Gaddafi's diehard fighters who stayed with their master until the end. More than 45 men lay dead. Their petrified and horribly disfigured corpses litter what has become Libya's last battleground.

At dawn on Thursday in a convoy of heavily armed vehicles, Gaddafi and his men attempted an audacious escape that may have worked had not NATO intervened and unleashed a frightening barrage of fire.

Unidentified man beside a culvert:

He was the big rat!

Journalist Voiceover:

The former leader had been with them but was found nearby hiding in a culvert.

Naser Akil Fighter:

Don't kill me my children ...he was begging us not to kill him.

Journalist Voiceover:

He was captured by men from Misrata, a town which suffered most at the hands of these forces.

Journalist to camera (beside the culvert):

This is the place where Gaddafi was finally captured. It's about 2km away from the centre of district number 2 and this is where the last stand was made. They say that this dry blood is the blood from Gaddafi. He was wounded at this point but he was still very much alive. From here, they took him to another location and everybody we've spoken to says he remained alive at that point.

Journalist Voiceover:

What happened afterwards is unclear but Human Rights Investigators believe Gaddafi endured harsh treatment.

Peter Bouchaert Human Rights Watch:

Different fighters and just people who were around started pushing him and pulling on his hair, punching him on the face. They put him on top of the hoods of one of their vehicles and tried to drive him away and he fell off the vehicle.

Journalist Voiceover:

Human Rights Watch has cast doubts on the NTC version of events that the former Libyan leader was killed in crossfire.

Peter Bouchaert Human Rights Watch:

When Muammar Gaddafi was driven away from here yesterday morning he was still alive there was no crossfire and somehow he ended up dead later.

Journalist Voiceover:

From some fighters, it's irrelevant how he died.

Unnamed fighter 1:

The most important thing is he is dead. And in God's will it is the first step to avenge the blood of those killed.

Ibrahim Obeidi, Fighter:

We didn't want him alive. After 16,000, 17,000 martyrs, do you think we'd want to keep him alive?

Unnamed fighter 1:

My God will judge him.

Journalist Voiceover:

Mohamed was Gaddafi's assistant for 30 years. He was with him until 2 days before the end and was wounded when a shell exploded next to their hideout.

Mohammad Slyem, Fighter:

Gaddafi acted normally. There were no signs of anything being wrong, even though we thought we could die at any moment. I was hit in the arm and have shrapnel in my chest.

Journalist Voiceover:

Fighters display the clothes Gaddafi left behind. Shoes with built up heels and the famous Chinese winter hat that he wore in his TV addresses castigating the revolutionaries.

Salem Hamad, fighter:

He said he will fight and he will die and he did so. So...

Journalist Voiceover:

Few residents have returned to Sirte. Those that did do find a city that is barely recognisable. It will take time and billions of dollars to rebuild. By then, Libya will have rid itself of all traces of Muammar Gaddafi. He will be gone, but never forgotten.

Tony Birtley, Al Jazeera, Sirte

5. Transcript Oct 21 2011 Tony Birtley recounts Gaddafi's capture

Journalist Voiceover:

This is an incredibly gruesome scene. These are completely destroyed vehicles. Everywhere I'm looking now is littered with bodies and they're talking about the secret burial of Gaddafi. But here is where those who were with him on Thursday morning died. There are something like 50 people that were in these convoys, they were in 3 areas, they were making their escape for Sirte with Gaddafi and this is where they met their end. And it came from NATO according to the witnesses we have spoken to- the final coup de grace came from NATO jets and it completely decimated these vehicles. The bodies are literally petrified, blown to pieces, they had absolutely no chance. We've also seen bodies further on, showing signs of what could be construed as executions and human rights investigators are asking questions and want the NTC to look into the circumstances involving their deaths, but also the death of Gaddafi. He was with this group we understand and we've been piecing together what happened on Thursday morning. It seems they tried to make their break at first light on Thursday, they came to this final point after engaging with brigades of the anti-Gaddafi forces and then Gaddafi ran to a culvert under a road about a hundred metres from here. According to our information and human rights investigators, he was alive when he was captured and he wasn't wounded. We are told he was kicked, he was punched, and then he was put on the bonnet of a car, driven up and down and then he fell off and was hurt. He was taken away after that. But, they are questioning the version of events given by the NTC that he died in crossfire. I think the worst thing that happened for Gaddafi apart from NATO of course is the fact that he went straight into a brigade from Misrata and more than anywhere in this conflict, Misrata suffered; their city was decimated, people were killed, thousands went missing. They had a score to settle and it seems they may have settled it. But at the moment, we are trying to piece together what exactly happened with Gaddafi...at what time. But the evidence we have shows that he was still alive when he left this point and he died on the way to Misrata. He made a break from Sirte which is about a kilometre and a half from here. He survived this tremendous bombardment that was unleashed against him and his forces for 13 days almost and he came here and if he had got beyond this point he would have made it. Some people said that...you know Gaddafi said that he would die in Libya and that's what he did. He died here in Libya, in Sirte, in his hometown.

6. Transcription Oct 22 2011 Crowd lining up to see Gaddafi body

Journalist to the camera:

Yes everyone it seems ...what so many people want to come here...at least 300 people here. And it's a constantly moving queue, people constantly joining the back of this queue. We're just outside Misrata in a market area. They call this the Tunisian market. It's a compound that's closed right now. People are being let in in small groups.

Some of the people here...Journalist interviews people in queue:

Sir, can I ask you why you queued up to see Gaddafi's body?

Man in queue:

Well I came just to see his body to make sure that he is actually dead. I know, I seen the videos, but I'll verify that myself.

AJ Journalist:

Some people say it's a little ghoulish maybe to be standing here looking at the body...

Man 1 in queue:

It is ...maybe...but you know what this guy has done to us...to the Libyan people...nothing is ghoulish. I think the people have been so humane to him, you know just putting him in a ...unclear... and taking care of his body. You know...if...we just remember what he's done to the people, you'd think the people would cut him to pieces but they're still just looking at him and walking away...you know...just to make sure he is dead.

AJ Journalist:

What do you think should happen to the body? Because under Islamic tradition, it's supposed to be buried quickly and yet it is still here for a second day.

Man 1 in queue:

I think this is not a general body or anybody else but it is a unique body. There's a lot of legal stuff that you have to do ...you have to um...do certain things to verify that he's dead...that he's himself...he's Muammar Gaddafi. Then they're gonna verify how he died and things like that. So the autopsy's got to be done. These are the legal things that they have to go through. That's why it takes longer.

AJ Journalist:

Where should the body be buried?

Man 1 in queue:

That's not my decision, but you know...I have an opinion...but the people here should have their opinion...

AJ Journalist:

Let's go and have a word with a few more people if we head up the line here, maybe, and talk to this gentleman. So, why are you here?

Man 2 in queue:

We are here to have a look about Gaddafi's body. Look, this guy has ruled us for 42 years and his life it was impossible to see him even to come to the place where he is in...but now we can have a look.

AJ Journalist:

Some Muslims have already told me that you don't think this is Islamic. They say that under Islamic law he should be buried straightaway.

Man 2 in queue:

Yeah, it should according to Islamic law. But even though up to today as you hear that prince sultan was died today and Saudi Arabia will bury him on Tuesday. That means 4 days....it's not that ...(much of an) issue.

AJ Journalist:

And you don't think it's wrong in any way to put him on display like this? It's somewhat ghoulish, some might say.

Man 2 in queue:

Mmmm...no I don't think so, because it's common all over the world, not here in Libya but over in the western country. I think that they do the same thing.

AJ Journalist:

Thank you very much sir. Let's just go and have little look at the queue here as we head up, show you all the people here queuing up here. I, earlier on, had been inside. I can tell you that the bodies...3 bodies are laid out. Inside this compound, there is a refrigerated unit... the three bodies are on the ground: Mutassim Gaddafi, Gaddafi's son, the former head of the military, the defence minister Abu-Bakr Yunis and then right at the back of the container, Muammar

Gadhafi's bodies. As you said at the beginning of our program, the bodies' are covered, just the heads visible. People going in, people allowed to take cameras, video cameras, stills cameras, some people bringing their children to show them the body of the man who ruled Libya for almost 42 years.

James Bays Misrata

7. Transcription Oct 22 2011 Gaddafi corpse on display raises concerns

Journalist Voiceover

All day, people were queuing. The mood, one of triumph, over a man who had controlled their lives for almost 42 years. Slowly, in small groups, they were allowed in to see the body of their former leader. One man I spoke to had driven 10 hours from Tobruk in the east of the country.

Man 1 in the queue

I am happy to see him. Because I didn't see him. Just I see him, he always say 'you have to do that, you have to do that'. I want to see him, he cannot talk. He cannot...he doesn't have any force.

Man 2 in the queue

He thought that he, he built Libya. But in the end he destroyed it. Anything he built, he destroyed.

Journalist Voiceover

This compound is normally used as a fruit and vegetable market. In a cold storage room, Gaddafi's body lies on a mattress next to that of his Defence Minister, and his National Security Advisor, his own son Mutassim.

Each group are allowed in quickly. They can take in photos and videos. Some are even bringing in their children. These people are not paying respects, there is no respect for the man they've just filmed. Just hatred and now relief.

Passer by looking at pictures on phone very very happy...Allah Akbar (God is Great)

Journalist to Camera

The National Transitional Party has repeatedly said that Gaddafi's burial will be dealt with according to Muslim tradition. But there are some questioning whether delaying the burial and putting the bodies on display is in any way Islamic.

Passer-by being interviewed

Let the people see him.

Al Jazeera Journalist

But in Islam...are you not supposed to bury the body quickly

Passer-by being interviewed

Yes, I know, but in the Islam only for Muslims.

Passer-by 2

Well he is not Islamic this one

Journalist Voiceover

There is no final plan for Gaddafi's burial. We were told discussions are still underway. The body will remain on public display for at least another day.

James Bays, Al Jazeera, Misrata

Anchor in Studio presents video featuring Ibrahim Ahmad, Military Council Spokesman
Well, Al Jazeera put those concerns over the treatment of Gaddafi's remains to the man in charge of security in Misrata. Ibrahim Ahmad told us they do plan to give him a proper burial, but not just yet.

Ibrahim Ahmad, Military Council Spokesman (Translated from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera Report)

Yes with regards to our religion and Islam, they say that to dignify a dead person, you should bury them quickly. But this is an exceptional case. He's a head of state, he was a tyrant, a terrorist, we were at war with him for 42 years. There are also procedures, international procedures and international procedures to follow. I had spoken to the head of the local council and the military council so that we can arrange for meeting today about this subject and how to bury these three buries and will they be buries in Misrata or somewhere else. But the meeting has been postponed because tomorrow there is going to be in Benghazi a big celebration and declaration of liberation of Libya. And therefore, after that we will meet with Mustafa Abdul Jalil, the council, to discuss this subject with him and discuss the burial.

v. Libya Tripoli bombed by NATO and coalition

1. Transcript Mar 9 2011 Bombs fall on Libya's Ras Lanuf

Journalist Voiceover:

The attack comes from the sky. Pro-Gaddafi forces unleash a savage counter-offensive against the town of Ras Lanuf. Rebel fighters on the ground are sitting targets. They're vulnerable and they know it.

Gaddafi's bombers have hit an oil storage depot about 10KM to the west. Even from Ras Lanuf, the damage is tangible. We want to take a closer look, so we hitch a ride on the back of a pickup truck. We're not the only racing west. Rebel fighters are moving up to the front line. And on the road side, a reminder of the grim tally of dead and injured. Medics prepare to take the wounded back to Ras Lanuf. The columns of smoke loom ominously on the horizon. We move closer.

Journalist to Camera

Well it does appear to be some kind of an oil installation. And as we approach it, we can see that the bombers have hit it in 3 different points and this closest point here, we can actually see the flames. About 500m away, we can hear the rebels are firing mortars up into the air where the Gaddafi bombers are still circling overhead.

Journalist Voiceover:

They drop another bomb inside the fence of the oil storage depot. Gaddafi's forces are clearly targeting this facility. The rebels fire multiple rocket launches. Their target: not the warplanes, but rather a small group of pro-Gaddafi troops on the ground. Those troops are firing mortars from beneath the oil depot. They appear to be outflanked by the rebels and all the time the dense smoke rises turning the afternoon into a premature night.

We take shelter in a ditch in the desert. Unbeknown to us, the rebels have moved more rocket launches to a sandbank behind us. The pro-Gaddafi troops have spotted them. They send them mortars, thundering in.

Voices in background in English

Female 1: Guys, we have to go

Male: Yeah

Female 2: We have to get out of here.

Journalist Voiceover:

The mortar and rocket fire stops for a moment- our chance to escape. We have been one kilometre from the frontline and what we have seen has changed our perception of this rebel force. They've demonstrated more knowhow than we have given them credit for. And their courage and determination are undeniable.

Jacky Rowland, Al Jazeera, outside Ras Lanuf

2. Transcript May 21 2011 Fighting continues on Libya-Tunisia border

Journalist voiceover

The sound of explosions echoes constantly around the Dehiba-Wazin border crossing. Villagers here have become used to the constant thumps. Gadhafi's brigades shelling rebel positions. The conflict spilt into Tunisia several times. It prompted the government to beef up its security forces along the porous border.

Journalist to camera

Gaddafi's forces are stationed behind that first hill and it's from there that they keep on pounding that mountain that one that overlooks the border crossing. Opposition fighters are stationed on top of that mountain.

Journalist voiceover

Despite the dusty haze, we spot Gaddafi's brigades taking position on the hill with their multiple rocket launcher batteries. Moments later, another barrage of explosions rings in the air.

The role of the Tunisian troops is to protect their land and make sure that the Gaddafi forces don't come into their country.

Reda watches the fight unfold every day and had to stop several cross-border attempts.

Reda Al Khashin, Tunisian National Guard Translated from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English Report

They tried. But when we talked to them, they told us the border was strategic and they wanted to re-take it so they can cut the lifeline for the rebels. They can't cross the mountains, but we told them that they could not come through here.

Journalist voiceover

The Tunisians remain neutral even though they closely monitor the movements of the Gaddafi forces mostly based in urban areas.

Soufian, Tunisian National Guard Translated from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English Report

They are stationed in towns here. In unclear...and...unclear... they go back and forth, about 15km between the two. Some say they are civilians, some say not, who knows.

Journalist voiceover

There's not much traffic at the border, but vital supplies come through every day.

Haitham, Opposition Fighter, Translated from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English Report

These are some of the shells that landed around here. The anti-government fighters are constantly on edge. We were betrayed, some people revealed our position by phone. They're aiming better. Lately, most missiles fall near our positions.

Journalist voiceover

Despite the continuous threat, opposition forces are holding on. But the border has already changed hands several times and the rebels are defenceless against Gaddafi's fire power.

Hoda Abdel Hamid, Al Jazeera, Along the Tunisian- Libyan border

3. Transcript International forces begin Libya strikes

Journalist Voiceover:

The first sorties in a campaign to stop Gadhafi's onslaught. French fighter aircrafts take off from Dijon airbase. Their target: pro-Gaddafi armoured vehicles in the opposition-held city of Benghazi. The airstrikes came just hours after world leaders gathered in Paris. Their aim? To free the final details of a no fly zone over Libyan airspace.

A sense of urgency weighed in over these these talks. The international community has taken its time in reacting to events in Libya. Now, late in the day, it's decision time. At the end of the talks, President Sarkozy delivered this stark message:

Nicolazs Sarkozy, French President [translated into English from French for the Al Jazeera English report]:

Today, we are intervening in Libya under a mandate from the UN Security Council alongside our partners, in particular, our Arab partners. And we are doing this in order to protect the civilian population from the murderous madness of a regime that by killing its own people has lost all legitimacy.

Journalist Voiceover: And the American Secretary of State added her country's unequivocal support for the action.

Hillary Clinton, U.S. Secretary of State:

Now, America has unique capabilities and we will bring them to bare to help our European and Canadian allies and Arab partners stop further violence against civilians, including through the effective implementation of a no-fly zone.

Journalist Voiceover:

In military bases across southern Europe, signs of attack aircrafts preparing for action. British fighter jets are expected to join the French in launching airstrikes, while American, Canadian and Spanish aircrafts also poised to take off. One of their priorities will be to take out Gaddafi's air defences so that other aircrafts could operate freely in the skies over Libya.

Journalist to camera [Jacky Rowland, Paris]:

For the residents of Benghazi, this military intervention is coming in the nick of time, because Gaddafi's forces are already closing in on the city. The message from Paris is that the International Community is finally moving from words to action. The people of eastern Libya will be hoping it's not too late.

Jacky Rowland, Al Jazeera, Paris

4. Transcript Jun 20 2011 Libya Nato 'killed 19 civilians' in Surman air strike

Transcription

Date uploaded by Al Jazeera English on YouTube channel: 20 Jun 2011

Date Aired by Al Jazeera English on Television channel:

Headline in text on video: Libya Nato 'killed 19 civilians' in Surman air strike

YouTube video title: Battle for Libya, Heavy Fighting and Civilian Deaths

Channel: Al Jazeera English

URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9gGrm_g5IRs

Minutes: 01:57

Journalist Voiceover:

Battles between rebels and fighters to Muammar Gaddafi. The fighting was around the town of Addafnia, west of the rebel city of Misrata. Witnesses say Gaddafi's forces fired 3 rockets into a residential area, one of which hit this house killing a 13-year-old and wounding two other children.

Ibrahim Daghsh, Misrata Resident (Translated into English from Arabic for the Al Jazeera English report.)

There were 5 kids, two girls, and a mother having dinner when the rockets hit them. Their father is on the front line. He was fighting.

Journalist Voiceover:

In Benghazi, more of Gaddafi's fighters are defecting to the rebels. The Opposition National Transitional Council says they travelled through Chad, which borders southern Libya, to get to them.

Mohame Ahmed Saleh, Defecting Libyan Soldier (Translated into English from Arabic for the Al Jazeera English report.)

The Gaddafi regime has lost its legitimacy and its humanitarian senses and we are here in Benghazi to put ourselves at the disposal of the NTC.

Journalist Voiceover:

And near Tripoli is what the Libyan government claims is the aftermath of another NATO airstrike killing 19 civilians, 3 of them children.

Journalists were taken to the site of what used to be a large compound, belonging to one of Muammar Gaddafi's top officials.

Moussa Ibrahim, Libyan Government Spokesman

In another crime against humanity, committed by the criminal organisation of NATO, Libyan civilian families were attacked in the early hours of this morning.

Journalist Voiceover:

Journalists were led to a nearby hospital where corpses had been laid out. The government claims this child was (zoom on badly hurt child laying on a hospital bed) wounded in the attack.

NATO released a statement saying it had bombed a "legitimate military target- on a command and control node...strike will greatly degrade the Gaddafi regime's forces' ability to carry on their barbaric assault against the Libyan people." (Charles Bouchard NATO's Libya Commander).

But they also acknowledged on Sunday that the death of civilians in an earlier attack may have been the result of a system failure that knocked one of their missiles off course.

Caroline Malone, Al Jazeera

5. Transcript Apr 15 2011 NATO air strikes hit Tripoli Transcription

Date uploaded by Al Jazeera English on YouTube channel: 15 Apr 2011

Date Aired by Al Jazeera English on Television channel:

Headline in text on video: Battle for Libya Fresh NATO Air Strikes in the Capital

YouTube video title: NATO air strikes hit Tripoli

Channel: Al Jazeera English

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-zGFgNKxRc>

Minutes: 02:11

Journalist Voiceover:

A defiant message from Muammar Gaddafi's only daughter. Aisha Gaddafi was greeted by 100s of supporters at her father's compound in the capital Tripoli. Chanting anti-NATO slogans and dancing to pro-government music, Aisha addressed the crowd from the second floor balcony that in the past was used by her father to deliver speeches.

Aisha Gaddafi Daughter of Muammar Gaddafi (Translated into English from Arabic for the Al Jazeera report)

The idea of Kernel Gaddafi stepping down is an outrage to all Libyans. Gaddafi is not only in Libya but also in their hearts.

Journalist Voiceover:

Libyan state television has broadcast these pictures of what appears to be a defying Gaddafi driving through the streets of Tripoli on Thursday.

But this video sent to Al Jazeera (footage of another video) by an anti-government group seems to show protesters were also out on the same day calling for Gaddafi to go.

This comes as NATO carried out multiple air strikes on the capital. Meanwhile, the city of Misrata remains under siege. Gaddafi forces reportedly hit the area with several missiles. And opposition forces are warning of an impending massacre if NATO does not intensify its attacks there.

But despite those warnings, NATO leaders and the Arab League seem reluctant to ramp up the military effort. Although they maintain they are determined to find a quick solution to the crisis.

Ban Ki-Moon UN Secretary General

All in all, I believe that (the) international community has been acting and speaking in one voice. The Security Council has taken a very important two resolutions 1970 and 1973. (The) international community has acted very swiftly and decisively.

Journalist Voiceover:

And to add to the show of unity, the US, French and British leaders have written a joint letter published in European newspapers in which they vow to continue the military campaign until Gaddafi steps down. A task that is proving more and more difficult as time goes on, while Libyans continue to live in a state of fear.

Dorsa Jabbari, Aljazeera

6. Transcript Apr 25 2011 NATO air strike pounds Gaddafi compound

Journalist Voiceover:

The attack comes from the sky. Pro-Gaddafi forces unleash a savage counter-offensive against the town of Ras Lanuf. Rebel fighters on the ground are sitting targets. They're vulnerable and they know it.

Gaddafi's bombers have hit an oil storage depot about 10KM to the west. Even from Ras Lanuf, the damage is tangible. We want to take a closer look, so we hitch a ride on the back of a pickup truck. We're not the only racing west. Rebel fighters are moving up to the front line. And on the road side, a reminder of the grim tally of dead and injured. Medics prepare to take the wounded back to Ras Lanuf. The columns of smoke loom ominously on the horizon. We move closer.

Journalist to Camera

Well it does appear to be some kind of an oil installation. And as we approach it, we can see that the bombers have hit it in 3 different points and this closest point here, we can actually see the flames. About 500m away, we can hear the rebels are firing mortars up into the air where the Gaddafi bombers are still circling overhead.

Journalist Voiceover:

They drop another bomb inside the fence of the oil storage depot. Gaddafi's forces are clearly targeting this facility. The rebels fire multiple rocket launches. Their target: not the warplanes, but rather a small group of pro-Gaddafi troops on the ground. Those troops are firing mortars from beneath the oil depot. They appear to be outflanked by the rebels and all the time the dense smoke rises turning the afternoon into a premature night.

We take shelter in a ditch in the desert. Unbeknown to us, the rebels have moved more rocket launches to a sandbank behind us. The pro-Gaddafi troops have spotted them. They send them mortars, thundering in.

Voices in background in English

Female 1: Guys, we have to go

Male: Yeah

Female 2: We have to get out of here.

Journalist Voiceover:

The mortar and rocket fire stops for a moment- our chance to escape. We have been one kilometre from the frontline and what we have seen has changed our perception of this rebel force. They've demonstrated more knowhow than we have given them credit for. And their courage and determination are undeniable.

Jacky Rowland, Al Jazeera, outside Ras Lanuf

7. Transcript Apr 15 2011 NATO air strikes hit Tripoli

Journalist Voiceover:

Libyan state television broadcast of what it says is a 3 storey building hit by a NATO air strike shortly after midnight local time. Foreign journalists were taken to the scene by Libyan officials who described the area as residential.

Libyan Spokesman:

They were destroyed...their bodies...their brains...were out...their eyes...why is this? Is this the protection of civilians? Is this really searching for peace and democracy in Libya? To attack peaceful neighbourhoods of Tripoli and kill whole families?

Journalist Voiceover:

Among the rubble, what looks like a body as well as rescue and emergency workers at the scene. From the television images it's impossible to say with certainty that an airstrike was behind the destruction. But the damage is clear to see.

The Libyans have accused NATO before of hitting civilian targets. Last month they said NATO bombs hit the supreme building in Tripoli along with the rehabilitation centre for deaf people and human rights centre for women and children.

There has been no immediate reaction from NATO to these latest pictures and charges that they are behind the attack, though, they have admitted to hitting civilian areas by accident.

For now, the only pictures and information about this incident is coming is coming from Kernel Muammar Gaddafi's government with no one else able to independently verify that side of the story.

Renee Odeh, Al Jazeera

8. Transcript Jun 16 2011 NATO attacks help rebels in western Libya

Date uploaded by Al Jazeera English on YouTube channel: 16 Jun 2011

Date Aired by Al Jazeera English on Television channel:

Headline in text on video: Battle for Libya NATO Targets Gaddafi Fighters in Kikla

YouTube video title: NATO attacks help rebels in western Libya

Channel: Al Jazeera English

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TboKdT35zDI>

Minutes: 02:34

Journalist Voiceover:

These pictures were taken just moments after the missile hit. A strike aimed at Gaddafi's front line forces, which in recent days have been on the retreat. Fighters here on the western mountains had been claiming the alliance had forgotten about this area. However, in the last few days, there have been a number of strikes, perhaps an indication that western military planners realise the opposition forces have made substantial gains in the last two weeks and are getting closer to the Libyan capital.

Journalist to camera:

We can still hear the NATO aircraft in the air and we can see the smoke behind us. It's not clear exactly what's been hit. Some of the opposition fighters here say it's an ammunition dump. The smoke suggests though, it's probably some sort of fuel tanker. This is the same area where 24 hours ago Libyan state television claimed that a bus with 12 civilians on board was destroyed.

Journalist Voiceover:

People in Kikla say passenger buses haven't operated here for months and what was hit by NATO was a military bus carrying Gaddafi's soldiers.

Abdul Rahim Kikla Resident being interviewed by AJ Journalist:

We know our government... 30 years back....we know our government.

AJ Journalist interview question:

What do you know about your government?

Abdul Rahim Kikla Resident being interviewed by AJ Journalist:

Very big liar (laughs). Gaddafi is big...big liar.

Journalist Voiceover:

All sides here revolved in an information war. In an opposition captured truck, they were listening to a radio. But instead of military communications, there was this:

Radio recording of a male voice in an American accent speaking in English:

As you know we can strike at any time and ways of your choosing if you continue to endanger your people.

Journalist Voiceover:

A NATO propaganda broadcast jamming Gaddafi's military frequencies.

Opposition commanders believe government forces are losing their resolve and soon their fighters will be ready to advance well beyond the mountains.

Mokhtar Zintani Opposition Commander (Translated into English from Arabic for the Al Jazeera English report):

We would like to move forward to free the capital Tripoli. This is our wish. And this is the wish of all Libyans. Even those in Tripoli feel under siege and suffocated. They are tired. Tripoli is the centre of everything. The nation is one and will unite in the capital.

Journalist Voiceover:

For the first time, we saw groups of cars heading from Tripoli across the desert, a dangerous journey over the frontline on their way to the mountains. People told us food and fuel were running short. The capital is very tense. They fear they'll be battles on the streets in the near future.

James Bays, Al Jazeera, Western Libya

9. Transcript NATO launches airstrike on Libyan capital

Journalist Voiceover:

The sound of missile strikes in the middle of the night in the Libyan capital. Al Jazeera has not been able to independently confirm reports that NATO attacked Gaddafi's compound in the last hours.

Voice of Trabulsi Tripoli Resident (Trabulsi is Arabic for Tripoli resident) in English:

There was the 3 bombard at the TV station and after that and about 2 and a half hours ago there were 6 unclear... two were at the compound were Gaddafi...Kernel Gaddafi stays...and the other four...it was at an intelligence centre building.

Journalist Voiceover:

Hours before this attack, the government the commission for childhood was also target by NATO. No casualties were reported and journalists were taken by officials to film the scene. The ongoing fighting prompted the United Nations to call for an urgent pause in hostilities to enable humanitarian aid to reach civilians in the hardest hit areas.

Valerie Amos UN under-secretary, Humanitarian Affairs:

In Misrata, which is at the forefront of our concerns, shelling and fighting has been ongoing in parts of the city for over two months. Stocks are available, but some people are running short of food, water and other basics.

Journalist Voiceover:

In the eastern part of Libya, shortages are widespread too.

In the town of Ajdabiya, the recent scene of fierce fighting, residents have been in the cross-fire. This opposition convoy celebrated a recent victory near Ajdabiya, where after a skirmish with Gaddafi's loyalists, several vehicles were secured. But the joy will probably be short-lived. Commanders here say they need more military support to really change the course of this confrontation.

Monica Villamizar, Al Jazeera.

vi. Saudi Arabia Women granted right to vote

1. Transcript Sep 26 2011 Activists welcome voting rights for Saudi women

Journalist Voiceover:

It's potentially a massive change for how Saudi Arabia's women are represented in society. King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al Saad said in an annual address to the Shura council that women will be involved in the next elections.

King Abdullah Saudi Arabian Monarch (Translated into English from Arabic for the Al Jazeera English report):

Firstly, we have decided on the participation of women in the Shura council, as a member beginning from the next term. Secondly from the next term, a woman now has the right to announce her candidacy to become a member of the local municipal council.

Journalist Voiceover: The Shurah council is a Riyadh based assembly of over 150 people appointed by the king. It includes committees for human rights, foreign affairs and energy and its speaker can propose draft laws for the king.

Muna Abu Sulayman, Television host and activist:

This is something that will mean that women will bring to the table a lot of the issues that were not discussed before. They'll bring a female point of view, they will be demanding certain amendments to laws that have been passed that were not favourable to women or were against women rights. So I think this is where we are going to see a big change.

Journalist Voiceover: There is however, still a long way to go before this change could be put into action. A portion of Saudi society still have conservative views on women's rights. Men and women are segregated in public so women are not usually allowed to do jobs that involve interaction with men. Women are not allowed to drive, instead having to rely on their male relatives, drivers or taxis. That is despite a number of women taking part in road protests earlier this year.

Despite the challenges, some people are optimistic that the ruling does reflect changing views on women in Saudi society.

Dr Fawziyah Abu Khalid, Political Sociology Academic:

I think there is a realisation by different groupings, including conservative groups in Saudi Arabia that what happened in the past- that men are the only voice in society- this will not continue. And they have to admit and to live that there are other voices, there are other views...

Journalist Voiceover:

Saudi Arabia held its first ever municipal elections in 2005. The next elections are on Thursday. But women will have to wait until the next round of appointment to the Shura Council which may not happen until 2015.

Caroline Malone, Al Jazeera

2. Transcript Sep 25 2011 Saudi women given voting rights

Anchor:

Women's rights campaigners in Saudi Arabia are celebrating an unexpected victory. King Abdullah has announced that women will have the right to vote and to stand as candidates in local council elections; they are the only public polls that are held in the kingdom. But, women will also be allowed to be appointed to the national Shura council. That's the council that advises the king.

King Abdullah, Saudi Monarch (Translated into English from Arabic for the Al Jazeera report)
We have decided that women's participation and in the consultative council should be approved as of the next term within Sharia Islamic parameters. Second, as of the next elections, women will be entitled to run as candidates in local council elections.

Anchor:

Well I'm joined on our set by Hatoun Al Fassi, a professor of women's history at the King Saudi University in Riyadh.

Thank you for being with us.

Hatouna Al Fassy:

You're welcome

Anchor:

Obviously the Saudi women groups have been demanding such concessions for quite some time. But were you expecting them today?

Hatoon Al Fassi:

We were not actually and it came as a very very blessed surprised. We were actually expecting something on the driving front but not on the political rights.

Anchor:

Well if I understood right, nothing has been said about driving.

Hatoon Al Fassi:

Nothing has been said. Actually you can say that we are still asking for a follow up to these resolutions by the king to give also the driving another decree.

Anchor:

Summarise for me exactly what has been given and how close does it come to matching your requests in the past.

Hatoon Al Fassi:

We have been asking for women participation in political processes in Saudi Arabia or political participation. And public participation wasn't allowed in Saudi except through two venues which is the Shurah council, which is actually appointed fully, but without women, and the municipal councils which are partly elected and partly appointed. We have the right to vote and to stand for campaigns in the councils. But they have not been implemented, nor at the beginning... of when it was kicked off in 2005, nor this time, although we've been campaigning

for the last 7 years. So it is really...this is a response...what the king has done today is a response to a long time demand by Saudi women to participate.

Anchor:

The question is after all this time, why do you think he's done it now?

Hatoon Al Fassi:

Well, our pressure wasn't that light, I believe. Our...the internal pressure of Saudi women who have raised their voices very loud in the last...especially...OK we can say that the Arab Spring has its effect. We can say also that the social network has an effect into all this but also Saudi women have materialised their organisation quite fully during the last 6 or even 10 months.

Anchor:

How radical do you think this will prove to the men of Saudi Arabia, because it would seem on the face of it, this that could cause some trouble among the more traditional elements of society?

Hatoon Al Fassi:

Well it's a victorious decision for Saudi women to have the support of the king to our rights. We've been always calling calling for these reforms to be implemented and be materialised and we've been having different factions of Saudi society actually trying to more open than the king. And having the king now taking this position, it's really, it gives us hope that we are not part of...we are complete citizens, we could put it this way. Citizenship wasn't complete for a long time for Saudi women, or it didn't exist. And one of the obstacles was that we aren't represented in any public speech and I think this is the time. But we hope of course that the implementation of these decisions are on the level of the decision. Which means, according to, following, complete equality between men and women in seats in Shura and the council.

Anchor:

Thank you very much for talking to us.

vii. Syria Assad Makes first speech to Syria and the World

1. Transcript March 30 2011 Assad warns Syria faces 'test of unity'

Journalist voiceover:

After two weeks of violent unrest, the time had come for Syria's president to face the nation. What is possibly the most crucial time in his career, Bashar Al Assad drew rousing cheers from his ardent supporters. He distanced himself from the brutal crackdown that has drawn international condemnation and blamed what he called conspirators for the eruption of violence.

Bashar Al Assad, Syrian President (translated to English from Arabic)

Syria now is currently being subjected to a strong conspiracy that goes into other parts of the world. The timing of this conspiracy and shape depends on what happens in other Arab countries.

Journalist voiceover:

Despite the show of strength & adulation, there was some admission that Syria is not immune from the turbulence sweeping across the Arab world, a sign perhaps that the country too was ready for change, but on his own terms.

Bashar Al Assad, Syrian President (translated to English from Arabic)

Now we have to ask, what kind of a reform do we want to achieve? And we have to avoid making the whole reform process subject to the current crisis in order not to reap negative fruits.

Journalist voiceover:

In the offing, possible concessions for reforms, but the president made no mention of lifting the emergency law enforced since the 1963 coup that brought the Baath party to power in Syria. The speech may have buoyed his supporters almost too enthusiastically.

Man in the Syrian parliament stands up during president speech to address Assad (translated to English from Arabic)

The Arab world isn't enough for you. You should lead the entire world as the president.

Journalist voiceover:

But not everyone would be won over. Anti-government protesters still bearing the scars of the police crackdown may need more than just words to convince them; they'll need action as well. And that, might take more change than the government is willing to offer right now.

Sonia Gallego, Al Jazeera,

2. Transcript March 30 2011 Syrian president fails to lift emergency laws

Anchor to camera:

Syria's president Assad has addressed the nation for the first time since anti-government protests started.

Anchor voiceover:

He was greeted by thousands of cheering supporters as he arrived at parliament. Then he failed to make any major concessions despite more than 2 weeks of protests calling for reform. He left in place the country's emergency laws which date back to when the Baath party took power in 1963. And he said that his country needs protection from outside conspiracies including satellite television channels. This is part of Al Assad's speech:

Bashar Al Assad (translated into English from Arabic): (Footage from Syrian State TV)

I will talk about the conspiracy first and then I will come back to our domestic crisis. Because I don't want people to believe that everything...that the Syrian president...believes everything that happens to us is a conspiracy from outside – No it is not. I will have to link both. Maintaining the role with our principles has always made the enemies to try and weaken us as much as they can and I always warned that success makes us feel assured. But you also in the battles know who is your enemy and after the battle and after every success you have to work harder to maintain that success and protect it from outside conspiracies. And it's not a secret that Syria now is currently being subjected to a strong conspiracy that goes into other parts of the world. The timing of this conspiracy and shape depends on what happens in other Arab

countries. There are a wave of revolutions in the Arab street and it is a popular uprising. This had to be linked to Syria, freedom, reforms everywhere else in the Arab world also links to Syria. If there are those who propagate reform in this country, we will go along with them.

Anchor voiceover: (Al Jazeera footage Live Damascus)

Well that was some time ago, this is right now. President Assad still receiving applauding and congratulations and shaking many hands of fellow parliamentarians while outside parliament, tens of thousands of supporters...of his supporters are cheering the speech that they've just heard. Of course, we saw many more of those supporters out on the streets yesterday and meanwhile the president keeps on taking the congratulations of his fellow parliamentarians. Actually, during the speech every now and then, a fellow parliamentarian would stand up and address him and make some sort of compliments along the lines of "we would sacrifice our souls and blood for you". And he's still receiving their congratulations right now.

OK, well during that speech and despite the president saying that reforms have been underway for some time, Al Jazeera's correspondent found a different story. Kal Perry was trying to get reaction from Daraa, the city where the most violent protests took place and where dozens were killed. We could speak to him right now. He joins us on the road from Daraa back to Damascus. Kal, tell us what happened.

Voice of Cal Perry En Route to Damascus:

Well Nick, we left just about an hour ago to make the 100KM drive down to Daraa and we've made it through the sort of outer checkpoint that lies on the outside of the city. But when we tried to get to the city centre there was a pretty heavy military presence. Entrenched machine guns ammunition, two of them that had been pre-sited down the road that we were trying to come in on. We were stopped, they asked us for our IDs and I should mention at this point that we are officially accredited by the government to travel and to report on the situation that's happening. Daraa is obviously a key part of the story because that is where the violence started a week ago and then we saw protests spreading in different parts of the country in support of the people of Daraa who had been killed, they say by the security forces who opened on them indiscriminately while they were protesting. We gave our IDs we have accredited from the government to be here and the security forces, the army said that "we cannot allow you in. There are no journalists being allowed into the city today". They said that "you can try to come back tomorrow". We asked them simply why are not being allowed in. They said that "it's for your on safety, they are not even allowing Syrian State TV to come into Daraa today, so clearly a confusing situation and we're unable to get a reaction from the city of Daraa because simply we were turned back from the army Nick.

Anchor voiceover:

Yeah, there seems to be some kind of clampdown in place. Did you get any sense of reaction, I don't know, as you're driving along ...something like that... from people to President Assad's speech?

Voice of Cal Perry En Route to Damascus:

Well, you know it's interesting, when we were sort of sitting there at the check point, while they were working, the radios and checking our IDs, we asked them: "where is everybody"? The streets were totally empty. And the answer we received from the army was, "Well, everybody's inside glued to their TV sets watching the speech from the president. I have been coming to Syria for years now and I have to be honest with you, I've never seen a checkpoint like this set up inside a city centre like this. At one point, I believe it was a kernel, he was sort of looking down the scope of a rifle he had removed. From the rifle, he was looking down the

road, sort of monitoring the cars as they were approaching the checkpoint, so clearly the army I think is concerned about the potential reaction from the speech and as you noted, there was really no details or reforms – details of the reforms- from the president in the speech today.

Anchor voiceover:

And then Cal, the question is I guess, has enough been said to unclear those especially in places like Daraa, where they've been burying their dead following those killings?

Voice of Cal Perry En Route to Damascus (Al Jazeera Journalist):

Well, we're going to find out. And I think we're going to find out pretty quickly. Certainly on Friday, it's going to be a key day when people come out of the mosques after afternoon prayers. I think we will see the reaction. My guess is that "no", there was not enough concessions given. You have to keep in mind that when people started protesting first for reforms, that quickly changed into something different because of the violence. After the funerals, it changes people's attitudes. When they come to protests against reforms and then they end up burying their brother or their father or their son the next day, you can expect anger to rise on the streets and I think that and people were really looking at the speech today for some really specific reform and unclear and what exactly would happen. We heard from Dr. Boutaina Shaban a few days ago. She said that a full investigation will be launched in what has happened and we will follow through on that. I think that the people, especially in Daraa who have recently buried their dead were looking for some specifics and they didn't receive any.

Anchor voiceover:

Alright Cal, I'll leave it there for the moment. Let's nip across to Damascus and speak to our correspondent Rula Amin who's been following the speech there of course. Rula, describe what's been happening around parliament as the speech was going on and what's happening now.

Rula Amin, Damascus (Al Jazeera journalist)

Around the parliament, there was a crowd of people chanting "With blood and our souls, we sacrifice for you Bashar". Inside the parliament chamber as well MPs chanting the same slogans. The president himself towards the end of the speech, he changed the slogan, because usually people here used to chant "God, Syria and Bashar" and then the protestors changed it to "God, Syria, Freedom". Today, the president said "God, Syria and my people". So obviously, he is trying to tell them that his people are his priority, and that was his message. Now, during the speech, he did not make specific promises or announce any specific reforms as people were hoping for. But inside that chamber and around, people seemed to be supporting him and they're chanting very strong slogans. For the past 2 hours, they are trying to say that they are behind him in whatever he does.

Anchor voiceover:

And Rula, the president did say that a plan to reform was in place and he- I quote him here "there are no hurdles to reform, but there are delays". And it seems that these delays have been going on for some time.

Rula Amin, Damascus (Al Jazeera journalist)

Yes, what he was trying to say is that he's not making these reforms under the pressure of the streets. He said we had a plan to reform, we were slow, partly because of negligence, partly because of the pace of the country, and you know the reasons. But it's good to be quick, but it's not good to rush into things. So obviously, the president and the people around him feel it's not suitable for the president to maybe making concessions ...looking weak. This is their concern it seems. He came across and he said: "We wanted to reform even before the protests.

This is our plan, we will go ahead with it according to our own pace”. And he did say: “I know that the satellite channels will have the tendency to have enough people to say “This is not enough”. He said “we don’t have enough to destroy this country”, meaning he had been saying throughout the speech that there are some legitimate demands on the part of the protestors. But he said that there are elements from outside the country who are exploiting and manipulating these demands to target Syria so that Syria collapses and that it gets them to be divided for the interest of Israel. This was his line. And he said “I’m not saying that there are no legitimate demands. I’m not saying it’s all a conspiracy, but the conspirators are using the legitimate demands to destabilise the country. And towards the end of the speech, he was very firm. He said “if there’s going to be a battle, we are up to it”. So obviously, the president is not in the mood for concessions; at least not to be announced by him. He did however, mention that there are certain demands for change: to lift and suspend the state of emergency law here with the unclear for further discussions as well as other laws regarding the media, regarding the political parties in Syria, that he believes that those who were killed are his brothers. Their families are his families and whoever is responsible for the killing will be held responsible.

viii. Syria Cabinet resigns

1. Transcript Mar 29 2011 Syria update Cabinet resigns amid unrest

Anchor to camera:

Syria’s government has resigned after two weeks of pro-democracy demonstrations in the capital Damascus. Hundreds of thousands of people turned out in a huge show of support for President Bashar Al Assad. He’s expected to name a new government and outline his plans for political reform in the coming days.

Well, Rula Amin joins us now from the country’s capital Damascus. So, Rula, a big show of support there for President Assad, does this now give the government some room to offer some concessions without losing authority?

Rula Amin, Damascus (Al Jazeera journalist)

Yes. And tomorrow morning, President Assad is going to address the nation. He will be at parliament, and he will put forward his plan and how he views these changes that people have been demanding; how he plans to implement it. Now we know that the state of emergency law that has been in place in the country since 1963 is one of the issues that will be raised in that speech. We also know that people have been anticipating this speech for almost a week. They have not heard from him since the start of the protest and they are very eager to know what is on his mind.

Anchor voiceover:

Rula, we know the cabinet resigned on mass today, will that be enough to appease the pro-reform demonstrators?

Rula Amin, Damascus (Al Jazeera journalist live from Damascus)

No, the resignation of the government is not enough at all. This is only the start, this is what people are hoping at least, they know that the problems are in a way structured in the way this regime works. And they want fundamental changes, they want more political freedoms, they want an end to the corruption and they say they don't want to live in fear anymore of the security forces and to have the right to express themselves. They want to have a right to protest on the streets peacefully. Now, tomorrow they will be anxiously waiting to see how far President Assad will go and how serious he will be to meet their demands.

Anchor voiceover:

Alright, Rula Amin in the Syrian capital of Damascus, thank you.

ix. Syria Ghoutta Sarin Attack

1. Transcript Aug 21 2013 'Pictures show sign of chemical attack in Syria'

Anchor:

Let's go back to Syria now and those claims of the use of chemical weapons. Riad Kahwaji is the director of the Institute of Near East & Gulf Military Analysis and he joins me live from Beirut.

Thanks for joining us Riad. The government is denying using chemical weapons. You've looked at the pictures from the pictures. From those pictures, is it likely you think that chemical weapons have been used?

Riad Kahwaji, Institute for Near East & Gulf Military Analysis

Yes, I think, looking at the bodies, it reminded me immediately of the bodies from the famous or infamous massacre in Halabja in Northern Iraq 20 years ago. What we saw were bodies, dead bodies of people who had no signs of bullet wounds, injuries, that could have caused the death. They all looked still on the ground and dead. Others looked, having a very hard time breathing, going into you know, cases of, looked very much epileptic having a hard time, grasping for breath. This is clear signs of a chemical attack that had just happened earlier this morning.

Anchor:

Is it therefore possible to tell what type of weapons were used?

Riad Kahwaji, Institute for Near East & Gulf Military Analysis

It's very hard. You need to be on the ground testing the bodies. But it is certainly a nerve agent. Only nerve agents cause such mass casualties. It is not just a simple mustard gas. It is definitely not a mustard gas. It is a case of something like Sarin or Taboo. Something at this scale could have caused these mass casualties and people looking you know in such agony.

Anchor:

When you talk about "this scale", what do you mean?

Riad Kahwaji, Institute for Near East & Gulf Military Analysis

The number of bodies. I mean we're talking right now numbers have exceeded 600 and we're approaching some reports saying about a thousand. This is a mass mass attack. This is a weapon of mass destruction attack.

Anchor:

And the mandate of the investigation team that is currently in Syria, does that mandate cover this area?

Riad Kahwaji, Institute for Near East & Gulf Military Analysis

It covers the whole of Syria. They should be allowed to go in there and investigate any area where chemical weapons were reported. The regime is actually making a mockery of the international community and the UN by carrying out this attack during their presence. Unfortunately, this team has a mandate of just verifying whether a chemical attack took place. But they don't have the mandate of investigating who carried out this attack, which is very strange. I mean, these were conditions put on them by the Syrians and because of the split in the Security Council and the pressure put by Russia and China, this team came with very limited mandate and are unable to do anything. I mean, basically the Syrian regime is given a carte blanche; a green light to go about killing people with whichever means he has at its hands including chemical weapons. What is really shameful for the international community to be sitting still doing nothing about.

Riad Kahwaji in Beirut, many thanks for joining us Riad.

2. Transcript Apr 26 2013 Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons

Journalist Voiceover

The video taken by medical staff at the hospital near Aleppo provides what they call compelling evidence of the use of chemical weapons in a nerve attack carried out by Syrian forces. One man is filmed foaming at the mouth and nose, a symptom of the nerve agent Sarin. Among the casualties, rescuers and hospital staff overcome by the gas, all displaying evidence of what medical experts at the scene described as typical of nerve agent poisoning. Sarin can be absorbed into the body by inhalation, skin contact, eye exposure or ingestion. It could cause death within 1 – 10 minutes.

Mark Fitzpatrick, Chemical Weapons Specialist:

The video is horrendous and it does indicate that there was probably chemical weapons use that was corroborated by the soil samples that were taken by British forces apparently which showed the by-product of Sarin.

Journalist Voice Over:

Britain's Prime Minister said on Friday the video was evidence of a war crime.

"It is very disturbing what we're seeing. It is limited evidence, but there is growing evidence, that we've seen too, of the use of chemical weapons, probably by the regime. It's extremely serious, this is a war crime, and we should take it very seriously" (Journalist quotes David Cameron UK Prime Minister).

It's not the first time that the Syrian president has been accused of deploying chemical weapons. In March, rebel leaders said 25 people were killed in an attack on a village outside Aleppo.

Chuck Hagel, U.S. Defense Secretary:

We cannot confirm the origin of these weapons but we do believe that any use of chemical weapons in Syria would very likely have originated with the Assad regime.

Journalist voiceover:

Syria's always denied using chemical weapons, but it has a huge stockpile.

President Obama has said repeatedly that if they were being used, that would be a red line for U.S. intervention.

Barack Obama U.S. President (footage from August 2012):

We have been very clear to Assad regime but also to other players on the ground that a red line for us is we start seeing a whole bunch of chemical weapons moving around or being utilised.

Journalist voiceover:

President Obama wants to avoid military action in Syria. He believes it would be difficult, bloody and with no unified opposition, it would be hard to plan for a political aftermath. With the intelligence assessments that chemical weapons have been used takes him a step closer to when the US will get involved.

Peter Sharp, Al Jazeera

3. Transcript Apr 26 2013 Al Jazeera talks to Ralf Trapp about chemical weapons in Syria

Anchor:

Ralph Trapp is an independent consultant and chemical and biological weapons' disarmament and joins us now via Skype from Geneva.

Welcome to the program. From the videos and testimonies that you've seen that are out there, does it look like people have had contact with Sarin gas or some other illegal chemical there in Syria.

Ralf Trapp, Chemical Weapons Specialist:

Well, from the video footage that you've just shown, obviously something has happened. You can't necessarily use them as proof that it was an earth gas. But it is possibly either an earth gas or a chemical gas that has similar effects.

Anchor:

So you cannot tell from the videos and from the testimonies that this is indeed Sarin gas then?

Ralf Trapp, Chemical Weapons Specialist:

No. I think it's enough evidence to say that something must be investigated, that one should presume that something unusual has happened. At the same time, it's not in my mind the sort of footage you would get if there was the sort of large scale use of a chemical weapon. In any event, just from video images and photographs, it is very difficult to assess exactly what the cause of such an incident would have been.

Anchor: You've said that from a military perspective, it does not make sense to use chemical weapons on such a small scale, which is what it appears to be from these videos and

testimonies, using chemical weapons bit by bit. Are you saying then, that it does not look like Syria's military is using chemical weapons against its people?

Ralf Trapp, Chemical Weapons Specialist:

I can't honestly comment on this. But I can say is that historically, chemical weapons, when they were use, were used in large amounts. They were used to saturate the atmosphere or a certain area with toxic material and that's how they are effective at these weapons.

Footage from Syrian State TV from March 10.

So any small scale use in a military context does not really make an awful lot of sense.

Anchor:

And do you believe that the opposition could be in possession of such chemicals? Or could the chemicals have accidentally spilt and gotten into these soil samples while being moved?

Ralf Trapp, Chemical Weapons Specialist:

Well, let's talk about the question first about 'could the opposition have chemical weapons'? I am not aware of any capacity of those forces to produce their own chemical weapons. OK, you can always- you always have to take account of the possibility that such devices could be improvised, but they will not be very effective. But, I can't really comment on the question of whether they will always have access through theft, access to the actual stockpile of the Syrian army. Presumably, the security of the stockpile is high, but one cannot exclude. If you talk about other sorts of evidence like soil samples and so on, the question there really is you need a properly conducted investigation to be sure that you have a sample that is authentic, that links to the incident that you're investigation and that it's not been tampered with throughout the whole process until it's been analysed. So that's I think two separate issues.

Anchor:

Ralph Trapp, thank you for speaking to us. Ralf Trapp is a chemical weapons expert speaking to us from Geneva.

4. Transcript Jun 4 2013 Chemical weapons expert on alleged use of Sarin gas in Syria

Anchor: So, just what is Sarin gas? Well, the nerve agent was originally developed as a pesticide but was then turned into a weapon by Nazi scientists during WWII. Sarin is a colourless and tasteless liquid that can be released as a vapour. Large doses can cause loss of consciousness, convulsions, paralysis, respiratory failure and eventually death. But its use is very difficult to prove. Weapons inspectors need soil samples from the scene of an attack and blood, urine or tissue from victims.

Hamish deBraithan Gordon is an expert on chemical weapons and a former commander of British counterterrorism forces specialising in chemical biological and nuclear threats. And he says the next step is for the UN to find a way to verify the evidence.

Well, I've just returned from the region myself and have seen a lot of it first hand. I think the French evidence is very very important step forward. It's the first time and I think it's based on the Le Monde story that came out. It's the first time when actually, as James was saying, we have a decent chain of evidence.[Youtube.com amateur footage Saraqeb, April] So it appears we know where it came from in Saraqeb, I'm very familiar with that part of it. There

is good documented evidence of the weaponry delivered out of a helicopter. And then the casualties, the symptoms on the ground and at least one set of samples, the French ones we know, that had been we know samples in what would appear to be an authorities laboratory in France that has confirmed that Sarin is present in that area. You really need to get to the site of delivery to unequivocally work out what was delivered and by who and have the complete chain of evidence and very importantly to have it independently verified. I think that's perhaps one of the challenges with the French results and the British results recently, that they're not independent, which is why it's so important that the UN get in and do the independent sampling themselves. Whether they're going to get in in the near future is very unlikely and I think you know we need to think of imaginative ways. To just do nothing in this case, I don't think is an option. But I don't think that the UN are going to get in anytime soon.

5. Transcript Jun 4 2013 Expert says French findings on sarin gas far from conclusive

Anchor:

Now the threat of chemical weapons has hung over the war in Syria for months. But now, France says it has actual evidence of its use, specifically the nerve agent Sarin. France's foreign minister says it's been used on several occasions and that test results have been passed onto the United Nations.

OK, so what is Sarin gas? Well, the nerve agent was originally developed as a pesticide but was turned into a weapon by Nazi scientists during WWII. Sarin is a colourless and tasteless liquid that can be released as a vapour. Large doses can cause loss of consciousness, convulsions, paralysis, respiratory failure and even death but its use is very difficult to prove. Weapons inspectors need soil samples from the scene of an attack, blood urine or tissue from the victims.

Well, Gregory Koblentz is a chemical weapons expert and a lecturer on Middle East affairs at the Council on Foreign Relations and he says the French findings are far from conclusive.

Gregory Koblentz, Chemical Weapons Expert/Council of Foreign Relations: [Video footage from YouTube.com Saraqeb, April]

Well, this newest French report is very concerning, having soil samples that show that they're Sarin is definitely stronger evidence that what we've seen previously in terms of videos or some of the reports coming out of Syria. But these samples may tell you what has been used, but it doesn't tell you who or when or where or how the chemicals were used. And you need to answer those questions before launching any kind of military action or taking countermeasures against the Syrian regime. The French have definitely been in the forefront among the western nations in putting pressure on the Assad regime. They led the effort to lift the EU arms embargo on the Syrian rebels, so this definitely fits into their broader strategy of trying to mobilise international community against the Assad regime.

But without knowing more details about the event, it's hard to say to what extent this is manufactured or if this is a truly legitimate finding and that other countries need to start paying attention to this as well.

6. Transcript Apr 14 2013 Proof of Syria's chemical weapons use sketchy

Journalist Voiceover:

Matthew Hoh is a former Foreign Service Officer and captain in the US Marine Corps. He was also the first United States official to resign in protest over the Afghan war. But his government contacts are still fresh. He says they are pleading with him to expose the US Intelligence being presented in the case for strikes on Syria.

Matthew Hoh, Former Foreign Service Officer:

The intelligence that being presented...what little actual evidence is being presented...is cherry picked, is misleading. It is misleading, it is not completely thorough. There are other evidence that contradicts what we're being told.

Journalist Voiceover:

What the American people are being told is that:

Barak Obama,

We know the Assad regime was responsible. In the days leading up to August 21st, we know that Assad's chemical weapons personnel prepared for an attack near an area where they mix Sarin gas.

Journalist Voiceover:

But the White House admits it doesn't have hard evidence president Assad ordered the chemical weapons attack. It's a concern for US lawmakers like Darrell Issa, who has been in security briefings with top-level officials including the Director of National Intelligence, James Clapper.

Darrell Issa, Republican Congressman

... are asking specific questions about evidence that should be available, Dr. Clapper did not have the answers to that, if you will, the evidence. But told me that they are still in the process of developing it.

Journalist Voiceover:

Clapper's credibility has been questioned before. He's admitted he once gave false sworn testimony to congress about whether the national security agency was eavesdropping on Americans.

Journalist to Camera (Kimberley Halkett):

Congressional briefings on the number of people killed in the August gas attack, may also be incorrect. When asked about the accuracy of the numbers, congressional sources report that administration officials told them they couldn't be sure.

Journalist voiceover:

But Republican Senator John McCain, who's been pushing for US intervention in Syria for years, has also been a part of the classified security briefings. He told Al Jazeera there's much more evidence against Assad that has not been made public.

But what has been released, a map, activist internet videos and a four-page government assessment, is lacking in substance, according to this Middle East Analyst.

Graema Bannerman, Middle East Analyst

In all the crucial points, it doesn't go to "our information indicates that or says that". It says "our assessment is that". So that tells me that there's at least more than one interpretation within the intelligent community on many of the crucial facts.

Journalist Voiceover:

But the Obama administration is acting as if it has no doubts. It's telling the American people, it has the evidence. It just doesn't have to release it.

Kimberly Halkett, Al Jazeera, Capitol Hill

7. Transcript Apr 8 2013 Syria 'rejects' UN bid to investigate chemical weapons

Al Jazeera Journalist to camera:

It's now two weeks since the UN Secretary General said he'd send a team to Syria to investigate the possible use of chemical weapons. But now that mission looks in serious doubt. The Syrian news agency, the official news agency in Damascus has now published a statement in which it says that it believes the UN Secretary of State has yielded to pressure by states which it says are backing the bloodshed in Syria, by suggesting that they should expand the investigation across the country. These comments by the news agency come just hours after the UN secretary general urge the Syrian government to show a sense of flexibility and a sense of urgency.

Ban Ki Moon, UN Secretary General

I can report that the UN investigation mission is now in a position to deploy in Syria in less than 24 hours. All technical and logistical arrangements are in place. This is yet another indication of my strong commitment to investigate all possible uses of chemical weapons in Syria.

Al Jazeera Journalist to camera:

And it's that phrase "all possible uses of chemical weapons" that the Syrian government is objecting to. It's happy to see an investigation, but only on its terms.

8. Transcript Aug 24 2013 UN Chemical experts push for access to Syria

Journalist Voice over: [amateur footage]

The two tiny bodies hung limp in his arms. "What will I do now" cries their father. A man who's destroyed by grief. Pictures like these of many men, women and children being discriminately killed by what all evidence suggests was chemical weapon attacks, continue to shock the world.

[Al Jazeera Footage]

The Syrian government still refuses access to UN inspectors based in a hotel down the road. Restricted in their movement by a mandate agreed to by the Assad government, an agreement to only inspect the sites where 3 previous chemical attacks took place. But there may be signs of a beginning of a shift in US policy. Defence Secretary Chuck Hagel says President Obama has told the Pentagon to prepare for military options in Syria. US Navy has set a full battleship into the Mediterranean. So, is this a hit towards some sort of action?

Mark Kimmitt, Former Deputy Director Centcom:

Well, it certainly indicates a willingness on the part of the part of the National Security Council to be looking at a number of options in potential response to what happened in Syria over the weekend over the last few days.

Journalist Voice over: [Hay Jobar Damascus, Amateur video]

The United States says it needs more proof that chemical weapons killed these people. The Assad government has denied that it was behind any chemical weapons attack. [Sham TV footage].

Some experts say not only Assad has access to chemical agents.

Mark Kimmitt, Former Deputy Director Centcom:

They may be the only ones that have access to the missile technology that may be being discovered at this time. But these types of chemical weapons are not very very difficult to manufacture.

Journalist Voice over: [Syrian State TV footage]

Syrian State TV is reporting that military have found chemical weapons in rebels controlled tunnels in the Damascus neighbourhood of Joba. Syria's biggest ally, Russia says Assad must cooperate and allow the UN inspectors to visit the site of last week's apparent attack. But there seems little real movement in Moscow's stance.

Masha Lipman Political Analyst

This shift is really really small and there is no indication that should western countries or the EU or a group or a coalition of the willing, once again intervene in a military fashion even in a limited way, there is no indication that Russia might be even slightly cooperative this time.

Journalist Voice over:

Barack Obama security advisors are meeting at the White House over the weekend. The United Nations disarmament chief has arrived to Syria and is trying to negotiate access for the chemical weapons inspectors to visit the site.

Charles Stratford, Al Jazeera

9. Transcript Sep 16 2013 UN chemical inspectors submit Syria report

Journalist Voiceover (YOUTUBE.COM/AMATEUR VIDEO):

Much of the world believes chemical weapons were used on these people in Syria. But soon we'll know for sure if the UN report has officially found the same thing. The head of the UN was given the results of their investigations on Sunday. Ban Ki Moon is expected to speak to the Security Council on Monday. He's already revealed he expects the report to prove that chemical weapons were used.

Bank Ki Moon, UN Secretary General

I believe that the report will be overwhelming report, that the chemical weapons were used. Even though, I cannot publicly say at this time before I received this report,

Journalist Voiceover:

But no matter what is revealed, a diplomatic deal is moving forward to rid Syria of its chemical arsenal.

Omran Al Zoubi, Syrian Information Minister

Syria will do what it says. Syria will accept whatever comes from the UN Security Council on this deal. Syria has accepted the Russian proposal and is joining the chemical weapons' convention.

Journalist Voiceover:

Foreign Minister Lavrov from Russia and US Secretary of State Kerry agreed on a deal while in Geneva last week. The unlikely partnership may prevent a US strike on Syria but force is still an option.

John Kerry, US Secretary of State

The threat of force is real and the Assad regime and all those taking part need to understand that President Obama and The United States are committed to achieve this goal.

Journalist Voiceover (Footage from Youtube.com/amateur video):

It wasn't part of the UN Mandate to say who was responsible for any chemical attacks. But the reports might give a good indication with details on how the weapons were delivered, showing who fired them. Based on their own assessments, the US and its allies say, there's no doubt President Assad's forces were responsible.

Joshua Landis, University of Oklahoma

The United States is draw in this...is drawn into this negotiation. Its credibility is on the line, and I think Obama will feel like he's exhausted. All options open to him for a peaceful resolution if this doesn't proceed according to plan.

Journalist Voiceover

Leaving Syria with the week to reveal details of their chemical weapons stockpile.

Caroline Malone, Al Jazeera

10. Transcript Sep 16 2013 UN report Sarin used in Syria attack

Journalist Voiceover:

The UN Secretary General came to speak to reporters after presenting the Security Council with what he said was evidence of a war crime.

As he spoke, he was flanked by the head of the inspection team Professor Ake Sellstrom, who wrote the report, 38 pages of scientific and forensic detail.

Bank Ki-Moon UN Secretary General: The report makes for chilling reading. A team gathered testimony from survivors, medical personnel and forced responders. The findings are beyond doubt and beyond the pale, this is a war crime and grave violation of the 1925 protocol and other rules of international law.

Journalist Voiceover: What's the reaction of the International Security Council? As ever, it is divided. Some ambassadors claiming the detail in the report is a clear indication of who carried out the attack.

Samantha Power, U.S. Ambassador to the UN

We have associated one type of ammunition cited in the UN report: a 122mm rockets with previous regime attacks. We have reviewed thousands of open source videos related to the current conflict in Syria and have not observed the opposition manufacturing or using this style of rocket.

Vitaly Churkin, Russian Ambassador to the UN

I think statements to the fact that the opposition could not have done certain things, I think that they are not really as scientific and as grounded on reality as the actual situation could be.

Journalist Voiceover: In the coming days, the tension around the Security Council table will turn to drafting and then voting on a resolution to set up a mission to go into Syria with the aim of dismantling Assad's chemical arsenal.

Journalist to camera (James Bays United Nations):

Even though that US, Russian deal at Geneva is in place, there's still going to be wrangling over the wording of the UN Security Council resolution. Diplomats though, tell me they hope something will be in place by the end of this week. Next week, world leaders gather here in New York for the UN General Assembly.

James Bays, Al Jazeera, at the United Nations

11. Transcription Apr 26 2013 'Symptoms indicate chemicals use' in Syria

Anchor:

Well, Mr. Obama has been talking about the use of chemical weapons in a meeting briefly he had after a chat with the Jordanian King, King Abdullah at the White House.

Barack Obama U.S. President: In many ways, a line's been crossed when we see tens of thousands of innocent people being killed by a regime. But the use of chemical weapons and the danger that poses to the international community, to neighbours of Syria, the potential of chemical weapons to get in the hands of terrorists- all of those things add increased urgency to what is already a significant security problem and humanitarian problem in the region.

Anchor: Well, Al Jazeera correspondent Sue Turton has met one of the doctors who treated some of the victims of that attack on April the 13th. Joining me now from Gaziantep, which is south eastern Turkey. What did he tell you Sue?

Sue Turton (Al Jazeera Journalist live from Gaziantep speaking to the camera):

Well David, he explained to me just what he had seen in that hospital where he was treating some of the victims of that attack in mid-April. His name is Dr. Niyazi Habash and he goes in and out of Syria into Aleppo all the time and he says basically a family was asleep in their house in the Sheikh Maqsoud area, the Kurdish area of North West Aleppo when they were woken up by some sort of shelling according to the father. They were rushed to the hospital, which is a good hour and a half from where they live. Um, unfortunately the 2 children of that family, 2 very young boys, 4 months old and 18 months old already died from the symptoms. The mother was treated when they go to the hospital, she also died. But the father survived. But it ended up being quite an enormous task to treat all the people involved because there are also the rescuers, who have pulled the people from their house and the medical staff who have treated them also started displaying the same symptoms. And the doctors described foaming at the mouth, of pupils dilated, of difficulty breathing. And I asked him really, what he thought these symptoms were. And he said: well if he had been a farmer and during the day, they could have considered something like insecticide. But because they were asleep in their own house, the father was a car mechanic, these sort of symptoms immediately made him think that this was some sort of chemical attack. And I asked him how sure he could be and this is what he said:

Niazi Habash, Doctor who treated April 13 victims (Antakya) (Speaking in Broken English)
OK, I am as as Doctor when I saw a group of persons has been affected as same symptoms as same signs without any injuries without any bones without any broken legs any cuts, any trace of guns. So that I must think of use of chemical gases. This make me think that there are use of chemical weapons.

Anchor:

So there he is Sue saying, look, it has to have been some kind of chemical, some kind of gas, but the white house says it now needs proof. Does this doctor believe that it can be proven?

Sue Turton (Al Jazeera Journalist live from Gaziantep speaking to the camera):

Well that's the problem. He has become a bit of an expert in this area, because they actually had a workshop here for the doctors going to Syria earlier this month to talk to them about what the signs are and how to prove it and he says if it was something like Sarin, which has been mentioned a lot in the last couple of days, then really you have to capture the clothing, because it goes into the clothing. And also you have to take blood and hair and urine samples immediately. Now it took this family so long to get to the hospital that by the time they arrived the doctors said that all of those traces would probably have dissipated. So he said, he did take all of those samples, and he has passed them on to an American laboratory. He sent them through a contact to the American laboratory. He hasn't yet heard back as to whether they found any traces. But he is very sceptical that the amount of time from when this first happened, unless something is bagged immediately and taken immediately and then contained, he really doesn't think that those traces could really exist. So, all this talk that there could be some sort of proof, some sort of sign really to show the Americans that this red line has been crossed, he is really not sure that this could come from this one attack. He really just doesn't think it's going to be possible to prove from these samples.

Anchor

Well, we thank you very much for that Sue Turton from South Eastern Turkey.

12. Transcription Jul 9 2013 Russian evidence of Syrian rebel use of sarin

Russian Ambassador Vitaly Churkin :

The results of the analysis clearly indicate that the ordnance use in Khan Al-Assal was not industrially manufactured and was filled with Sarin. The Sarin technical specifications prove that it was not industrially manufactured either. The absence of chemical stabilizers in the samples of the detected toxic agents indicate the relatively recent production.

The projectile involved is not a standard one for chemical use. Hexogen, utilised as an opening charge, is not used in standard ammunitions. Therefore, there is every reason to believe that it was the armed opposition fighters who used the chemical weapons in Khan al-Assal.

x. Syria UN declares civil war

1. Transcript Jun 12 2012 UN official calls Syria conflict 'civil war'

Journalist voiceover:

[Youtube.com/Activist video Baba Amr] Syrian forces in attack mode, surrounding opposition strongholds and according to the UN using helicopters against civilians. [End of activist footage]. The opposition is also on the offensive. The fighting is so bad, the Red Cross says it can't get to all the people in need. [Homs/UN Video] Today, the UN has consistently warned that Syria was on the brink of a full-scale civil war, but avoided using the words. On Tuesday, when the head of UN peacekeeping was asking if Syria was now there, he replied "Yes". His spokesperson confirmed that the conflict had shifted [end of UN video].

Kieran Dwyer, UN Peacekeeping Operations Spokesman:

But what we've seen in the last five days is a huge upscaling of the military confrontation, by the government seeking to retake territories in cities, by the opposition attacking in urban areas against government forces and civilian infrastructure. Both sides add huge costs to the civilian population.

Journalist voiceover:

The special envoy for the Arab League and the UN, Kofi Annan and the UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon have only gone so far as warning that civil war was imminent.

[Deir El Zour/Activist Video] It traditionally falls to the International Committee of the Red Cross to label conflicts. [End of activist video]

Hichal Hassan, ICRC Spokesman

Well legally speaking, we referred to a non-international armed conflict or an internal armed conflict, which is commonly known as a war. For us, we also announced as of April, that in certain areas in Syria, the situation does indeed amount to a non-international armed conflict.

Journalist voiceover:

Labelling the conflict a civil war has repercussions under international law. It would elevate the status of the opposition to a recognized fighting force. That means Syria's government would have to treat them as combatants and not criminals. Both sides would become subject to the laws of war in their treatment of prisoners and non-combatants. And most crucially, it could sound the death knell for the UN's Mission sent to observe a cease-fire that clearly doesn't exist, which is why the United States may also not be ready to use the term. Speaking in Washington, the U.S. Secretary of State indicated Kofi Annan's peace plan was still being pursued.

Hillary Clinton, U.S. Secretary of State:

We have a time line in mind to see whether or not this effort of Kofi's can be successful. The outer limit of that is mid-July when the Security Council has to decide whether or not to extend the mission. And certainly if there is no discernible movement by then, it will be very difficult to extend a mission.

Journalist voiceover [Kristen Saloomey, United Nations]:

Events on the ground are moving much faster than international diplomacy and as diplomats debate what to call the conflict, they risk looking out of step with the reality on Syrian streets.

Kristen Saloomey, Al Jazeera, the United Nations

xi. Tunisia Mohamed Bouazizi

1. Transcript Jan 20 2011 Birthplace of Tunisia's revolution

Journalist voiceover:

The traffic flow outside city hall in Sidi Bouzid is back to normal. Just a month ago, dozens of protesters had brought the busy intersection to a standstill. The local residents were angered by the death of their own, a young produce vendor who set himself on fire in despair.

Sidi Bouzid is Tunisia's rich agricultural heartland but it is severely underdeveloped. Locals here complain of living under an unjust and tyrannical regime with the state fail of meeting the basic needs of the citizens.

Mohammed Amary shows me his law degree. Unemployed for 8 years, he's refused to pay the bribes customary to landing a decent job.

Unemployment led Al Hadya's 3 children to make a treacherous illegal journey to Europe in search of work.

Al Hadya Bouazizi, Sidi Bouzid Resident [Translated into English from Arabic for the Al Jazeera English report]

I've not hear from my children in four years, four months and eighteen days. My children are more valuable than all of the money in the world and all I want is to hear their voices.

Journalist voiceover:

Everywhere our cameras went in Sidi Bouzid, dozens of residents would tell us about the misery of life in this closed off city, where abuse and exploitation at the hands of the state were common. This man shows me pictures of his injured nephew who police shot in the first days of the uprising.

Another told me how those seen praying at mosques or who had beards, a common practise among conservative Muslim men, were detained and tortured by the ousted president's staunchly secular security forces.

Rushdie, Protester

Our protests began with demands to address social issues like unemployment, but now we have added to these demands, issues of freedom, democracy, fighting corruption, and holding officials accountable.

Journalist voiceover:

Those that led the initial protests, which many now are calling the Sidi Bouzid Revolution, say the journey for change is not yet over.

Journalist to camera, Ayman Mohyeldin, Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia:

With nothing more than a handful of strong determination and handful of cell phones they used to broadcast the protest to the outside world, it was outside these government gates that a handful of protesters not only changed the course of a country but perhaps of an entire region.

Ayman Mohyeldin, Al Jazeera, Sidi Bouzid

2. Transcript Feb 22 2011 Bouazizi family's message to Libya

Menobia Bouazizi, Mohamed's mother [Translated from Arabic into English for the Al Jazeera English report]

I feel sorry for the mothers of the martyrs. My heart is burning with sorrow. I pray for the souls of all martyrs in Libya. We tell them, mothers of the martyrs, may God almighty give you strength and patience. I tell the people of Libya, may God help you. I hope you get everything you wish for. God willing, Libya will be a free country. We hope your dictator leaves just as Ben Ali leaves. I would like to kiss every martyr's mother on the head and pray that God may grant them the serenity and patience to bear the unbearable. May Libya become a free country.

3. Transcript Apr 21 2011 Problems linger in Sidi Bouzid

Journalist Voiceover:

Mohammed Bouazizi, the hero of a revolution. The square in his hometown, named after a young man so humiliated by the slap of a policewoman, he set himself on fire. His sister says he made the ultimate sacrifice.

Leila Bouazizi, Mohamed Bouazizi's sister [translated from Arabic into English for the Al Jazeera English Report]:

He gave people the energy to speak out. The fire that inflamed Mohammed touched everybody, every Tunisian. They understood the message that my brother wanted to deliver to the Tunisian people.

Journalist Voiceover:

Mohamad Bouazizi's desperate gesture might have ignited the uprising, but it was years of state oppression, poverty and unemployment that really inspired people to protest.

President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali is gone, but this remains one of the poorest parts of Tunisia.

Journalist to Camera [Nazanine Moshiri, Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia]:

There are just so many young people out of work here. Some have put up their CVs on the governor's office wall out of pure desperation. There have been numerous promises of investments and jobs here in Sidi Bouzid, but so far, there have been no firm decisions.

Journalist Voiceover:

Adel and his friends are on hunger strike. Their revolution, continues.

Adel Malek, Unemployed Graduate [translated from Arabic into English for the Al Jazeera English Report]:

We made the revolution for dignity and freedom and also for work, but the government and the governor have ignored us.

Journalist Voiceover:

Rabah is a developer with a plan. He wants to transform this area into an industrial and agricultural zone. It's an ambitious idea which needs international backing.

Rabah Salah Ajlaoui, Developer [translated from French into English for the Al Jazeera English Report]:

We want new technologies to be developed here. We have around 8,000 skilled young people with degrees here in Sidi Bouzid. We want to give them jobs and we want them to give back their knowledge to the region.

Journalist Voiceover:

A flag marks the grave of Mohamad Bouazizi. He's inspired a generation of young Arabs. But political change is not enough. The people of this region want a chance to improve their lives.

Nazanine Moshiri ,Al Jazeera, Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia

xii. Tunisia President Ben Ali flees

1. Transcript Jun 20 2011 Ben Ali sentenced to prison term

Journalist voiceover:

The court's decision was swift. It took the judges less than 24 hours deliberations to find ousted president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali and his wife guilty. The charges: theft and unlawful possession of cash and jewellery. The couple condemned to a sentence of 35 years in prison were order to pay a fine of over 65 million dollars. 74 year old Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia in January with his family. The Tunisians rose up against his government that did little to curb high unemployment and corruption.

On Monday, outside the courtroom, protesters demanded Ben Ali's extradition to face justice in their country. But Ben Ali's defence is questioning the due process. Defence lawyer Akram Azoury was still in Lebanon waiting for proper authorisation to carry out his defence:

Akram Azoury, Defence Lawyer:

Without the respect of the right defence, whatever sentence that might be issued according to this, at the end of this process, in my opinion does not need the require for a fair trial.

Journalist voiceover:

In court, prosecutors said Ben Ali had committed many more crimes.

Abdul Karim Ayadi, Lawyer [Translated from Arabic into English for the Al Jazeera English report]

There are other important cases and charges like murder. But he will be tried for all these in the military court.

Journalist voiceover:

Ben Ali will have to face a military court for the deaths of nearly 300 people killed by security forces ordered to shot on descend, something Ben Ali has always denied.

Mariana Sanchez, Al Jazeera

2. Transcript Jan 23 2011 Wither Twitter in Tunisia

Amateur video footage of lone man chanting in the streets in Arabic. English subtitles:
Tunisia is alive. Don't be afraid. We are not dead.

Journalist voiceover:

It was an uprising that was inspired by images like this. A man breaking the government curfew, protesting alone outside the Interior Ministry.

Journalist to man [Abd Naceur Laouni]:

You were the only person, there was no one else. Only you and the military.

Abd Naceur Laouni, Lawyer & Protester
Only the military, the army.

Journalist to Abd Naceur Laouni:
And you?

Abd Naceur Laouni, Lawyer & Protester
And me.

Journalist voiceover:
Abd Naceur Laouni had no idea this video would be uploaded and spread around the world.

Abd Naceur Laouni, Lawyer & Protester
I had a feeling that my head was under the water. I couldn't breathe. When I went down to the main street, and I was alone, it was a coincidence that made me break the curfew, a coincidence that I was alone and I found someone to film me. And I felt like I was breathing again, breathing pure oxygen.

Journalist to camera [Nazanine Moshiri, Tunis]:
This is where many of the protests that helped topple Ben Ali's regime took place, on this main Tunisian avenue. For the first time, Tunisians were able to upload important footage and pictures onto sites like Facebook, an incredible tool. It is estimated that almost 2 million Tunisians have a Facebook account.

Journalist voiceover:
For years, young Tunisians could log onto video-sharing sites like YouTube. But Ben Ali didn't block Facebook, the crucial mistake.

Youssef Cherif, Blogger:
Many people lost their fear through Twitter and Facebook. Each one writing a little sentence or a word and someone else reading that and saying: "Oh, he said that? I can say a little bit more".

Journalist voiceover:
Social Media made it easier for bloggers to communicate and connect with the world. But in the end, a revolution needs people.

Ziad Mhirsi, Blogger: It's not a Facebook revolution. Definitely, no. People went in the streets, people died, people demonstration. But this is the first time we have pictures and footage from the areas where those things were happening.

Journalist voiceover: Abd Naceur was jailed and imprisoned under ben Ali's regime. Years and oppression led to this one moment [Amateur video footage of him demonstrating solely]. Without new technology though, his voice may never have been heard.

Nazanine Moshiri, Al Jazeera, Tunis

xiii. Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh leaves

1. Transcript Jun 4 2011 President Saleh 'leaves Yemen'

Journalist voiceover [Yemen TV footage]: President Saleh's retreats revealing a country fractured by violence, the same violence that's prompted him to seek out medical care in Saudi Arabia.

Voice of Hussein Shobokshi, Columnist, Alsharq Alawsat:

His injuries are burns to the neck and to the chest and he's going to be looked after in the Saudi hospital. The Saudis also extended an invitation on humanitarian basis to the Al Ahmar party and I think there is a number of Al Ahmar family that has been injured in the incident to come and to be treated as well of course in addition to the 4 Yemeni administration members who have been injured in the attack.

Journalist voiceover:

Report of President Saleh's departure to Saudi Arabia, brings to six the number of top Yemeni officials who are no longer in the country. President Saleh has a powerful family, many of whom hold key positions in the military and security apparatus. But it's unlikely anyone will be able to take President Saleh's place. At a time of political instability, the power vacuum could push Yemen further down the road to civil war. The presidential palace in Sanaa came under fire on Friday. Seven people died and the president himself was injured; his reason for leaving Yemen. His government claimed the powerful Al Ahmar Tribe whose fighters had been engaged in street battles with the government forces over the past two weeks. Those clashes have left many dead and turned parts of Sanaa into a ghost town as people flee the violence.

Saleh's alleged departure may just be temporary while he recovers from Friday's attack. But, no there's growing uncertainty over the future direction Yemen might take.

Kristen Saloomey, Al Jazeera, the United Nations

2. Transcript Jun 4 2011 Minister denies Saleh has left Yemen

Journalist voiceover [Yemen TV footage]:

I believe we can now go to the Information Minister Abdel Mohammed Iljendi, he is Yemen's Deputy Information Minister. Thank you very much for speaking to us. Firstly, I wanted to ask you about these reports that Ali Abdallah Saleh is heading to Saudi Arabia for medical treatment. What can you tell us about that?

Voice of Mohammed Iljendi, Deputy Information Minister [On air translation from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English broadcast]:

I have said that the president is not seriously injured and he alright for the time being and he can play his role.

Journalist voiceover [Yemen TV footage]:

Well, yesterday you told us that he wasn't injured at all and it's obviously to the contrary, he is injured. Why should we believe what you're saying about what state he is in?

Voice of Mohammed Iljendi, Deputy Information Minister [On air translation from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English broadcast]:

Yesterday he talked to the people and it was an audio speech to the people and this shows that the man is alright and the man is not seriously ill or injured and again and again and again yes he is injured but it's an accident and it might happen. And it was a big accident inside the presidential palace. But we need to know, the media needs to be calmed down a little bit.

Journalist voiceover [Yemen TV footage]:

Yes, that's right. Mohammed Iljendi, speaking of media, you did say or it was announced that yesterday he would be on camera, he would begin a televised address but in the end it was an audio address. Why is that?

Voice of Mohammed Iljendi, Deputy Information Minister [On air translation from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English broadcast]:

We just received that piece of news, that he was talking and he is going to talk to the people and it's up to him and then he spoke to the people, he voiced to the people, he said what he want to the people. We need to know that it's an accident. The president was quite clear in every word he said. And that was it.

Journalist voiceover [Yemen TV footage]:

Are there any plans for him to appear on camera soon to address the public?

Voice of Mohammed Iljendi, Deputy Information Minister [On air translation from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English broadcast]:

When he is OK, when he feels fine, when he is cured of his injuries, then he can do, but generally his health is fine, his health is OK and there is nothing just to be concerned about. If the president went to Saudi arabia like the other ministers, we would say that, we need not to hide or not to telling the truth, because today you cannot hide the information and the information is available.

Journalist voiceover [Yemen TV footage]:

And I want to talk about this Saudi ceasefire. Will the government troops and the government be abiding by this ceasefire that has been brokered by the Saudi King?

Voice of Mohammed Iljendi, Deputy Information Minister [On air translation from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English broadcast]:

President Ali Abdallah Saleh has a relation with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and there is a mutual cooperation between the two countries. We need to know everything about this and this is quite clear and obvious to everyone. The Yemeni people has a relation with the Saudi people and things are still going on. The details are not known yet. We have not reviewed all the details

yet. But there is no need to interfere on in the relations between Saleh and his counterparts, whether bad or good.

Journalist voiceover [Yemen TV footage]:

So, does that mean that the government troops will not be abiding by the ceasefires; you call this interference?

Voice of Mohammed Iljendi, Deputy Information Minister [On air translation from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English broadcast]:

These ceasefire is a must to be abided by the Al Ahmar tribe. Those people need to abide by the ceasefire, those people who occupied governmental buildings, governmental ministries and associations. The military action should be stopped by El Ahmar. El Ahmar have to abide by, comply with the ceasefire.

Journalist voiceover [Yemen TV footage]:

What about the government troops? Are they willing to put an end to this for some kind of resolution?

Voice of Mohammed Iljendi, Deputy Information Minister [On air translation from Arabic to English for the Al Jazeera English broadcast]:

The armed forces is abiding by the instructions of the Supreme Commander of Armed Forces President Ali Abdellah Saleh. And President Saleh said ‘yes’ we can abide by this and we can comply with this. President Saleh is not going to use force just for the sake of force. President Saleh is quite keen on the security and stability of the country. And as you’ve noticed, the way El Ahmar tribe behave is to be blamed. They occupy building and they use force, but we can why not, we can comply and abide by this ceasefire.

Journalist voiceover [Yemen TV footage]:

Mohammed Iljendi, the Deputy Foreign Minister in Yemen...

II. Euronews

i. Bahrain Saudi Troops enter Bahrain

1. Transcript Feb 22 2011 Army and police join Bahrain protesters

Journalist voiceover:

The centre of the Bahraini capital Manama has been filmed with thousands of demonstrators calling for the government's downfall and to remember the victims of the past week's violence. Many majority Shiites claim they're the victims of long-term discrimination. Joining the protest was a small group of army officers, conscious that the military firing on protestors had contributed to the death toll of seven.

Unnamed Army officer [translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the euronews report]

We decided that our job is to protect people and not to beat them up. The weapons that have been used against the people are weapons of shame. These weapons should be used to protect the people and not be used against them.

Journalist voiceover:

A key test will be the impact of the return of the leading opposition figures from exile, one of a group of people on trial over an alleged coup plot.

"These peaceful Muslim people are coming to raise the flag of the homeland", said this official from another opposition movement. "We've been asking for freedom for decades, and we've been denied it. We've lost blood, but we'll keep struggling, God willing."

The Royal family has offered concessions, announcing the release of prisoners for example, but it's not clear whether such moves will be enough to get opposition groups to agree to talks. They've repeated demands for a constitutional monarchy to replace the ruling dynasty.

2. Transcript Mar 15 2011 Saudi Forces Enter Bahrain to Act Against Protests (euronews)

Journalist Voiceover:

[Bahrain State TV footage] Saudi Arabian military vehicles and soldiers have crossed over into Bahrain where they are continuing protests against the ruling royal family. Witnesses say more than a 150 vehicles and up to a thousand soldiers arrived via the linking the causeway two kingdoms. [End of Bahrain State TV footage]

It appears the Saudis were asked to come in by the Bahraini government and witnesses say the soldiers are heading towards the area where the royal family lives. But opposition groups are voicing their anger at the development.

Ibrahim Sherif Al Sayd, Opposition group Al-Waad [Translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the English euronews report]

We say to our brothers in the gulf, your army is welcome when our country faces danger from outside. But, we will consider them as occupation when they come in to address the people.

Journalist Voiceover:

Protestors gathered used canisters of teargas and rubber bullets, used to quell the unrest which has been going on since last month. Roadblocks have been set up around the financial district and around Pearl Square, which has become the focus of demonstrations. Clashes on Sunday resulted in some of the most violent fighting since troops killed 7 people last month.

Meanwhile, the United States is urging restraint.

3. Transcription Mar 15 2011 Bahrain declares state of emergency

Journalist Voiceover:

Bahrain has introduced martial law in an effort to end weeks of anti-government protests. It comes a day after Saudi troops moved into the minority Sunni ruled kingdom to quell the unrest. [Bahrain State TV footage] Bahrain has also declared a 3 month state of emergency, which will hand considerable powers to Bahrain's security forces. In the latest clashes, a Bahraini man is reported to have been killed and dozens more hurt while fighting with police in the Shiite area of Sitra. State TV meanwhile says a Bahraini policeman was killed in riots refuting some reports that a Saudi soldier had died. [End of Bahrain State TV footage]

Iran, Britain and the United States rarely see eye to eye, but they all say they are increasingly concerned over the situation. Iran's Foreign Ministry Spokesman [Ramin Mehmanparast] also attacked the presence of foreign forces in Bahrain.

Ramin Mehmanparast, Foreign Ministry Spokesman, speaks and journalist translates to English from Persian for the purpose of the euronews English report:

"We generally don't approve of military in gulf region countries", he said, "in dealing with people's demands. "Aggravation and violence would not solve anything", he added.

Journalist voiceover:

In a sign that neither side is ready to budge, thousands marched on the Saudi embassy, while thousands more remain camped out at Manama's Pearl Square in protest at the government.

ii. Egypt Morsi grants himself unlimited powers

1. Transcript Jul 3 2013 A divided Egypt reacts to the ousting of President Mursi

Reporter voiceover:

Central Cairo erupted into scenes of celebration following the ousting of President Mursi. Fireworks and flags were in abundance, with cheers and the chanting of pro army slogans from those who had camped out in Tahrir Square since Sunday.

Unidentified female anti-Mursi protester speaking in Arabic [Translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

This is the happiest day of my life because Mursi has left. He is a traitor and I will now forget his name because he didn't do anything good for me or for the country."

Our correspondent in Tahrir square says:

Correspondent Mohammed Shaikhibrahim, speaking in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"The military intervention resolved the political dispute, which Egypt had suffered from since Mursi took power. The Intervention has achieved the wishes of the demonstrators here, but the other side read it as a soft military coup which may push the country for the third time into conflict."

Reporter Voiceover:

Shock and bitter disappointment quickly turned to anger among Mursi supporters as they learned of his removal. Over 50 percent of Egyptians had voted for him and the Muslim Brotherhood one year ago.

Unidentified Mursi loyalist speaking in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"The legitimacy is with President Mursi and we will die for the sake of him. He came via the ballot box, then he must leave via the ballot box, not by force. What then is the use of an election and democracy?"

Reporter Voiceover:

Analysts are saying, with the population now deeply divided, the next 48 hours could be significant, as those who feel betrayed decide how to respond.

2. Transcript Jul 4 2013 Army urges restraint while there is no mention of a 'coup'

Reporter voiceover:

Egypt's army has urged restraint as the country gets used to the new post-Mursi era.

It says it will protect the right to protest - many of the ousted leader's supporters are planning to do just that.

But for those who filled Tahrir Square demanding the Islamist president's resignation, they are still celebrating the army's intervention in forcing him to go.

Unidentified woman, anti-Mursi, speaking in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"I am here now because I am so happy for Egypt. My feeling is that I have my country back. We never liked anything done by the Muslim Brotherhood. This is the first time in 50 years that my heart is warmed".

Reporter voiceover:

Outside Egypt there is unease at the military's removal of a democratically elected president. Normally it would trigger economic sanctions and cut off billions of US aid.

Amr Moussa, a member of the opposition National Salvation Front denies there has been a coup.

Amr Moussa, Former Egyptian Foreign Minister:

"It was a popular impeachment of the president. It didn't start by the action of the army. It didn't come as a result of a meeting between a few officers deciding to do this or to do that. No, it was the people who insisted that they cannot afford to have another year of failure."

Reporter voiceover:

The new interim leader, Adly Mansour, the top judge of Egypt's constitutional court, has pledged to hold elections soon, but as yet, no date's been fixed.

3. Transcript Nov 27 2012 Cairo protestors denounce autocratic decree of President Mursi

Reporter Voiceover:

Thousands of opponents of Egypt's president Morsi have taken to the streets of Cairo in protest against his special decree. It seems reminiscent of the country's revolution which toppled Hosni Mubarak last year. The demonstration has exposed the deep divide between the newly

empowered Muslim Brotherhood and their opponents who claim Morsi's new powers could herald a new era of autocracy.

[Protester 1 speaking in Arabic and translated into English in the journalist voiceover] "We're here to put pressure, to have this new constitutional declaration cancelled," this man says. Morsi has made himself a new Pharaoh. He's ignored the results of the revolution. This is about him, his party and the Salafists".

[Protester 2 speaking in Arabic and translated into English in the journalist voiceover] "We want to live in peace and security and have freedom", this man says. "That's all we want".

Reporter Voiceover:

Although Morsi's supporters called off their planned rally, fearing violence, clashes did erupt as police fought with demonstrators off Cairo's Tahrir square. One man reportedly died after inhaling tear gas fired by police, a second fatality since the protests began.

[Mohammed Shaikhibrahim, euronews, Journalist reported to camera in Arabic and the journalist voiceover translates into English] Our correspondent says, after the revolution, it's not easy for the president to make any declaration without the approval of the Egyptian people as this protest shows. The people are calling for the new decree to be cancelled and demanding the president respects the results of the revolution as they feel his latest move has revived politics of the past, but with different faces.

4. Transcript Nov 20 2011 Egypt Deadly pre-election clashes in Tahrir Square

Reporter Voiceover:

Could this deadly flare-up derail Egypt's elections?

A weekend of clashes between protesters and riot police shows the street remains a battleground for an unfinished revolution.

At least 11 people were reported killed in Cairo's Tahrir Square on Sunday, four shot by live bullets according to medical sources.

Security forces drove demonstrators out of the iconic site, destroying what they had left behind, including a makeshift tent camp.

But, within an hour, thousands had returned to reclaim the birthplace of the revolt that removed Hosni Mubarak in February. They're angry at the army's grip on power and the slow pace of political reform.

Egypt's military rulers held urgent talks. The government said, next week's parliamentary poll would start on time. Violence has flared in several cities this weekend. The overall death toll stands at at least 13, with more than a thousand people injured. But, whatever the cost, demonstrators, seem more determined than ever, to pursue their revolution.

5. Transcript Dec 5 2011 Egypt elections Muslim Brotherhood expect to win big

Reporter Voiceover:

The Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party is set to take the most seats in the first democratic elections in Egypt for six decades.

The run-off vote is part of a phased election that will run until January, and is in turn part of a promised transition from military to civilian rule, that should be completed in July following presidential elections in June.

Samir Abdel, Voter: [Translated from Arabic to English for the euronews English report]
"The electoral process is very good and well organised and I hope we achieve our goal, God willing."

Reporter voice over:

The Brotherhood, which was banned, during Mubarak's 30 year rule, is looking to extend its lead over hard-lined Islamists and liberal parties, as well as strengthening its hand in any struggle with the ruling army council. Islamist parties are expected to do well as they are seen as less corrupt, due to their religious principles.

The elections in the most populous Arab nation, takes place in the backdrop of social discontent, with military leaders recently criticised for a brutal crackdown on protesters.

6. Transcript Dec 7 2012 Egypt opposition rejects Mursi's call for dialogue

Reporter voiceover:

[Footage from Arabic channel. Channel logo is not clear and therefore it is unidentifiable] Egyptian president Muhamad Mursi's speech calling for a national dialogue to solve the country's latest political crisis appears to have fallen on deaf ears. A leading activist group rejected an offer of talks between political leaders, senior legal leaders and representatives of the many angry protestors.

[Exclusive euronews footage]

Once again, last night, the crowd demanded that Mursi step down. The referendum on the draft constitution, which his opponents claim was rushed through, is said to be held in just over a week.

Unidentified demonstrator speaking in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]

All the people gathered here in Tahrir Square have decided that the president should be removed from office and be brought to justice.

Reporter voiceover:

Mursi's call for calm came after seven people were killed and more than 640 injured in violence on Wednesday night.

But, with little in the way of concessions, his opponents say they'll continue their protests later today and for as long as it takes.

Mohammed Shaikhibrahim, euronews correspondent in Cairo speaking in Arabic [reporter translates into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

Protesters here refused to watch President Mohamed Mursi's speech on TV, rejecting his call for dialogue, which leaves you in no doubt that the crisis is set to continue.

7. Transcript Jul 4 2013 Egypt supporters of ousted Mursi vow to defy military coup

Reporter voiceover:

Disappointed, exhausted and defiant, supporters of ousted Egyptian President Mohamed Mursi to remain gathered in the Rabeaa Adaweya district of Cairo after the night that changed everything. Many of them loyal to the Muslim Brotherhood, they all believe the leader they elected should have stayed in power.

Safwat Hegazi, a prominent member of the brotherhood and a popular preacher in Egypt, explains to euronews, the view of many here.

Safwat Hegazi, Muslim Brotherhood leader, speaking in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"If the Egyptian people accept this and the whole world accepts it - a military coup against democracy, the democratic experience and civilian president who was elected – then it is a shame for the entire world."

Reporter voiceover:

So although the anti-Morsi protesters may see his removal by the army as democracy in action, those who voted for the Islamist president see things differently and they don't plan to accept it. "Revolution until victory", they chant.

Our correspondent says:

Mohammed Shaikhibrahim, euronews Correspondent, Cairo [Translated into English from Arabic for the purpose of the euronews English report]

"The Islamist parties gathered here, plan to pursue a sit-in protest. They believe that the real revolution has only just begun and they'll resist until the very last moment."

Mursi draws support from members of the Brotherhood and several other Islamist parties and groups. A lot of them see the 2011 uprising as an Islamic revolution. The army sees otherwise.

8. Transcript Egypt

Reporter voiceover:

Egypt's army is in control of the country after overthrowing elected Islamist President Mohamed Mursi, much to the delight of millions and the fury of his supporters.

In what the military denies is a coup, tanks and troops have been deployed across the capital.

In a televised address the head of the armed forces, spelled out the army's intentions.

In a somber tone General el-Sissi announced the constitution was suspended:

General Abdel-Fattah el-Sissi, Egyptian Army Commander in Chief, [Translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

“The president of the supreme constitutional court would act as interim head of state assisted by an interim council and a government of technocrats, until a new president and parliamentary elections were held”.

Reporter voiceover:

Jubilant anti-Mursi protesters welcomed the military intervention.

President Mursi along with members of his government and the Muslim Brotherhood leadership are said to be in military custody.

His one-year rule ended after a military deadline for him to yield to days of protests had passed.

Anticipating his removal he pre-recorded a message condemning the military intervention and maintaining the legitimacy of his presidency.

Despite winning Egypt's first democratic election, opponents accuse him of following Islamic tinged policies, rather than dealing with the country's crippling economic problems.

9. Transcript Dec 1 2011 Egypt's Islam-based votes worry some

Reporter Voiceover:

This is the first time that Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood has been able to participate legally in elections with its freedom and justice party FJP, which it founded this year. As in other key party of the country, in the second largest city, Alexandria, activists feeling their time had come, did not contain their joy. They accompanied ballot boxes all the way to the counting station.

Even before the electoral results were tallied, the head of the FJP made clear, he expected a major ground shift to take place in Egypt, where the military has ruled since the ouster of President Mubarak.

Muhamed Mursi, Head of Freedom and Justice Party (translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the euronews English report):

Muhamed Mursi said, the majority in the upcoming parliament will form the government, a coalition. We think that will be for the best.

Reporter Voiceover:

The Muslim Brotherhood has not openly called for the establishment of an Islamic state. And yet, its emergence as Egypt's biggest opposition movement has been accompanied by surging support for the more conservative Al Nour. This is a fundamentalist Salafist party, which

espouses Islamic theology with a literalist and some say puritanical approach and grassroots appeal, a candidate explained:

Mohamed Ahmed, Al Nour party candidate:

...to feed the orphan and the poor people. A lot of people hamdelah (Arabic for thank God) love us and they are waiting for us because we fix between them...

Reporter Voiceover:

The Salafists with Al Nour want Islamic Sharia law and customs to apply in all aspects of life-Islam as it was in the time of the prophet Muhammad. Dealings between this party and non-Islamist parties have been difficult.

Secularists and the Christian Copts of Egypt are uneasy about the reinforcement of Islamist politics. The Ghad al Thawra Party, liberal party of Ayman Nour insists that Egypt cannot move forward without everyone's cooperation.

Ayman Nour, Head of Ghad al Thawra Party [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

He says this phase of politics must be marked by the drafting of a constitution, the respectful charter with laws that support it. Afterward we can move into a phase of competition. But, this phase demands that all the forces in politics collaborate and coordinate. Demands that we work with the Islamists and others, with the liberals and those of the left to reach the point where our political status makes us ready for competition by the front door.

10. Transcript Nov 28 Egypt's Islamists seek to allay fears

Reporter Voiceover:

Cairo's streets have been relatively calm during an election that appears to be set to give Islamists their first taste of power. The Freedom and Justice Party told euronews how they've been striving to allay fears among some of the electorates.

Mohamed El-Beltagi, Freedom and Justice Party leader [Translated into English from Arabic for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

During the past 8 years, we've worked with the Christian Copts, our brothers and partners in this nation. Our positions are clear and well known in regard to our respect for freedom of religion. But, attempts to use scare tactics in relation to Islamists to block the democratic process have unfortunately fooled some people.

euronews Journalist [Translated into English from Arabic for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

You're accused of taking the Military Council's side.

Mohamed El-Beltagi, Freedom and Justice Party leader [Translated into English from Arabic for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

The question is not whether we're with or against the military council, one takes the right decisions and responds to the demands of the revolution, we can only be with it and support it. In the opposite case, we would take a stand against it and put it under pressure.

Reporter Voiceover:

The Islamists will be hoping this equivocation doesn't cost them votes against opponents of the military council who vow to stay in Tahrir Sq. until the army's gone from power.

11. Transcript Jul 16 2013 Egypt's new cabinet sworn in as violence continues

Reporter voiceover:

Almost a fortnight since the military took control of Egypt, a new cabinet has been sworn in.

Hazem Beblawi is the interim prime minister. The head of the armed forces, General Sisi, stays as defence minister and also becomes deputy PM. Mohammed Ibrahim Mustafa remains as interior minister.

The Muslim Brotherhood has denounced the new cabinet as "illegitimate" and says it won't recognise it.

Supporters of ousted President Mursi are demanding he be reinstated. The military says the interim cabinet will be for just 6 months until parliamentary and presidential elections are held.

12. Transcript Jul 1 2013 Egyptian army gives government 48 hours to answer

Reporter voiceover:

The head of Egypt's armed forces has given the government 48 hours to answer demands made by the people, or the military would offer its own roadmap for the future.

Crowds of protesters remain on the streets, following a night of rallies which saw 14m people take part.

Unidentified female protester: [translated into English from Arabic for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"We staged a revolution against a situation that was so much better than the one we're in now. But now the situation is much worse. So it's only natural that the number of people complaining about the situation before have doubled".

Unidentified male protester: [translated into English from Arabic for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"Don't you see Morsi that the country is sinking? You should understand that. You also should understand that people don't want you anymore. Be fair".

Reporter voiceover:

Elsewhere, pro-Morsi supporters gathered together.

Unidentified male Morsi supporter: [translated into English from Arabic for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

The vast number of protesters, last night is natural, because as you know, the number of people who were part of the former National Democratic Party, was 3m during the time of Hosni Mubarak. So it's only natural, that there was a large number of people protesting yesterday. But the most important thing, is that it should be peaceful.

Reporter voiceover:

As the clean-up operation gets underway, Egyptians wait to see how the army will respond, if politicians fail to meet its deadline.

13. Transcript Dec 7 2012 Egyptian opposition refuse talks with Mursi

Reporter Voiceover:

Large protests continue in Cairo as Egyptian opposition leaders reject a national dialogue offered by Muhamed Mursi.

The President, is facing his worst political crisis since he took office in June, which is polarising the nation.

The renewed unrest is dimming Egypt's hopes of stability and economic recovery, but Mursi's opponents are not happy with the terms he offered in a speech late on Thursday.

Aside from his call for dialogue the Islamist leader offered few concessions.

He refused to retract a decree which gives him sweeping new powers or cancel next week's referendum on a new constitution.

Amid the political turmoil, Muslim Brotherhood supporters held emotional funerals for six of their members who were killed in fighting around the presidential palace earlier this week.

The Muslim Brotherhood's headquarters have also been attacked. At first, an angry mob tried to set fire to the building before breaking in to ransack the offices.

A euronews crew made it inside to see the damage.

At least 3 other offices belonging to the brotherhood had been attacked in recent days.

14. Transcript Jan 3 2011 Egyptian voters still hungry for change

Reporter Voiceover:

The Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party is set to take the most seats in the first democratic elections in Egypt for six decades.

The run-off vote is part of a phased election that will run until January, and is in turn part of a promised transition from military to civilian rule, that should be completed in July following presidential elections in June.

Samir Abdel, Voter: [Translated from Arabic to English for the euronews English report]
"The electoral process is very good and well organised and I hope we achieve our goal, God willing."

Reporter voice over:

The Brotherhood, which was banned, during Mubarak's 30 year rule, is looking to extend its lead over hard-lined Islamists and liberal parties, as well as strengthening its hand in any struggle with the ruling army council. Islamist parties are expected to do well as they are seen as less corrupt, due to their religious principles.

The elections in the most populous Arab nation, takes place in the backdrop of social discontent, with military leaders recently criticised for a brutal crackdown on protesters.

15. Transcript Jul 5 2013 'Friday of Rage' called by Morsi's supporters in Egypt

Reporter voiceover:

It's being called a 'Friday of Rage.' Thousands of pro-Mursi supporters taking to the streets across Egypt in protest at the former president's ousting. Dressed in white, supporters said they were ready to die as martyrs.

Our euronews Correspondent in Cairo says:

Mohammed Sheikhibrahim, euronews Correspondent [Translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the euronews English report]

"The Muslim Brotherhood rejects the declaration by the military and considers the decision void. It's calling for Mursi to be reinstated. Some demonstrators who we met explicitly threatened the Egyptian army with military action, so the Muslim Brotherhood says it won't surrender and it will resist."

Reporter voiceover:

In Cairo's Tahrir Square, more pro-Mursi protesters are arriving as the stand-off with the ruling military continues.

16. Transcript Nov 28, 2012 Hard time for Muslim Brotherhood

Reporter Voiceover:

The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the Islamic roots movement out of which emerged the modern state's first democratically elected head, is not having an easy time.

The Brotherhood's offices in several cities have been torched.

Opponents include a great many of those who sent former dictator Hosni Mubarak into oblivion in the revolution a little more than a year and a half ago.

These liberals are sustaining calls for President Morsi to simply rescind his decree concentrating power in his hands.

His critics say the Muslim Brotherhood has gone too far.

Saad El Din Ibrahim, Analyst:

"They (Muslim Brotherhood) are trying to control, they are trying to reshape the culture in their own image, as Muslim Brothers, they want to 'Islamise' the country. I mean, that is the regime and they are not hiding it. They are not doing it subtly or secretly. This is their declared agenda."

Reporter voiceover:

The Muslim Brothers weren't even among the first into the breach in February 2011. They waited four days before joining the calls for Mubarak to step into history. The first were secularist demonstrators. The Brotherhood was slow to get on board.

But in the wake of the revolution, it was clear that the main winners from the dismantling of the old order were the Muslim Brothers. In the first legislative elections the liberals couldn't put up much competition, in late 2011. In first-round voting the Brotherhood won 40 percent of the ballot, and this rose to 47 percent in the second round, leaving it with the operative lion's share of seats in the new parliamentary assembly.

When presidential elections rolled around in April this year, Mohammed Morsi became a candidate, and in June he won against the army's man, Ahmad Shafiq, and later sacked the head of the Supreme Armed Forces Council.

A few days ago Morsi decreed that not even the high courts could challenge his legal decisions.

But the Brotherhood says not to worry.

Essam al-Arian, Deputy Head of the Freedom and Justice party:

This decree is temporary one, and when we vote on the new constitution, all decrees must be cancelled and we open a new page in history of Egypt for a democratic, constitutional, modern state.

Reporter voice over:

The United States, fresh from praising Morsi for helping calm Israeli-Palestinian problems, is concerned for his commitment to democracy at home and has been pressing Egypt to find a way out of its constitutional impasse.

The International Monetary Fund has warned that any major changes on the ground could jeopardise an aid plan worth some 4.8 billion euros.

17. Transcript Nov 29 2011 Landmark Egyptian elections enter second day

Reporter Voiceover:

Egyptians are turning out on Tuesday for the second day of voting in the country's landmark parliamentary elections.

Polls under deposed president Hosni Mubarak were marred by allegations of widespread fraud. This vote to choose a new lower house of parliament will be staggered over six weeks. The body was nothing more than a rubberstamp under Hosni Mubarak who banned opposition parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood.

Officials said yesterday's voting was carried out peacefully and the turnout was high, especially amongst women.

Unidentified woman speaking in English:

I think it's an important step, and to see so many women just walk out and stand for seven or eight hours and determined they're not going to leave, they are going to vote, because the longer they stayed and the more problems we had inside, the more determined people were to stay and vote. I think that's just fantastic.

Reporter Voiceover:

Final results are due on January the 13th. Elections for Egypt's upper house begins shortly afterwards. The country's military rulers say they will transfer power to an elected president by the end of June, although protesters in Cairo's Tahir Square want a speedier handover.

18. Transcript Jan 3 2011 Last round of voting for Egyptian parliament

Reporter Voiceover:

Egyptians are going to the polls on Tuesday in the third and final round of parliamentary elections.

The 150-member assembly elected is supposed to oversee transition from military rule.

The first two rounds produced a high turn-out from the 14 million eligible voters across nine regions. Independent monitors largely praised those polls as having been free from vote rigging and intimidation which were previously used to hand certain victory to the former Mubarak regime.

But since then there've been developments to cause concern for western observers. Last week, police raided officers pro-democracy and rights groups disrupting the work of monitors and leading to accusations that the army isn't tempting to discourage oversight of the election.

Opposition groups are increasingly concerned that what they see is the slow pace of reform. Seventeen people have been killed in the past month as protesters continue to demand the military step aside.

19. Transcript Dec 4 2012 Egypt Morsi in talks over powers

Reporter Voiceover:

The Egyptian President held talks with senior judges on Monday to try to diffuse tensions after he seized new powers.

Egypt's justice minister says he expects Mohamed Morsi to agree to limit the scope of the powers, but for some protesters, such as the huge crowds these in Tahrir Square, the only option is a full retraction of the decree.

The president's decree on Thursday sparked clashes which have seen at least one person killed and around 370 injured.

As Morsi met with judges the funeral of Mohamed Gaber Salah drew huge crowds in the capital. A member of the Youth pro-democracy movement, Salah was fatally wounded by shotgun pellets during clashes with riot police last week.

Morsi's administration defended his decree as an effort to speed up democratic reforms but his opponents accuse him of acting like a dictator.

A group of lawyers and activists have also challenged Morsi in an administrative court which is due to begin a hearing on December the 4th.

20. Transcript Jun 25 2012 Morsi to rule by dialogue

Transcription

Date uploaded by Euronews on YouTube channel: 25 Jun 2012

Date Aired on Television channel:

Headline in text on video:

YouTube video title: Morsi to rule by dialogue

Channel: euronews (in English)

URL: <http://www.euronews.com/2012/06/25/morsi-to-rule-by-dialogue/>

Minutes: 04:30

Reporter Voiceover:

A week of high expectations came to a close on Sunday with the official announcement of the winner of the presidential election in Egypt. The crowd in Tahrir Square, the basin of last year's uprising that saw the overthrow of President Mubarak, greeted the Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohammed Morsi as their country's first democratically chosen civil leader.

On Sunday evening, Morsi said: “I am determined, with you, to build a new Egypt, a national state with a modern democratic constitution, and I will spend all my time on this great project, mindful of our identity and our points of reference.”

Morsi won just under 52 percent of the votes in the run-off ballot. But his endorsement by parliament is on shaky ground. The November-to-January legislative elections were won by Islamist parties, but the constitutional court invalidated the result, and the Armed Forces Supreme Council dissolved the assembly.

The Generals say they want to hand over power to the new president as swiftly as possible, but the head of state’s role is still undefined.

That is because Egypt’s new constitution does not yet exist. Mohammed Morsi will nevertheless be required to form a government, through dialogue with the Armed Forces Supreme Council’s Field Marshal Hussein Tantaoui.

To assess what lies ahead for Egypt under President Morsi, euronews spoke to political analyst Nashaat Al-Daihi in Cairo.

Adel Dellal, euronews: How can the new president do his job while the military council holds the reins of power in Egypt?

Nashaat Al-Daihi, Egyptian analyst: We have to wait for the elected president Mohammed Morsi to take office but the question is, who will be joining him?

In reality, there are many challenges at all levels, especially the elected president’s relationship with the military establishment – a military establishment that has been running the country for more than 60 years. That means that it is not going to give up power just like that. And President Morsi will need to maintain very good relations with this establishment because at the present time it is not looking to go quietly – but to retain its grip on power.

The generals think they are best-placed to maintain order in Egypt. They think the elected president lacks experience and is not up to speed on all the matters of state, notably the country’s security.

euronews: The lower house of parliament is in the hands of the military. If Egypt organises fresh legislative elections, can the Muslim Brotherhood win a majority?

Al-Daihi: It all depends on Morsi’s policies in the months ahead. If the President carries out rational policies with other political movements and the generals, as well as with the institutions of provincial Egypt, then I reckon the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic movement will easily be able to get a majority.

But if Morsi takes a step backwards and clashes with political groups, as happened in the previous assembly, I think the Islamist movement could lose political ground and only win a third of the seats.

euronews: On the international front, will Egypt continue to implement its treaty with Israel?

Al-Daihi: I think any elected president in Egypt, whether military or civilian, must respect the premises of Egyptian foreign policy. The Camp David Treaty must not be interfered with. It can be modified by both sides but can’t be ignored because a peace treaty exists between Egypt and Israel, supported by the United States. And it seems to me that before, during and after the elections, and even yesterday, everyone agreed that Egypt will respect its international accords and treaties, because all of that goes beyond the simple realm of personalities. It is the choice of the Egyptian state.

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21. Transcript Dec 10 2012 Mursi enhances military powers ahead of Egypt constitutional referendum

Reporter Voiceover:

Egypt's military is once again playing a more active role since handing over power in June, with President Mohammed Mursi giving them the authority to arrest civilians.

The military has been told to coordinate with police in order to keep the peace during the country's constitutional referendum, due to take place on Saturday.

The proposal has sparked days of protests. Demonstrators complain the draft, which was largely put together by Mursi's Islamist allies, undermines human rights, the rights of women and religious minorities, and curtails the independence of the judiciary.

This protester says Mursi's latest constitutional declaration is an attempt to plague the time. Unsatisfied with the declaration, reversing the wide-ranging powers Mursi gave himself, protesters outside the presidential palace in Cairo, accuse Mursi of pushing through the draft constitution. They may be even angrier about the military getting more powers, no matter how temporary.

22. Transcript Jul 14 2013 Pro Mursi supporters demonstrate against Mohamed

Reporter voiceover:

Pro Mursi supporters demonstrated in Cairo on Sunday as Egypt's interim government began taking shape. Mohamed El Baradei has been sworn in as the country's interim vice-president for foreign relations.

Unidentified Mohammed Mursi female supporter speaking in Arabic [Translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"El Baradei has been sworn in before an authority that's not chosen by the people, an authority that's not recognised by the constitution, the people and the entire world. What's being built on illegitimacy stays illegitimate."

Unidentified Mohammed Mursi male supporter speaking in Arabic [Translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

Both the constitution that was drafted and the referendum by the Egyptian people have been demolished and dissolved. So Mr El Baradei is sworn in, the country's constitution has been demolished."

Reporter Voiceover:

Mohamed El Baradai is a former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency and won a Nobel Peace Prize for his work there. El Baradai ran for president last year without success. Interim Prime Minister Hazem Al Beblawi is looking to form a new cabinet by Tuesday or Wednesday.

[Al Arabiya channel footage] Army general, Al Sisi spoke on Sunday saying Mursi was ousted because of mass demonstrations against him.

23. Transcript Jun 30 2013 Thousands urge Egypt's President

Transcription

Date uploaded by Euronews English on YouTube channel: 30 Jun 2013

Date Aired on Television channel:

Headline in text on video:

YouTube video title: Thousands urge Egypt's President Mursi to resign

Channel: euronews (in English)

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jUHsFGr8Phc>

Minutes: 01:09

Reporter Voiceover:

It is no happy anniversary for Egyptian President Mohammed Mursi as thousands of people gathered in Cairo, calling for him to step down.

Just one year into office, the president faces a challenge to his rule that some in the opposition are calling 'a second revolution' in Tahrir Square, the birthplace of the 2011 uprising against Hosni Mubarak.

Protester Ahmed Shawqi in Tahrir Square speaking in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"We elected him so that he would provide security, to provide food, to provide electricity, and petrol and all of these other things. The necessities. But after one year in power and years after the revolution he hasn't provided anything. He hasn't done anything. We have to bring down the entire Muslim Brotherhood, not just Morsi,"

Mursi's opponents claim he has advanced the Islamist agenda of the Muslim Brotherhood at the expense of the country's progress.

Around 22 million have signed a petition calling for his resignation, according to the opposition.

Tensions are running high in the capital after clashes in the run-up to the mass protest have left at least seven dead and 600 wounded.

24. Transcript Nov 28 Turnout 'high' in Egypt election despite protests

Reporter Voiceover:

Egyptians have gone to the polls in large numbers for the first parliamentary elections since Hosni Mubarak's downfall. Voting was extended for two hours because the turnout has been higher than expected.

But Egypt's new test of democracy brings a bewildering array of candidates and far less unity than during January's revolution.

The Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party is expecting to play a dominant role in parliament. But many suspect it is in alliance with a military that wants to retain power itself.

Bahgat El Nadi, Political Analyst [speaking in French, translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]

“The elections are a diversion from the army”, says this writer of Egyptian origin. “The revolutionaries’ demands are completely justified. First power must be transferred from the military council to the civilians”.

Reporter Voiceover:

Protesters calling for a boycott of the elections continue to occupy Cairo’s Tahrir Square. The vote to choose a new lower House of Parliament will take place in 3 stages, with results expected in January.

25. Transcript Jul 3 2013 Violence follows presidential address as opponents dismiss

Reporter voiceover:

Violent clashes between Islamists and security forces broke out in front of Cairo University following a televised address by Egypt's president.

At least 16 people died with more than 200 others injured.

There were also earlier confrontations between pro and anti President Mursi supporters which at least seven people died.

Mohamed Mursi's message to respect the legitimacy of his election as president was ridiculed by opponents in Tahrir Square.

Unidentified anti-Mursi protester speaking in Arabic [Translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"Our legitimacy began in Tahrir Square when the first martyr fell, we kept silent without threatening revenge.

Unidentified anti-Mursi protester speaking in Arabic [Translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

We don't condone conflict in anyway. We remain united and solidly together, right till the end.

Reporter voiceover:

Troops are on alert amid warnings of widespread unrest once an army ultimatum for the president to share the power with his opponents passes later today. In a message on a social website, the military has already said it's willing to shed its own blood to defend Egypt's people.

26. Transcript Jul 16 2013 Violent chaos stalks the streets of Cairo

Reporter voiceover:

Another night of violence has erupted in Cairo as supporters of ousted President Mohammed Mursi clashed with Egypt's security forces.

Protesters blocked bridges in the city and hurled rocks at police, they responded with tear gas.

Medical teams struggled to treat the injured as confrontations broke out across the city.

Unnamed Protester speaking in Arabic [translated in English for the purpose of the euronews Report]

"They want to remove the legitimate government and bring back military rule, this won't happen, we will die for this, our life has no value if they silence our voices again."

Reporter Voiceover:

Medical teams struggled to treat the injured as confrontations broke out across the city.

The night of protest came after US Deputy Secretary of State William Burns was in Cairo for talks he called for a "stable, democratic, inclusive and tolerant" Egypt.

Our correspondent in Cairo, witnessed the violence.

Mohammed Shaikhibrahim, euronews correspondent, speaking in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"It looks like the final card in the Muslim Brotherhood's hand has now been played. It complicates things and puts the security and political situation back to square one."

27. Transcript Nov 28 2012 Vote due on Egyptian constitution

Reporter Voiceover:

Thousands took to the streets of Alexandria, Egypt's second city. This is a counter-protest in support of President, Mohammed Morsi, under fire over the recent decree extending his powers.

"Cleanse the courts" is the refrain, an echo of the government's claim that the judiciary is packed with Mubarak-era appointees who want to undermine the new administration. The judges themselves have rejected the claims and gone on strike.

The dispute centres on plans for a new constitution. Here, the final draft was wrapped up in the early hours of Thursday ahead of a vote later in the day. Morsi is also due to address the nation and call for unity.

Meanwhile, on the streets, the protests continue. The Constitutional Court is not on strike. It has accused Morsi and the government of seeking revenge for a previous decision to dissolve parliament. Correspondents say the aim of Thursday's vote could be to pre-empt a similar ruling this Sunday.

28. Transcription Dec 4 2012 Egypt anti-Morsi groups march on presidential palace

Reporter Voiceover:

Egyptian security forces were deployed around the presidential palace as those opposed to President Mohammed Morsi's sweeping executive powers planned a major protest.

Anti-Morsi groups intend to march on the Cairo residence.

Eleven independent and opposition newspapers have refused to go to press to stand up to tyranny and the lack of press freedom in the country's draft constitution.

Unidentified man on street speaking in Arabic, reporter translates to English for the purpose of the euronews English report:

"My regular newspaper is unavailable today, so the positive thing is I've saved some money. What we see on the papers, we see on television, chaos; today the country is in chaos", says this man.

Reporter voiceover:

The constitution has become the focal point of Egypt's biggest political crisis since Islamist Morsi won power in June. The charter has raised a raft of human right concerns.

29. Transcript Nov 22 2012 Man of the moment Morsi to rule Egypt by decree

Reporter Voiceover: US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton personally praised the leading role played by Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi in brokering a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas.

A day after his diplomatic triumph, Morsi issued a decree, which will hand more yet more powers to the presidency.

In a televised address Morsi's spokesperson said the president will rule by decree, which cannot be challenged, until a new parliament is installed.

He also granted more time for the assembly working on a new constitution to finish its work.

In another move, Morsi sacked Egypt's chief prosecutor in order to appease those demanding the re-trial of officials allegedly involved in violence against protesters during the Arab Spring.

Prosecutor Abdel Maguid Mohammed acquitted a number of senior state officials, sparking fury.

Morsi tried to remove him in October, but failed after judges protested.

iii. Egypt Tahrir Sq seized by the people

1. Transcript Feb 11 2011 Anger reverberates around Tahrir Square

Reporter Voiceover:

As countless thousands, congregated in Tahrir Square, the focus of the so-called 'Nile Revolution', protesters eagerly awaited the president's speech and his anticipated resignation. When it became clear Mubarak was to remain in office, the mood changed and anger took hold.

Unidentified protester speaks in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

If he loved the people, he'd step down. But it appears he's going to stay, so we'll march on the presidential palace.

Unidentified protester speaks in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

Since all this started, he plays the same game. Every time he gives a speech, he makes us angry. We will pray later, and there'll be 10million of us.

Unidentified protester speaks in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

Mubarak urged Saddam Hussein to resign, so Iraq could be safe from bankruptcy. It's high time he listened to his own advice.

Reporter Voiceover:

Our correspondent in Cairo is Mohammed Abdel Azim.

euronews correspondent in Cairo Mohammed Abdel Azim speaks in Arabic [translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

The protesters say that handing powers to Suleiman is simply not enough. For them, Friday is the day, they will descend on the presidential palace.

2. Transcript Feb 13 2011 Crowds resist army's attempts to clear Tahrir square

Reporter Voiceover:

The Egyptian army is struggling to clear Tahrir Square in the centre of Cairo, to allow traffic to use the roundabout again, but soldiers are facing resistance from people who are determined not to leave until their demands are fully met.

Thousands streamed back towards the square on hearing the military police was moving in to clear away bedding and temporary shelters. Some protestors are attempting to show their desire to co-operate and get Egypt moving again by becoming impromptu traffic police, guiding cars around.

Unidentified male protester:

The military tried to move the people out of the square. But, the people refused, because they still have some requests and they are not going to move from the square until its requests are done. But the military are very good people, they are not going to hurt the Egyptian people. They are from us and we are from them.

Unidentified male protester [speaking in Arabic. Translated into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

Our demand, which has been achieved is the fall of the regime. We all had one goal, we wanted to be able to live in freedom and liberty in this upcoming period. Thank God we're able to do so.

The folks here have other demands, demands that are impossible. God created the world in 7 days, they want everything in 1 day and that's wrong.

Reporter Voiceover:

Other people showed they were keen to start rebuilding Egypt. Refusing to leave, but sweeping up debris and repainting curb stones. But, just over a couple of kilometres to the north east, police demonstrated outside the Interior Ministry for more pay and shots were heard.

3. Transcript Feb 7 2011 Egypt's Tahrir Square protesters vow to stay put

Reporter Voiceover:

Keen to get traffic moving, the army tried this morning to squeeze the burgeoning tent city around Tahrir Square this morning, but to no avail.

In response, protesters rushed out from their makeshift barricades to surround the soldiers attempting to push them into a smaller area.

Wary of the army's attempt to gain ground, many demonstrators are preparing to remain put for some time to come.

Unidentified man speaking in Arabic [Translation into English provided for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

“Even after 30 years as president, he wants to stay”, this man says. “It’s impossible, only in our world, the Arab world, will a president remain in power for for 30-40 years.

Unidentified man speaking in Arabic [Translation into English provided for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

“I’ve written my last will on this panel and I’m not moving from here before the end of this regime”, this man says.

Reporter Voiceover:

A sentiment shared widely across the square, with many now expecting the demonstration will now spread further.

Unidentified man speaking in Arabic [Translation into English provided for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

Those who are thinking that we will get tired of sitting in Tahrir Square, our message to them is that we are not leaving. It’s Mubarak who should leave Cairo.

Reporter Voiceover:

[Footage of Luis Carballo, euronews correspondent, speaking to the camera in Spanish] Our correspondent in Cairo says the pyramid of Pharaoh President Mubarak is in the slow process of collapsing. This revolt on Tahrir Square is pushing Egyptian politics into the unknown. Lots of people here know that toppling Mubarak may take months, but they also know that the regime which has ruled the country with an iron grip during the last 30 years is dying.

4. Transcript Feb 6 2011 Euronews correspondent describes Tahrir Square

This entire video footage was originally in Spanish. And English translation has been provided for the purpose of the euronews English report.

Anchor [Carlos Rayon, euronews based in Lyon, France] :

Luis Carballos is the euronews correspondent who spent the day in Tahrir Square in Cairo, and seen for himself what's happening in Egypt, right now.

The anti-government protesters continue to defy calls from the authority to disperse. Can they continue?

Luis Carballo, euronews correspondent, Cairo, Egypt:

Yes, I think so, they're really well organised. We've spent most of the day in the square and I can tell you that they have everything sorted out. They've even set up a field hospital. Food supplies are no problem, there's plenty of bread and people selling mineral water. In fact, they have enough supplies to last them for at least a week, if need be.

Anchor [Carlos Rayon, euronews based in Lyon, France] :

What's in like for journalists at the moment? Can you talk us through what happened to you yesterday for example?

Luis Carballo, euronews correspondent, Cairo, Egypt:

Well, things have been a lot easier today, even if they are by no means perfect. To be honest with you, the army made things much easier for us. The soldiers helped us get through the roadblock. We weren't hassled like in previous days.

The problem has not been with the army, but Mubarak's supporters. If you are unlucky enough to get stuck in the middle of a group of them, it can be unpleasant. That's what happened to us yesterday.

We were arrested. They took our passports off us and handed us over to the military police. We were held in the police station for about an hour. We saw three other detainees who were Egyptian. We don't know whether they were for or against Mubarak, but we saw them being beaten up by the police. They were beaten up, then they were given electric shocks through electrodes which were attached to the neck and to the heart. This went on for several minutes.

Anchor [Carlos Rayon, euronews based in Lyon, France]:

Luis, briefly tell me. Can you tell us what's happening elsewhere, apart from Tahrir Square? Everyone's attention is focussed there. What's it like in other places?

Luis Carballo, euronews correspondent, Cairo, Egypt:

Our hotel is on the other bank of the Nile. There is a huge military presence over there and we've not seen any violence or unrest at all. There is a much bigger military presence today. Soldiers have put up security cordons with checkpoints at every 10metres or so. This is even more obvious in places where some of the most violent clashes took place between pro and anti-Mubarak supporters.

Anchor [Carlos Rayon, euronews based in Lyon, France]:

Luis Carballo, our correspondent in the centre of Cairo, euronews will continue to keep you informed on events in Egypt.

5. Transcript Feb 7 2011 Tahrir Square braces for more protests

Reporter voiceover:

From a place of protests, to a place of worship, the wave of demonstrations in and around Tahrir Square is showing no signs of stopping. More mass demonstrations are planned tomorrow and Friday across the Egyptian capital.

Others have chosen to join a symbolic funeral procession for an Egyptian journalist killed in the violence that erupted last week.

It came as President Hosni Mubarak's new cabinet held its first full meeting since the start of the uprising nearly two weeks ago. But the gathering ended with no firm progress in talks with Islamists and an opposition who demand his immediate exit.

Elsewhere, however, life is showing signs of return to normal. Renovation workers begun to repair the number of police stations damaged during the last weeks' violence. In some cities like Alexandria, many businesses have reopened for a second day. Egypt is believed to have lost 10s of billions of euros during the unrest. The country's stock market is closed until further notice.

6. Transcript Feb 8 2011 Thousands more join Tahrir Square protests

Reporter Voiceover:

It has been described as the biggest protest in Tahrir Square since the uprising began. More first-timers have joined the demonstration claiming they have seen through what they call "state media lies."

Some have come simply to soak up the cheerful and festive atmosphere.

Unidentified lady speaking in Arabic [translation into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

This woman says she's been here for 3 days. She will remain here inshallah until the dictator steps down. Actually, the dictator is not here anymore, she adds. His stature has been broken.

Reporter Voiceover:

Transformed, into a tented village in the heart of the Egyptian capital, Tahrir Square has also become a place to remember those who've fallen for the cause.

Unidentified man speaking in Arabic [translation into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"I would die to kick out this unfair regime", this man says. "It's not only about kicking out the Egyptian government. All international regimes are unfair. "

Reporter Voiceover:

But with little sign of progress emerging from the talks, our correspondent in Cairo says some protesters fear that negotiations taking place in the government may not meet their demands. [Footage of Mohamed Elhamy, euronews correspondent speaking in Arabic.

Reporter Voiceover:

Crowds tend to peak in the late afternoon and then diminish as the curfew starts, but clearly, this challenge to Mubarak's government is far from over.

iv. Libya Gaddafi killed

1. Transcript Oct 24 2011 Gaddafi to be buried in secret today

Reporter Voiceover:

Officials from Libya's National Transitional Party have announced that the ousted leader, Muammar Gaddafi will be buried today in a secret location. His body and that of his son's, Mo'tassim, were removed from the cold store room in Misrata during the night. His other son Saif-al Islam is said to be trying to escape the country.

An NTC fighter, showed journalists the empty room, where the two corpses have been kept.

Unidentified NTC fighter [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

We handed over the body of the tyrant to the relevant authorities, after the people and the families of the martyrs came and viewed the body.

Reporter Voiceover:

As some residents tried to return to their homes in Sirte after the fall of the last Gaddafi stronghold, Human Rights Watch, has called for an investigation into war crimes. At a hotel in the city, the bodies of 53 Gaddafi supporters, were found apparently executed.

2. Transcript Oct 20 2011 Jubilant Libyan fighters parade Gaddafi's body

Reporter Voiceover:

Some will find the pictures disturbing. Muammar Gaddafi's blood soaked body is paraded like a trophy by jubilant fighters.

Those who suffered under his regime may not care, but how Libya's former dictator was killed after apparently being captured may prove controversial.

There are conflicting accounts. A video filmed around the time of his capture offers some clues. [Footage from Misrata al Hurra] In it, Gaddafi appears wounded as he is led away after being caught following NATO's air strike.

The National Transitional Council says he was caught in a gun fight between his supporters and government fighters and died from a bullet to the head. But one source from the ruling body is being quoted as saying he was killed by his captors. [End of footage from Misrata al Hurra]

There are other claims that Gaddafi, already injured in the NATO strike, was shot by one of his own guard.

Another said he bled to death in an ambulance.

This is reportedly where the dictator, who ruled for 42 years, was finally cornered. “He called us rats, but look where we found him”, said one fighter. Gaddafi is said to have taken refuge there after his convoy was struck by French missiles. The damage gives an idea of the scale of the attack. One of the fighters who said he took part in the capture, brandished a golden pistol he said he’d taken from Gaddafi.

3. Transcript Oct 20 2011 The final battle for Sirte is over

Reporter Voiceover:

The sight and sounds of celebration. They have filled the air in the coastal town of Sirte since early on Thursday morning.

Libyan interim government fighters drove out the remaining troops loyal to Muammar Gaddafi and declared victory.

Some fighters symbolically stabbed at a picture of Gaddafi and then began to drag it round the streets.

The town where Gaddafi was born in 1942 had become his and his regime's grave.

The new national flag was waved, and raised on a building in the centre of the town, which had been under a bloody siege, for 2 months. The backdrop to the mass celebrations were the destroyed buildings, wrecked in the shelling and gun fire.

Thousands of civilians had fled their home. Many were caught in the conflict. It’s not known is any of the troops loyal to Gaddafi escaped or how many have been captured in Sirte.

It was in February, the arrest of a Human Rights Activist started a riot in Benghazi. On August the 23rd, Tripoli fell. 3 days ago victory was claimed in Bani Walid. And so began the final push to gain control of Sirte. The last battle is reported to have started early morning and within 90 minutes, eye witnesses claimed control of the town was in the hands of the NTC fighters. The National Transitional Council has always said, it was at this point it would declare Libya to be liberated.

4. Transcript Oct 21 2011 The last moments of Muammar Gaddafi

Reporter Voiceover:

[Footage from Freedom Group, Libya Al Hurra] As questions continue on the final moments of Kernel Gaddafi, one fighter has explained the sequence of events leading to his death:

Unidentified fighter [Translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"We were located close to some storage facilities in the area of Assides area west of Sirte. Our brigade was going to support Tiger Brigade which is the Al-Cheryan brigade. A black guy went and surrendered himself to a person from the Al-Awaiyub family from Zargu and he said Muttasim and Ahmed Ibrahim are inside. (That is a son of Gaddafi and a military commander). After an hour and a half, we saw around 15 people; our freedom fighters captured them. We advanced towards the storage facilities and we saw people running right and left. At that time, we were standing on top of the whole where Gaddafi was hiding. We saw another 2 people hiding and we fired them. Ahmed, one of our colleagues, went and killed 2 of them.

[Footage of globalpost] Later on, we went to the other side and 4 or 5 ran out from under the road. We surrounded them and they told us that Gaddafi was hiding inside and that he was injured. We entered the hole and I captured him immediately. All the fighters came and surrounded him.

[Footage from Freedom Group, Libya Al Hurra] We found this hand gun on him and another gun in a bag, which is still with our colleague in Sirte. This is the gun and this is a satellite mobile phone.

Reporter voiceover:

[Footage from Freedom Group, Libya Al Hurra] This is the graphic video filmed by someone in the crowd. It shows the last chaotic moments of the former dictator. Gaddafi is seen clearly alive, dazed and bloodied from his wounds. He is dragged off the vehicle, surrounded, swept along by the crowd.

In these moments, were shouts in the background of "Keep him alive" and sounds of gun fire. It appears he is killed. It remains difficult to establish how.

According to a doctor who examined his body, he was fatally wounded by a bullet in his intestines, following his capture.

v. Libya Tripoli bombed

1. Transcript Apr 14 2011 'BRICS' nations condemn the use of force in Libya

Reporter Voiceover:

Leaders of five of the world's big emerging powers have urged an end to the fighting in Libya.

The bloc known as BRICS, standing for Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, has been meeting on the southern Chinese island of Hainan.

Even though South Africa voted for the UN Security Council resolution authorising air strikes in Libya, the BRICS group condemned the use of force. It did not, however, single out the NATO-led campaign for criticism.

China's leader said recent turmoil in western Asia and North Africa, indicates there's still a long way to go before we can realise lasting peace and common prosperity in the world. In the dig of the dollar, the nations called for a more broad-based international reserve currency system. The BRICS aim to forge a common emerging market negotiating stance on a wide range of issues, providing a counter weight to the west.

2. Transcript Mar 20 2011 Allies satisfied with operations over Libya

Reporter Voiceover:

Anti-aircraft fire lights up the sky in Tripoli. Once again, British military forces have been in action. One of its submarines is said to have fired Tomahawk missiles at targets as yet unconfirmed.

The Pentagon's Vice Admiral William Gortney described operation Odyssey Dawn as "progressing well".

Vice Admiral Bill Gortney, US Military Joint Staff:

There has been no new air reactivity by the regime. And we have detected no radar emissions in any of the air defence sites targeted and there has been a significant decrease in use of all surveillance radars, which most of those appear to be limited now only to areas around Tripoli and Sirte.

Benghazi is not completely safe from attack. But it is certainly under less threat than it was yesterday.

Reporter Voiceover:

Sporadic explosions and heavy gun fire broke out in the rebel stronghold overnight. It lasted about 40 minutes, despite the Libyan government having earlier said its forces would observe a ceasefire.

3. Transcript Mar 20 2011 Coalition allies continue Libya air strikes

Reporter Voiceover:

American, British and French forces have attacked Libya from the sea and from the air to stop Colonel Gaddafi's offensive on the rebel-held east of the country.

Libyan officials say at least 48 people have been killed in the strikes, which began on Saturday. There has been no independent confirmation of the death toll. But British defence minister Liam Fox said the coalition was only hitting military targets. He added, the weaponry used was designed to minimise civilian casualties.

Russia, which abstained in the key Security Council vote, has called on the allies to stop the non-selective use of force in Libya. It's the west's biggest military intervention in the Arab world, since the US led invasion of Iraq 8 years ago.

Gaddafi has accused Britain, France and the United States of terrorism and warned that his country would fight a long war to repel their attacks. But in the eastern town of Benghazi, these rebels welcomed the allies' intervention against Gaddafi's forces.

4. Transcript Mar 23 2011 Coalition launches further air strikes over Libya

Reporter Voiceover:

Allied warplanes have launched further air strikes on Muammar Gaddafi's forces for a fourth day, notably in western Libya.

The coalition has confirmed artillery and tanks besieging the rebel-held town of Misrata were targeted.

Despite some condemnation of the West's intervention, military chiefs have defended their role.

Peg Klein, Senior US military officer:

Some of those cities still have tanks advancing on them to attack the Libyan people. We are authorised and the president made the annexes between the Security Council Resolution and what he considers our legal mandate to attack those tanks. And so, that is the type of target that our strike aircraft will go after.

Reporter Voiceover:

Many American airstrikes are being launched from ships in the Mediterranean. Despite that, Washington has made it clear it wants to take a back seat and is calling on others to take command of the operation.

5. Transcript Apr 2 2011 Coalition strike Gaddafi towns Libyan state TV

Reporter Voiceover:

Coalition forces have bombed two towns close to Libya's capital of Tripoli according to Libyan state television.

The report said civilian and military areas had been hit and quoted a senior Libyan military official.

The official said planes attacked the towns of Al-Khoum, 100 kilometres to the east of Tripoli, and Arrujban, which is some 200 kilometres southwest of the capital.

Meanwhile, a ceasefire offer from the rebels has been rejected by Kernel Colonel Gaddafi. They offered to lay down their arms if Gaddafi withdrew from besieged cities in the east. Government spokesman Moussa Ibrahim dismissed the offer as a trick.

The rebels have been beaten back by heavy shelling from Gaddafi's troops after they launched a counter offensive. Rebel commanders have been calling for more airstrikes by coalition forces who are enforcing a UN mandate and a no-fly zone over Libya.

6. Transcript Mar 7 2011 Libya's Gaddafi attacks French 'interference'

Reporter Voiceover:

Libyan leader Kernel Muammar Gaddafi has accused France of meddling in his country's affairs.

Paris has hailed the creation of rebel group the National Libyan Council and pledged support for its principles and goals.

In an interview with France 24, Gaddafi was asked about Paris' possible recognition of the rebels. In response he said:

Muammar Gaddafi, Libyan Leader [translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"That's ridiculous, interfering in the domestic affairs of a country. If we were to interfere in what is happening in Corsica and Sardinia, how would France and Italy) react? Why did we not intervene in Northern Italy when Umberto Bossi wanted to create the so-called state Padania? Because it was illegal, that's why. These armed terrorists in Benghazi including members of Al Qaeda do not have clear political demands."

Reporter voiceover:

Gaddafi also said that international media were distorting the fact. He said that they had chosen to ignore the broad support that he claims his government enjoys. He dismissed reports about problems in Libya as lies.

7. Transcript NATO fears prolonged campaign over Libya

Reporter Voiceover:

NATO will now play an active role in the conflict in Libya. However, the alliance has limited its actions to enforcing the no-fly zone and arms embargo and protecting civilians against attack by Gaddafi's forces. The coalition will remain responsible for all other aspects of the operation. The decision follows days of fierce negotiations between the 28 member states.

NATO Secretary-General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, said:

"We will co-operate closely with our partners in the region and we welcome their contributions."

Reporter Voiceover:

NATO is expected to start action in the next 2 – 3 days. Adding cooperation from another Middle Eastern country, the United Arab Emirates will contribute 12 planes to the coalition force. NATO's involvement was warmly welcomed by Washington.

Hillary Clinton, US Secretary of State:

NATO is well-suited to coordinating this international effort and ensuring that all participating countries are working effectively together toward our shared goals. Gaddafi's troops have been pushed back, but they remain a serious threat to the safety of the people.

Reporter Voiceover:

Though NATO won't be taking full military command in Libya, the Alliance may yet play a larger part. Turkey's Prime Minister says talks are already underway about broadening NATO's role.

8. Transcript Apr 24 2011 NATO hits Gaddafi's compound

Reporter Voiceover:

A NATO airstrike has flattened a building inside Muammar Gaddafi's compound, in what government officials say was an attempt on the Libyan leader's life.

45 people are reported injured.

The attack on the capital, Tripoli, also caused a temporary blackout of state TV broadcasts. Government spokesman, Moussa Ibrahim:

Moussa Ibrahim, Government spokesman:

NATO has to understand that if really really into peace and democracy in Libya, it should stop bombarding us and start talking to us. Talking is cheap, is useful, is productive, and it gains results. Come down on the ground and talk to us.

Reporter Voiceover:

Meanwhile, Gaddafi's forces have continued to pound Misrata despite saying they would hold their fire. Food shortages are adding to the increasing misery in this western city, which has found itself the focal point of the armed rebellion against Gaddafi as battles elsewhere drift into stalemate.

9. Transcript Mar 22 2011 NATO involvement in Libya is agreed but questions remain

Reporter Voiceover:

Western nations backing the UN no-fly zone over Libya have agreed a role for NATO in the campaign but they will have to clarify the mission's aims before winning wider support.

President Obama who wants the US to take a back seat has persuaded a reluctant France to accept the involvement of the alliance.

Barack Obama, US President:

I would expect that over the next several days we will have clarity in the meeting of the minds of all those who are participating in the process. We are already seeing a significant reduction in the number of US planes that are involved in operations over Libya.

Reporter Voiceover:

The UK is willing to accept a NATO command, but wants to broaden out the international support for the resolution, including more Arab involvement. But, at a meeting with the Saudi leadership, Britain's Prime Minister failed to make a convincing argument. In fact, the Arab League and NATO member Turkey are looking to Thursday's meeting of the UN Security Council to re-establish the perimeters of the mission, placing the emphasis more on the humanitarian rather than the military.

Meanwhile, US intelligence has disclosed that people near to the Libyan leader are exploring exile options, although it's unclear if Gaddafi would seriously contemplate stepping down.

10. Transcript Apr 12 2011 NATO should do more in Libya, say Britain and France

Reporter Voiceover:

Britain and France say NATO is not doing enough to protect civilians from attacks by Kernel Gaddafi's forces in Libya.

The UK's Foreign Secretary called on the alliance to intensify its efforts. Earlier, his French counterpart was more outspoken:

Alain Juppé, French Foreign Minister [Translated from French to English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

“Firstly, NATO must play its full part. NATO wanted to take military command of operations and we agreed it must ward off Gaddafi from still using heavy weapons to bomb people. That's not happening”, he was asked, “not enough”.

Specifically, Juppé said NATO should target heavy weapons around Misrata, the rebel held city under siege. Yesterday, Gaddafi's forces renewed their attack amid increasing concerns for the safety of civilians and the overall humanitarian situation.

Britain said it supplied more aircraft capable of striking ground targets, and has called on other countries to do the same.

Rebels near Ajdabi say they're advancing westwards. But elsewhere, they've been pushed back by Gaddafi's forces. NATO took over command of the military strikes after the initial raids were conducted by Washington.

11. Transcript Mar 27 2011 NATO to take over from coalition in Libya

Reporter Voiceover:

At least four loud explosions rocked Tripoli over night as Libyan government forces sprayed the sky with anti-aircraft fire. A Western coalition has been carrying out air raids in the country for a week in line with a United Nations resolution.

However NATO has now agreed to take full responsibility for the military operation.

The decision puts the alliance in charge of targeting Muammar Gaddafi's military infrastructure and protecting civilians.

Coalition bombing yesterday centred on Tripoli, Sirte and Misrata, where pro-Gaddafi troops were launching artillery fire at the rebel-held city. In response, Libya's government has accused the west of terrorising its people.

Mussa Ibrahim, Libyan government spokesman:

Clearly the west, NATO is taking sides on this civil conflict. It's illegal, hasn't been allowed or permitted by the Security Council Resolution and it's immoral.

Reporter Voiceover:

For those in Tripoli, fuel shortages and endless queues are wearing down a city already worn out by weeks of conflict. Supply networks for basic goods have been obstructed, while a refugee exodus also means bakeries do not have enough manpower to make sufficient bread.

12. Transcript Apr 8 2011 NATO vows to investigate 'friendly fire incident'

Reporter Voiceover:

NATO has said it will investigate claims by Libyan rebels that five of their fighters died in a coalition airstrike.

The head of the rebel forces, said NATO bombed their tanks outside Brega leaving 14 wounded and another 6 missing.

The injured were ferried to hospital in Ajdabiyah for treatment. Anti-Gaddafi forces have expressed their anger at NATO's policing of the no-fly zone. Thirteen of them were killed in similar circumstances last Saturday.

[Al Libya TV Channel footage] Meanwhile, a senior US commander has voiced doubts that the rebels would be able to topple Gaddafi. General Carter Ham, the head of the US American command has said it was unlikely they could oust the Libyan leader even with backup of NATO power. [End of Al Libya TV footage]

The battle on the front line for the key oil town of Brega has lasted over a week.

General Ham told the US Senate that the 7 week old civil war is heading towards a stalemate as neither side is gaining ground.

vi. Saudi Arabia women granted right to vote

1. Transcript Sep 26 2011 Mixed reactions to Saudi move on women's vote

Reporter Voiceover:

Human rights campaigners have welcomed the move by Saudi Arabia to give women the right to vote and stand in local elections.

It is being hailed as a breakthrough even though it will be four years before it takes effect, and other areas of discrimination remain in place.

For some, this first step will oblige Islamic conservatives to listen to voices other than their own.

Dr Fawziyah Abu Khalid, Political Sociology, King Saudi University:

I think, by these decisions, Saudi women will be allowed for the first time in the Saudi history – the establishment of Saudi Arabia- to have a space for political participation.

Reporter voiceover:

Women will also be eligible for appointment to the unelected advisory Shura Council. King Abdullah is seen as a cautious reformer, sympathetic to women's rights, but anxious not to provoke a religious backlash. But some observer abroad mock the announcement.

Massoud Shajareh, Islamic Human Rights Commission:

Honestly, I just thought at the beginning that it was a joke, because you know, in a society like Saudi Arabia, where no one has got any input into the politics, the reality is a total dictatorship and you know to give rise to women to vote for what? You know, just, who is going to be running the local neighbourhood?

Reporter voiceover:

Some see the move as a reaction to the Arab Spring. It's had little effect on the streets, but Saudi women have begun taking a stand. Discrimination, remains rife. Women cant take part in this week's elections, no can they drive, travel abroad, or alone, or choose freely even their own clothes.

2. Transcript Sep 26 2011 Saudi women's vote still four years away

Reporter Voiceover:

The days of men-only voting in Saudi Arabia are numbered. When 2015 comes around, women will be allowed to vote and be candidates in local council elections like those being held this Thursday.

The reform is small next to democratic change in other Arab countries, but rights campaigners welcomed King Abdullah's announcement on Sunday.

Yvonne Ridley, International Muslim Women's Union:

"It's great news, especially for the Saudi women who are very empowered (word not verified, could be unpowered). I know some of them in particular, who've been waiting for this moment. In fact, in the last municipal elections I was in Riyadh and one of the women said to me: Look we're not voting this time, but next time we will be voting and we will be standing".

Reporter Voiceover:

Critics say the concession is little more than cosmetic since only half the seats go up for grabs and since municipal councils have only few real powers.

Saudi women still live in the only country in the world, where the law says they can't drive. They also need a male relative's permission to work, travel or have surgery. This summer, some women protested against the driving ban. Some were arrested, others were harassed in different ways. "So what if they can vote locally"? Asks this rights activist in London:

Massoud Shadjareh, Islamic Human Rights Commission:

I just thought that at the beginning it was a joke, because you know in a society like Saudi Arabia, where no one has got any input into the politics, the reality is a total dictatorship. And to give rights to women to vote, vote for what? You know, who is going to be running the local neighbourhood?

Reporter Voiceover:

With its towering wealth, Saudi Arabia is the last Arab holdout against giving women the vote. Kuwait did it in 2006. Syrian women were the first to join men at the polls in 1949, though few observers would say democratic change is complete in Syria.

Activists in the world's number one oil exporter have called for a boycott of this Thursday's poll. Though the Saudi turnout at the last one was very low and it's not expected to be much higher now.

3. Transcript Sep 25 2011 Women get the vote in Saudi Arabia

It has been described as an extraordinary development.

Women in the ultra-conservative kingdom of Saudi Arabia are to be given the right to vote and stand in municipal elections.

The announcement was made by the Saudi monarch, King Abdullah, at the opening of a new session of the Shura council.

He also said women would be allowed to join the advisory council as full members and the changes will take effect from next year.

Women in Saudi Arabia are barred from travelling, working and even having operations without the permission of a male relative. They're also barred from driving, which led to this defiant protest back in June.

There is a debate in the country about the role of women in society and it's hope this decision will help ease some of the tension.

vii. Syria Assad Makes first speech

1. Transcript Mar 30 2011 Assad blames 'conspirators' for Syria protests

Reporter Voiceover:

President Bashar al-Assad has blamed 'conspirators' bent on destroying Syria for pro-democracy protests in the country.

He was given a rapturous reception outside and inside parliament in Damascus, the day after a government-organised show of mass support.

Despite speculation, there was no announcement about lifting Syria's emergency laws in Assad's first public speech since the challenge to his rule began.

Instead, two weeks on, he explained that Syria was the target of a plot to sow sectarian strife. The president said some demonstrators had legitimate demands and he claimed clear instructions have been given to security forces not to harm anyone during the protests in which dozens of people have died.

2. Transcript Mar 30 2011 Assad says Syria 'victim of foreign conspiracy'

Reporter Voiceover:

Syria's president has defied wide expectations by maintaining the country's five-decade-old emergency law despite weeks of unrest.

In his first public comments since the start of the protests, Bashar al-Assad told parliament he supported reform but offered no alternative to change Syria's rigid political system. He also accused external forces of fomenting sectarian strife.

Bashar al Assad, Syrian President [Translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

“Syria today is the victim of a big conspiracy”, he said. “The people behind this are mixing 3 elements, namely: sedition, reform and the daily needs of the people”.

Reporter Voiceover:

His speech comes a day after he sacked the government. A move seen as purely cosmetic since power is concentrated in the hands of the Assad family and its powerful security apparatus.

3. Transcript Mar 30 2011 Syrian president prepares speech to quell protests

Reporter Voiceover:

[Syria TV Footage]: The Syrian President Bashar al-Assad is expected to address the nation shortly in his first speech since anti-government demonstrations erupted two weeks ago.

More than 60 people have been killed during the wave of political unrest. Protests of the scale seen over the last two weeks are unprecedented in Syria.

Demonstrators initially limited their demands to more freedoms but increasingly incensed by security crackdown especially in the southern city of Dara'a, where protests erupted. They later demanded the downfall of the regime.

There've also been mass rallies in the capital, as well as the north western city of Latakia. Despite Assad making it known he was considering scraping the emergency laws, arbitrary arrests in large numbers have continued across the country. Assad still has strong support however, as yesterday's massive demonstration in the capital, showed.

4. Transcript Mar 31 2011 US dismisses Assad's conspiracy theory speech

Reporter Voiceover:

It was not the speech Syrian protesters calling for reform had hoped for. A defiant and self-confident President Bashar al-Assad, surrounded by his loyal supporters, made no conciliatory gestures.

Despite raised hopes, there was no mention of lifting nearly 50 years of emergency rule. Instead, he blamed the recent weeks of unrest on a foreign conspiracy.

Reaction abroad has been dismissive.

Mark Toner US State Department Spokesperson:

Leaderships of many of these countries need to respond to the legitimate aspirations of their people. It's far too easy to look for conspiracy theories and respond in a meaningful way for the call for reform.

Reporter voiceover:

Assad does enjoy strong popular support among the middle class and his extended clan who've benefitted from de-regulation of the banking system and the telecoms industry but not among the poor. In recent weeks, more than 60 people have died in demonstrations against his rule. Despite using his speech to tell protesters to go home, hundreds are said to have marched to the port of Latakia calling for freedom.

viii. Syria Ghoutta Sarin Attack

1. Transcript Aug 21 2013 Assad forces accused of killing hundreds in nerve gas attack

Reporter Voiceover:

[Amateur video] Syrian activists have accused the forces of President Basher al-Assad of killing hundreds of people in a nerve-gas attack.

[Duma City footage] The assault on rebel held areas on the outskirts of the capital Damascus left over 200 people dead according to medical sources. The reports, which could not be independently verified, come as a UN team is in Syria to investigate the alleged use of chemical weapons during the two-year civil war.

[euronews Footage]The Syrian government denies the use of nerve gas. Both sides of the seemingly endless conflict have accused each other of having chemical weapons in a war, which has left 100,000 people dead and forced over 2 million to leave their homes.

2. Transcript Jun 4 2013 France says sarin gas used in Syria

Reporter Voiceover:

France says tests on samples from two sites prove that sarin gas has been used in the conflict in Syria.

Experts say one of the cases can be traced back to the Syrian government.

Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius says a line has been crossed and all options are on the table.

"On the one hand, we have been able to analyse samples gathered in the field by journalists from Le Monde," he said in a televised interview, "and on the other we have been able to follow the chain of events back to its origins and the lab's conclusion is clear: it is sarin gas. [Translated from French to English for the purpose of the euronews English report]

"The other question is can we trace the people responsible? There is no doubt at all in the second case - it is the regime and its supporters."

Reporter Voiceover:

The news comes the same day as the UN published a report describing Syria as "in free-fall".

French sources hope the results of the tests will help UN investigators push their case to enter the country. Teams have so far been held up by diplomatic wrangling and safety concerns.

Bashar al-Assad's government has denied using chemical weapons during the course of the two-year conflict and has in turn accused rebels of deploying them.

3. Transcript May 27 2013 Sarin use and origin

Reporter Voiceover:

The Americans and the UN have not yet been able to tell who may have used sarin gas in Syria. They have tried to get reliable evidence whether Assad's forces or rebels perhaps crossed this 'red line', as President Obama referred to the Syrian conflict veering into chemical warfare.

A doctor in the northern town of Azaz told a Belgian television crew how he dealt with patients suffering from alarming symptoms: "We gave them atropine, which acts as a nerve agent antidote, and that saved their lives."

Sarin gas is one of the most toxic chemicals ever invented, hundreds of times more so than cyanide. A German chemist looking for new insecticides developed it accidentally in 1938. The Nazis in World War Two put it in artillery shells but never used it. The US produced it later, for a time.

[Footage from 03. 1988] Iraq's Saddam Hussein, it is claimed, used sarin among other nerve agents, in 1988, on the ethnic Kurdish city of Halabja, in the final phase of the Iran-Iraq War. Thousands of civilians were killed. [End of 03 1988 footage]

Colourless and odourless, sarin is highly volatile, meaning it spreads quickly through the air or water, and, unless an antidote is given, it is deadly within minutes when inhaled or absorbed through the skin, even at low concentrations. Suffocation, mucus secretion, blindness, vomiting, uncontrollable defecation and urination and muscular convulsions end when the heart stops.

Both Cold War super powers stockpiled vast quantities of chemical weapons. Then, under a United Nations Chemical Weapons Convention in 1993, sarin and other such materials were banned after 1997, and stores were ordered destroyed.

The convention was signed by 162 countries. Israel and Myanmar did not ratify this. Six countries have not signed: Angola, North Korea, Egypt, Somalia, South Sudan and Syria.

The most striking use of sarin was an attack in 1995 by the Aum Shinrikyo sect in Japan, when sarin was released in the Tokyo subway at peak rush hour, killing 13 people and injuring thousands, many of them severely. The toll could have been far worse, had the poison been in pure gas form, rather than pierced packets of thick liquid.

The Chemical Weapons Convention called for the elimination of stockpiles, a long and costly process, considering safety and respect for the environment. Estimates vary over how much sarin the Syrian military may control.

4. Transcript Mar 19 2013 Syria accusations fly over 'chemical weapons' attack

Reporter Voiceover:

[Syria TV Footage] In Syria, Accusations are flying over whether a chemical weapon has been used and who is to blame.

The government of President Bashar al-Assad says rebel forces fired a rocket loaded with chemical agents, killing at least 26 people and injuring dozens more. These pictures of the aftermath have been broadcast on Syrian State television.

The country's Information Minister said Turkey and Qatar must also bear some responsibility, because of their support for the rebels.

But the anti-Assad Syrian National Coalition refutes the accusation and says the government line does not make sense at all.

Khalid Saleh, Syrian National Coalition spokesman:

"If chemical weapons were used, and that is a big 'if' - we are trying to investigate that - but if they chemical weapons were used, it is the Syrian government that has access to these chemical weapons and would have used them against the civilian population."

Reporter Voiceover:

Reuters is reporting that many people have been suffering breathing problems, and the smell of chlorine has permeated the Aleppo air.

5. Transcript Dec 24 2012 Syria Several killed by Homs gas attack

Reporter Voiceover:

[Amateur video in Homs] Activists in Homs claim Syrian government forces have used poisonous gas on a rebel-held neighbourhood, killing several people.

They said that more than 50 people in the district were exposed to the gas with many in critical condition.

They claim the gas used was Agent 15, which lists suffocation, nerve paralysis, temporary blindness, and hallucinations amongst its symptoms. But this is yet to be confirmed.

[Amateur video in Halfaya] This attack comes a day after dozens of people were reported killed by an air strike on a bakery in the town north of the central city of Hama. Videos uploaded by activists purported to show the aftermath of the attack, bloodstained bodies lying amid rubble and shrapnel.

The British-based Syrian Observatory for Human Rights put the number of dead at more than 60. Activists claim some 44,000 have been killed during the 21-month-conflict.

6. Transcript May 6 2013 UN 'Strong suspicions' that Syrian rebels have used sarin nerve gas

Reporter Voiceover:

UN human rights investigators say they have strong suspicions but not absolute proof that Syrian rebel forces have used the nerve gas sarin.

It follows interviews with victims and doctors in neighbouring countries.

Carla del Ponte, UN Human Rights Investigator:

"We collect some witness testimony that made to appear that some chemical weapons were used, in particular nerving gas and what was, what appears to our investigation that that was used by the opponents, by the rebels."

[Activist footage] The Geneva-based inquiry gave no details as to when or where the nerve gas may have been used.

It did not find evidence that government forces had resorted to chemical weapons.

The US has said it has "varying degrees of confidence" that Syria's government has used nerve gas on its people. Sarin has no colour or smell and can be fatal even in small doses.

7. Transcript Aug 21 2013 Syrian activists accuse Assad forces of nerve gas attack

Reporter Voiceover:

[Amateur video] Syrian activists say as many as 650 people have been killed in nerve gas attacks launched by government forces.

[Syria TV] The toxic assaults took place at rebel held positions on the outskirts of Damascus.

The reports, which could not be independently verified, have been strenuously denied by the regime in the capital.

Unnamed military spokesperson [translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"The leadership of the army confirms these allegations are completely false and are part of the dirty media war that is led by countries that oppose Syria".

Reporter Voiceover:

Both sides in the conflict have accused one another of using chemical weapons in a war that has claimed the lives of 100,000 people and shows no sign of ending.

As the latest accusations surface, a UN team is in Damascus to probe previous allegations of chemical weapon use. The Arab League, Britain and France, have called on the inspectors to be granted immediate access to the alleged attack sites.

8. Transcript May 11 2013 Turkey claims wounded Syrians show signs of chemical attack

Reporter Voiceover:

[Amateur video] Syrian government forces appear to be continuing their shelling according to this unverified footage from Kafr Batna near Damascus.

It is not known how many people died in the bombardment. [End of amateur footage].

Meanwhile in the international world, momentum is growing concerning the issue of chemical weapons. Turkey's Foreign Minister has claimed tests show signs of use on civilians.

Ahmet Davutoglu, Turkish Foreign Minister:

"Recently there were certain allegations, where in some attacks chemical weapons were being used. We took it very seriously, and from that time until now, we have been making tests for those people who are coming from this particular region, and we have some, let me say, indications regarding chemical weapons being used."

Reporter Voiceover:

The use of chemical weapons can only intensify the plight of civilians trying to escape the violence.

A wary Washington has also said there is "strong evidence" that the US president's 'red line' in this conflict had been crossed.

ix. Syrian Cabinet Resigns

1. Transcript Mar 29 2011 Syrian cabinet quits amid violent unrest

Reporter Voiceover:

Syria's President Bashar al-Assad has accepted the resignation of his cabinet amid increasingly deadly protests in the country.

Earlier, tens of thousands of people came out in support of the president in the Syrian capital Damascus following a near two-week wave of unrest that has seen more than 60 people killed in a violent crackdown by security forces.

Despite the latest move, Syria's cabinet is generally seen to have little authority, with power concentrated in the hands of Assad, his family and the security apparatus.

For that reason, it is unclear if the government's resignation will be enough to satisfy pro-democracy protesters who have held mass rallies across Syria, notably in Deraa. The capital and the north western city of Latakia have also seen demonstrations.

Speculation remains rife that Assad is preparing to announce the lifting of emergency laws that have kept dissent in check for nearly 50 years, one of the pro-democracy movement's key demands.

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2. Transcript Mar 29 2011 Syrian government expected to resign amid protests

Reporter Voiceover:

A massive march in support for an Arab leader is a rare sight these days, but tens of thousands of people have taken to the streets of the Syrian capital, Damascus, to back President Bashar al-Assad.

It is reported he will announce the resignation of his government today with a new cabinet set to be formed within the next 24 hours.

[Syria TV footage] It follows two weeks of protests against his rule in which dozens of people are said to have been killed. [End of Syria TV footage]

Further demonstrations are expected in several cities across the country where reformists want to end the 41 year rule of the Assad family.

[Amateur video, YouTube]The president has indicated he is willing to make some changes, although his proposals have done little to stem the wave of protests. Assad has yet to speak publicly, but officials say he'll make a speech shortly amid speculation he could lift emergency rule.

x. Tunisia President Ben Ali flees

1. Transcript Jan 15 2011 Overnight unrest after Tunisia's president flees

Reporter Voiceover:

Turmoil has continued in Tunisia overnight after popular protests swept the president from power.

Looters and gangs have exploited the security vacuum in the capital. Witnesses said the army was called in to try to restore calm.

The prime minister is now caretaker president. He says he will meet political parties today to try to form a coalition to take Tunisia to early elections.

But Mohamed Ghannouchi is closely linked to President Ben Ali's rule and it is unclear if his leadership will be accepted on the streets.

Former President Ben Ali has fled Tunisia. Saudi Arabia says he and his family have arrived there.

Our correspondent in the Tunisian capital says

Jamel Ezzedini, euronews [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]

This is a new independence for people who believed in their right to freedom and dignity. This is what hundreds of Tunisians on the streets exclaimed, despite a curfew in state of emergency, expressing their delight and joy in the president's departure. He's been replaced by the Prime Minister on a temporary basis. What lies ahead for Tunisia, remains to be seen.

2. Transcript Jan 16 2011 Tension in Tunis amid fear of Ben Ali forces

Reporter Voiceover:

More gunfire has been reported in Tunis, where the army has tightened its grip on the city centre two days after President Ben Ali was ousted by violent protests.

The former Tunisian leader's security chief is to appear in court on charges of stoking violence and threatening national security.

Attacks by both supporters and opponents of the ex-dictator have been reported. Forces loyal to Ben Ali have been accused of looting and killing.

This man wants November the 7th Square to be renamed. Instead of marking the date Ben Ali came to power, he says it should become January the 14th square, to celebrate the revolution. "Today is better", says this man. Citizens defence groups are protecting their neighbourhoods, thank God.

Last week's violence has claimed another victim. A Paris-based photographer struck in the face by a tear gas canister on Friday, has died of his injuries. The Prime Minister has been holding more talks to try to form a coalition government. One opposition leader says internationally supervised elections could be held within months.

3. Transcript Mar 9 2011 Tunisia ousted president's party dissolved

Reporter Voiceover:

Jubilant demonstrators gathered in the court buildings in Tunis. They were celebrating the ruling by a judge to dissolve the political party of former President Ben Ali. It has signalled the end of one of the last vestiges of the ousted leaders era.

The headquarters of the party, the Constitutional Democratic Rally - the RCD - had been the target of protesters in the capital Tunis. The dismantling of the RCD had been one of their main demands after Ben Ali was toppled in January. The ruling now prevents a candidate being put forward in future elections. The move comes just two days after the country's interim Prime Minister announced a new government, which will run the country until elections, scheduled to take place on the 24th of July to choose a national assembly that will re-write the constitution.

4. Transcript Jan 22 2011 Tunisian PM to stand down after election

Reporter Voiceover:

For protesters like this in Tunisia, it should be good news. Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi, who served under the ousted former President Ben Ali, has pledged to leave politics after planned elections.

Demonstrators have been demanding that figures from the previous regime do not stay in power.

[Tunisie TV Footage]In an interview, Ghannouchi said like other Tunisians he too was afraid under Ben Ali's rule. He also promised reforms and said anti-democratic laws would be abolished, citing as examples, the ban on certain political parties and [end of footage from Tunisie TV] an anti-terrorist law under which hundreds of young people have been thrown in jail for consulting Islamist websites.

Amid extraordinary scenes in Tunis, policemen, who barely a week ago were crushing demonstrations, stood arm in arm with protesters.

Unidentified Tunisian Policemen [translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

This policeman said they'd "been forced to clap down. We only fear God, but we're asking forgiveness from the people of Tunisia", he said. "We want forgiveness, because we love them. I'm from Tunisia too".

The government has promised to release hundreds of political prisoners. The first have been freed among emotional scenes. The Prime Minister has pledged that victims of the former regime will be compensated.

xi. Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh leaves

1. Transcript Jun 26 2011 Burned Saleh set to return to Yemen as unrest continues

Reporter Voiceover:

Injured Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh looks set to return to the country within the next 48-hours.

The man who has ruled Yemen for over 30 years was injured in a bomb blast at the presidential mosque on June 3 and has been receiving medical treatment in Saudi Arabia.

He is said to have suffered severe burns:

Ahmed al-Sufi, Saleh's senior advisor [translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the euronews English report]:

"The president will appear within the next 48 hours despite our fear that the burns on his face and all over his body will be difficult for us,"

Reporter Voiceover:

As Yemen remains gripped by protests against the regime, it's thought that Saleh is to offer two scenarios to end the unrest. The first is to shift power to parliament to remain as a figure head. The second is to form a coalition government, then hold presidential elections and retire. Opponents are unlikely to believe a word he says. After months of violence across Yemen, tens of thousands have taken to the streets to call for Saleh's sons to leave the country. His son Ahmad, a Republican Guard and his brother Khaled is an army commander.

2. Transcript Jun 5 2011 Saleh arrives in Saudi Arabia

Reporter Voiceover:

Saudi Arabia's Royal Court has confirmed that Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh has arrived in the country to receive medical treatment. He flew to Riyadh late on Saturday along with a number of his aids. He was taken from the air base to a military hospital.

Saleh has temporarily handed over control of the troubled state to the vice president, Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi.

[Yemen TV footage] Saleh was injured in an attack by rebels on his palace on Friday. At first, it was thought, he'd received only minor injuries, but the fact that he's had to leave the country for treatment suggests the wounds are more serious. There are reports that he was hit by shrapnel just below the heart. Seven other people were killed in the attack.

There's been no let-up in the clashes over the weekend. Saturday, saw serious disturbances on the streets of the capital. Saleh is refusing to step down despite the violence and the growing international pressure from the west, as well as Gulf Arab States.

Leaving Yemen even for medical treatment, may now make it harder for Saleh to return.

3. Transcript Aug 16 2011 Saleh forth Yemeni president vows return

Reporter Voiceover:

[Yemen TV footage]The president of Yemen has promised his supporters he will return home soon from his convalescence in Saudi Arabia.

Ali Abdullah Saleh was seriously burned in a bomb-blast in June.

A popular uprising against him erupted six months ago.

But speaking on TV he invited the opposition to go to the ballot box, saying he was prepared to hand over power through elections but not a coup d'état. [End of Yemen TV footage].

The opposition thought they had seen the back of Saleh when he flew to Saudi Arabia for medical treatment. They'd maintained their pressure for Saleh's unclear word to leave power.

Demonstrations just a few days ago included troops who had defected from the government.

But Saleh has side stepped defective leaders of Tunisia and Egypt and remains technically at least, the president. He ended his TV address saying "See you soon, in Sanaa".

4. Transcript Jul 8 2011 Yemen's injured President Saleh reappears on TV

Reporter Voiceover:

[Yemen State TV] His hands and arms heavily bandaged, Yemen's President has appeared on television for the first time since an assassination attempt a month ago.

Ali Abdullah Saleh looked a shadow of his former self, his face now showing signs of severe burns as he recovers in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

He said he had had more than eight operations following the explosion on June 3 at his presidential compound. At least seven people died.

Saleh also declared he was ready to share power as long as it is within the constitution's framework. But he's backed out of deals below and as speculation mounts over whether he will or will not return to Yemen, protests against his 33 year rule, continue.

Hundreds gathered in the capital Sanaa in the latest demonstration. Some said they'd pursue the movement through Ramadan to secure political change.

5. Transcript Jul 7 Yemen's Saleh speaks out for first time since attack

Reporter Voiceover:

[Footage from Yemen State TV] He has not been seen in public since an assassination attempt on him in June. And the signs of the bomb attack were clear as Yemen's President spoke in a pre-recorded TV interview.

Recovering in Riyadh in Saudi Arabia, Ali Abdullah Saleh said he had had more than eight operations.

Still in office despite months of protests against his rule, he told Yemen TV that he welcomed power sharing as long as it was within the constitution.

6. Transcript Jun 27 2011 Yemen's Saleh to address the nation

Reporter Voiceover:

Saudi Arabia's Royal Court has confirmed that Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh has arrived in the country to receive medical treatment. He flew to Riyadh late on Saturday along with a number of his aids. He was taken from the air base to a military hospital.

Saleh has temporarily handed over control of the troubled state to the vice president, Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi.

[Yemen TV footage] Saleh was injured in an attack by rebels on his palace on Friday. At first, it was thought, he'd received only minor injuries, but the fact that he's had to leave the country for treatment suggests the wounds are more serious. There are reports that he was hit by shrapnel just below the heart. Seven other people were killed in the attack.

There's been no let-up in the clashes over the weekend. Saturday, saw serious disturbances on the streets of the capital. Saleh is refusing to step down despite the violence and the growing international pressure from the west, as well as Gulf Arab States.

Leaving Yemen even for medical treatment, may now make it harder for Saleh to return.

Reporter Voiceover:

Dancing in the streets of Sanaa at the news Yemen's President Ali Abdallah Saleh is to make a speech that it is rumoured could include an offer to hand over power.

Saleh has not been seen in public since he was wounded in an attack on his palace at the beginning of the month.

He flew to Saudi Arabia for treatment for reportedly severe burns, leaving behind a country on the verge of civil war after months of protests.

His advisor issued a statement on Sunday saying Saleh would make a media appearance within 48 hours. Although he didn't go into details, other sources say the president will offer to transfer his power to parliament or pave the way for early elections permitting him to retire.

The attack on the palace marked a peak in violence that has racked the country amid the mass calls for Saleh to quit. He is also under pressure from Saudi Arabia and the United States; who fear a power vacuum in Yemen.

III. France 24

i. Bahrain Saudi Troops enter Bahrain

1. Transcript Feb 17 2011 Bahrain It was a complete bloodbath

Mustafa Alani, Senior Adviser, Gulf Research Centre Voiceover [speaking from Dubai]:
I think it'll have a huge impact on the rest of the region. And this is a very important, strategically very important region for the US. And Bahrain, specifically, they have the base and headquarters of the fifth fleet, US fifth fleet is in Bahrain and they consider Bahrain is in the frontline fighting the Iranian influence in the region. Always, they see the Iranian schedule in Bahrain and we have to remember that Iran was claiming Bahrain since 1952 until 1971 officially and this claim has reproduced many times in the few years, so for the US they look at a strategic question rather than just a simple protest. I think the US will regret the human casualties, the loss of life, and who ask both sides try to restrain. I don't think the US will come beside the opposition movement in this sort of protest. I find it very difficult because it is the attitude of US unclear the protester as happened in Egypt. This is going to open the floodgates in the whole region.

France 24 Anchor:

And we understand as well the the US doesn't actually have an ambassador in the country. That's going to make it quite difficult for them to gather intelligence to be able to react, isn't it?

Mustafa Alani, Senior Adviser, Gulf Research Centre Voiceover [speaking from Dubai]:
Actually, they have one of their major intelligence centres in the fifth fleet command. So they have the structure intelligence, not necessarily in the diplomatic side, but definitely on the military side.

France 24 Anchor:

And you mentioned at the end there as well, the reaction across the rest of the gulf reaction. What do you think other governments and other Heads of State will be thinking at this time?

Mustafa Alani, Senior Adviser, Gulf Research Centre Voiceover [speaking from Dubai]:
I think they will come in support of the Bahraini government, because, as I said, look at the region. Other opposition movements, other sectarian demands, tried to push their demands and taking advantage. So I don't think any government here will allow such events to basically force the government for major concession. It's going to be a major problem if the king give major concession under such pressure.

2. Transcript Mar 15 2011 BAHRAIN Saudi troops arrived to quell uprising - F24 110315

Transcription

Date uploaded by France 24 English on YouTube channel: 15 Mar 2011

Date Aired on Television channel:

Headline in text on video:

YouTube video title: BAHRAIN Saudi troops arrived to quell uprising - F24 110315

Channel: France 24 English

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=woGw2Wws8PM>

Minutes: 02:21

Other headlines:

- BAHRAIN UNREST State of emergency declared as 2 killed, 200 injured
- BAHRAIN UNREST More than 200 people wounded in village of Sitra
- BAHRAIN UNREST Thousands march on Saudi embassy in Manama

Christopher Davidson, Middle East Politics, Durham University, by phone from Durham- UK: Yeah, I think now that the Saudis have intervened, they've put across a thousand or so troops and the United Arab Emirates are joining them as well. This has seriously delegitimised the ruling regime in Bahrain now, at least the ruling family. This can only really mean that the protesters become more embolden and see their ruling regime as even more illegitimate than before. I doubt they'll be willing to come to the table. There may have been a window of opportunity in the last few weeks to try and discuss some kind of constitutional monarchy. But now I see that window of opportunity fading.

France 24 Anchor:

Does 'state of emergency' in this context mean carte blanche to attack the protesters?

Christopher Davidson, Middle East Politics, Durham University, by phone from Durham- UK: Yes, pretty much. Essentially, it puts the protection of the nation under control of the Bahraini defence force. And in turn, the Saudi troops and the UAE troops have also technically placed themselves under the umbrella of the Bahraini defence forces too. This means that the regular police will not be responsible for putting down these protests. Crucially, we've also had adverts in Pakistani newspapers in recent days, that the Bahraini defence force trying to recruit mercenaries to come across. We've seen the damage that can do in Libya. Some people are very fearful of a similar kind of situation in Bahrain too.

France 24 Anchor:

Why have the Saudi troops been sent to Bahrain?

Christopher Davidson, Middle East Politics, Durham University, by phone from Durham- UK: Well, it's said that the guise of the Gulf Cooperation Council Peninsula Defence shield, which was set up after Kuwait was invaded in 1990. Really these forces which of course include armoured personnel carriers, tanks, etc, many of them sold to Saudi by western governments, these forces were always intended to help collectively defend the Gulf States from external threat, but it seems here they're going to be ultimately used to actually subjugate part of the Gulf indigenous population.

3. Transcription Mar 15 2011 BRHRAIN Saudi troops as foreign occupation in Brhrain - F24 110315

France 24 Anchor:

...the government including yesterday, when several people were injured in clashes. Bahrain's opposition says the move is tantamount to foreign occupation.

France 24 Correspondent:

A convoy, as far as the eye can see. Armoured trucks, jeeps and other military vehicles, passing from Saudi Arabia into Bahrain to shore up a government overwhelmed by protests. In Manama's business district, anti-monarchy protesters have blocked off streets. Predominantly Shiite, they are calling on Bahrain Sunni rulers to undertake wide-reaching political reforms. On Sunday, security forces, tries to disperse crowds using tear gas, but demonstrators are resisting and proudly display the cartridges fired the day before.

Unidentified protester, [Translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

In the beginning, we were only around the square. But then when the police arrived and attacked us, we were forced to set up barricades in the surrounding streets.

France 24 Correspondent:

The Bahrain government, is calling for military assistance. The Gulf Cooperation Council, which includes Saudi Arabia, is said to have sent troops. The opposition, sees it as a declaration of war.

Ibrahim SHERIF AL SAYD, Leader, Al-Waad opposition movement [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

We say to our brothers in the Gulf, your army is welcome if our country is facing the external danger. But if you come to oppress our people, you'll be considered an army of occupation.

France 24 Correspondent:

The Saudi government has already responded saying the security of its neighbouring kingdom is threatened. The region's main Sunni power is also nervous of protests spreading to its own backyard. [Footage from other channel, logo is unclear]

Story by Oliverly Farry, Pierrick Laurent and Carla Westerheide

France 24 Anchor:

Well, for more on that story, I'm joined now here in the Studio by Lila from our international desk. Lila, let's start, we're talking about the significance of these troops moving in from Saudi Arabia and elsewhere. How important a move is this?

Leela Jacinto, France 24 International Desk:

Very significant. This is the first cross-border military operation since the Arab uprisings began in late December. You know it happened in Egypt, it happened in Tunisia, it happened Libya, but we haven't seen any such cross-border operations.

But what we're seeing here, is basically the response of the Gulf nations, this is the GCC, they're the basically very oil-rich kingdom. They're responding to the threat of the political uprising in a neighbouring state that's really too close for comfort.

And for Saudi Arabia in particular, it's a way too close for comfort. I mean all you have to do is really take look at a map and I have a map here. It's a Google Map of the region and if you see right here, there's Bahrain, it's a very small kingdom. It's predominantly a Shiite kingdom, that's ruled by a Sunni majority. And right here, is Saudi Arabia, you have 25 KM causeway that links these two countries. And if you cross this causeway into Saudi Arabia, you come to this province of Al Hassa. This is a very strategic province for Saudi Arabia. It's oil-rich, some of its biggest oil-installations are here, Al Kobar is here, and this province is actually home to the kingdom's largest Shiite population. Bahrain as we know is predominantly Shiite ruled by a Sunni majority leader.

So what Saudi Arabia has always feared is that any sort of political upheavals with the Shiites in Bahrain, could be a cross-pollination of these ideas with their own Shiite population. And Saudi Arabia, is a conservative Wahhabi Kingdom. It traditionally views Shiite as apostates, so you know, we have a secretarial aspect that you know, crosses borders in this case.

France 24 Anchor:

Alright now, as we saw briefly in that reporter, the opposition in Bahrain are very angry about this. They say 'look, this is a foreign occupation'.

Leela Jacinto, France 24 International Desk:

You can be sure that they're very angry about it. Well, what happens in Bahrain is that the Shiites have a long list of grievances against the Sunni ruling house. They are marginally represented in politics. And a very important thing is they are not in the Saudi security- sorry- in the Bahraini security forces. The Bahraini Police Force is primarily made up of foreigners from other Sunni nations like Yemen and Pakistan. So Bahraini Shiites who cannot join the security services, which is the state's largest employer, you know, the invasion, as they see it, of these troops from other neighbouring Sunni countries, is for them very much an invasion and occupation.

France 24 Anchor:

Meanwhile, Iran is majority a Shiite country. They're watching what's going on in Bahrain very closely, aren't they?

Leela Jacinto, France 24 International Desk:

Oh yes, Iran very interesting. But before we get to Iran, Bahrain is home to the US' fifth fleet. This is basically, the bulwark, Washington's bulwark against Iranian influence. And if we go back to our map and we head east. We head a lot east. It's right here. It's the gigantic Shiite neighbour. Bahrain has traditionally played up the Iran card. They've traditionally said that the Shiites, their Shiites, could be influenced by Iran. There is very little evidence to prove that, but if you see Washington's reaction, you don't get this should of strong rhetoric that you've see in Egypt and Tunisia. You know, Washington for the past month has been calling for reform. You know, today, we saw the White House saying that they don't see this force as an invasion. You know, this is a response that will be seen very closely by Bahraini Shiites home. This force, is undoubtedly an invasion force.

France 24 Anchor:

Alright, Leela, many thanks indeed. Stop at 05:34 before carrying on to other news headlines.

ii. Egypt Morsi grants himself unlimited powers

1. Transcript Jul 8 2013 Are Egyptians being impatient

France 24 unnamed interviewee in studio :

There was a woman, interviewed a few weeks ago. She was covered all over and she said that she had enough of high prices of gas, high prices of bread, no water and no security. And really, if I think highly of the Egyptian army, I don't see how they can give this woman cheap gas, electricity, water, work for her husband, work for her son, in a year. And the problem is as it was said rightly before, Egypt is in a revolutionary situation, which means it's a semi-direct democracy. During the French revolution, groups of people with petitions went to the assembly saying "we want this"! "This is a democracy, I am the people"! "I want this, I want that" and I have many signatures.

Egyptians are in this state of mind that they have a contract. "I voted for you, I want cheap gas, I want electricity, I want policemen in my street and I give you three months".

2. Transcript Jul 7 2013 As it happened Egypt's army ousts Morsi

GEN. ABDEL FATTAH AL-SISI, Egyptian Defense Minister:

[Egypt TV Footage] In order to implement to current tensions and conflicts, the roadmap defines the following missions:

1. First of all, the constitution is suspended temporarily.
2. Second, the President of the Supreme Court will organise early elections

3. Transcript Egypt Army

Kathryn Stapley, CAIRO, Egypt, France 24 Correspondent:

I'm here in Tahrir Sq and it's absolutely packed here. There's so many people, stretching as far as the bridges onto the Nile and all side streets are also packed and people here are in buoyant mood. They've been galvanised by the amount of people who turned out for these demonstrations yesterday. What's quite surprising about today is that this wasn't a demonstration that was called for. This is very impromptu. And the atmosphere here is one of celebration. People believe that President Morsi is on his way out. We've heard that I the chants they've been shouting. They've been shouting down there "We are winning". And one of the reasons they believe that is that they believe that they now have the backing of the army. The army is now on the side of the protestors. And we heard from the army this afternoon, it was a statement from the defence minister General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi seemed in that statement to

be putting some of the blame for this on President Morsi, for not reaching out and not being able to compromise with the opposition. So, now the people are convinced with what he said in that statement, that the army will step in and force Morsi to go. And that's why we have these huge celebrations going on in Tahrir tonight. Of course, they've given a 48 hour ultimatum as you've said to opposing forces to figure out their differences, but people are convinced that President Morsi will not even last that long.

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

So, how seriously should Morsi take this 48-hour ultimatum, Kathryn?

Kathryn Stapley, CAIRO, Egypt, France 24 Correspondent:

Well, I think he is taking it very seriously and he's in damaged limitation mode. He's been meeting with General Abdel el-Sisi, the army chief and also with the Prime Minister Hisham Qandil, trying to figure out what to do. We are hearing some sources saying that what he's going to do is, he may call for a referendum on him staying on as president. Or he may call on early presidential elections. The Muslim Brotherhood too, also holding a meeting to decide what they're going to do. I mean, this is pretty embarrassing for them as an organisation. They were a political party waiting; they've waited 80 years to realise their political ambitions and here in the country (unclear) this country is now rejecting them on mass and they're saying that "We're not Islamists. We're Muslims, but we're Christians too but above all else, we're rejecting and we don't want to be ruled by the Muslim Brotherhood.

4. Transcript Jul 4 2013 Egypt arrests supreme leader of Muslim Brotherhood

The supreme leader of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, Mohammed Badie, has been arrested and taken to Cairo on a military helicopter, security officials say. Ousted president Mohammed Morsi was a member and former leader of the Islamist movement.

Egypt's army rounded up the leadership of ousted president Mohamed Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood on Thursday as a top judge took office after an abrupt end to the Islamist's first year in power.

Morsi's government unravelled late on Wednesday after the army gave him a 48-hour ultimatum in the wake of massive demonstrations since June 30 against his turbulent rule.

Military chief General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi announced Morsi's overthrow, citing his inability to end a deepening political crisis, as dozens of armoured personnel carriers streamed onto Cairo's streets.

And on Thursday, the army turned the screws on the Brotherhood, with military police arresting supreme leader Mohammed Badie "for inciting the killing of protesters", a security official told AFP.

A judicial source said the prosecution would on Monday begin questioning members of the group, including Morsi, for "insulting the judiciary" as the charges began to pile up.

Other Brotherhood leaders would be questioned on the same charges, including the head of the group's political arm Saad al-Katatni, Mohammed al-Beltagui, Gamal Gibril and Taher Abdel Mohsen.

Morsi and other senior leaders have also been banned from travel pending investigation into their involvement in a prison break in 2011.

The arrests came after chief justice Adly Mansour, 67, was sworn in as interim president at a ceremony broadcast live from the Supreme Constitutional Court.

He will serve until elections at a yet-to-be determined date, said Sisi, as he laid out a roadmap for a political transition that includes a freeze on the Islamist-drafted constitution.

As the world debated whether the military's action amounted to a real coup, analysts agreed that Morsi and his Islamist movement brought about their own rapid demise.

"Morsi and the Brotherhood made almost every conceivable mistake... they alienated potential allies, ignored rising discontent, (and) focused more on consolidating their rule than on using what tools they did have," Nathan Brown wrote on the New Republican website.

A senior military officer said the army was "preventively" holding Morsi and that he might face formal charges linked to his prison escape during the revolt that overthrew dictator Hosni Mubarak in 2011.

Morsi had issued a defiant call for supporters to protect his elected "legitimacy", in a recorded speech hours after the military announced his ouster.

"We had to confront it at some point, this threatening rhetoric," the officer said. "He succeeded in creating enmity between Egyptians."

Morsi's rule was marked by a spiralling economic crisis, shortages of fuel and often deadly opposition protests.

Thousands of protesters dispersed after celebrating wildly through the night at the news of his downfall.

Egypt's press almost unanimously hailed Morsi's ouster as a "legitimate" revolution.

"And the people's revolution was victorious," read the front page of state-owned Al-Akhbar.

Morsi's opponents had accused him of failing the 2011 revolution by concentrating power in the hands of his Brotherhood.

His supporters say he inherited many problems from a corrupt regime, and that he should have been allowed to complete his term, which had been due to run until 2016.

US President Barack Obama said he was "deeply concerned" over Morsi's ouster and urged the army to refrain from "arbitrary arrests".

In May, Washington approved \$1.3 billion in military aid to Egypt. That was now under review, said Obama, as he called for a swift return to democratic rule.

Germany termed Morsi's ouster by the military "a major setback for democracy in Egypt", while Russia called on all Egyptian political forces to "exercise restraint".

Britain said it will work with the interim authorities despite not supporting the military intervention.

UN chief Ban Ki-moon said civilian rule "should be resumed as soon as possible" and that Egypt's future should reflect the people's will, in a statement echoed by NATO.

At least 10 people were killed in clashes in Alexandria and in the southern province of Minya during the night, security officials said.

Already in the week leading up to Morsi's downfall, at least 50 people died in clashes between his supporters and opponents.

In addition to rounding up Brotherhood members, the security forces also turned off broadcasts by the group's television channel, a Morsi aide told AFP.

(AFP)

France 24 English Reporter:

A decisive victory for opposition protesters in Egypt. With arrest warrants out now for around 300 members of the Muslim Brotherhood including its leaders, could this be the end of the Islamist group as a leading political force in the country? Some protesters, out celebrating the fall of the posed president Mohammed Morsi in Tahrir Square, seem to think so.

Unnamed protester speaking in Arabic [translated to English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

The people and the army are now on the same side. We hope General El-Sisi can put an end to the Muslim Brotherhood. They have terrorism on their minds. They want to scare Egyptians and we don't want to see that at all.

France 24 English Reporter:

Muslim Brotherhood member Mohammed Morsi, was swept into power a year ago. The Brotherhood were different to other groups fighting to rule the vacuum left by ousting of former president Hosni Mubarak. They were the most organised and ultimately, the most popular. Through funding charity work, and hand-outs, the Brotherhood built a wide support base amongst rural poor. As the pro-Morsi movement has shown in recent weeks that broad support remains.

Voiceover of unidentified person speaking in English:

If this coup is a process to try and exclude the Muslim Brotherhood from power, then I think Egypt's in for a greater period of instability. Because if anything, the Muslim Brotherhood remains the best organised political force in Egypt today. So, it's really trying to find a way of bringing the Muslim Brotherhood back into the political process but not to dominate it. That is the challenge ahead.

France 24 English Reporter:

However, Egypt's interim president Adli Mansour, has promised that the group would not be excluded, moving Egypt towards reconciliation as the next challenge for the country's leaders to face. And it looks as though the Muslim Brotherhood will still have a role to play.

5. Transcript Aug 8 2013 Egypt crisis a 'million men victory feast protest' to be organised

Kathryn STAPLY, Cairo Egypt, France 24 Correspondent:

The Muslim Brotherhood and the anti-coup coalition, as they call themselves, are still determined to stay at Rabaa al-Adawiya sit-in and the Nahda square sit-in outside Cairo University. And you know, they've been there for around 6 weeks now and the sit-ins are really the last bargaining chip that the pro-Morsi camp have. If they leave those sit-ins, then they'll give up any leverage that they might have with the interim authorities.

Now today's the first day of the Eid holiday, the religious holidays that celebrates the end of the fasting month of Ramadan. And it's expected that the numbers of the people at the sit-in could dwindle as people leave to go home and spend the holiday with their families. So to pre-empt that, the protest organisers have asked Brotherhood offices close to Cairo to bring in their members, so that the size of the sit-ins aren't affected. Now they've also called for a million-man victory feast protests today in their planning. Protests across Egypt throughout out the 4 day eid holiday here. But also the Tamarod (rebel) campaign here have also called for people

to come out into Tahrir Sq in Cairo and other squares across the country to celebrate Eid prayer and show their support for the army and the interim government.

6. Transcript Jul 4 2013 Egypt One day on

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

Well, while covering those top stories, James XXXX is here with me. It's good to see you here James.

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

Likewise, Nora.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

And of course, all press outlets everywhere in the world have been talking about Egypt.

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

They absolutely have and indeed, one who spoke about Egypt, a year ago on the front page of... This is the front page of Time Magazine. That has been shared quite a lot around social media over the last 24 hours, because the headline is "The most important man in the Middle East". So that changed pretty quickly and I suppose you can't really blame Time for that, because things really did turn around so quickly in the last 12 months in Egypt, but I suppose it doesn't really flatter them at this point in time.

If you move on, to the economist, they're a bit more, I suppose, in the moment, Egypt's tragedy and they say that they were delighted that after 30 years of dictatorship, Egypt was on its way to becoming a democracy and so they look at the events of the last three days as

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

Oh, they're against the coup are they?

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

They are against the coup and in fact, it was very interesting to look at some of the front pages across the European and global press because it was either being called a revolution or it was being called a coup.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

Well, I saw the BBC was leading today with 'a new dawn for Egypt', which sounds quite positive, doesn't it?

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

And actually, Le Monde, I should have brought it in to show you, was talking about a revolution on its headline, and then in the editorial, on the front page editorial, it was talking about a coup. So, it seems that no one seems to be able to decide exactly what it was.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

Well, can't it be both?

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

I think it was a bit of both actually. If we look at the reaction, vis-a-vis America, because America had sort of backed....

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:
Obama avoiding the “c” word really studiously today...

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):
That’s right, but if you look at the streets of Egypt, there was a lot of negative banners about the US. ‘Obama supports terrorism’, says that one there. And here, ‘Wake up America, Obama supports a fascist regime in Egypt’. So, it’s obviously a very tuff one for Washington, Paris and other cities to deal with.

Looking to Tunisia, of course its concern is that it could spread, the contagion effect, it could spread over to Tunisia, where there’s also an Islamist government in place.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:
There was a huge protest in Tunisia, not so long ago as well, when that opposition leader was killed.

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):
That’s right and we saw Hollande as well was in Tunisia as well. But, there was one embarrassing incident for the Prime Minister.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:
Oh, not again...

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):
Well, we’ll get to François Hollande, because he embarrassed himself as well. But, the son of the prime minister, a guy called Hisham Larayed. Do you know what he did? Ohh his twitter account, he called for Jihad. And he more or less did the same thing...

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:
The son of the Tunisian Prime Minister?

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):
Yes.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:
Not the son of the French Prime Minister.

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):
No. So this is the problem with Twitter. It allows people to make all sorts of inappropriate statements especially if you’re the son of a government member.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:
This is Twitter. Valerie Trierweiler.

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):
Yeah. But, speaking of Valerie Trierweiler and François Hollande, shall we take a listen to a little boo-boo that François Hollande made in Tunis today? He was being asked a question by the Press core about Egypt. I stress Egypt. Let’s take a listen.

French President François Hollande speaking in French [Translated into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

France has taken note of what's happened in Tunisia. I'm sorry, I have also taken note of the situation in Tunisia, which itself is undergoing democratic transition.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

Oh dear, he did something like that not so long ago in Japan. Didn't he? He said thank the Chinese people instead of Japanese people.

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

That's right. 'Thank the Chinese people, I mean the Japanese'. So, you know, for somebody in a pretty important diplomatic role, it's better not to mix up countries in that way.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

First rule of politics, do not mix up countries. Know your countries.

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

But he was quickly forgiven.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

He did correct himself very quickly. Let's talk about some other countries in the region.

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

We have some tweets here from Sultan Al Qassemi who is one of the bit most prominent twitter commentators on the Middle East. He is based in Qatar. "Qatar got it wrong in Libya, then Syria and now billions of dollars could go down the pan in Egypt". He is quoting there "Can't get enough of this: Qatar praises "the Egyptian army's role in safeguarding Egypt's national security". So it is obviously one that everybody is kind of trying to manage on a diplomatic front and that's another one from Sultan Al Qassemi. But I'll move to the Turkish, English language newspaper and the whole question of Islam, is it compatible with democracy? It's being asked quite a lot at the moment. The Turks are looking to Egypt, they're looking to their own government, which is political Islam as well. And an interesting comment. They're saying, actually, in some ways, what we saw in Egypt, Morsi was as bad as Mubarak, so it's not necessarily the same thing with Turkey. That the predecessors who were secular were just as bad in some respects.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

So it doesn't matter if you're an Islamist or secular. If you're not a good leader, you risk being ousted in a coup.

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

You summed it up way better than the Daily News.

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

Alright, thanks very much James Creedon with international reaction to events in Egypt. Well, of course you can see a bit more of James' work on our website www.france24.com and you can also check out his twitter page. How do we follow you James?

James Creedon, Media Correspondent (@JamesCreedonF24):

@JamesCreedonF4

Nora, France 24 English Anchor:

There you go, good stuff. And we're going to turn our attention now to all things business and financials. Here is

7. Transcript Jul 29 2013 Egypt ongoing protests against army and Muslim Brotherhood

France 24 Reporter Voiceover:

Today on the net, activists in Egypt protesting against both the army and Islamists. Campaigners in Finland seeking a change to the country's copyright legislation. And a company is asking for web users' help in funding a hover board.

Egypt: ongoing protests against army and Muslim Brotherhood

Dozens have been killed in Egypt over the past few days amid ongoing clashes between supporters and opponents of Mohammed Morsi. And whilst the Muslim Brotherhood has been staging demonstrations calling for the reinstatement of the ousted President and the army is urging the people of Egypt to protest against terrorism, a third voice is also trying to make itself heard.

Yes, this small group of Egyptians gathered in Sphinx Square in Cairo's suburb of Giza on Friday to protest against the Islamists and the army. They handed out flyers describing the Muslim Brotherhood's politics as "religious fascism" and say they are highly concerned over the army's return to the political scene. The movement, called "The Third Square", is calling for a quick transition to civilian rule and, as some say, reflects the expectations of the "silent majority".

Many Egyptians have indeed decided to stay well out of the power struggle between the military and the Islamists. Film maker Aalem Wassef for example, who has produced a music video in which he is shown doing his laundry at home whilst pro and anti-Morsi demonstrators fight in the street.

The movement is starting to gain significant ground on social networks. The "Third Square" Facebook page now has around 6,000 members and is calling for fresh protests in a few days' time.

8. Transcript Dec 10 2012 Egypt political crisis Morsi orders army to maintain stability

Alexander Turnbull, CAIRO, Egypt, France 24

It's unclear exactly what President Morsi expects from the Army. The Interior Ministry said that Police Forces would coordinate with the Army to try and keep the demonstrations planned for tomorrow peaceful. The Army was given the right to arrest civilians without warrants, but

they've repeatedly said that the best way to prevent clashes in demonstrations between anti and pro Morsi protesters was to convene all political forces and get them to agree, to compromise on the solution to this crisis.

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

Now Alex, as you mentioned, there are more protests planned for tomorrow. Of course, previous ones have turned deadly. What do you think we can expect over the next few days, considering that the opposition isn't happy about the referendum still going ahead as planned?

Alexander Turnbull, CAIRO, Egypt, France 24

The sound quality is really bad but, what we can expect for the coming days is, for tomorrow several demonstrations are planned. They're expected...thousands of people... are expected outside two mosques in the east of Cairo. Thousands of Islamists. They've also called for rallies in Alexandria and other major towns in the country in support of President Morsi. The opposition is expected to gather thousands of activists as well, outside the presidential palace. It's become their new Tahrir Square really. It's unclear exactly what they're going to do regarding the referendum. They've said they rejected the vote, but it's unclear if this means they will boycott it or if they will start campaigning for the 'No'.

Now, at least one party has said it will start campaigning for the 'No'. And we're seeing now in the streets, many leaflets from different political parties, calling for either vote, for either the 'yes' or the 'no'.

9. Transcript Dec 10 2012 Egypt political crisis Morsi gives army the power to arrest

ARMEN GEORGIAN, International Affairs Editor, France 24:

At the moment, the army is around the Presidential Palace, but they've kept a fairly low profile on the streets, where these protests have been happening. And they were remarkably low profile last week, when several people were killed in clashes between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Opposition. And President Morsi already said in his TV address last week, he won't accept more violence. So, effectively, urging the army to step up to the plate. The question is of course, will the army use these powers that you've mentioned. They're certainly very much remembering what it was like to be on the receiving end of stones and rocks at the end of last year, when the military were in power in Egypt and the military was the focus of the people's ruff. And I think they're going to be thinking very hard right now about whether they wanna come back into the frame and be seen to be coming into the frame politically at this stage.

10. Transcript Aug 16 2013 Egypt unrest very tense, violent and lethal, deadly clashes

Adam PLETTS, Cairo, Egypt

Well, we've just come back from the Fatha Mosque, in central Cairo. This is in Ramsey Square. It's location at the Muslim Brotherhood called on their supporters to gather to the million-man march that they wanted to do today and to show that their will hadn't been broken by the government's crackdowns on the demonstrations. It was extremely tense down there. The government has warned that they would use armed ammunition if the protests became violent. And they certainly were using live ammunition. In one of the hospitals there, or rather a mosque that had been turned into a field hospital with medics attending to those who had been injured. One of the nurses there told us that 16 people had been killed. There was continuous and sporadic gunfire in and around the mosques that particularly coming from a police station, which had been attacked, but only by rocks and stones and the like. So, it's certainly very tense and violent and lethal, deadly clashes

11. Transcript Egypt

Kathryn STAPLY, Cairo Egypt, France 24 Correspondent:

The crowds are absolutely jubilant here. They are still convinced that they have won. These crowds, the opponents of Mohammed Morsi, here in Tahrir Sq. They are sure that he will no longer be president by the end of the day. We are of course still waiting for this statement from the army. As far as they're concerned, that deadline, that 48 hour ultimatum is now up. But we still haven't heard from the army. We know there've been frantic meetings between the top army generals and opposition figures to Mohammad el Baradei, also religious figures, the Coptic Pope Tawadros II and the religious Islamic leader, the Sheikh of the Al-Azhar Mosque [unclear]. They are meeting to decide the best way forward for the country. What we are hearing is that there is no representative from the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party at those meetings, because they will only deal with the president. Now, the president's office, as you mentioned, issued a statement on Facebook, and what they've said there is that "the president has offered to form a consensus coalition government to oversee parliamentary elections". Now we've been waiting for these parliamentary elections here in Egypt for some time and there's no date set for that. Now that's really not going to satisfy these opponents of President Mohammed Morsi here in this square behind me and outside the presidential palace, where they're also gathering and in squares across Egypt cities. The opponents are not going to be satisfied with that. For them, it's too little, too late. Now, I should tell you, that when I was on air a while ago, about half an hour ago, a huge cheer went up from the crowd and that's because they heard a rumour that President Mohammed Morsi was under house arrest by the army. But this is absolutely unfounded, but that's what that big cheer was about and we will confirm any reports of that, but that's not the way that we think things are going at the moment. We are still waiting to hear from the army later on, that army's statement. But as of now, Mohammed Morsi is still president of Egypt.

12. Transcript Jul 1 2013 Egypt Army says the nation is in danger

Egypt's army said Thursday it was "preventively" holding ousted president Mohammed Morsi in the defence ministry after it overthrew his government just a year after he came to power in the country's first democratic elections.

Egypt's army said it was "preventively" holding ousted president Mohammed Morsi in the defence ministry on Thursday after it overthrew his Islamist-led government just one year after he became the country's first democratically elected president.

The military-led coup was hailed by ordinary Egyptians across the country. As army chief Abdel Fattah al-Sisi announced that Morsi's rule was over, a huge crowd in Cairo's Tahrir Square celebrated with singing, dancing and fireworks.

Morsi came under intense pressure after the army issued a 48-hour ultimatum on Monday for him to step down.

The military said Morsi was detained along with a dozen presidential aides after he urged supporters on national television to support his "legitimacy" and resist the military "peacefully".

"We had to confront it at some point, this threatening rhetoric," an officer told the AFP news agency. "He succeeded in creating enmity between Egyptians."

Police also began rounding up leaders of Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood movement. Saad al-Katatni, head of Morsi's Freedom and Justice Party, was put in custody and 300 arrest warrants have been issued for Brotherhood officials.

Some reports said Morsi could potentially face charges related to his escape from jail in 2011, amid the unrest that led to the popular overthrow of long-time Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak. The army also shut down three television channels deemed supportive of the toppled government, including one owned by the Brotherhood and the Qatar-owned Al Jazeera network.

Days before Morsi's downfall, millions of Egyptians angry about a declining economy and lack of representation in the Muslim Brotherhood-controlled government marched across the country.

On several occasions, protesters clashed with Morsi supporters, also out in force, leading to at least 50 deaths.

As General Sisi announced Morsi's ouster on Wednesday, army tanks and trucks surrounded pro-Morsi rallies in fear of an outbreak of fresh violence.

At least seven of Morsi's supporters were killed in clashes with security forces in Alexandria and the eastern city of Marsa Matrouh, security officials said.

Roadmap but no timetable

The army said that the current constitution drafted by Islamists would be temporarily suspended and would be reviewed in due time. It also promised early elections, in line with a new roadmap Egypt's opposition helped craft.

Liberal opposition leader Mohamed El Baradei, former head of the UN nuclear watchdog, sat beside Sisi as he announced on state television that Morsi's rule was over.

The army chief, who was appointed defence minister by Morsi himself, was flanked by the head of the Coptic Church and Muslim spiritual leaders, in a well-orchestrated scene meant to reflect broad support for Morsi's forced exit.

The roadmap is meant to wipe clear a slate of messy democratic reforms enacted since Morsi took over, and is supposed to lead to presidential and parliamentary elections. However, there was no timetable for the new changes.

World leaders expressed concern for the coup that toppled Morsi, with US President Barack Obama calling for a swift return to democratic rule.

France 24 Reporter:

On the streets of Alexandria, some 200 JM from the capital, supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood charge at opponents of ousted President Mohammed Morsi. Besides trade volleys of stones, barricades line the streets. With an Egyptian newspaper reporting that 100s of arrest warrants were issued for the Muslim Brotherhood and at least feared that clashes like these could become more frequent.

Unidentified lady speaking in English:

There is a great deal, I think, of well-founded worry that there may be some violence going down. Because it's uncertain how the Islamists are going to take it. I mean, if they are going to be pragmatic, then they could say 'Fine, we will, you know, roll with the punches and we'll go back to the ballot boxes', because the Brotherhood does extremely well at Ballot boxes.

France 24 Reporter:

Events now, are said to follow the army's so-called roadmap for political transition. On Thursday, the head of Egypt's Supreme Constitutional Court, Adli Mansour, will be sworn in as temporary Head of State.

An interim council and a technocratic government, will manage day to day affairs.

The roadmap also sets the country on course for fresh presidential and parliamentary elections. Among the potential candidates for the Presidency, former nuclear negotiator, Mohammed al Baradei. He'd bidding to cast himself as the true face of the movement that ousted Hosni Mubarak 2 years ago.

Mohammed al Baradei[Translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

[Footage from Egypt TV]. The roadmap, which was agreed on, corrects the course of the great January 25th revolution, which responds to the will of the Egyptian people across the country.

France 24 Reporter:

Meanwhile, the Egyptian constitution's set to be amended, then submitted for approval to the country's highest ranking Muslim Clerics at the Al Azhar Institute.

13. Transcript Dec 02 2012 Morsi calls referendum on disputed constitution

Morsi calls referendum on disputed constitution

Mohammed Morsi, President of Egypt speaking in Arabic [English translation offered for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

[Nile TV Footage] "I've made the decision today to invite the people of Egypt to take part in a referendum on the new constitution on December 15th. [End of Nile TV Footage]

France 24 English Correspondent Voiceover:

The opposition dismissed the decision on Tahrir Square. Anti-Morsi protesters raised their shoes in defiance. They say the new draft constitution was hijacked by the Muslim Brotherhood.

Anti-Morsi protester speaking in Arabic [English translation offered for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

This new constitution is incomplete. The political constitution tell it to a particular group, it wasn't written in the interest of the people.

Anti-Morsi protester speaking in Arabic [English translation offered for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

Morsi betrayed the people, Tahrir Sq and the Revolutionaries. He stole power for the Muslim Brotherhood.

France 24 English Correspondent Voiceover:

Noble peace prize winner and opposition figure Mohamed ElBaradei, tweeted that the constitution undermined basic freedoms and violated universal rights.

In a sign, the country is growing more divided, anger and celebrations across the river, with Morsi supporters, chanting and dancing.

Pro-Morsi protester speaking in Arabic [English translation offered for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

Morsi shouldn't be afraid of this decisions. The people and legitimacy are with him.

France 24 English Correspondent Voiceover:

[Nile TV footage] The president recently granted himself near absolute powers in order to speed up reforms sparking the biggest protests since his election in June.

In a speech, Morsi called for a national dialogue to ease the tensions. But his opponents aren't backing down. [End of Nile TV footage].

They vowed to continue protesting and said that they may even march on the presidential palace to prevent him from holding the mid-December referendum.

Transcript of Video 2: REFERENDUM WILL BE A CHALLENGE TO ORGANISE

Headlines:

- EGYPT POLITICAL CRISIS, President Morsi receives draft constitution amid protests
- EGYPT POLITICAL CRISIS, President Morsi calls for December 15 referendum on constitution

France 24 English Correspondent Voiceover: [Alexander Turnbull, CAIRO, Egypt]

Two weeks until the next, the referendum, and it's bound to be a challenge to organise. Authorities are going to have to print thousands of copies of the constitution and spread them, and spread a truckload of them across the country so that as many Egyptians as possible can actually get a look at it. They're going to have to set up 100s of polling stations as well. So yeah, it's going to be 2 weeks of very intense, 2 very intense weeks.

[Footage from Al Nile TV] President Morsi gave his speech in front of the members of the constituent assemble. There were no representatives of the Coptic community, no representatives either of the main opposition political parties. But still, the president praised their work, even though they withdrew a few couple of weeks ago saying that they could not reach a compromise with the Muslim Brotherhood. President Morsi called on them to join in a national dialogue and as he usually does, he also paid tribute to the martyrs of the revolution.

14. Transcript Dec 10 2012 Morsi gives Egypt's army police powers, right to arrest

Unidentified France 24 Correspondent Voiceover:

Back in action, the Egyptian Military has been called to help keep order. Mohammed Morsi has revived the Army's ability to be arrest civilians in the run up to the country's controversial constitutional referendum. The military was a key ally of Hosni Mubarak's 3 decade long rule and handled the transition following his ouster in February 2011. It was then side-lined after Morsi's election in June this year. Since then, it remained out of the political crisis. But on Saturday, it warned it would not let be dragged into a dark tunnel and urged for a dialogue. The move was welcomed by the Muslim Brotherhood, despite being at odds with the military for decades, the group has been careful not to offend the army, especially in the new constitution. The draft leaves military powers largely intact, clearly stipulating that the Minister of Defence will be an officer and giving a military dominated council complete discretion over declaring war and dealing with the military budget.

Another issue, is the jurisdiction of military courts now that the army can arrest civilians. The draft allows civilians to be tried by military judges for crimes that harm armed forces. This could come to include protesters clashing with soldiers on the streets of Egypt. A new test will come on Tuesday as both pro and anti Morsi protesters have called for mass demonstrations. Last Thursday, clashes left several dead and dozens more injured.

Comments:

15. Transcript Jun 18 2012 Muslim Brotherhood claims Egypt presidency

Kathryn STAPLY, Cairo Egypt, France 24 Correspondent:

Mohammed Morsi's campaigners saying that he has 52% of the votes after this overnight vote count and that his rival, the former prime minister under Hosni Mubarak, Ahmad Shafiq, has 47% of the votes and as you've mentioned, we've already had this kind of victory speech already from Mohammed Morsi. He's declared that it's a victory for all Egyptians and especially for the revolution. He also said that he will be the president for all Egyptians. Hundreds of his supporters are already gathering in Cairo's Tahrir Sq in celebration and he's due to join them later. But as you've mentioned Ahmad Shafiq's camp is disputing these results. They say that their candidate has won 52% of the votes and that Doctor Mohammed Morsi has 47%. Now, there's a lot of support for Dr. Morsi, has come from outer Egypt, the rural areas, it seems, from these results. And also, the support for Ahmad Shafiq has come from the towns and cities Cairo and the Nile Delta, which is a very big, industrial area here. But of course, we won't know the final results until later on in the week. These results are not official yet.

Anchor from studio, France 24 Correspondent:

Kathryn, we also had a crucial declaration by the military council there.

Kathryn STAPLY, Cairo Egypt, France 24 Correspondent:

Yes. Egypt's military council yesterday, announced an addendum to a constitutional declaration. Now this really limits the power of the new president. He'll be able to appoint the Prime Minister and appoint the government and he will also be able to call for parliamentary elections. However, he won't be able to declare war, without the military council saying so. Now they really have showed up a lot of their power. They are retaining legislative powers because of course the parliament was dissolved last week. And so they also may take control of the committee who will write Egypt's constitution. So, what we seem to have here is a hamstrung president with really the military council still maintaining power, even though they promised to hand over power by the end of the month.

16. Transcript Jul 5 2013 The grip of the Egyptian military

France 24 English Anchor:

Well, it's time to look at the international papers. Well, no surprise here, everyone talking about Egypt.

WILLIAM HILDERBRANDT, @whilderbrandt

That's right Cyril, at the risk of sounding predictable, Egypt's flashed across different pages all over the world. We're going to begin with International Herald Tribune, and what we see here is they're saying that 'Mohammed Morsi is just like his predecessor Hosni Mubarak. He's finding out that the top priority for the military is itself. So, what happens is that we see that the military is finding that the timing is right to get rid of Mohammed Morsi. And the Muslim Brotherhood has been consolidating its powers. There was anger on the streets, the economy was slumping, and the military said 'it's time to cut its losses'.

And we wonder why the military is so willing to cut deals with any leader that is in place. They basically have this long engrained benefits and advantages. They're sort of the... the... They have the best quality of life in Egypt. So they have their own social clubs, hotels, hospitals, parks and this is built up after either direct or indirect rule. Many military men have grown rich off of government contracts. And now what's important to notice is that at the beginning, Morsi and the military men got on, they complemented each other. But once the anger was on the streets, there were fuel shortages, power cuts, and the economy plunged, the end for Morsi was near.

France 24 English Anchor:

It seems that the analysis gets consensus across the board that the military is essentially looking out for itself. So, for the second time in 2 and a half years, the military ousting a leader. But there is reluctance by some to call it a coup d'état. How is this playing out in the press?

WILLIAM HILDERBRANDT, @whilderbrandt

Well, that's right. Now, Robert Fiske, at The Independent asked that very question. He said "when is a coup not a coup"? And he says, well it's when the U.S decides not to call it one. Fiske says that the U.S. has several interests in Egypt that would prevent it from using this word. Mostly, if it's going to pose sanctions on a country that says, committed a coup, well this country is currently the most important country at peace with Israel.

Also, is if the military, the Egyptian military, and the U.S find a way to disagree, Egypt could lose up to 1.5 billion U.S dollars a year of aid.

So, Fiske says, one important effect of this is Bashar al Assad could say, 'Look, I'm a secular government, being terrorised by Islamists that are trying to abuse the democratic process and so it plays in the hand of Assad. Now, Fiske says, under any other circumstance, when the army takes over and prisons a democratically elected leader, and suspends the constitution, there'd be no hesitation to call this a coup.

And so, despite this unplanned transition, the markets are showing confidence, which is unusual, so...

France 24 English Anchor:

Up 7%

WILLIAM HILDERBRANDT, @whilderbrandt

Indeed, indeed. So many people in the markets might have been fearing there'd be a civil war. As you said, it's up 7% Oil rich gulf countries were quick to welcome Egypt's new leader, but investors say this new technocratic government, might find a way of uniting the country in a way that The Muslim Brotherhood could only polarise it.

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17. Transcription Jul 4 2013 The Brotherhoods worst enemy may be itself

France 24 English Anchor:

The French Press to begin with, what are they saying about what's happening in Egypt?

INTERNATIONAL PRESS REVIEW, NICHOLAS RUSHWORTH @NRushworth:

Hi to you Cyril and hi to everybody. I'm going to turn to first to Aujourd'hui en France, Le Parisien, which has this fabulous FrontPage there "L'été égyptien". Egyptian Summer, 2 years after the Arab Spring, we actually are now talking about an Egyptian summer, as far as that paper is concerned. That contrast, actually, quite dramatically with the Front Page of Liberation one, which I can show you right here. There you can see blokes, the army, the Egyptian army, the maitre du jeu, which they the master of events. Now it's interesting to compare those two Front Pages, because in fact, Libe is showing the show of force from the army. But Aujourd'hui en France, if I can just show you that again. Look, what do we see if we look very closely? You see exclusively women, head scarfed women. It is the women who have been marking this uprising and this rejection of Morsi, and again striking that they are head scarfed women. I just want to go to international reactions, Cyril, again, what do we see? This is the front page of the International Herald Tribune, and what do you see Cyril? You see a head scarfed woman in euphoria, expressing joy. Morsi has gone.

France 24 English Anchor, Cyril:

Are personal freedoms here being advanced in Egypt, by what is happening, is what you're saying?

INTERNATIONAL PRESS REVIEW, NICHOLAS RUSHWORTH @NRushworth:

Yes, I was speaking to my colleague in the Newsroom who's for the Arab service and she was saying that for her is what really stood out in the last three days. That she's seeing the women come to the forefront, coming out to the streets. At least that's her personal reaction.

Now on that Front Page of the International Herald Tribune, we do have an analysis. The Brotherhood's worst enemy may be itself, it's writing. Now of course, we've seen this incredible history really of The Muslim Brotherhood being a grassroots organisation, banned for decades, detested by governments and powers. It then became a very strong organisation and the argument in the International Herald Tribune is that it's had this steep fall in the space of one year through just terrible decisions because of that fact that it was underground for so many decades. It just was not in a position to come to power to run the country. And that's the argument in the International Herald Tribune.

France 24 English Anchor, Cyril:

What's the Egyptian Press, saying about this?

INTERNATIONAL PRESS REVIEW, NICHOLAS RUSHWORTH @NRushworth:

Well, Al Haram, which is the most popular Daily in Egypt, has over a million readers. It is saying today that this is a revolution, a second revolution, it is not a coup d'état. What's happened is that the revolution that has taken place in the last three days, is the will of the people, and the legitimacy of the will of the people has meant that Morsi has gone. It's saying Morsi has been given the offer of going to Turkey or going to Qatar. And it says that 300 Muslim Brotherhood members are under arrest.

Now, still with the Egyptian press, I want to go to Al Tahrir, which is the opposition paper there. And the writer, Ibrahim Issa, who is a well-known opposition activist, anti-Islamist journalist. He is saying this is a victory for real Islam, for the real Islam, this is about fighting reactionary forces. It's about fighting terrorism. So that's very strong stuff indeed.

France 24 English Anchor, Cyril:

So again, it's the same dichotomy that was being expressed in the French Press, between seeing this as a show of force by the army or seeing this as an advancement of personal freedoms and political freedoms.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS REVIEW, NICHOLAS RUSHWORTH @NRushworth:

Mm mhm...I wanna go to the Freedom and Justice Party's newspaper, for some balance, because they're the Muslim Brotherhood and we can go to their website in English. Actually, what we're seeing on screen is in fact in Arabic, but you can check out their website in English. Now, it's got a piece saying that, 'what we're really seeing here with this uprising is the last reminiscence of the pro-Mubarak camp. They have succeeded in overthrowing the revolution of the 25th of January, 2011, but now these events are a counter-revolution. And pro-Mubarak forces have actually, are in co-hoots with the police. Hence, the burning down of the Muslim Brotherhood building. And what we've got is an incitement to hatred against the Muslim Brotherhood'.

A lot of the Egyptian Press is available in English and it's possible to go to websites and see things in English.

France 24 English Anchor, Cyril:

Alright, thank you very much Nicholas Rushworth, with what the press is saying about this, French, International and the Egyptian Press. Thank you very much.

iii. Egypt Tahrir Sq seized by the people

1. Transcript Nov 21 2012 Egypt Demonstrations are back in Tahrir square

France 24 Correspondent:

Scenes that haunt back to the first days of the Egyptian revolution in January. Crowds of demonstrators standing firm despite the fumes of tear gas set off by riot police.

Unidentified Demonstrator speaking in Arabic [translated in English for the purpose of the France24 report]:

They've accused us of invading the interior ministry. That's false. The police are attacking the demonstrators.

France 24 Correspondent:

This new wave of protests comes after last Friday's rally organised by the more religious political parties, who are considered by many to be to be Islamic fundamentalists.

Unidentified Demonstrator speaking in Arabic [translated in English for the purpose of the France24 report]:

There are no Salafists here, no members of the Muslim Brotherhood, these people just want power. And they are not interested in the people.

France 24 Correspondent:

High-ranking Egyptian military figures are in the firing line too. During the revolution, they were held up as examples for showing solidarity with the people. Now, protesters say these men are only in it for the money.

Unidentified Demonstrator speaking in Arabic [translated in English for the purpose of the France24 report]:

The military council is just a clown of Hosni Mubarak, they are pushing the same program with the same energy and same sense of inertia.

Unidentified Demonstrator speaking in Arabic [translated in English for the purpose of the France24 report]:

We need revolutionary tribunals, a revolutionary government and a strong revolutionary man chosen by the people to lead the country during this sensitive time.

France 24 Correspondent:

As night falls in Tahrir Square, the police move in and the public space becomes once again a place of repression and violence.

2. Transcript Egypt - Jan 25 2012 Egypt Egyptians gather in Tahrir Square to mark uprising

Kathryn STAPLEY, CAIRO, Egypt, France 24 Correspondent:

It's definitely, a mix of celebration and protests going on here in Cairo today. I mean generally people are very happy that Hosni Mubarek, his two sons and his hated interior minister are now on trial for murdering protesters and for corruption. They're also very happy that we had the first and free elections here in decades. And it's the islamists that are particularly happy about that. Of course the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafists because they've now taken the majority in the new parliament and they're out in force here today celebrating.

But if you talk to the revolutionaries, the activists out here that their revolution is simply not over. The military are still in control of the country. And no revolution goals have yet been achieved, even one year on. And one of those they're always citing is the social equality. They say in fact, the poor are getting even poorer, as the economy is in freefall. But I think what everyone agrees on down here in Tahrir Square is that Egypt is a better place without Hosni Mubarak as president.

Anchor in France 24 Studio

Kathryn saying indeed that Egypt has essentially substituted one iron rule for another. Yet, the generals are about to hand over to civilian rule. Shouldn't the protestors therefore, wait and see what this brand new Egyptian parliament will propose?

Kathryn STAPLEY, CAIRO, Egypt, France 24 Correspondent:

Well, yes, many Egyptians do feel that, particularly the people you talk to outside of Tahrir Sq. they're saying that these constant protests are doing the country more harm than good. They're scaring away foreign investment and badly needed tourism. They're saying, you know, we've had these elections, the SCAF military rules promised to hand over power at the end of June after there were presidential elections. So, let's see what happens then. I mean they're very pragmatic, many people that I've been speaking to here. They're saying you know, they're well aware that Rome wasn't built in a day and the new Egypt won't be either.

3. Transcript Egypt - Jan 25 2012 Egypt - Protesters gather in Tahrir square for new 'Day of Anger'

Kathryn STAPLEY, CAIRO, Egypt, France 24 Correspondent:

Well the organisers have got the call out and Facebook and Twitter and then we're calling for a million people to come out here to Tahrir Square today. And I don't really think the numbers are quite that great really. It's more in the tens of thousands. But people did start coming into the square last night and started pitching tents. I don't know if you can see behind me but we have a tent city in the centre of the square and it's really reminiscent of the days of the revolution, the 18 day revolution that toppled Hosni Mubarak's regime back in January and February.

Now, I've been down there talking to the protestors earlier on today in the tent city and they said that the protest today is not gonna end. They said they are going to stage a sit in until their

demands are met. So, what are those demands? Well, the first thing is that they're demanding that the police officers, involved in the killing of some 850 protesters during the Egypt's revolution are brought to the trial and quickly. They are demanding an end to civilians being tried in military courts. And they also want transparent and open trials of former regime members including of course Hosni Mubarak himself. Now, we've also been hearing slogans being chanted that Mohamed Hussein Tantawi, he's the head of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces currently ruling Egypt, and that he should stand down.

4. Transcript Feb 2 2011 Egypt Clashes break out on Tahrir Square

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

If we can cross to our correspondent in central Cairo. Nathan, what can you see going on around you?

Nathan King, Cairo, France 24 Correspondent:

You're quite right, we've just come up from the square into the studio. It has been just a complete opposite of what we saw just 24 hours ago. Around about mid-morning, around about 10,000 we think pro-Mubarak supporters started filling into around here onto the corniche opposite the square. It was very rowdy from very early on. They were pulling journalists, they were angry at foreign coverage of what's been going on and then suddenly they pushed towards the square at lunch time. Now, the army were trying to hold them back a little, but they breached it and then suddenly, we got a lot more packets of people coming in. We saw people being hit, there were some people being stabbed we've heard, and also at the moment, as you can see, with these pictures, the breaches are going on everywhere. And I have to say to you, the army is trying to hold back. They've basically stood there and not done nothing, and the police as you know are generally pro-Mubarak and so, they're on those sites. It's a very very difficult atmosphere out there, I can tell you. Several colleagues of mine from different channels have been attacked, there's been camera equipment stolen, some people were accused of being part of Al Jazeera and set upon. It really is quite a turnaround and a very hostile atmosphere indeed.

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

The whole world is watching, in particular the Arab world, watching with belted breath. Things seem to have turned really ugly today. Nathan, how do you see things developing now?

Nathan King, Cairo, France 24 Correspondent:

Well, it's quite amazing, when the internet comes back and the phones get back on, this can be broadcast around the world. I mean, is this the image that Egyptians want to see of their country? No, obviously not. This is gonna have huge repercussions, you know if Hosni Mubarak was being nudged last night, what's then going to be the reaction of world leaders today? You know, it's getting dark here now and the protestors show no and the anti-Mubarak protestors- who are exchanging stones now fighting in the square, show no signs of stopping. Where's the army? Where's the police force? How long is this going to last?

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

So, they show no signs of leaving and anti-government protestors say that they're staying put until Mubarak steps down. They've dubbed this Friday, Leaving Friday; haven't they Nathan?

Nathan King, Cairo, France 24 Correspondent:

Yeah, although I must tell you as soon as these clashes started, the women and children that were in the squares, some people really started to leave. There was an, a mass exodus and some of them were being hit on the way out. It was just a really ugly scene. I can't see, under the circumstances how the protesters – the anti-Mubarak protesters- can stay in the square. Although, it seems increasingly like some packets of them are trapped, so something's got to happen with the authorities here. We could witness definitely loss of life. There have been multiple injuries already.

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

And it's not clear whose side the army is on, is it?

Nathan King, Cairo, France 24 Correspondent:

Well, they said they're on the side of the people. But here you have, two sections of the Egyptian people going at each other and the army not doing anything. We've seen tear gas fired in the square by the way to try and disperse it, but as you can see from some of these pictures, nothing is happening. And this is just getting louder, more confrontational, as we speak. So no, while the army has been praised for standing back, during the demonstrations that we've seen that have been largely peaceful, they still continue to stand back now in the particularly violent demonstration.

5. Transcript Egypt Thousand sit in Cairo_s Tahrir Square

France 24 Correspondent, CAIRO, Egypt:

Well, the latest is that they are as many people inside the square as there are inside. And a couple of people I always check in with inside, reckon its getting near the size of the crowd we saw just a few days ago, and that was estimated at around 250,000. So, it could be a very large turnout indeed. This sort of paranoia about coming here and facing pro-Mubarak protesters actually evaporated the moment he got in. We saw very organised lines of young men with piles of rocks in front of them ready for any action. It looks like they've really replenished supplies.

People have been bringing food in for hungry people who have been there for a few days, some medical supplies been going in, singing of the patriotic songs. And apparently there's a lot more video cameras in there this time. People want to really capture what's going on both when it's good and if it turns nasty as well.

I can also tell you that there is an increased amount of helicopter activity and an increased amount of army activity making sure that people get in. They seem to be processing people a little faster now. There are some pro-Mubarak supporters around and I have to tell you that I have confirmed reports from some of my colleagues that they are continuing to be harassed. We also have one of our colleagues been arrested near Egypt TV as well. So, I don't think it's on the same scale yet, but unfortunately, just from that, there has been some harassment at checkpoints not necessarily by army but by vigilantes and also some intimidation as well.

6. Transcript Feb 4 2011 Protester in Tahrir Square says not just Muslim Brotherhood organising demos

Voice of Anti-Mubarak protestor By phone from CAIRO, Egypt:

I have seen everything and I witnessed seen everything. It's really organised and really civilised you can sense the unclear everywhere. And it's being organised by civilians and Egyptians. And I would like to add also that we are all Egyptians. It's not Muslim Brotherhood organising, it's ...you can see families, fathers, daughters and you can see a lot of different types of people. It's all Egypt; it's all people. People went there to ask for demands, to ask for freedom and ask for democracy.

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

Now, your demands are being made clear, but for the moment President Hosni Mubarak refuses to stand down. What's it going to take for the protest to end? Is it quite clearly him leaving? There's nothing ...there's no other option?

Voice of Anti-Mubarak protestor By phone from CAIRO, Egypt:

He's had the stand for 30 years and we're fed up and we don't believe whatever what he's saying to us. We want him to leave immediately. This is the only thing that will save this country. There's nothing else he can give us, his promises, nothing else he can give us. He made a speech 24 hours after we've been beaten by thugs and thieves in Tahrir Sq. This is not a step forward to so we can expect something positive that can happen.

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

So, who would you like to see replace Mubarak?

Voice of Anti-Mubarak protestor By phone from CAIRO, Egypt:

Sorry?

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

Who would you like to see replace Mubarak?

Voice of Anti-Mubarak protestor By phone from CAIRO, Egypt:

I'm not a member in any parliament. Im not a member of anybody of any movement. Mubarak is 83 years old. He's barely unclear. Anybody will substitute him would definitely be more positive and more active in giving orders and choosing the unclear for the future.

France 24 Anchor from Studio:

And will you be protesting again tomorrow?

Voice of Anti-Mubarak protestor By phone from CAIRO, Egypt:

Definitely, yeah, I will go again tomorrow, after tomorrow. I'll keep going.

7. Transcription Feb 14 2011 Egypt Mixed opinions as to what comes next on Tahrir square

France 24 Correspondent:

Now that Mubarak's left, protesters on Tahrir Sq are putting their blankets away and bringing down their tents. Some are packing their belongings and getting ready to go home.

Unidentified Activist speaking in Arabic from Tahrir Sq [Translated into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]

Our demands have been met, the regime fell, now we must clean up, leave Tahrir Sq and give it back to the soldiers.

France 24 Correspondent:

But just a few metres away, the atmosphere is different.

Unidentified Activist speaking in Arabic from Tahrir Sq [Translated into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]

Just as some people slept in front of the tanks, they will block the cars, it is absolutely forbidden to let cars into Tahrir Sq.

Unidentified Activist speaking in Arabic from Tahrir Sq [Translated into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]

We will stay here in this square until we get everything we've been asking for. We will not negotiate with the blood of our martyrs.

France 24 Correspondent:

Despite the military's presence, protesters have decided to keep blocking all access to the square.

Unidentified Activist speaking in Arabic from Tahrir Sq [Translated into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]

The army wanted to open access to Tahrir Sq. but we refused because our demands haven't been met. The plan was to start negotiating once Mubarak was gone. We won't leave until we start negotiating.

France 24 Correspondent:

Protesters are still divided on the future of the movement. Some are determined to stay and defend democracy.

iv. Libya Gaddafi killed

1. Transcript Oct 20 2011 Libya conflict Gaddafi dies of wound suffered in capture

Marine OLIVESI France 24 Correspondent, SIRTE, Libya:

I'm standing right now in the middle of Misrata hospital. When I left Sirte, there were still unclear inside the town but most importantly Kernel Gaddafi was being transferred inside an ambulance out of Sirte heading towards Misrata. And the latest I've seen from the footage from the cellphone footage that a lot of NTC soldiers took during his capture, Moamar Gaddafi was alive back then and I saw clearly footage of him on his knees begging for clemency and those footage would probably have been taken between 11 and noon local time during his capture. But then it's very confusing what happened to him, he was transferred in an ambulance, he was supposed to get treated at the Field hospital 50km west, but then apparently he never got off of the ambulance and then they decided to take him straight to Misrata and in between I took a helicopter and managed to get in Misrata before the ambulance. Except that when I arrived at hospital in Misrata, everyone said "he's dead, he's on his way. He died on his way". So, the death has not been confirmed except for the pictures that Al Jazeera has been showing. But people here, are still waiting for Gaddafi's ambulance to get to Misrata.

Anchor from Studio, France 24

So, do we know to what point Marine, NATO bombed Gaddafi's convoy?

Marine OLIVESI France 24 Correspondent, SIRTE, Libya:

No. Nobody knows exactly where and when he died. We can confirm that he was at some point in an ambulance. And that he was heavily injured but at some point at least conscious. But then, the question of course is, why wasn't he treated at the hospital at 50km west of Sirte? Because, apparently they stopped and decided right after to head straight to Misrata, 2 hours drive away. So the question of course is why was he already dead when he arrived at unclear, which could explain why he didn't, he didn't stop over there. Or did he die later on? In which case, we could wonder why he didn't receive treatment first? Apparently there are some people talking about security reasons. They would prefer to have him in the hospital in Misrata where the military council is in Misrata. That would have made the operations and everything around the arrival much safer than at a field hospital in the middle of nowhere. At that point, a lot of NTC soldiers were driving around the ambulance trying to get snapshots of him, trying to get the latest. So, it was a very tense situation. But again, right now in Misrata, everybody seems to think he is dead but nobody has got proof of it yet.

v. Libya Tripoli bombed

1. Transcript Mar 21 2011 Arab League chief slams air strikes despite support for Libyan no-fly zone

Kathryn STAPELY France 24 Correspondent, CAIRO, Egypt:

When the Arab league voted to support this no-fly zone, just over a week ago, they stipulated they weren't advocating military action but the United Nations should decide how the no-fly zone should be enforced. Well, now of course the coalition have hit a number of targets in Libya, and there, the Libyans are saying, many people including civilians have been killed and injured in these US and European led airstrikes. I think the ferocity of the bombardment and the number of casualties has taken the Arab league by surprise.

I mean, Amr Moussa has said that they're aiming at proving the no-fly zone was to protect civilians and not subject them to more shelling. And he's asked for an official report for the coalition to find out exactly what's happened.

2. Transcript Mar 17 2011 Breaking news UN backs no-fly zone over Libya

Nathan KING, France 24 Correspondent, New York, USA:

Military action is coming and it's coming soon. Now, is it soon enough to stop what we think Kernel Gaddafi is doing over and in Benghazi in the next few hours? That remains to be seen. We had talks, we had reports rather, of action within hours. I've been told, days or hours. The protection of civilians is now a matter of international law in Libya and that people have, member states have a duty to act. It is very important that the civilians' paragraph is a resolution. No one really expects them to be deterred by any of this. 1970 was one of the toughest resolutions ever passed by the United Nations unclear. And you know, it seems he doesn't have any trouble with international opinion, you know, he calls it in his rehabilitation, although that seems a lot time ago, now doesn't it? So, we are going to see a stepping up of pressure. We are going to see forces try and take Benghazi and remaining towns and put them down before international intervention. And we'll have to see what kind of international intervention it is. One of the big worries of the state of Germany speaking here was that there could be collateral damage. There could be severe casualties, there could be people who are innocent, people who are perhaps even anti-Gaddafi. Everyone is very worried about what's going to happen. What we all know, is that there will be strikes from the air, which includes no occupation force. Unclear saying there will be no foreign boots on the ground. Unclear one of several things, particularly, it could probably mean helicopters, but they don't land.

3. Transcript Apr 13 2011 France and Britain criticise NATO over Libya

Matthieu MABIN, France 24 Correspondent, MISRATA, Libya:

Right now, i just reached the front line in the middle of Misrata. The front line which is facing rebellion troops. We've been observing many shelling this morning, much more than yesterday really. And more heavy shelling. Now, Misrata is under fire of 120mm mortar shelling. It's very hard to say, if there is any damage, more damage than yesterday in the city. Now, we went to the office this morning. We counted 3 dead body belonging to the rebellion, 6 badly wounded. We've been observing also flying over of NATO planes, who've been bombing Gaddafi positions outside of Misrata. Right now, at the moment, the firing is growing and growing.

4. Transcript Mar 21 2011 Libya - Robert Gates Gaddafi himself is not targeted

Guillaume MEYER France 24 Correspondent, Washington:

The American military is saying that it is not their objective to kill Kernel Gaddafi. This is not part of the mission, explained a person in charge at the Pentagon during a Press Conference on Sunday. The mission, according to the Americans, is first to establish a no-fly zone. It is also to destroy some of the ground forces that are threatening the rebels' stronghold of Benghazi. And, the last part of the mission is to cripple the communications and the command capability of Kernel Gaddafi and that may be why that building in the compound in Tripoli was targeted, that it is not, right now, the goal of the coalition, according to the Americans to kill Kernel Gadaffi.

5. Transcript Mar 30 2011 Libya - World powers debate arming Libyan rebels

Philip CROWTHER France 24 Correspondent, AJDABIYA, Libya:

People have now arrived here in the town of Ajdabia from Brega. That is the next town westwards from here around one hour away. They say they fled Brega because pro-Gaddafi troops have now arrived near that city. It means that this whole frontline is once again moving ever so rapidly eastwards and one thing seems relatively clear from what we're seeing here; that this is very much an unequal fight. Without the right weapons or at least the right use of weapons and the right military strategy on behalf of the rebels, they simply cannot put up a fight against these pro-Gaddafi troops who are advancing with it seems, a very clear military strategy. This is after all, still a formidable army in place, despite these air strikes that have happened over the last two weeks and certainly, the people here, those who are fleeing Brega, and those who have fled the other towns down the road, there's only one thing they are asking and that is for more airstrikes to come in. What we're seeing here now, is that this front line is moving ever so slowly but steadily eastwards. Danger certainly for the people still here in this town of Ajdabia. Most have fled already. We've seen deserted towns all the way from Bin Jawad, the oil town, relatively far west from here all the way to Ajdabia, and it seems like this is a front line that is still moving in that same directly.

Anchor, France 24 from Studio:

So, this potential idea then Philip, with arming the rebels, um, you've been with them for a while now. What kind of weapons do they have? What do they say they need? And are there signs of them already getting hold of what they want?

Philip CROWTHER France 24 Correspondent, AJDABIYA, Libya:

There are no signs for the moment of any new weapons coming in. The weapons they are using are largely those that they got from army barracks when this whole rebellion began. Now in theory, from what we are seeing in the front line, both sides seem to be fighting with more or less the same weapons. What we're seeing is that Gaddafi's troops are using more or less the same weapons that they're seeing on the other side. These are largely pickup trucks with heavy artillery. They simply know how to use them better. They've got more of a military strategy. Now, there has been talk for a long time now, including yesterday in London, about arming rebels and possibly organising them, giving them training and from what we're seeing, that is certainly what they need. They seem to have enough weapons and possibly even the right weapons. But there is absolutely no military strategy behind this. We know that there are some former soldiers involved in this rebellion, some former soldiers on the actual frontline, but there are simply too few of them and in a sense which it we are seeing two different groups advancing or in this case now, retreating from the frontline. Partly soldiers, but only maybe a dozen, maybe 2 dozen of soldiers, with serious military experience. The other rebels who have never used guns in their lives before, certainly, it seems that what they need is training and certainly the defector foreign minister of this interim council based in Benghazi has admitted to us that they are trying to get in contact with foreign countries and if that does not work, they are already in contact with private companies to possibly get some kind of training. That is the only way that you can really see these rebels defending their position, if no further airstrikes come in from the coalition.

6. Transcript Apr 15 2011 Libya conflict Libyan rebels ask NATO for more support

Christopher MOORE, France 24 Correspondent, BENGHAZI, Libya:

Well, on the ground in Benghazi, I've just been to the Friday prayers here in the rebel capital. It used to be a bit of a local affair, people gathering in the neighbourhood mosque, it's a huge communal affair in the centre of town. Thousands of people gathering in the main square here. It is of course, not just a religious occasion but a political one. There was a big banner up behind the press today, saying: Today Laurent Gbagbo, tomorrow Kernel Gaddafi...unclear... a reference that has been going up from Ivory Coast and you get a sense that they really want to keep up the pressure obviously on the regime in Tripoli and they're still dreaming of some kind of military advantage. Although, as you say, that's becoming bogged down in reality.

7. Transcript Mar 10 2011 USA - Libya - Obama administration sceptical over no fly zone

Guillaume MEYER France 24 Correspondent, WASHINGTON:

The idea that Washington is not doing enough is something that you hear as well here in the United States. You have senators on both sides of the aisle. For example, John McCain, also democrat John Kerry, saying that they think a no-fly zone is the way to go and they want Barack Obama to act much more quickly on this idea of a no-fly zone. If you look at the media as well, you have outlets like Fox News and The New York Times that usually don't agree at all, this time, both those outlets, their editorials agreeing that it's time for Obama to step up the pressure. Now, of course, the idea for the Americans is that there will be key meetings in Europe this Thursday at the EU. NATO and the Americans want to make sure that if there is a no-fly zone, they won't be the only ones trying to enforce it. And that means that this time around, the Americans want to make sure that it's an international effort. It's exactly what Hilary Clinton repeated this Wednesday. And the Americans don't want to do it alone, especially because they will be of course participating quite a great deal in this no-fly zone, if it is decided by the international community and they simply do not want to be the only ones making the effort.

vi. Saudi Arabia women granted right to vote

1. Transcription Aug 25 2011 FRANCE 24 SPEAKS WITH JOURNALIST PRIYA KAUR-JONES IN RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA

Video transcript:

Priya KAUR-JONES, Freelance Journalist, RIYADH, Saudi Arabia:

Although this is a great thing and a very momentous day, the fact that women have been allowed to vote, but municipal elections, which are going to be held in just a few days time, will only be held for men. These elections have been delayed for two years and the reason for that was that the government said in 2009 that they wanted to explore the possibility of women voting and now 2 years on, the king's decided of course, that women can vote, and even stand as candidates. But, the announcement, coming just a few days before the elections means that in fact, actually, there isn't enough time to sort out the logistics of women voting, because they would have to do things like segregate the voting stations, so it's not something that you can rearrange hastily. So, in fact, it looks like they won't actually be able to vote for at least 4 years, until the next elections. But of course, this decision is unclear major reforming in the Kingdom and people are wondering what's going to be next for women? Will they maybe be allowed to drive soon?

vii. Syria Assad Makes first speech

1. Transcript 30 Mar 2011 ► Syria - President Assad blames 'conspirators' for unrest

Simon BARRYE, France 24 Correspondent, DAMASCUS, Syria:

The response here is very low key. In fact, some of the faces in the café, where I watched the speech looked a little unclear in the end. I think maybe, I haven't interviewed them, the speech didn't contain anything concrete. He just spoke about how the state of emergency, the law on political parties, corruption, wage increases, will be discussed, as if he had laid these before the parliament, which is dominated by his own party, for discussion. And then he said, the party must set a timetable for tackling these issues. But he did not, with one stroke, abolish the state of emergency or abolish the laws that restrict political parties in which control the media. In fact, I didn't hear him mention the state-controlled media in Syria and talk about treeing it up. Whenever he spoke about the media, he would refer to satellite television channels and he accused them of lying and lying again, furthering conspiracies against Syria. And he told the parliament not to fall into the trap that is being laid by the satellite channels. I think he was referring to channels such as Al Jazeera, which is broadcast from Qatar and Al Hurra, which is broadcast from the United Arab Emirates.

Interestingly, when the speech began, there was a flurry of excitement in the street and people crowded around televisions in shops and it was broadcast from loudspeakers on the walls of the old city. But, during the speech, a lot of people went about their normal lives. Yes, there were people in the shops and cafes watching it. Occasionally, the people in the café I was in applauded the speech. But, I was struck by how many, so many people in the street just went around. You know, a boy talking to his girlfriend, you know, they continued with their normal business. They weren't glued to the televisions at all.

viii. Syria Ghoutta Sarin Attack

1. Transcript Aug 26 2013 Syria chemical weapons claim an insult to common sense, says Assad

Ilan GOREN, France 24 Correspondent, MOSCOW, Russia:

It seems like Russian officials have gone into hyper drive in the last few hours, because we just heard from the Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov quote from his spokesperson, saying that he has spoken to his counterpart- American counterpart John Kerry- warning him, as you said, of extremely dangerous consequences, of any American military strike in Syria. And adding to that, the view by Lavrov that there are certain elements within the US that are trying to fraud any diplomatic efforts to convene a peace conference. Quite harsh words from Lavrov. And Russian officials continue to maintain their view that basically we still don't know, who actually shot, who actually fired, used these chemical weapons in Syria last Wednesday. So, the Russians are not backing off from their support of Bashar Al Assad and his regime.

Anchor, France 24, Studio:

Now, we've heard in the past hours, Basar Al Assad has been speaking to the Russian media about the claims that he used the chemical weapons. What's the details there in that interview?

Ilan GOREN, France 24 Correspondent, MOSCOW, Russia:

Yeah, very interesting interview with the Russian newspaper Izvestia, an exclusive interview formed a pretty story for them. And Bashar Al Assad calls these claims, that his forces used chemical weapons, nonsense. A very interesting point coming out from this interview. My view, his claim that all contracts, all military contracts between Russia and Syria are being fulfilled. That is quite an important hint or even a threat against the Americans, because this might hint to the fact that perhaps there are advanced engine aircraft missiles being deployed by the Russians, or have been deployed perhaps by the Russians in Syria. Very interesting interview from Assad and a comedy mood for both him and the Russian Foreign Minister this morning in Moscow.

2. Transcript Aug 1 2013 Syria conflict a UN investigation to be conducted on 3 alleged chemical incidents

Nick HARPER, France 24 Correspondent, NEW YORK, United States:

This briefing this afternoon between Angela Kane, the head of Disarmament Affairs and Ban Ki Moon, the Secretary General, we heard from that, that they would be visiting 3 sites. We know that one of those sites will definitely be Kham al Hassam and that is a site that the Syria government claimed the Syrian rebels used Sarin nerve gas back in March, earlier on this year. We know that that will be one of the sites. The other two sites at this stage are still unclear. The likelihood is, from what we're hearing so far, is that there will be sites just outside of Homs and just outside of Damascus. The confirmation of that hasn't been forthcoming yet. We also don't know, exactly who will be on the team. Angela Kane, who went for the two-day trip to Damascus last week along with the Swedish scientist Ake Selstrom, seem like two likely candidates. But, there are likely to be others on the team. Obviously, if they're having to look at three sites, to look into this, they would need a number of bodies. So, we don't know exactly where the other sites will be and who will be on the team, but we're told the team will be going as soon as possible after the agreement between the Syrian government and these UN chemical weapons inspectors.

3. Transcript Dec 5 2012 Syria conflict West weights military intervention to secure chemical weapons

Philip STONOR, Former deputy UK defence attaché, LONDON, UK:

First of all, you have to make sure first of all that the targets, the areas, where these weapons were kept, are still in fact, do contain, such arms. Because, when you look at how small some of them are, they could be chemical shells for example, they can be transported easily by lorry, and may well be dispersed in other places. So, that's the first thing to do, to make sure you know where you're going. Secondly, it would have to be done with immense amounts of discretion and stealth. And that's where the Special Forces obviously excel. And it would also have to be done in a way in which it could be done under the radar because as soon as you start talking about troops and boots on the ground, you get other interested parties like the Russians, basically throwing up their hands and saying "this sounds like NATO is getting involved with boots on the ground, with ground forces". It being involved in Syria, they would be definitely against that.

4. Transcript Sep 16 2013 Syria Damascus chemical attacks a war crime, Ban Ki-Moon says

Nick Harper, France 24 Correspondent, New York, US:

It really comes down to the diplomatic solution that needs to be found here in the United Nations. For some time, the United Nations Security Council has effectively been a deadlock. There's been no unity on the council, because Russia and China have constantly blocked attempts by the US, France and UK to try and have some sort of action against Syria. Now, there does seem to be some sort of unity about the fact that they are united in their condemnation of chemical weapons. But, it's what happens next in terms of a resolution. We know today that the French, the UK and the US have met to start to draft a resolution. This is a resolution that they want to be in place in case Syria doesn't carry out its obligations. It said in the weekend that it would show where all its stockpiles were in the coming week and it would help to destroy them by the middle of next year. But, the French; the US and the UK, want to make sure that if they don't do what they were going to do, there would be this resolution in place. The possibility of some sort of sanctions against Syria and eventually the final thing that they might have up their sleeve if they were able to use it against Syria would be some sort of military intervention of force against Syria. But, it will be very interesting to see if Russia in particular, who throughout opposed such things, agree to such a resolution.

Anchor, France 24 English, Studio:

The idea Nick, of the chapter 7 resolution, as I believe it's called, coming through, would be something that Russia historically and even said today, I think would be against.

Nick Harper, France 24 Correspondent, New York, US:

Well absolutely. Throughout, they've said that this chapter 7 mandates this ability to use any means necessary, so therefore force, to try and compel the Syrians to act, is something that

Russia, the long-term ally of Syria and the regime leader Bashar Al Assad, has stood very much against. They've said that they would not want to entertain a chapter 7 mandate, and that's something that they're currently standing by. They say that they've helped to broker this deal with the Syrians that would allow Syria to carry out some sort of action by showing their stock piles without the need for force against the Syrians. So, now, it really comes down to the diplomatic gameplay. We heard again from the French ambassador and also the US and the UK ambassadors and they said that this report, although it doesn't point a finger of blame, because that was on the UN mandate, they say that it very clearly shows they could only have been the Syrian government, who carried out this attack. So now, the diplomatic game-playing begins and it'll be interesting to see exactly where Russia positions itself over the coming days.

5. Transcription Aug 19 2013 Syria UN inspectors in Damascus to investigate

Justin Salhani, The Atlantic Post, Beirut, Lebanon:

We know they arrived in Damascus now, with a twenty-member team that includes experts from the organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapon. They are going to be investigating 3 areas, 2 of which are undisclosed. One is Khan al-Assal, which is near Aleppo, and an area under the control of the opposition and it was also allegedly the area where chemical weapons attack had previously taken place in mid-March.

Activists from the opposition have called for inspections. Obviously, the delays have happened because of the Assad regime. They disagreed over the level of access to give the UN. This time though, they said they've given full access so that they will get full cooperation. However, again, we're only accessing 3 areas, though I think the UN wanted to access more.

ix. Syria UN declares Civil War

1. Transcript Jun 13 2012 Syria in full-scale civil war, says UN peacekeeping chief

Nathan KING, France 24 Correspondent, New York, US:

It basically means that Kofi Annan 6 point peace plan is dead. Not many people thought it had a chance of success. Remember just a week ago, he was talking about it not being a failure, just it needs to be implemented. We are seeing now that the opposition definitely abandoned that and upped their attacks on the fact that the Syrian government have responded is that that's what legal declaration of civil war. And the big question now, is what happens to the monitors on the ground; 300 of them as you mentioned. They were basically attacked, fired at, as they tried to go about their business near Syria's biggest port. They are in extreme danger. Remember they have no weapons, they have no mandate to defend themselves and they're there to basically implement a cease-fire that does not exist. So, when their mandate is up for

renewal in July, yeah, I mean the Americans are sending real strong signals that it's probably best to pull out. Now, remember that Kofi Annan's peace plan and the observers on the ground were a fig leaf in front of other action. So, the big question now, is how the international community responds. And as you said, Hilary Clinton is accusing Russia. Russia is trying to get some sort of meeting together, trying to push forward something. The world is going to have to respond in an entirely different way.

2. Transcript Jun 13 2012 Syria in full-scale civil war, says UN peacekeeping chief

Correspondent, France 24 Correspondent, New York, US:

The shells are raining down almost daily on Homs and other rebel cities. UN peacekeeping chief Hervé Ladsous says the 15 month old uprising can now be called a civil war. Ladsous' spokesman said both sides are wrapping up their campaigns:

[Unnamed spokesman for Ladsous]

What we've seen in the last 4 – 5 days that is especially alarming is an escalation of the military operations of the government on the one hand attacking urban populated centres. But, we're also seeing from the opposition side an escalation in its planning and coordinated attacks against government forces and public infrastructures.

Correspondent, France 24 Correspondent, New York, US:

The northern town of Haffeh has become another flash point. This amateur footage appears to show the city coming under bombardment from Syrian forces. The rebel stronghold of over 30,000 people is one of several areas where civilians are said to be trapped by growing violence. The US has warned of the looming massacre.

UN observers, who tries to enter Haffeh said it was too dangerous.

Unnamed UN Observer:

We were confronted with angry crowds that surrounded our cars and stopped us from proceeding forward. They then started hurling stones and metal rods at our vehicles. The UN observers turned back as we were leaving the area, we, three cars that were heading towards Idlib were fired upon. We are still not sure, the source of fire is still unclear.

Correspondent, France 24 Correspondent, New York, US:

[Amateur footage from ISLAMIC UPRISINGS] US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said on Tuesday that in the current conditions, the future of the UN mission in Syria could be in doubt.

3. Transcript Jun 8 2012 UN chief warns of 'imminent' civil war in Syria

Nathan KING, France 24 Correspondent, New York, US:

They are getting regularly, having problems getting around; access points, bureaucracy. But it's not just the government and government loyalist forces. It's also the local population. They

are getting more and more angry (at) the UN who turn up, observe stuff and then leave. They are under the impression of the UN should protect them. There should be more of them, and when they just document and leave, there is a lot of frustration. They sometimes try and physically restrain them, block their cars, etc etc. So, there's harassment on both sides that underlines the precariousness of this mission. Yes, they were shot at today. There's only 300 in the country. Their mandate is flimsy. They are not armed and so when it comes for renewal around July 20th, the big question is, do you augment this force? Do you make it bigger? Do you make it stronger, or as was hinted by Ban Ki Moon, which is quite rare for a Secretary General, perhaps give up all together and pull out?

Anchor, France 24 English, Studio:

Now, the latest thinking Nathan is, to try and create a contact group, isn't there? To push a Yemen style solution for Syria. But there's already controversy over who might be in that group, isn't there?

Nathan KING, France 24 Correspondent, New York, US:

Yeah, the whole idea of Kofi Annan was to bring sort of, the two different blocks, if you like, that either support Assad or want his removal in the region, and globally together to come up with some political solution. Of course, the people who support Assad includes Iran and the US has already said that they see Iran as a spoiler, not someone who can actually deliver some sort of transition that they would basically play to Damascus' tune. And, Kofi Annan is going to be speaking to US Secretary Hillary Clinton in Washington in the next few hours. And that will definitely come up, but they are very lukewarm on it, saying you can have as many groups, you can have as many conferences as you want, but if in the end, the government on the ground, don't want to implement the 6 point peace plan, there's not really a point in another group. We'll have to wait and see, because you know, if the implementation plan is not happening, and so there are efforts to try and get one last sort of grouping together, that can push both the opposition as well as Damascus.

x. Syrian Cabinet Resigns

1. Transcript Mar 30 2011 Cabinet resigns after weeks of violent protests

Simon BARRYE, France 24 English Correspondent, DAMASCUS, Syria:

Well, the resignation of the cabinet, is simply a gesture to appease the demonstrators. But, in Syria, as in France, it is the president who appoints the cabinet. It's he who holds the reins of power. The point of today's demonstrations was to give President Bashar Assad a massive show of support, to give him the confidence to go on television and speak to the nation; something he hasn't done since the unrest began, maybe two weeks ago and announce political reforms, which he hopes will put an end to the protests.

Anchor, France 24, Studio:

So, can you explain in a little more depth, what we're expecting the president to announce later on?

Simon BARRYE, France 24 English Correspondent, DAMASCUS, Syria:

Well, government officials have been leaking to the press that he will lift the state of emergency and liberalise the laws on formation of political parties and the control of newspapers and radios. Now, he can change these roles, but until Syria has a democratically elected parliament with real teeth, these changes will remain technical and the police and the military intelligence who are the ultimate authorities in this country, will continue to do what they like.

Anchor, France 24, Studio:

Now, do you think that reforms will appease the people? There's an awful lot of anger about government troops allegedly gunning down protesters, isn't there?

Simon BARRYE, France 24 English Correspondent, DAMASCUS, Syria:

Yes, there certainly is. What needs to happen, is that these reforms must go far enough, so that the people down in the southern city of Dara, who've been demonstrating for 10 day, they can go home without fear of being arrested by the security police tomorrow morning. You know, the demonstrators have to know that Syria has changed in concrete terms.

2. Transcript Mar 8 2012 Deputy oil minister resigns, joins anti-regime movement

Lucy FIELDER, France 24 Correspondent, Beirut, Lebanon:

It's been very difficult to confirm. We're trying to confirm it with the Syrian Information Ministry but today is the start of the weekend in Syria and all ministries are closed so we're still working on that. The man in this video does resemble, very strongly, photographs of Abdo Hussameddin, the Deputy Oil Minister that are on Syrian Oil's websites. Beyond that, we have not yet been able to confirm. Now, if confirmed, this is the most high ranking civilian figure to defect from the regime. But, the reaction we're getting is cautious. We spoke to Jihad Yazigi, the Editor in Chief of Syria Report, which is a Damascus based economic bulletin. He said, this is significant because of the level of this man. But he was not well known. He's not a big figure in Syria. He also pointed out, this uprising has been going on for a year now, and this is the first defection, and in the end, it's a relatively minor figure. Even the activists I've spoken to have been very cautious with this. One, who calls himself Abubakker, who's in the Homs area, said this has come very late. Another said, this man isn't a big deal in Syria. Now, I think this is significant. I spoke to a western oil industry official who regularly travels into Syria. He said, in the end, this is a faceless bureaucratic, imminently replaceable. He said, it's like a crack in a windscreen, you have one, you can keep driving, if you have many, it's going to fall in. Now, defections are extremely risky to families. It's too early to say that others are going to take this risk because this one man it appears has done that.

There are also fears of civil war. The alternative to the regime, some feel, could be worse. So, there's still support, there's still fear. After a year this is a first defection. It's not really a major figure. But, none the less, this could be the start of cracks in the regime and I think people are going to be watching this very closely.

Anchor, France 24 Studio:

Now, Lucy, in the video, that man said he realises he could be risking violence against himself and his family, as you mentioned. The latest figures on the crackdown, now show that close to 9000 people have been killed there in Syria so far in the past year. To try and stop that, to help those civilians, the UN Humanitarian Chief is in Syria. She's hoping to get the regime let aid

organisations into those parts of the country that have been worst hit. How is she doing? Has she made any headway in that approach?

Lucy FIELDER, France 24 Correspondent, Beirut, Lebanon:

Well, it was a little bit of a surprise to many that she was able to enter Baba Amr yesterday. But, she described via her spokeswoman, the area has been completely devastated. She's to meet officials today. She's trying to pressure them to allow more relief into Syria. Now, it's been very difficult to let the Red Cross into Syria, into Baba Amr. We're waiting to see if she can have any strong results on that. She certainly faces an uphill task.

3. Transcript Jun 2 2011 Syrian opposition vows 'to bring down the regime'

Marwa DAOUDY, Visiting Lecturer, Princeton University, PRINCETON, New Jersey, United States:

This resignation of the president of the Syrian National Council is very symptomatic of the current divide that is separating the different currents within the council. You have on the one part the islamists who are clearly dominating the council and on the other side, leftist groups, Kurdish parties, secular intellectuals. And there is also another divide, which is between this council and the grassroots activists from within Syria, such as the Local Coordination Committees, who have reacted to this third election of Burhan Ghalioun, as President of the Syrian National Council, saying that it does not reflect their will and that they need to see a shift of power within the council. So clearly now the resignation, which will be followed by elections in mid-June will tell us how effective the evolution, the transition is taking place and which candidate? Will that be a charismatic candidate, will that be somebody who will manage to unite all of the different currents and provide a sort of like strong figure to the international community? We have clearly, a very strong opposition movement inside, such as the Local Coordination Committees. You also have military groups which have taken over the ground, which in fact don't obey the Local Coordination Committees nor the Syrian National Council. And the militarization of the conflict is also increasing the stakes. So now also, the Syrian National Council is being contested as the only representative outside. Some of the grassroots activists have threatened to you know, resign from the council, to get out of the council, as they feel they are not really advocating their position outside and they do not represent a legitimate representative. So the challenge now would be for the council with a new membership and a new president to be able to respond to these calls and claims.

4. Transcription May 25 2012 SYRIA - Syrian opposition vows 'to bring down the regime'

Jasper MORTIMER, France 24 Correspondent, ANTALYA, Turkey:

The conference ended with a final declaration that said, as you said just now "Assad must resign immediately, transferring power to his vice president. We should hold free and fair

elections for both the presidency and parliament”. The declaration also rejected any military intervention by the west. They clearly don’t want what’s happening in Libya now. And a third thing the conference did was to elect a 31 percent committee that is supposed to act as ambassadors for the protest leaders in Syria. Delegates were adamant about this. They said they weren’t trying to hijack the leadership of the uprising. The leadership was very much a matter of the protest leaders inside Syria. They wanted to support the people inside Syria.

Anchor, France 24, Studio:

And Jasper, the Syrian government now maintains that the worst is now over and this unrest will just fizzle out they say. What delegates in Antalya have to say about the future of the uprising?

Jasper MORTIMER, France 24 Correspondent, ANTALYA, Turkey:

They disagreed with it. And one of the most articulate of the delegates, Omar Abdul Hamid, a Syrian civil rights activist who’s based in Washington, pointed out that the uprising has devastated the economy. And this is true, the Syrian pound has fallen, tourism which accounts for 15 percent of GDP has collapsed, foreign investment has flown away and he argued that as the recession bites into people’s income, they will realise that the only way out is to get rid of President Assad. He said that the harder the economic conditions become, the more radicalised people will get. More people will be joining the ranks of the protest movement.

xi. Tunisia Mohamed Bouazizi

1. Transcript Protester who set himself

France 24 Correspondent:

Mohammed Bouazizi could not have known that his death would trigger a wave of protest across the North African state. The graduate was forced to sell vegetables on the street to make a living. The police, repeatedly confiscated his produce, saying he didn’t have the proper permit.

In December 15th, he doused himself in petrol and set himself alight in front of a government building in the town of Sidi Bouzid. He died in hospital on Tuesday evening.

Within days of his attempted suicide, unrest erupted across the country as people took the streets in anti-government protests. Police and demonstrators clashed, leaving 3 dead and dozens injured. Images of many of the demonstrators were caught on amateur video.

The latest clashes were on Monday. Security forces fired tear gas to disperse a march in the western town of Tella. Demonstrators responded by setting fire to the ruling party’s local headquarters.

Until now, violent protests have been rare in Tunisia, where the ruling Constitutional Democratic Rally keeps a firm lid on descent. But with high unemployment and a worsening economy, popular discontent is at boiling point.

Video by Kathryn STAPLEY

Text by News Wires

Latest update : 2011-01-05

A 26-year-old jobless graduate who set himself on fire last month in a protest has died, a French NGO told AFP Wednesday. The protest sparked widespread social unrest over unemployment in Tunisia.

AFP - A young man died from setting himself on fire last month in a protest that has sparked widespread social unrest in Tunisia, a French human rights group said on Wednesday.

Mohamed Bouazizi, a 26-year-old graduate, doused himself in petrol and set himself alight on December 17 in Sidi Bouzid, central Tunisia, in a protest against unemployment that sparked days of rioting by jobless young people.

The leader of the Paris-based International Federation of Human Rights Leagues (FIDH), Souhayr Belhassen, told AFP that Bouazizi died on Tuesday evening.

"An investigation or a national commission is needed to determine the causes and the solutions of this social protest which has taken a tragic form," she said.

Another Paris-based rights group, CRLDHT, said in a statement that Bouazizi died at a burns hospital in Ban Arous near Tunis.

He was forced to sell fruit and vegetables on the streets to make ends meet but police confiscated his produce because he did not have a proper permit, prompting his suicidal protest which sparked a wave of violent riots.

Tensions heightened five days after Bouazizi's self-immolation when another young man climbed up an electricity pylon and electrocuted himself on the cables, saying he was fed up with being unemployed.

Unrest gripped the Sidi Bouzid region, where livestock and informal commerce are the main ways of scratching out a living.

Thousands of people took to the streets on December 24, the worst day of rioting, where they burned the local headquarters of the national guard, who responded with gunshots that killed an 18-year-old protestor.

Protests spread to the capital Tunis in late December.

Civil groups and the opposition in Tunisia say the protests are driven by high unemployment and high prices of raw materials.

Tunisia's unemployment rate is officially 14 percent, but the percentage of graduates without work is about double that, and has prompted a warning from the International Monetary Fund.

The trouble drove Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali to sack his communications minister and several regional governors.

Date created : 2011-01-05

2. Transcript Feb 15 2011 Rapper shot to popularity in Tunisia's jasmine revolution

France 24 Correspondent:

Ahmad Bin Amour, otherwise known as the rapper El General. This young man, from Sfax did had his part to play in the Jasmine Revolution; a war he waged with words. The day we met him, protesters in Egypt were rising up against their government, a swell of discontent that he believes is just the beginning.

El General [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

Up until now, we were just focussed on the Tunisian cause. But now, it's become an Arab issue. Tunisia, Egypt and God willing Algeria after that. Obviously, I've already composed the song for Egypt.

France 24 Correspondent:

Today, El General says, he feels freer than before. Yes, freedom came at a price. His song "Rais el Bled" hit out at the regime in place; a sentiment that cost him 4 days in prison.

El General's Brother [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

The revolution started with Bou Azizi, who set himself alight. And after that, the people followed. And then, the authorities canted to silence the rappers and the bloggers. They arrested my brother El General. We thought, we'd never see him again.

France 24 Correspondent:

On the 6th of January at dawn, some 30 men, surrounded the family home and seized the aspiring musician. He was released 4 days later. Despite her fears, his mother is proud.

El General's Mother [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

It was the same when he was little. He wanted to express himself. Dogs don't dare to speak out in this country, but even when he was 18, he wanted to help Tunisia and fight against poverty.

France 24 Correspondent:

Courage, that's made him popular among young Tunisians. For them, El General's songs, have made him a symbol of the revolution.

El General Fan [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

El General has written great lyrics and really good songs. He put them on Facebook, he published them at an important time. And no one ever dared to do that before, but he did.

El General [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]:

In all the countries where they have a dictatorship, rap can play an important role. Rappers in Arab countries can get things moving.

France 24 Correspondent:

The rapper works with the most basic of equipment in an improvised studio he set up with a friend. An activity which was kept hidden until now. It's where he first dreamed of seeing the Arab world move towards democracy with music as its driving force.

3. Transcript Jan 5 2011 Man sets himself on fire in Tunisian capital

France 24 Correspondent:

This man, tried to torture himself in the heart of Tunis, where the 2011 revolution took place. The authorities said he was a 27 year old street vendor. Many passers-by saw the incident.

Unnamed Witness [Translated from Arabic to English for the purpose of the France 24 English report]

Around 08:30-08:45, I heard someone shout "God is Great, God is Great". I came here and saw a man on fire. Then, some people came to put the flames out.

France 24 Correspondent:

Other witnesses, said he also protested against youth unemployment. The young man was rushed to the hospital. He has 3rd degree burns to the head and the back. Unclear memories of December 2010, when street vendor Mohammed BouAzizi set himself on fire to protest against poverty and police harassment. It's often described as the event that ignited the Arab spring. Since then, many Tunisians have tried to set themselves on fire. This latest attempt takes place in a tense political context.

This week, lawmakers will vote on the cabinet line-up of the new Prime Minister Ali Larayedh, after the last government was brought down in February.

xii. Tunisia President Ben Ali flees

1. Transcription Jan 14 2011 Tunisia Anti- government protests continue despite Ben Ali's promise to stand down

Cyril VANIER, France 24 Correspondent, TUNIS, Tunisia:

Until now, the promises and concessions that were made, to calm this movement were really nothing close to what was said yesterday and to what was said this morning. What is being offered at least officially, what is put on the table is nothing less than a change of course in the Tunisian regime. President Ben Ali yesterday promised more openness and said he had misread, he had been misled in his analysis of the social discontent in his country. He said he's not going to stand again in 2014, which is very significant, because it means that after 23 years of regime, he is effectively announcing an end date to his presidency. And an announcement this morning that a unity government is possible is going in the same direction. So, this is all, this is all quite new for Tunisians. It is unprecedented in many ways. It is yet to be seen whether

this can really calm discontent. I am currently standing between what looks like 100s, no, 1000s of protesters in the heart of the capital and now riot police have come out and they're blocking the road, some 100 – 200 metres down the road, just in front of the Interior Ministry. And we're going to see how this develops.

xiii. Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh leaves

1. Transcript Jun 7 2011 Transcription Yemen US pushes for transition as Saleh vows to return

Atlaf ALWAZIR, Yemen Activist and blogger, SANA'A, Yemen:

The situation in Yemen remains to be unclear. "Who exactly is leading the country", is a key question. Because, while constitutionally, the vice president Abd Rabbuh Mansur is supposed to take over the duties of the president in the interim period, he has not been officially confirmed. In addition, Saleh's family, are still holding key positions in military and security apparatus. Saleh's son Ahmad, who was believed to succeed his father, is in the palace and many believe is executing orders that are in the mandate of the vice president. People are expecting the start of a transitional period, but it's quite confusing because JMP (The Joint Meeting Parties) announced dialogue with the VP regarding a national unity government. But at the same time, a government source declined that. And while a truce has been announced between the vice president and Sheikh Sadiq al Ahmar, occasional explosions and gun fire are still heard in the northern neighbourhood of Hafaza. These days, the last two days, have been quieter and calmer. However, daily life for Yemenis is getting harder. The prices have increased, taxis, buses, basic food items, petrol, have all increased by double and also in shortage. There is also a blackout in Sana'a; no electricity, and no internet, since last night and this morning.

1. Transcript Jan 15 2011 New dawn for Tunisia

Journalist voiceover:

This is what popular uprising looks like. After weeks of scenes like this across the country, resulting in dozens dead. It appears to be the end for Tunisia's president after 23 years in power. Early on Saturday morning, police detained several people in central Tunis. During an overnight curfew across the country, there were reports of violence and widespread looting. Sole were in shock from the emotion brought on by such a dramatic, political development. The demonstrations started as a reaction to massive unemployment, price hikes and rampant corruption within the government. Police and security forces responded violently, in some cases firing live rounds into crowds.

Many now credit a young Tunisian man as the spark for the uprising. He set himself on fire last month, after police confiscated the fruits and vegetables he was selling without a permit. His desperate act was heard across the nation and grew into a movement.

The question now, is how great is that change? The interim leader Mohammed Ghannouche says he'll meet different sides to form an interim government.

Mohamed Ghannouche, Speaking to Al Jazeera, News Update [Translated from Arabic into English for the All Jazeera English Report]

What is important is what the people want. That is all that matters to us now. Legal elections will take place after consultation with all the parties and political groups to try to find a solution.

Journalist voiceover:

He vows to carry out political, economic and social reform. But the ousted president Ben Ali, promised to do the same before fleeing the country. Ghannouche was originally appointed by Ben Ali and as such his pledge for change may not be enough.

Caroline Malone, Al Jazeera

IV. Press TV

i. Bahrain Saudi Troops enter Bahrain

1. Transcript May 22 2011 'Bahrain situation beyond explanation'

Anchor, Press TV: Well, let's go to Manama to talk to Nabeel Rajab. He is the head of the Bahrain centre for Human Rights. Many thanks, Nabil, for joining us. Tell us what you're hearing on these death sentences in Bahrain.

Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Footage Sitra, Bahrain). Yes, as you say, they have confirmed the death sentence to a couple of men and the other two men were reduced to life sentences. I think we're expecting to see more of these sentences in the coming days as many of the accusations against opposition figures and some activists, it's related to overthrowing the government or attempt to overthrow the government and many of those accusations, the charges go up to death penalty. We don't think this trial was fair, we don't think the trial was transparent, we don't think it was open. And we don't think that it has met the international standards for a fair trial. Human rights organisations were not allowed to be access, international observers were not allowed, those defendants were not allowed to see their families, they were not allowed to see their lawyers. So, it has violated a lot of international conditions, where Bahrain is a part of. We think this case should have been brought to a normal trial and not to a military one, especially the people, they are civilians, so they should have been brought to a civil court. We condemn the killing of the government and of the protestor and we condemn any attack on the police if it happened, but we think they should go through a normal judicial treatment and not a military court.

Anchor, Press TV:

OK, the initial verdict, if I remember right was four death sentences and three life in prison. It has changed, Nabeel right now. My question to you, is that the vote that we have from the appeals court at this moment, do you think that this is final or perhaps there is another body in Bahrain that can overlook these verdicts and perhaps change it?

Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Footage Sitra, Bahrain)

I think there is another body before the King ratification. There is another body that has to look into it. And because all the lawyers has challenged the constitutionality of the court itself because according to the constitution of Bahrain, it is not allowed to have a military trial in a civilian court. Or, it is not allowed to try people in a court which would exist after the crime. You can't try people any crime which happened before the existing of the court. So there is a lot of things to do with the constitutionality of the court. So, they are challenging that, there are still ways to go and I don't know, we will see the other appeal in the next court. Then, we have to wait for the king. I doubt that there will be international pressure. And I hope not. I hope there are some wise men left to say not to practise this penalty, because this is not accepted in today's world. And especially will present a problem in the proceeding office, as it does here in the case of Bahrain. So, let's wait and see. And anyway, people are angry in the streets, people are in the streets. I expect to see things getting more deteriorated, to see things more

complicated, it is going to widen the relation between people and government for sure and it's not going to silence the uprising.

Anchor, Press TV:

Nabeel Rajab, of course, you are a prominent Human Rights activist in Bahrain, yourself, and you've been following the violations, as many say, of human rights, in Bahrain, for the past couple of months. Tell me, in a few words, I wanna hear in a few words from you, about how bad the situation of human rights has become in Bahrain these days.

Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Footage Sitra, Bahrain)

Well, there is the, I mean you can't explain the bloody situation we are living in. The local journalists, doctors, nurses, activism...activism has gone down in the internet, because how much government can so far to target even people on Twitter who are writing in the Twitter, people who received the messages not only send messages, even people who are receiving messages, for example from Bahrain Center for Human Rights. Activism is a crime here now. A lot of women are there before the military court, women, young girls from school, just because of messaging system. Systematic torture, demolishing malls, raiding houses, sexual harassment, being tortured to death, firing from work, firing from school, clashes in the school by the police...and it's a very bad situation and I don't think it's going to be repaired easily.

Anchor, Press TV:

OK and Nabeel, yesterday I heard that your own house was raided I felt very sorry, obviously, but it's the second time that your house is being raided. Last time- now, you correct me if I'm wrong- last time it was in the perimeter of your house, not exactly in your house, but last night at around 03.30 in the morning, your own house was raided by many security men and from what I was hearing, a tear gas canister was shot inside your house, but it landed on the floor and like you said, it was not on the carpet. The situation of your brother, I heard, in those hours, was very bad. Tell us a little bit about this raid on your house.

Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Footage Sitra, Bahrain)

It wasn't in fact raided by security, it was shot by the tear gas canister. And four tear gas were shot through the window, where it has landed in the hole of the house and two of them fallen outside the house. My brother, unclear, because it fallen inside the area where my brother and his family live, my brother he has to save his children and wife, so he went in and out more, so he suffocated, he almost dead, we had to rescue him at home, with some people who knows how to do that, because we can't take him to hospital. They broke the windows, they even ...unclear...

This is the third time my house has been attacked, not the second.

Anchor, Press TV:

And the first one was on the March 20th if I am not wrong?

Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Footage Sitra, Bahrain)

Before that, I was arrested, but not with tear gas. But these two times now...and I have two children who lives with asthma since they are born. And I have my mother living in the same home, who is living with lifesaving machines. And you know what they want to do, this is an attempt to murder, it's not just a harassment that we had yesterday. When they come in the

middle of the night at 03:30 in the morning, while everybody is sleepy and they break the window and they throw a tear gas inside, this is an attempted murder and I think I am being punished for my human rights work, and sadly, my family are being punished for the human rights work that I am doing. But, it won't stop my work, it won't stop the Bahrain Center for Human Rights' work. We are more confident today, things have to change. It can't continue in this tribal, crazy mentality as it is been going on for a long time. And me and my family will pay the price and we are willing to pay that price for the change that we are looking for.

Anchor, Press TV:

OK. On March 20, like I said, Nabeel, you were arrested by a group of some 25 men, if I'm not mistaken. And then, you said that you were blindfolded, you were beaten and because simply, the regime thought that you had connection to a terrorist, they say. Aren't you afraid that now that these things have happened recently, perhaps you're going to be taken into custody once again?

Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Footage Sitra, Bahrain)

Well, I think there is a Farsi saying: I'm not yet arrested, and that surprised many people. And I think that there are some people in the government still have little of wisdom and that is saying that is not good to target him, it is difficult to justify it internationally, especially this man is working in many human rights organisations in many countries other than Bahrain. And, there are other people thinking they should target me and those people who want to arrest me and they cannot arrest me, unclear, let's target his house and to threaten him, try to kill him or a member of his family, as this could work with him. And this is gonna continue, this is gonna continue and I'm not afraid. Because, frankly, I believe in the work that I am doing, I believe in the work very much and that is the right of the people, unclear, I am looking for a change in this country. I know that that way it is a bit costly and someone has to pay the price and I think that me, my family, my wife, my kids, we all know and believe in the work that I am doing and they say 'go ahead, don't worry about it'. And that's what is gonna continue my work. I'm not better than those, your people who give their life in the past. You have 30 people who died, young people, as young as my children, and as old as my father also, and I'm not better than them. This is nothing has happening to me compared to them. So, I'm going to try staying with them in the streets, helping them, working for them, being voice for those who have no voices, who can't speak up. I'm gonna continue speaking till I'm finished.

Anchor, Press TV:

Nabeel, of course there is the Prince of Bahrain, Prince Salman, is in London. Do you know, just a little quote from Cameron, British Prime Minister David Cameron, he's said that "in different countries, there are different solutions". In what way can we interpret that?

Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Footage Sitra, Bahrain)

I mean this is the same language you see when you go to United States or to London. This is a justification for the double standards. You can, they put it in a different interpretation, for, there is only one, this is the kind of double standards of foreign policy. They don't want to criticise Bahrain as they criticised other Arab countries. They don't want to speak about Bahrain as they speak about Libya and Syria. It's worse than that because they invited other armies and troops to take part in a political crackdown against very peaceful protests who were not even throwing stones on the government police and just, this is the way the British government think their interest has got more priority than the right of the people. And the same thing with the

Americans. If you hear the American president speech, well, I welcome that first of all, and I think it's a great that he comes out and speaks about the human rights in my country. But, when you compare what he spoke about my country and what he speaks about Syria, you can see the difference. When you seem ignoring completely, a country like Saudi Arabia, which is the biggest violator of human rights in the Middle East and North Africa, this is the biggest violator of human rights in the gulf and the Arab world, this here is ignoring completely a dictatorship like Saudi Arabia, a repressive regime, so you can tell it is a double standards, unclear, people won't believe if you can keep looking at different eyes. Democracy is democracy, human rights is human rights, it's not only applied on those countries that you are in conflict with: no. it should be applied even in those dictators that they consider to be their allies. Here, you can have a credibility, when you criticise him with the same language, with the same tone that you've used with the other countries. But when you ignore some countries, no justifications accepted, I mean, every country has a different, as the British Prime Minister was saying...I mean NO, we understand that as a double standards. But thanks God in those two countries we have a strong civil society, we have strong committed people in Britain and the United States who are angry about their government, who are angry aboutif you' just notice something, which is very interesting....When Obama was speaking, the only country when he starts speaking, the whole people, audience, class, Obama, when he mentioned Bahrain, imagine, everybody was sitting amongst the audience in the class, because they were angry at his policy. It was about Bahrain for the double policy towards Bahrain about....so they want to tell him: yes you need to speak about Bahrain....in fact it surprises everybody in Bahrain here, they didn't do that when he spoke about Libya, they didn't do that when he spoke about Iran and Syria. They did that only when he mentioned Bahrain because everybody around the world, all the people: Human Rights group, different strategic political, diplomatic, but we are paying the price of the double standards, foreign policy towards Muslim countries.

Thank you very much Nabeel Rajab. I'm sorry, to jump in there, I hate to do that, but I'm being told that we are quickly running out of time to talk to you perhaps a little bit more. However, I want to appreciate your time. Thanks for joining us now. Nabeel Rajab is President for Bahrain Center for Human Rights.

2. Transcript Aug 11 2011 'Saudis sparking bloodshed in Bahrain'

Anchor, Press TV:

We're switching over to Bahrain now where a new video has emerged of the crackdown on protesters by the Saudi backed regime forces.

Unidentified video location/source

Regime forces have harshly clamped down on descent since the popular uprising started in the Persian Gulf Sheikdom since mid-February. They've killed dozens of people and tortured hundreds of others in jail. The Saudi regime in Manama has sacked thousands of government employees for supporting the protests. And also prosecuted many physicians for treating those injured by regime forces.

For more on the Bahrain Revolution, we're joined by Saeed al-Shehabi, Bahrain Freedom Movement in London. Mr. Shehabi, thank you for joining us. The crackdown continues and so do the anti-regime protests. Where's the situation headed to?

Voice of Saeed al-Shehabi- Bahrain Freedom Movement, London (unidentified footage):
Thank you very much. As we saw last night, almost everywhere in the country, demonstrations, many villages and towns were the scenes of major demonstrations by the people and of course the same time these demonstrations were faced by massive crackdown by the police forces and the Saudi forces. Now, the situation is so tense that nobody can forecast where it is heading to. However, I can confirm that the revolution is not going to seize, is not going to stop and that this regime in its present form is not going to survive for much longer, despite this audience American support to the Al Khalifeh dictatorship. So, I can only see more protests, more crackdown, more confrontations and at the same time more human rights violations by the Al Khalifeh dictatorship.

Anchor, Press TV:

Well, Mr. el-Shehabi, the west remain silet and we've, they've, always had the statement that Bahrain is an ally. They do have their military fifth fleet there, but they seem to have a close eye on the situation going in Bahrain, as opposed to other countries.

Voice of Saeed al-Shehabi- Bahrain Freedom Movement, London (unidentified footage):
The west we know has been adopting double standards in its policies to the Middle East. It would keep quiet about what the Israelis would do but would raise massive short comings about other countries. As regards to Bahrain, they have chosen not to say anything, and they have also chosen to be on the wrong side of history by supporting a hereditary dictatorship and by keeping quiet about the Saudi occupation of the country. They would go to Kuwait to liberate it from Saddam Hussein forces in 1991, but they would keep quiet and probably support the Saudi mercenaries, who are the source of all evil in the world today including terrorism, fanaticism and extremism. So the world, as we saw in the past few days is paying dearly for its mistakes, in terms...this is how God makes laws controlling the nations and the societies. You cannot adopt bad policies and expect good outcomes. You will always get bad outcomes in you adopt bad policies. And this is what's happening. I hope, there will be an awakening of the rationale and also of the conscience of the west and come to the fact that the Bahraini people have no aim other than having the right to determine their own destiny and establish a representative system in their country.

Anchor, Press TV: Well, Mr. el-Shehabi, thank you for taking time for joining us on world news. That's Saeed al-Shehabi- Bahrain Freedom Movement, joining us from London.

3. Transcript Aug 31 2011 'UK arms used in Bahrain crackdown'

Anchor 1, Press TV: For more on that story, we're joined by Mr. Rodney Shakespeare, who's the chairman of the Committee Against Torture in Bahrain, who's joining us now on the line from London. Mr. Shakespeare, thank you very much for joining us now. Are there any surprises here, do you think that Liam Fox, although he said that the UK government was not supplying arms to a country like Bahrain, did do so?

Rodney Shakespeare, Chairman of the Committee Against Torture in Bahrain, London

The sale of small arms, rifles, ammunition and machine guns to repressive autocratic regimes, particularly to The Bahrain, is an example of a dirty hypocrisy, the slimy deceit and straightforward lying of the British government. And I can say that confidently, because I wrote to the Foreign Office, protesting, saying that it was doing nothing against the torture and

the shootings in Bahrain. And, I received a letter, in which they say, “oh where we are, we are trying to say, uphold human rights, and that we’re doing it behind the scenes”. That there’s not doing it publicly and here we now have the clearest evidence at the same time claiming to reprimand the Bahrain government for breaches of human rights, actually selling them arms. In April, there was that disgraceful episode, when they shot sleeping people during the night, in the face in Pearl Square. And after that incident, what goes down in the annals of disgraceful atrocities, the British government was continuing to sell ammunition and arms to Bahrain. So, the whole thing is just sickening, and I am fed up with the British government, telling straightforward lies. They cannot claim that they are in private, they are reprimanding the Bahraini government. They are doing nothing of the sort, they’re putting up lies to me in writing and of course, they’re doing it to everybody else in words. They’re deceitful, they’re lying and they’re hypocrites.

Anchor 1, Press TV: Alright, we’ll have to leave it there for now unfortunately. That was Mr. Rodney Shakespeare, Chairman of the Committee Against Torture in Bahrain, joining us on the line from London. Mr. Shakespeare, thank you very much for your insight, here at Press TV.

4. Transcript Apr 30 2011 'US not against brutalities in Bahrain'

Anchor 1, Press TV:

Ralph Schoenman now joins us. He is the author of Hidden History of Zionism. Over the phone from Berkeley, California, Ralph Schoenman, it’s good to have you with us. Saudi protesters have once again taken to the streets to demand their rights and condemn the occupation of Bahrain. Why is it that the US and other claimants of democracy and human rights do not hear their voices?

Voice of Ralph Schoenman, Author, “Hidden History of Zionism”, Berkeley

Footage of Qatif, Saudi Arabia

Because the pretence of being concerned about human rights and democracy on the part of the people who rule the US is simple propaganda and entire hypocrisy since there is no brutal dictatorship on a global scale that does not enjoy military support and financial support of the US. These are for the most part and certainly in the Arab east and the region at large, countries selling regimes. The regime in Saudi Arabia and that in Bahrain are prototypic of this. [Footage of Awamiyah, Saudi Arabia] There is no contradiction between the US support of these regimes and silence about their violation of basic human rights and democratic rights, because they were put into place in order to suppress the population. These are governments that preside over the exploitation over the resources of these countries, the provision of cheap labour from their population, to huge corporate conglomerates that basically control the politics of the US and subject countries to an absence of any resemblance of sovereignty or self-determination, so the brutality that is being witnessed in Saudi Arabia and in particular in Bahrain is not something that is in conflict with the politics and policies of those who rule the US, but are in fact a direct expression of it. After all, in Bahrain, the fifth fleet is based, the intelligence base of the US in the region is centred in Bahrain as of the UK. And it is the launching point for the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. In particular, with regard to the Wahabi regime in Saudi Arabia, that is the lynchpin of imperial control; of the wealth and resources of the region, and the domination of people far beyond Saudi Arabia. Bahrain is a prototypic example with the present brutal occupation of Bahrain. You referenced the Saudi women who have protested in

Jedda as reported by AFP and by Al Jazeera. This is of great significance. The protests on the part of women are very broad demand for full rights for women which of course are denied under the Wahabi regime. And it's important, I think, to take note of the fact that women and students from various universities in Tehran mobilised against the killing and arrests of women in Bahrain and Yemen, and also the brutal crackdown on popular protests by regimes in the region. I think it's very important, if I may say so, that in Iran, these rights are defended and asserted and in particular, they are women mobilised, in their own interests for democratic entitlement and for full equality at every level of society. It's important for Iran as it is for every other country, not only in the region, but in the world, and that includes the US. But, I would like just to point out that this is a rather significant moment for the protests are unfolding not just amongst the Shiites population of Saudi Arabia but the population at large, because it is reported today in the Huffington Post that the regime in Bahrain has undertaken executions of Shiite protesters in military courts. They've been sentenced to death and to life imprisonment. These are a group of seven protesters who have been held in custody under appalling conditions. The seven opposition members were sentences behind closed doors on charges of premeditated murder, the military prosecutor claiming that the defendants killed policemen by running over them with a car. There is no scintilla of evidence for this. The trial is a farce, it's been denounced by Malcolm Smart, the MENA director at Amnesty International. It's been denounced by the president of the European parliament Jerzy Buzek, who decried the death sentences and called these closed-door military trials deplorable. This is part of an intensive process, a reign of terror, being visited upon the population at large.

I just had an email moments ago from the secretary general of the Bahraini trade union federation, detailing the thousands of workers- Shiite workers in particular who are not only being removed from work, but are finding their families harassed, being detained for asserting basic democratic rights, union rights, workers' rights, the rights to ask for higher wages, the right to protest the occupation of their country. So, these demonstrations that you were citing in Saudi Arabia on the part of women are part of a general protest by the populations in the region, Saudi Arabia in particular, against the nature of the country selling regimes that are dependent on the US rulers for their military prowess and their financial stability.

Thank you very much Ralph Schoenman. Ralph Schoenman actually, author of "Hidden History of Zionism", all the way from Berkeley, California.

5. Transcript Jun 19 2011 'US props up Bahrain military trials'

Anchor, Press TV:

And now, to Bahrain, where a 15 year old boy is being put on military trial in that country for participating in anti-government protests. Rights Activists, say Youssef Al Basri will appear before the military court on Sunday. Al Basri was reportedly tortured while in detention. Now, the regime in Bahrain has been accused of rounding up opposition forces and putting them before military tribunals. A lawsuit has also been filed with the International Criminal Court over the use of violence and torture against Bahraini protestors. This as a group of lawyers from Lebanon, Spain, France and Italy, has sure Bahrain and Britain over the suppression of peaceful protesters.

Britain has played a key role in propping up hereditary monarchies and the Persian Gulf region has maintained its support for the unelected regimes including Bahrain.

Well, I'd like to welcome our guest to this part of the program. We're going to take a little bit closer look at what's happening in Bahrain. We're joined by Ralph Schoenman, the author of "Hidden History of Zionism" from Berkeley.

Thanks so much for joining us Mr. Schoenman. Well, it seems like the situation is just getting worse and worse in Bahrain. And now, we have that children are even put on military trial there. And yet, those countries that support Bahrain the most, such as Washington such as London, we have silence from these capitals. Why is that the case, in your perspective?

Ralph Schoenman, the author of "Hidden History of Zionism" from Berkeley.

[Nuwaidrat, Bahrain footage]

Well, actually, what's happening at the current moment, is I think, not a bad situation, but an increasingly hopeful one. The reason I say that is because the movement has restarted itself. There have been mass demonstrations. And, for the first time in many weeks, in fact months, across Bahrain, across Manama, you can hear the cars honking with the beat: "Down with Hamad, down with Hamad, beep beep beep", which was a hallmark of the mass demonstrations, they have returned and a struggle has renewed.

The detention of the fifteen year old is exactly the pattern of what they do with the children who are participating in the protests against the brutal regime, against its exploitation and its terrible torture that has been inflicted upon those who have been held. And this takes place as you know within a context of the President of the US receiving the PM Al Khalifeh and acknowledging that he is important to Washington and representing that there will be negotiations which will respect human right, which is completely fictitious, because that announcement by Obama, took place on the very day that the military trials were unfolding. Those military trials, I should tell you I've had two communications from doctors who have been subjected to them. They are tortured, with electrical torture, with sexual abuse, and it is ongoing and nonstop. And when the defendants attempt to say to the court that they have been tortured, and that any confessions were presented as a result of torture, the judge threatened to throw them out of the courtroom, if they made any reference to that.

Anchor, Press TV:

So, Mr. Schoenman, with everything that you have said, as far as what is taking place there, with the rounding people up, we have the allegations of innocent people being charged in a military court and standing trial and of course, as I said earlier, with this fifteen year old and of course he's not the only child, why is this met with silence, continued silence from the US? And, as you said, at the same time, they've even had the prince actually as a guess in the White House? Why is that the case?

Ralph Schoenman, the author of "Hidden History of Zionism" from Berkeley.

[Nuwaidrat, Bahrain footage]

Because, the US, not only depends upon the regimes such as that of the monarchy in Bahrain, but is their primary prop and master of proceedings. US imperialism requires these repressive selling countries regimes. In the case of Bahrain and the Emirates, you see a little shift to suppress the population and to facilitate the theft of the oil and natural resources of the countries for the benefit of US corporations. [Sanabis, Bahrain footage]

That's why these regimes are in place. After all, in Bahrain in particular, this is the headquarters of the fifth fleet, the launching point of the aggression of the US against Iraq and Afghanistan. Ad, all of the weaponry that has been used by the invading Saudi and Gulf forces as US

weaponry from the jet planes, the F16s, to the cobra attack helicopters, to the special armament and to the nerve gas and chemical weapons that have been used against the population.

Anchor, Press TV:

OK Ralph Schoenman author of “Hidden History of Zionism” from Berkeley, joining us via Skype, we appreciate you being with us.

6. Transcript Jul 7 2011 Analysts critical of Bahraini national dialogue

Marjan Asi, Press TV, Washington (voiceover):

The United States role vis-à-vis the brutal suppression by the Al Khalifeh Dynasty in Bahrain has led to increased criticism of its policies in that country. At the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, speakers discussed the US alliance with the ruling Bahraini Monarchy.

Ahmed Abdulhussain, Political Activist: The Obama administration stances do not comport those of US values and that is what we're here for, in a sense, today. We're here for, to, instate a presidential constitutional republic, but also have the US act in line with US values, principles, ethics and morals.

Marjan Asi, Press TV, Washington (voiceover):

A so-called, National Dialogues, began recently between the Bahraini Government and opposition parties. But analysts are wary of the credibility of this dialogue.

Tad Stahnke, Human Rights First Opposition parties only have a few seats at the table. Also, concerns that the royal family is not participating directly in the dialogue, how committed will they be to the reforms that are needed to come out as a result of the dialogue?

Ahmed Abdulhussain, Political Activist: The fundamental question is, ‘who are you promoting dialogue between’? You're promoting dialogue between a murderer and the murdered, rapists and the rape victims, between those who have looted the country and those who have been impoverished for ever so long.

Marjan Asi, Press TV, Washington (voiceover):

The United States has pushed for the dialogue in hopes that of reaching a compromise that will suit its strategic interest in the island nation, which harbours the US fifth Fleet.

Matthew Mainen, Policy Analyst:

The United States wants to maintain a role in being a broker in ministry affairs and also wants to maintain its position in the Gulf. So, by pushing for a national dialogue, it can say to the international community, that it's still largely involved in Mideast affairs and it can take credit for any marginal progress that is made there.

Marjan Asi, Press TV, Washington (voiceover):

Policy Analyst, Matthew Mainen, discussed the effect communication with opposition parties would have on the present regime in Bahrain.

Matthew Mainen, Policy Analyst:

I think that it'll be a success for the government of Bahrain. They'll be able to claim a victory and they'll be able to say it's led to reform and it's led to rights. Well, in terms of civil rights in Bahrain, there's just going to be no real change.

Marjan Asi, Press TV, Washington (voiceover):

Since protests began in February, Human Rights Violations have increased drastically, with reports of arbitrary arrests and detentions, torture, disappearances, military trials, destruction of places of worship, intimidation and provocation and death, in and out of custody.

Marjan Asi, Press TV, Washington (facing camera):

So, experts are hopeful of the possibility that dialogue may present. Strong criticism of this national dialogue and concerns about its credibility remain. Marjan Asi, Press TV, Washington.

7. Transcript Mar 30 2011 Bahrain revolution continues

Story by Mohammad K. Imani, Narrated by David Moslehi:

Bahraini government forces backed by Saudi troops have completely blocked access to several villages. Reports say the military has set up checkpoints and deployed secret police around the village of Mamir, leaving the village to prevent anyone from entering or leaving the village.

Saudi and Bahraini troops have also fired tear gas to disperse protesters in the village of Tashan. Voice of Press TV Correspondent, Manama, Bahrain

I think it's simply to quell protests. There might be captivating protesters when protesters climb the rooftops of their houses and call "Allahu Akbar", as a sign of protest against its regime. That type of protest has been increasing over the past week. Essentially, Shiites districts of Bahrain are in (unclear).

Story by Mohammad K. Imani, Narrated by David Moslehi: The latest developments in Bahrain come amid calls by rights groups for an end to authorities' use of excessive force against protesters. Human Rights Watch says at least 18 anti-government demonstrators have been killed and hundreds more have gone missing since the start of the protests against the ruling Al Khalifeh regime last month.

The rights group says the victims were killed by live rounds at close range. Bahraini opposition figures have voiced concerns over the recent reports, calling on the international community to put more pressure on Manama, to stop the violence.

Voice of Saeed al-Shahabi Bahraini Opposition Leader, London

These villages are being besieged mercilessly and it is just murderers let loose. I appeal to the world, I appeal to the United Nations, to Ban-Ki-Moon, to act without any further delay.

Story by Mohammad K. Imani, Narrated by David Moslehi: Meanwhile, Bahraini opposition groups have announced Saturday as a day of mourning for those killed during the protests.

Bahrain is one of America's closest allies in the region and is host to the US Navy's 5th Fleet. While the western backed Bahraini government continues to suppress the popular protests under the recently imposed Marshall law, it remains to be seen for how long, western governments will remain silent about the situation in Bahrain.

8. Transcript Aug 5 2011 Bahrainis fight torture with hunger strike

Anchor, Press TV:

For a better understanding of the Bahrain Revolution at this stage, I'm joined by Nabeel Rajab, the president of Bahrain Centre for Human Rights, joining us all the way from Manama itself actually. Mr. Rajab, the crackdown has apparently not been able to stop the protest, has it? Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Unidentified Footage)

Not at all, and as you've seen last night, at least in the area where I am, tens of thousands of people gathered here and then it has spread all over Bahrain villages and cities in different areas. In fact, we have witnessed hundreds of different protests in hundreds of places, were gathered hundreds of thousands of people protesting. After five, six months of the state of emergency law and bloody crackdown backed by the Saudi and Emirati forces and mercenaries that are brought from outside the country, things are back to the same day that we have started on the 14th of February. People has been protesting last night, since they have seen no political solution. Since they have seen the government and ruling elite gone back to point number one. And I think this is going to continue in the coming days and weeks and months and it's not gonna stop until I think people reach a political solution.

Anchor, Press TV:

Share with us what you know about the prisoners' hunger strike, Mr. Rajab.

Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Unidentified Footage)

I think there is two, I mean 3 hunger strikes going on. One is by the unclear of the nursing society along with another woman who is one of the leaders of the teachers' society. And then you have hunger strike by the soldiers or people working for military institutions, who are from a Shiite background. As you know, they have detained most of the people working in the police and military institutions for a reason that they had some messages on their telephone or they have tweeted in a twitter account some statements criticising the government or put some picture in their Facebook of the unclear and a boy. That itself has become a crime here that can put you in jail for four years. Many of these soldiers being sentenced already four or five and six years. And they are being tortured very badly. So they are protesting by starting hunger strike since last night. Then, before yesterday, we have another president, the unclear governorate have started also hunger strike because of the treatments and torture that they've been receiving and complaining. Especially, many of them have been detained for 5 months in detention. They don't know why they are detained, they don't have a file, they were not even taken to the court. Nobody knows anything of them as of now, so they want to raise their issues and grievances. So we have three hunger strikers in three different prisons at the moment.

Anchor, Press TV:

And Mr. Rajab, if you're aware, what are the plans for today? What do the protesters plan to do from this point on from what you're hearing sir?

Voice of Nabeel Rajab- Pres., Bahrain Center for Human Rights, Manama (Unidentified Footage)

I think, Ramadan, we're gonna have tuff Ramadan this time. I could see that from last night thousands of men and women, very young children on the street and how the government reacted as violent as always, and they have I am sure have realised now, with all these

thousands of troops they brought from Pakistan lately, it did not work. And today, we're going to have a big protest organised by Roufa. It is expected to be attended by 60 – 70 thousand people. But that is a permitted one by the government, I don't think it's going to be attacked, but we're going to have, I think, in the coming days continuous protests in each and every village until the government starts releasing all the prisoners and they should start a dialogue. We are gonna maintain that our people don't turn to violence, not to be pulled out into the trap of violence as government is trying to do. We are going to maintain our peaceful means in the protests continue our work and I think we're gonna reach our goal with this peaceful means at the end of the day.

Anchor, Press TV:

Thank you very much, Mr. Nabeel Rajab, President of Bahrain Center for Human Rights in Manama, for the information of our viewers. The developments in Bahrain are observed and under a close watch by Press TV. So, do stay tuned to news that's coming out of Bahrain.

9. Transcript Mar 22 2011 US support for Saudi invasion of Bahrain

Steve McCaul Press TV, London (voiceover):

As Saudi troops spent the week in Manama, Bahraini Opposition troops leaders met with the parliamentary Human Rights Committee in London. Their dismay at their cause going unnoticed was clear.

Two pictures of battered and bullet-ridden bodies. Speakers told of how peaceful civilians were being targeted by militia and how medical staff are unable to leave the now government controlled hospitals. They say if they try to leave, they are threatened with beatings.

Dr. Saeed Shehabi, the leader of the Bahrain Freedom Movement, says that discussion with the government over the intervention with the Saudi troops hasn't been possible.

Dr. Saeed Shehabi, Bahrain Freedom Movement

These people are a person who is holding a gun to your head is not in a position or in a moral situation to talk to you. He wants to kill you. Killers do not believe in dialogue. Have you ever seen a killer, a murderer, who is ready to sit with his victim and debate?

Steve McCaul Press TV, London (voiceover):

Joining politicians, where those who had experienced violence in Bahrain for themselves.

Jaafar al-Hesabl, Political Activist

They let me stand for more than 23 days, standing continuously 7 days a week, for 24 hours. And they just took me to the tortured room and they bring me back at the same position again and again.

Steve McCaul Press TV, London (voiceover):

Once again, there was anger at the double standards of western governments, particularly after the announcement of a no fly zone in Libya. The Bahraini opposition are unhappy that the US is supporting the country's leaders, while at the same time, western nations were fighting an air war against Colonel Gaddafi.

Steve McCaul Press TV, London (to the camera):

What was conveyed here, was a sense of desperation. These Bahraini people want far more support and for action to be taken against those committing torturous acts in their home country. Steve McCaul Press TV, London

10. Transcription Aug 6 2011 'US, biggest loser in Bahrain uprising'

Anchor 1, Press TV: A new report has revealed that a military pact between the US and Bahrain has been extended until 2016.

Anchor 2, Press TV: Well, the report says that the extension took place as early as 2002. A US congressional report says former President George W Bush, designated Bahrain as “major non-NATO ally” in March 2002. Meanwhile, the Washington Post reports that Bush and the Bahraini regime secretly signed the contract to 2016 back in 2001. The contract was already prolonged until 2011 in 2001. The two countries first signed for a 10 year military pact on October 28 1991. A US official, has also hinted that the accord was extended. He says the contract’s date goes beyond October 2011. The pact gives the US access to military bases in Bahrain, home to the US fifth fleet.

Well, to look into this a bit further, we are being joined by Jeff Steinberg. He’s with the Executive Intelligence Review, joining us from Washington. Mr. Seindberg, many thanks for joining us here on Press TV. Now, this pact designates Bahrain as a major non-NATO ally facilitating US arms sales to the country. The US is already being criticised for keeping mum on the crackdown on protesters in Bahrain, but this simply takes it to a whole new step, doesn’t it?

Voice of Jeff Steinberg, Executive Intelligence Review, Washington

Unidentified video footage

Well it does, but I think it’s important to bear in mind that going all the way back to the early 180s at the time of the Iran-Iraq war, that you had the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council, which of course, Saudi Arabia is the most significant member of, that Saudi Arabia and the other five member states formed a security pact in which they had an understanding with the US that the internal security of all of those countries would be a common security arrangement, in which for example, in the recent period, we saw the Saudi military crossing the causeway into Bahrain, but the other side of that arrangement was that the GCC is a group and all of the member countries would have a pact with the US to defend against external threats. So this is a long standing arrangement and of course, part of it involved the fact that at the end of the Vietnam war, in the mid-1970s, the US was desperate to find countries that would be willing to buy major US military equipment to offset the fact that a lot of equipment that had been produced for Vietnam was no longer needed. So, there’s all kinds of economic, as well as military agreements herein. And frankly, the US has built up these relationships, which tends to compromise the US abilities to operate as a kind of honest broker. So, when the Arab spring events developed in Bahrain, the US was really in a conflict of interest from the very outset. Whatever interest there was in seeing a legitimate expansion of liberties and maybe a move towards a constitutional monarchy, was offset by the security arrangements and as you pointed out, these were treaty agreements reached by the Bush administration and actually much earlier. But they bind American regimes from being able to have a full diplomatic relationship in which there’s an encouragement to internal freedoms and development of better internal politics. The US is definitely benefitting but also hamstrung in these relationships.

Anchor 2, Press TV:

Right, I’d like you to elaborate on that because with the start of the Arab uprisings and revolutions in this region, time was ripe for the US to build new bridges with the people of

these countries as opposed to the despotic regimes they had risen up against. And the extension of the support, certainly does not go into that direction. Why hasn't the US followed that path?

Voice of Jeff Steinberg, Executive Intelligence Review, Washington

Well, you know, it's a very uneven picture, and of course as I say, the treaty agreement, the military treaty agreements with Bahrain and with the other GCC countries really do restrict the US. They basically oblige the US to put security considerations over the interest of encouraging true openings of democracy and better relationships for the people of those countries. In the case of Bahrain, I think it's important to realise that the initial protests were not sectarian. The Saudis tried to pose the Bahraini revolt as if it was somehow or other a kind of Iranian intervention, using the Shiite majority to try to overthrow the monarchy. There was nothing like that going on, but increasingly, the strategy was to take what were legitimate interests that were both Shiite and Sunni people working together and to turn it into a strictly sectarian issue, and to try to basically to shift blame on Iran, when there was absolutely no evidence of Iranian participation. American foreign policy in this part of the world has been deadly discredited, and in the eyes of the majority of people, the US is in fact playing the role that runs very counter to our history. Remember, we made a revolution against the British Empire, to establish our nation's independence and sovereignty and here we are and certainly in the eyes of the people of Bahrain and many of these other countries, taking the side of imperial power and defence of reactionary monarchist regimes. It's a very unfortunate situation and I think the US winds up being the big loser in this, along with the people who have legitimate aspirations for better conditions of life and more active participation in the government decisions.

Alright, we're going to have to leave it there. That was Jeff Steinberg with the Executive Intelligence Review, speaking to us from Washington. Mr. Steinberg, as always, many thanks indeed for your insight here on Press TV.

ii. Egypt Morsi grants himself unlimited powers

1. Transcript Jul 5 2013 'Egypt coup, not a democratic process'

Anchor, Press TV:

Unrest in Egypt, violence has broken out at several parts of the country. Supporters of ousted President Mohammed Morsi, holding nationwide rallies, demanding his reinstatement.

Video Footage of violent demonstrations in Cairo

At least three people were killed in the capital Cairo after security forces opened fire on pro-Morsi demonstrators.

Violence broke out as the protesters were marching towards the club of the Republicans' Guard, where Morsi is being held.

Video Footage of violent demonstrations in Damanhour by Video 7

Clashes also broke up between supporters and opponents of Morsi in the city of Luxor. Two people were killed there. Another person was killed in Giza, while 20 others were wounded during similar clashes in the city of Damanhour.

Unidentified footage of violent protests

The pro-Morsi protests have been held in response to a call by the Muslim Brotherhood who urged supporters to pour into the streets on the quote "Friday of rage". Unclear say the army toppled President Morsi in reaction to protesters' demands for his resignations. As the pro-Morsi rallies got underway, the opponents of the deposed leader, called for rival rallies, to protect, what they called the country's new revolution.

In another developments, gunmen have attacked an airport in the Sinai town of Arush. Let's talk with Mohammed Sharif, he's a member of the Conscience Front, who joins us from Egypt's capital Cairo. Mohamed Sharaf, this is not unexpected, what do you think is going to transpire? Are we going to get from the Muslim Brotherhood, any type of statement of announcement, regarding, their obviously pro Morsi protesters coming out on the streets in order to keep this from spiralling out of control?

Mohamed Sharaf, Member, Conscience Front, Cairo

In a democratic protest, the harshest act of violating rights is a coup d'état, so, where the ballots are not respected, where the results are nulled. So, this is really the harshest act of violence. But, in general, the Muslim Brotherhood, they usually resort to peaceful tactics. I know they will keep their pressure, they will mass. In Egypt, you know, the pretext for this coup d'état, was a headcount in Tahrir Square.

Voice of Mohamed Sharaf, Member, Conscience Front, Cairo unidentified footage of army and tanks.

If we go by that principle of head count, you'll find many 20 to 30 million Egyptians out in whole Egypt, the whole of Egypt today. This is more than on the day of the abrogation of Mubarak. Of course this is laughable to use the headcount. We should resort to the ballots, where every vote should count at the ballot, not a mere key headcount, like what happened and to make it a rule, makes democracy, how do you say it, you know, it's really laughable, it's outrageous you know, to resort to such fool-tactics. It says, you know, that we are not democratically prepared, it's just you know, to take the will of the people, you have to resort to violence, you have to resort to any other tactics. If you want to do a real count, we were on the verge of parliamentary elections that should be in 2 to 3 months at the most. And if you have the pretext for the coup, it's the will of the people, yes, I myself and everyone would really respect it if we go to the polls and they win. Those who would win, would have everything without the need for a coup d'état and in the meanwhile, you preserve the democratic path and the democratic process that we just started. If you win the parliamentary elections, then you have legislative branch and you have the executive branch, because the parliament appoints the cabinet.

Footage of Cairo now and Cairo earlier

And also, you'll have more powers than the president has. If you have complaints about the constitutional articles, if you have the majority then you can easily change it. So why do we resort to such violence? Why do we abort a democratic process that just started? That's the question.

Anchor, Press TV:

Let me come up with an answer for you Mohamed Sharaf in form of updates. Let me jump in here and inform you of what's occurred right now. And I want to read this. It's not in any consecutive order:

Egypt's interim president has appointed a new head for general intelligence. That's update number one.

You have the upper house that's now been dissolved. The upper house of parliament. Update number two.

The interim president also appointed an advisor for security affairs.

You have, what, a new head of intelligence that's been instated now.

And also, he has dissolved the Shura Council; the interim president.

You have five major developments coming through right now. You were talking about democracy right now, what do you think about these devolvment's that have taken place through the army appointed interim leader?

Mohamed Sharaf, Member, Conscience Front, Cairo

It doesn't...none of this will really settle, violation people's rights. People are out determined and they will be determined even though you know, you see the screen in my back. It's not really reflecting the real situation. It's misleading, because this is just coming from Tahrir sq.

Footage of Nasr city and Presidential Palace with demonstrators

But you have to see the masses elsewhere, probably you've had it on your screen. In any case, such majors are against my will and are against the will of the people. It's not the idea of being supportive of Morsi or anyone. It's the idea of preserving a democratic path, a democratic process, not to abort it so early and to give up to a military rule. We are now back not just to square one, two years ago, where we had the military, the supreme armed forces council, in charge. No, it's going back 60 years to the Egyptian revolution, 1952. You had a similar revolution in Iran at that time, no it's not a revolution, you had a similar coup against Mosaddegh government and the main parties are still, they have they hands here and there since then.

Very well, thank you so much for that. We do appreciate it. We're going to be covering, having a rolling coverage segment coming up after the news of at the top of the hour. But, that was Mohamed Sharaf a member of the Conscience Front speaking to us from Cairo.

2. Transcript Jul 7 2013 'Masses in Egypt dislike violence'

Anchor, Press TV:

Fresh pro and anti-rallies are underway in the capital Cairo, days after the president was ousted in that military coup. Now, the protest gained momentum after the Muslim Brotherhood called on its supporters to take to the streets and mass, and to keep up the protest until president-elect Mohammed Morsi returns to power.

Morsi supporters have gathered in front on the Republican Guard HQ, calling for his release.

Al Sayed Badr, Morsi Supporter [Translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]: Those who support the legitimacy, the constitution and the law, will not leave the streets until Dr. Mohammed Morsi's presidency is restored.

Anchor, Press TV [voice over with video footage of demonstrators in Liberation Sq.]:

Rival rallies are also being held in Cairo's iconic Liberation Sq. Protesters are out to back the military's move. And the new interim government, led by top judge Adly Mansour. At least 36 people have been killed following the coup that sparked mass street protests across the country. Well, let's switch over to Belfast. Author, Middle East Affairs expert joins us. Mr. Saab Shaath, thank you so much for being with us. What do you think is happening basically on the ground? It seems that since the several days now that Mr. Morsi has been overthrown, each day, we see more and more violence. And it appears, less and less stability. Looking now in hindsight, four, five days later, was the coup a very good idea? Or should it have gone the way of actually trying to get rid of Mr. Morsi, if that's what they wanted to do, via early elections?

Saab Shaath, Author, Middle East Affairs, Belfast:

First of all, Mr. Morsi created a lot of enemies within Egypt and outside Egypt. In Egypt, there was scared of sectarian war is going to break out, since he didn't condemn the killing of Shiites in Cairo, the village beside Cairo. He was addressing a scholar's conference or a gathering in Cairo, while he's holding the Free Syrian unclear flag, the French unclear of Syria flag. And he then sabotaged the relationship with Syria. And he called, supported Jihadists to go to Syria. This, the Egyptian army distanced itself. And then, the Egyptian Army as well, have some sort of score with him since there is 15 soldiers were killed in Egypt in Sinai last year and 7 been kidnapped and released later on. And all of these were done by some sort of Jihadist groups, which the Egyptian army believes is supported by the Muslim Brotherhood movement. So, they were trying to bring chaos and to take Sinai out of Egypt. That's one of the things.

The other part of it: every sort of everyday life in Egypt worsened, the supplies of oil, unemployment levels, the violence against women, a lot of things. The Egyptian people refused and they seen their country being taken from beneath them, and being just ruled by one party; the Muslim Brotherhood Party. They even kicked their partners with at the beginning who's the Nour party, which we seen him now supporting this move.

And, we, I, cannot call this now, as a pure sort of coup, since there is 33m people came in the streets against Morsi. I didn't know why then, he didn't call for a referendum in his unclear presidency. Maybe he would have stopped that kind of takeover or even he would have stopped the army from...

Anchor, Press TV:

OK, Mr. Shaath, because I'm very limited, very limited in time, but now, with all that being said, let's look at the statuesque on the ground right now. A very, very sensitive situation, that some are saying, that could actually turn into a civil war. My point is that, do you think that it could have been there, should have been another option, or do you think that the option that was taken, as you said the millions of people that have taken to the street, as the best option? And now, what basically, is the best plan for Egypt?

Saab Shaath, Author, Middle East Affairs, Belfast [Video footage of unidentified demonstrations]: Egypt is going to avoid any kind of civil war or violence since the Muslim Brotherhoods if they call for violence, which they lately, and that's one of the points which is, will be put against Morsi and the Murshid of the Muslim Brotherhoods calling for violence. They cannot turn Egypt into an Algerian scenario or a Syrian scenario. That's exactly and precisely what the Arabic masses in Egypt and all over the Arabic world are sick of: violence in the name of Islam, tarnishing Islam by killing others or by sectarians little wars here and there. They wanted to avoid that. They thought Egypt was gonna be launched into that kind of chaos. And they wanted to anticipate any sort of acts like that and stop it. And the Muslim Brotherhoods in Egypt are paying the price right now, unclear.

Anchor, Press TV: Alright, thank you so much for being with us Mr. Shaab author and Middle East Affairs in Belfast.

3. Transcript Jul 8 2013 'Egypt may be headed for civil war'

Anchor, Press TV: Well, that was a Press Conference, being held by the Muslim Brotherhood. The spokesman saying there that we as the Muslim Brotherhood protesters were attacked by the Republican Guard instead of the Republican Guard confronting enemies on Egypt's borders. He say that they are killing us with our money and he said no Egyptian should remain in their homes today, that we will all come out to the streets to condemn the Egyptian army's head, that is General Sisi's actions as of today. He said that today, the 8th of July will become a decisive day and he said we shall not forget today's crimes.

Well, to discuss that situation further, we are now joined by Mr. Franklin Lamb, who's an international lawyer and he's now joining us from Beirut. Mr. Lamb, thanks a lot for joining us now. I wanted to get your assessment of the situation in Egypt. Certainly today has been quite a decisive day, hasn't it?

Mr. Franklin Lamb, International Lawyer, Beirut:

Well, it has been and it may indeed be remembered in history, but not for exactly the reason that General Sisi has in mind. Look, I think the fundamental point is that the Egyptian people after four or five decades held an election. And one party won the election; the presidential election and then there was a parliamentary election that the party won that and then there was a referendum on the constitution and that party won that election and that's gotta mean something.

I know that Washington is shying away and the British government cannot quite bring themselves to say the four letter word. And that four letter word of course is "coup". It was a military coup. I'm not competent, or here to defend Morsi. But, the fact is, obviously he made mistakes. But now you've got right wingers in the US congress saying we've gotta cut off all aid until the right person is elected. There's some candidates for prime minister, now looks like he was appointed deputy prime minister. But he's running for president. He's engaged the American lobbying firm Patton Boggs and that's Mohammed el Baradi.

Unidentified video footage of tents in a city and casualties being treated.

Obama likes him and the establishment seems to like him, so there's that aspect. They're trying to justify in the congress, they're trying to say, people like McCain are trying to say "look, look, a majority of the people, they wanted change, thereby justifying a military coup? No! Because the constitution of Egypt, like the constitution of the US provides for recall. If you don't like the mistakes that Morsi made and that he was getting off to a very bad start, arguably. And that you have a lot of economic problems you wanna blame on him, well, the fact that matters, you recall him in by democratic means. If you're going to claim to be a democracy, you've gotta have some democratic rules. And so, I'm not terribly sympathetic with the military. It looks like we're headed for a civil war. I don't know how you stop it, I can't see the military putting him back in office and holding a referendum; a vote on Morsi, exactly happened. Although, I understand that the White House wouldn't mind something like that. So, we're just going to have to see, but it's, as your excellent reporters are saying, I think it's caught us all nearly in a condition of shock, and where it's gonna lead, we're just gonna have to wait and see.

Anchor, Press TV:

Mr. Lamb, I wanted to ask, you know, has the military essentially made a mistake here, by thinking that, you know, the Egyptians were divided? Because, certainly, when the coup was carried out, it did seem that Egyptian society was divided. But at this point, you know, everyone is condemning today's violence, even those who were anti-Morsi are condemning today's violence. Even Mohammed al Barady for example. And even those who stood against Mohammed Morsi, throughout, you know, the year that he was the president. Certainly, that wouldn't have been the kind of conclusion the military would've wanted.

Mr. Franklin Lamb, International Lawyer, Beirut:

No. I think they rushed into this thing, they were too much affected with the public demonstrations, a little bit like in a different setting, that NATO and the Americans and French and the British, rushed into Libya, after there were some riots in Benghazi. I think they jumped the gun on this, I think they should have had more negotiations brought in on the Al Nour Party. Unclear from other countries, because this is very fundamental.

There's argument today in the New York Times, David Brooks, a Zionist was saying: "Oh the Egyptian people, they can't have have democracy, they're not ready, because" ...and he uses this word "they don't have the mental capacity". Well, that's an outrageous statement, but I think who may not have the capacity for a democracy is SCAF, the Supreme Armed Forces Council.

So, I'm speechless on this thing and how it's going to work out. But yeah, the military made a huge mistake and there's got to be some way, hopefully, that the different parties can come together, tamp this down, and try to resolve it. But, I I I ...don't see uh ...a clear path to that. Obviously, it's their country and they're going to have to see what they can do. I don't think the outsiders can have much effect. I don't think the Americans have enough credibility or respect anymore, uh...in Egypt...to make a uh...to have the kind of power they used to have.

Anchor, Press TV:

Alright, we'll have to leave it for now. But, of course, we do sincerely appreciate your insight. That was Mr. Franklin Lamb, International Lawyer, speaking to us live from the Lebanese capital, Beirut.

4. Transcript Jul 19 2013 'Egypt to face more conflict, fighting'

Anchor, Press TV:

Now, Egypt is bracing for another day of protests by supports and opponents of ousted president Mohammed Morsi. Rival rallies have continued nonstop in Egypt since Morsi's overthrown Army Coup a few weeks ago.

Unidentified video footage including video footage from Masr TV.

The Egyptian military warned against violence ahead of Friday's protests. Meanwhile, Egypt's interim president, Adly Mansour, says some elements in the country are trying to cause chaos. Mansour, pledged to restore security and protect Egypt against those who seek violence. The

protest after Morsi's ousting have frequently led to violent confrontations between the security forces and Morsi supporters. Many people have been killed as a result.

Well, let's cross over to Detroit now, joining us is the editor of the Pan-African Newswire . Thank you for joining us here in Press TV Mr. Zakiwi.

Now, looking at the comments made by Adly Mansour, do you think that it's a threat basically, against pro Morsi demonstrators, that they will not be tolerated from this point and beyond?

Abayomi Azikiwe, editor of the Pan African News Wire, Detroit:

It's clearly a threat. We look at what has happened in Egypt, over the last two weeks. There has been a tremendous amount of political turmoil. On July 8th, we saw the deaths of at least 54 people who were killed in front of the Republican Guard HQ in Nasr city. There have been a number of Muslim Brotherhood leaders and supporters, who have been arrested by the military, in the hundreds. The president is still being held in an undisclosed location near Cairo in unclear. They have issued other similar warnings against supporters of President Mohammed Morsi.

Yes, this is definitely a warning to everyone, inside of Egypt, who would oppose this military coup d'état that has taken place.

Anchor, Press TV:

Right, but is it a wise warning, considering that further crackdown, further bloodshed, would only deepen the resolve of the protesters that are right no on the streets?

Abayomi Azikiwe, editor of the Pan African News Wire, Detroit:

I think it will deepen the resolve. The supporters of the freedom and justice party have no intentions of joining this interim government council, or even being brought to the table in lieu of the release of the ousted president Mohamed Morsi, as well as other top-ranking officials within the Freedom and Justice Party and the Muslim Brotherhood. The positions are diametrically opposed and until they set down with the Freedom and Justice Party and other forces that are now in the opposition, there's not gonna be any real progress made politically inside of Egypt itself. It's quite interesting to know that the US government is continuing to make amends with the Egyptian government. They first of all, have now declared that this is a coup d'état. They sent an armed envoy to Egypt on Sunday, to discuss these developments with the new interim military government council leadership. And at the same time, we have a situation where they are sending 4 F16 fighter jets in the immediate aftermath of a military coup d'état. So, it's clear that the US is supportive of what is taking place. One US armed envoy mentioned, at least alleged, that if the military did not take action, the country was on the verge of a civil war and this

Anchor, Press TV:

Right, Mr. Azikiwe, speaking of, 'on the verge right now', Egypt still remains on the edge, and we now ask the question that we did in our headlines. Where is the situation headed indeed? Very quickly, if you can.

Abayomi Azikiwe, editor of the Pan African News Wire, Detroit:

There's going to be more conflict. There's going to be more fighting, and the US is placing its bet with the Egyptian Military, since they subsidize them annually, to the tune of 1.5b USD. So you just have to follow the money trail.

Anchor, Press TV:

OK, we'll wait and see how the situation evolves. The editor of the Pan African News Wire, Abayomi Azikiwe there, joining us from Detroit. Mr. Azikiwe, many thanks indeed, for your comments here on Press TV.

5. Transcript Dec 15 2012 Egypt Votes on draft constitution

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

Egypt started voting on Saturday on the contentious draft constitution that will set the future of the country. Voters lined outside polling stations to cast their ballots, after weeks of political tensions in street clashes between the pro-Morsi and opposition forces. The Muslim Brotherhood and its political wing, the Freedom and Justice Party, alongside with other Islamic groups rallied their supporters towards a yes vote on the proposed constitution, which they say, will help the country move forward.

Unidentified male voter [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]:

I voted yes for the constitution. We want the country to move on in order to stabilise our economy.

Unidentified female voter [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]:

All we want is stability for our country. We want the economy to flourish. Order needs to be restored on the streets to prevent terror and violent clashes.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

For their part, opposition forces, mainly liberal and secular parties, have criticised the conditions in which the referendum is taking place and have called on their supporters to vote against the draft constitution that they say divides Egypt.

Unidentified male voter [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]:

I said no to the constitution, because Morsi said that he will never accept a draft without broad consensus, but it seems that Morsi didn't keep his promise and he hasn't fulfilled any of his other promises.

Unidentified male voter [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]:

I read the draft constitution thoroughly and I said no because the draft doesn't represent all Egyptians.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

And if the draft text is rejected, then president Morsi will call for a vote on a new panel to write the constitution.

Army and police forces secured the polling stations in the 10 governorates, which are voting in the first phase including the country's largest two cities: Cairo and Alexandria. The remaining areas, will vote on the 22nd of December.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

Once again, Egyptians take to polling stations, but this time, to cast their ballots on a contentious draft constitution. And what critics agree on, is that whether Egyptians vote for or

against the constitution, it is not likely to be the end of deepening crisis that has divided Egyptians and sparked violent protests across the country in recent weeks.
Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV, Cairo.

6. Transcript Nov 30 2012 Egyptians call for the reshaping of the constituent assembly

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV, Cairo (voiceover with footage of unidentified demonstrations):

As the June 30th wave of protests took over Egypt, so did anti-American sentiments. The opponents have ousted President Mohammed Morsi, who took to the streets, saw the Muslim Brotherhood's ruling as one backed by the American government. As the anti-Morsi protest grew bigger, and the army announced that it was removing the president from his position, the carefully worded American statements, regarding the situation in Egypt sounded very cautious. Washington's move angered Egyptian protesters from both the anti and pro Morsi camps even further. Each camp blamed the US of backing the other. Islamic groups believe that America is playing a role behind the scenes in supporting the army and liberals, in ousting them from power. They say, the US government is reluctant to cut military and financial aid to Egypt, despite an American law clearly stating, that no aid is to be given to a regime that overthrows a democratically elected one.

Essam el-Erian, Dep. Pres., Freedom and Justice Party:

When, Mr. Morsi come, he opened relations with Tehran, he opened relations with Russia, he visited India, China, Brazil, South Africa, and this was a very big change in the foreign policies of Egypt. And this was, must be, stopped by the alliance of Israel and alliance of America in the region.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV, Cairo (voiceover with footage of unidentified demonstrations):

The American ambassador to Cairo, Anne Patterson, was the face put to the feeling American policies in Egypt. Patterson was stationed in Egypt after her experience in other volatile countries, including Columbia and Pakistan, and has helped mediate between the American government and the Muslim Brotherhood. In addition, she made several statements, prior to the June 30th protest that showed her failure to assess the amount of dissatisfaction with Morsi's governance, all leading to widespread anger against her, during the anti-Morsi protests.

Adel al-Qalla, Head, Arab Communist Party [Translated from Arabic into English for the purpose of the Press TV report]:

The people of Egypt send the US a clear message: Mind your own business and stop interfering in our own internal affairs. I think, now Obama is a critical embarrassing situation.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV, Cairo (voiceover with footage of unidentified demonstrations):

The White House has refused to characterise the events as a coup and declined to call for Morsi to be returned to power.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV, Cairo (to camera):

No matter what side you are on in Egypt, everyone agrees that American policies in Egypt have failed to remain clear in support of the people. Many people, believe that the US needs to keep a distance from Egyptian politics and that Egyptians will not tolerate any foreign intervention at this sensitive time in their country's history.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV, Cairo.

7. Transcript Jun 30 2012 News Bulletin -- 1600 GMT

Anchor (voiceover):

[Footage from Masr TV Egypt State TV]

News Brief in Press TV: Mohammed Morsi has officially becomes Egypt's new president, after he took the oath of office before Egypt's Supreme Constitutional Court in the capital Cairo. After the ceremony, the new President headed for Cairo University, where he gave a speech. Morsi said Egypt would never return to what he called "it's ugly past".

Other headlines.

8. Transcript Jul 14 2013 Tunis demonstration denounce military coup in Egypt

Adnen Chaouachi, Press TV, Tunis (voiceover):

Thousands of supporters of the ruling Al Nahda party have taken to the streets of the capital Tunis, calling for the respect of the legitimacy of the Tunisian government. They also denounce the military coup in Egypt, which they described as western conspiracy.

Lofti Zitoun, Advisor to Tunisian Prime Minister [Translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV Report]

The military coup against President Morsi, has overthrown the first free elected government in Egypt. The counter-revolutionary forces in the military, are using force to eradicate Islamic parties from political life. The conspiracy is led by the American administration and its allies in order to empower Israel.

Adnen Chaouachi, Press TV, Tunis (voiceover):

The demonstrators slammed the financial aid by Saudi Arabia and the UAE to the Egyptian military commanders, and made a strong outrage by millions of the supporters of the country's ousted President Morsi.

The Tunisians warned against similar interference in their country.

Mohamed Akrouf, Ennahda Party [Translated into English from Arabic, for the Press TV Report]:

Saudi Arabia and the UAE have sponsored the military in Egypt. They are offering aid to an illegitimate government and calling for a return to dictatorship. They are now trying to destabilise our country, but they will pay the price for this interference in Egypt and Tunisia.

Adnen Chaouachi, Press TV, Tunis (voiceover):

The protesters waved the Egyptian flag and addressed messages to the agents of former Tunisian president, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who fled to Saudi Arabia, following a popular uprising in 2011.

Sarah Hdhili, Protester [Translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]:

The counter revolutionary forces who served Ben Ali before his escape to Saudi Arabia, are now collaborating with foreign countries to destabilise Egypt and Tunisia with a rise in violence and a potential risk of a civil war. Their goal is to exclude Islamic parties from power. But we are ready for the confrontation.

Adnen Chaouachi, Press TV, Tunis (to camera):

Many Tunisians view the removal of the elected president of Egypt from power in a coup as a threat to political stability in post-revolution Tunisia. Supporters of Al Nahda Islamic party say counter-revolution forces could seize the opportunity to cause chaos in a North African country. Adnen Chaouachi, Press TV, Tunis.

9. Transcript Jul 5 2013 Turkey calls Morsi's removal unacceptable coup

Serena Shim, Press TV, Istanbul (voiceover): Turkey says the overthrow of Egypt's democratically-elected President Mohammed Morsi was a military coup, calling for his immediate release from house arrest.

Ahmet Davutoglu, Turkish Foreign Minister [Translated into English from Turkish for the purpose of the Press TV report]: Turkey does not accept the removal and detention of elected leaders from power through illegal means. The democratically elected leader should only be ousted at ballot boxes.

Serena Shim, Press TV, Istanbul (voiceover): Egypt State TV Video Footage

Egyptian armed forces ousted Morsi on Wednesday after one year in office. The military then formed an interim government, suspended the constitution and called for new elections. In Istanbul the Turkish NGO IHH held a press conference calling for an end to the violence in Egypt.

Huseyin Oruc, Vice President, IHH: There is only one common actor for all these things: it is Israel. In all these incidents, the Israeli actor and Israel is a part of this. For Egypt, for Turkey, for Syria; all of them is too much related with the security of Israel. If something is related with Israel, of course the Americans are the part of this game. Because of this, it is surrounding and it is circling around Israel.

Serena Shim, Press TV, Istanbul (voiceover): Turkish Prime Minister Raccip Tayip Erdogan also held a meeting on Thursday in Istanbul to address the situation in Egypt. This comes amid nationwide protests calling for his own resignation.

Experts say the events taking place in Egypt could have serious consequences for Ankara. Turkish officials also believe that the new development will change the situation in Syria. Serena Shim, Press TV, Istanbul

10. Transcript Jul 7 2013 Violence escalates across Egypt

Karim Gamal el Deen, Press TV, Cairo (voiceover):

Dozens of people have been killed since the ouster of President Mohammed Morsi and the number of victims is counting.

The intensity of clashes between Morsi supporters and anti-Morsi protestors increased dramatically on Friday as Islamist forces called on their followers to take to the streets and fight for the legitimacy of the ousted president.

Several Muslim Brotherhood members were killed when scores of pro Morsi supporters advanced on the Presidential Guard's club, one of the locations where former president is rumoured to be held.

Clashes quickly intensified 1 hour after the supreme guide of the Brotherhood, Mohammad Badie, gave a speech to the pro Morsi sit-in in Nasr City. Defiant Badie said that Morsi supporters will stand their ground until the ousted president is reinstated. Following the speech, deadly clashes took place in two other locations in Cairo, and Muslim Brotherhood supporters confronted with anti-Morsi protesters.

Violence also took place in a number of other governorates. In many cases, residents said that brotherhood members attacked their areas with weapons, but it remains unclear what sparked the clashes in most incidents.

Unidentified male on street [translated from Arabic into English for the Press TV report]:

One of my neighbours was killed yesterday by the Brotherhood who attacked us. He was killed as he was protecting his small shop from attacks. I was one of those who took to the streets to observe the situation. The residents did nothing wrong. They don't deserve all this.

Karim Gamal el Deen, Press TV, Cairo (voiceover):

In addition to Cairo, many are looking towards Sinai specifically, to see how things are developing there. The Sinai Peninsula in particular North Sinai, is known for strong presence of forces who have announced their support for Morsi. They say they would take up arms to bring down the army and the interim government. Checkpoints in the north Sinia came under attack, leaving five dead from both the police and the army, in addition the the killing of a Coptic Christian in the town of Areesh.

A group calling itself Ansar al Sharia, which is run by former members of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, has called for taking arms against what they called aggressors. The group is headed by Ayman al Zawahari who was rumoured to be in Sinai at the moment.

Many experts say armed Takfiri groups have been significantly active in Sinai, since President Mohammed Morsi took power last year. Egypt's interim president Adly Mansour, has met with the ministers of interior defence, to discuss the current situation and how to end the violence, which is swirling around the country.

Karim Gamal el Deen, Press TV, Cairo (to camera):

Egyptians are fearful the clashes between the rival camps will continue and escalate, as politicians have not put forward any clear plan for national reconciliations until now. This, as both sides have already begun blaming each other for the violence that is taking place on the streets. Karim Gamal el Deen, Press TV, Cairo.

11. Transcription Jul 19 2013 'Egypt to face more conflict, fighting'

Ashraf Shannon, Press TV, Gaza (voiceover with footage of unidentified tunnels):

Egyptian Army have increased its crackdown on tunnels between Gaza and Egypt, following the toppling of Mohammed Morsi. These days, you can see Egyptian bulldozers destroying tunnels along the border with Gaza, more than any time in the past.

Egyptian Army has also deployed tanks, which have pointed their guns towards Gaza. The once bustling tunnels area, nestled between the southern town of Rafah and Sinai Peninsula, looks more like a ghost town. There's no more transfer of goods or other vital commodities via the underground lifeline for the blockaded coastal enclave.

Nabil Jaber, Tunnel Worker [Translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]:

We faced that every day. Egyptian forces keep destroying our tunnels. These tunnels are our only source of income and without them, we can't feed our families. The majority of people in Gaza depend on the vital goods that we use to bring through the tunnels.

Ashraf Shannon, Press TV, Gaza (voiceover with footage of unidentified tunnels):

The Egyptian army has also closed Rafah border crossing, Gaza's only gate to the outside world that bypasses Israel. Thousands of travellers are currently stranded on both sides of the crossing.

Ibrahim Obeid, Stranded Traveler [Translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]:

We want the crossing to be opened because many people are stranded here. Every time something happens in Egypt, we pay the price in Gaza. The Egyptian army has closed both their border and the tunnels. I only wonder what they will do to us in the coming days.

Ashraf Shannon, Press TV, Gaza (voiceover with footage of unidentified tunnels):

The crackdown on tunnels has affected all aspects of life for the Gazans. Most of Gaza fuel supplies used to come from the tunnels, and now hundreds of motorists queue for long hours, just to get Israeli fuel, which comes in very little amounts, due to Tel Aviv's stock blockade.

Ihab al-Ghusein, Hamas Government Spokesman:

This continued closure of our Rafah borders and the closures of the tunnels are actually making more problems on Gaza, which had the siege on it; the continuing of the siege. We ask that the calm will come to Egypt so we can come back to get what we need from Egypt, because it's the only place that we can get what we need from goods and gas and oil.

Ashraf Shannon, Press TV, Gaza (to the camera):

The Egyptian army's campaign on tunnels began in March, with flooding of the underground passages. With Egyptian forces increasing the crackdown along the border with Gaza, following the ouster of President Mohammed Morsi, many here feel as if they've been taken hostage by the political turmoil in Egypt. Ashraf Shannon, Press TV, Gaza.

12. Transcription Nov 30 2012 Egyptians call for the reshaping of the constituent assembly

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

Tens of thousands of Egyptians rallied in Tahrir Square to oppose both the constitutional declaration issued by the President and to call for the reshaping of the Constituent Assembly in charge of the new Egyptian Constitution.

Alaa Ghorab, Senior Member, al-Dostour Party [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]

We are making our voices heard and we will continue to voice our rage towards this decree in the Constituent Assembly, until the President's responds to our legitimate demands.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

A number of marches from across Cairo, were led by political figures, including former Presidential candidate Mohammed Al Barady, Omar Moussa and Khaled Ali. Protesters chanted slogans against the President calling him to withdraw the declaration that gives him wide-ranging powers. They also demanded that the Constituent Assembly be dissolved for not being representative of the Egyptian people.

Taher Abouzeid, Retired Football Player, [translated from Arabic into English for the Press TV report]:

The Constituent Assembly rushed the voting process and if the President approves the draft and puts it to a popular referendum, we will say no to it.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

The Assembly, which had received mass resignations by liberal and secular forces as well as representatives of workers' unions and Egypt's three churches, had finalised the voting process to approve the constitution, which is then submitted to the President. Once the President approves the document, the charter draft will be voted on by the Egyptian public in a referendum.

A sit-in by different political parties has been taking place for over a week in Tahrir Sq since the announcement of the Presidential Decree.

On another front, mass protests have also been called by the Islamic Extreme in support of both the President and the Constitutional Assembly.

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (to camera):

Oppositions have vowed to remain in the Square, until the Presidential Decree is withdrawn. The President is also facing a strike by Egypt's judges who oppose the decree for undermining their authorities and the question remains: how will the President end the current crisis?

Karim Gamal el-Deen, Press TV, Cairo.

iii. Egypt Tahrir Sq seized by the people

1. Transcript Jun 30 2012 Egypt junta braces for 'Second Revolution'

Ehab Zahriyeh, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

In an attempt to keep their revolution alive, Egyptians reclaimed Tahrir Square, protesting against the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, who currently rule the nation. Protesters say much of their demands from the start of the revolution in late January is yet to be met.

Unidentified female protester:

...prosecute and try all the torturers and the police that engaged in the killing of the martyrs of January the 25th as well as the rest of the corrupted officials part of the old regime and the NDP party.

Unidentified female protester:

We are asking for transparency and publicity of the trials of the big criminals like an Al Adlieh and Mubarak and all the others. We are also asking.... the injured, all the wounded people and the martyrs of revolution have not been supported or compensated, or even acknowledged really by the new government.

Ehab Zahriyeh, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

...unclear male name was one of thousands arrested and tried in military court, but he won't allow the army to discourage him from continuing to express his voice.

Unidentified male protester:

We were arrested and we were given a suspended year sentence, and of course, any one of us could be arrested and face trial, just like the thousands still in the military prison, but we know that we haven't done anything wrong. Protesting peacefully and expressing your opinion anywhere, is the right which we have called upon, is the right which we have sacrificed hundreds of lives for, so I think it's my duty, I'm not here to do anything special, just like the hundreds of thousands, which came here as well to show their support and to keep the revolution going and that too and to end what we have begun, because half a revolution, like they say, is not a revolution.

Unidentified male protester:

I think if the United States wanted to interfere into Egyptian domestic issues, then they should allow the Egyptians to vote on the American presidency and parliament as well.

Unidentified female protester [translated from Arabic into English for the Press TV report]:

I come here every Friday to protest. When I am here, it's as if my son is still alive. He lives in the Liberation Square.

Ehab Zahriyeh, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (voiceover):

Hundreds of thousands showed up to express their dissatisfaction with the armed forces ruling the nation.

Ehab Zahriyeh, Press TV Correspondent, Cairo (to camera):

People are making their demands heard loud and clear. Inevitably it's up to the Supreme Council of Armed Forces to respond to the demands and the protesters' hope would be a peaceful and positive outcome.

Ehab Zahriyeh, Press TV, Cairo.

iv. Libya Gaddafi killed

1. Transcript Oct 21 2011 Muammar Gaddafi Dead as Sirte falls

Majid Afshar, Reporting, LIBYA REVOLUTION (voiceover):

The Libyan strong man ruled his country for 40 years, making him the longest ruling Arab leader. Muammar Gaddafi was born and raised in a Bedouin tent in Sirte, a city that later became his last stronghold and his graveyard.

In September 1969 Gaddafi rose to power as the president of Libya after staging a coup against King Idriss. He was just 27 years old then. Gaddafi abolished a monarchy and proclaimed a Libyan Arab Republic. He also ordered the shutdown of American and British military bases. In the same year, he started crushing domestic dissent. His government executed members of the Islamic Hezb ut Tahrir faction and pursued a policy of assassinations of opponents overseas. Gaddafi's image in the Arab world was damaged severely in the 1978 when Shia Imam Musa Sadr disappeared in Libya. Gaddafi had invited him as a guest. A decade later, Gaddafi again grabbed the headlines by allegedly ordering the bombing of the Panam Flight 103 that killed 270 people over Lockerbie in Scotland. This led to US airstrikes and clearly destroyed Gaddafi's air force overnight. Following all the controversy Gaddafi began normalising relationships with the west, mainly after the year 2000. He expanded ties with the United States, Britain and other European countries. He began giving intelligence on different issues to CIA and MI6 and became a host of US extraordinary rendition programme that undertook the illegal transfer of terrorism suspects to undeclared US jailhouses as part of the so-called "war on terror".

In February 2011, major political protests began in Libya. Within a month, Gaddafi's government lost control of most cities, east of the country. Gaddafi accused his opponents of drug use and links to Al Qaeda. It didn't take long for revolutionary forces to seize the capital Tripoli with overhead air support from NATO. This forced Gaddafi and his supporters into hiding in his hometown of Sirte.

The revolutionary forces laid siege to Sirte. After weeks of heavy battle, they managed to find him and kill him [Footage of Al Jazeera Arabic]. The man who once called himself the father of revolution in Libya, is dead now, soon after another revolution swept him from power.

v. Libya Tripoli bombed

1. Transcript Jun 7 2011 'Libya clash akin to Iraq, Afghan wars'

Anchor from studio, Press TV, (to camera):

Now, a series of airstrikes have struck sites in and around the Libyan capital Tripoli. NATO's recently stepped up its air raids with the [video footage] introduction of French and British attack helicopters. It's been pummeling the regime's military installations, communication centres and armour. Fighting also continues on the ground between forces loyal to embattled ruler Muammar Gaddafi and revolutionary fighters.

The latest reports say Gaddafi forces have fired rockets into the eastern town of Ajdabia, which is in the hands of the revolutionaries. There are also reports of fighting at the front line outside the city. [video footage over]

Well, to discuss the situation more in Libya, we're joined all the way from Westchester, Pennsylvania by Lawrence Davidson. He's an author and historian. Welcome to the programme sir.

Mr. Davidson, first of all, what is your idea of the weapons being used in Libya, I mean, the illegal weapons being used there, depleted uranium and so on.

Lawrence Davidson, Author and Historian, Westchester, Pennsylvania (to camera along with video footage):

Well, I think that the United States, British and French made a decision to essentially invade Libya. The airstrikes and this supplying of heavy weapons to the rebels and they use the kind of ammunitions when they are regularly invading other countries. And so we have depleted uranium for instance that has shown up everywhere, I mean it's shown up in Afghanistan, it's shown up in Iraq, it's the kind of thing they use and so that is why we've got it there.

Anchor from studio, Press TV, (voiceover):

And so, what is the end game in Libya, do you think?

Lawrence Davidson, Author and Historian, Westchester, Pennsylvania (to camera along with video footage):

Well, the end game is to overthrow the government. There's no doubt about that. Right from the get-go. I mean this was an opportunistic move when the United States and the British and the French saw that there was protests against the Libyan government, they immediately said: OK this is an opportunity to get rid of a guy who has been consistently, well no not consistently, but quite consistently, but has been unreliable in the past, and who has a very bad track record in the west. Even though we had come in from the cold in a certain fashion for the last 7 or 8 years, he was still regarded by the foreign ministries in the West as the bad guy and so when they had the opportunity to go get him, they did.

Anchor from studio, Press TV, (voiceover): Of course, what about the congressional debates, the congressional heat on Obama, not having obtained congressional approval to go to war in Libya. How will this play out in future military operations in Libya?

Lawrence Davidson, Author and Historian, Westchester, Pennsylvania (to camera along with video footage): Right, I don't think it will interfere at all. I mean, that sort of debate is wholly

domestic. In the United States, elements within the Republican Party were going to condemn Obama, whatever he does. In fact, even when the Americans essentially assassinated Bin Laden, which almost all Americans praise, you still had elements of the republican right wing, saying, well he did this, but we should just kick him out of office anyway. So, that kind of debate over procedural issues in terms of maintaining the Libyan operation are wholly domestic; it's a political thing.

Anchor from studio, Press TV, (voiceover): Of course, and ill that bring Obama to the brink of impeachment?

Lawrence Davidson, Author and Historian, Westchester, Pennsylvania (to camera):

No, absolutely not.

Anchor from studio, Press TV, (to camera): Alright, we'll leave it there for the time being. That was Lawrence Davidson, author and historian, joining me live from Westchester Pennsylvania. Thank you Sir.

2. Transcript Jul 19 2011 'NATO violates UN decree in Libya'

Homa Lezgee, Anchor from Studio, Press TV, (to camera): Starting off from Libya where NATO warplanes have attacked Tripoli's International Airport, destroying its radar antenna. Airport officials say 2 people have been injured in the attack. They say the radar was used for civilian purposes such as guiding flights by the UN and relief agency organisations. However, NATO says the system is being used by regime forces to attack its aircraft.

Civilian radars cannot track and target aircrafts like military radars and it's against international law to attack them. Meanwhile, fighting between revolutionary forces and government troops is continuing. The opposition says it's won the days-long battle for the oil town of Brega. They say that the bulk of regime forces have pulled back to the nearby town of Ras Manouf. However, the Libyan government says its troops are still in full control of the city.

Well, let's discuss the war in Libya now with Mr. Abayomi Azikiwe, an editor of Pan-African News Wire, joining us live from Detroit. Thanks so much sir, for being with us. NATO, we've just heard, has been, has rather destroyed the radar antenna of the international airport in Tripoli. Now, it's already been accused of overriding the UN resolution, and now the attack on the airport is being called a violation of international law. Is NATO going too far?

Abayomi Azikiwe, an editor of Pan-African News Wire, Detroit, MI:

Well, of course, this is part of the overall pattern of the escalation of the bombing in Libya just yesterday on July 17th. Anywhere between 60 and 75 ordnances were dropped on the capital of Tripoli and also in the Eastern suburbs of Tajura, and it's really an escalation of the ongoing conflict that has been carried out for the last 4 months in that oil producing African state.

The UN resolution 1970 and United Resolution 1973 have both been violated, even according to what the Security Council had intended initially in regard to passing these resolutions several months ago. What has happened is that the French have violated the UN resolution 1970 by doing airdrops of weapons to the TNC rebel forces inside the country. And of course 1973 really called for the protection of civilians, yet we have the bombing of civilian installations, government communication satellites, schools have been hit, ports have been hit and other commercial facilities inside the country as well as civilians. Many of them in the hundreds have been killed in this bombing inside of Libya and this represents only a continuation of that same policy that's being carried out by the United States and NATO.

Homa Lezgee, Anchor from Studio, Press TV, (to camera):

Let's go to the role of the United States now. We know that the attacks rather started with the US before it handed over command of the operations to NATO. Now, a US State Department Official, has confirmed talks between US officials and Gaddafi representatives. The Gaddafi side is saying this is the first step in repairing ties. Washington says, it was asking Gaddafi to step down. Why do you think this meeting was held in the first place?

Abayomi Azikiwe, an editor of Pan-African News Wire, Detroit, MI:

I believe that the US State Department and the White House are looking for a way out of this conflict. As I acknowledged before, the bombing has been going on for 4 months. The government in Tripoli is not budging. In fact, over the last 2 weeks we've seen demonstrations in the hundreds of thousands in Tripoli and other cities, in the western part of Libya in support of the government. Just yesterday, Colonel Gaddafi spoke via audiotape to people inside Libya, saying that the government would not surrender, that they would not compromise with NATO. At the same time, the NATO forces are showing divisions within its own ranks. The Dutch government said that they are going to hold their air attacks over the country. Norway has already said that August the 1st is going to be its deadline. So, with the NATO alliance breaking up in regard to this war, the US and the other Western European countries are looking for a way out. This is really the reason why they gave the recognition to the Transitional National Council just this last past Thursday at their meeting in Istanbul Turkey. But, it really doesn't make a difference in regard to the actual conditions that are taking place on the ground in Libya. It doesn't matter if they recognize the TNC or not. Because it has very little impact on the concrete conditions that are taking

Homa Lezgee, Anchor from Studio, Press TV, (to camera):

If I could just refer to that question, to the issue you just raised now, and that is with relation to recognition of that council. Briefly if you can before we leave you. I'd like to raise that issue as well. A lot of questions have been asked about what's going to happen to the frozen Libyan assets once that council has been recognised. People are saying that those large numbers of, those monies and funds could be falling into the wrong hands, because we're not very sure, are we, who members of this Benghazi Council are and what the situation is exactly looking like.

Abayomi Azikiwe, an editor of Pan-African News Wire, Detroit, MI:

Well, I don't believe for 1 minute, that those 10s of billions of dollars are going to be handed over to the TNC forces. They've already pledged hundreds of millions of dollars to the opposition forces, and there's never been any mention in regard to the accountability of what's happened to those funds. So, I believe very strongly that this is just a cover to loot the national treasury of Libya and to loot their foreign assets. I'm talking about a 120 billion dollars in foreign assets and some 30 billion here in the United States that have been frozen. So I don't think those monies are going to be turned over to the TNC. They're claiming that they have no money to continue their campaign against the Libyan government. It's just a cover to confiscate more resources from the government and business people inside Libya itself.

Homa Lezgee, Anchor from Studio, Press TV, (to camera):

Thank you very much Mr. Abayomi Azikiwe, the key Editor of Pan-African News Wire, joining us from Detroit.

3. Transcript Jun 13 2011 'US ruling elites silent about Libya war'

Anchor from Studio, Press TV, (to camera):

Well, let's take us back to the story in Libya, where attacks and clashes between the revolutionaries and the forces loyal to Muammar Gaddafi, continue their war.

To discuss the situation more, we're joined all the way from Washington, by Webster Griffin Tarply, he is an author and historian. Dr, welcome to the programme. First of all, what is your assessment of NATO's bombings in Libya? How come there is no media coverage of the repeated bombardments in Tripoli?

Voice of Webster Griffin Tarpley, Author & Historian, Washington:

Well, this is the deceptive stealth profile of the Obama regime. Obama never talks about Libya. You can look in major Italian newspapers and see that there's absolutely nothing about Libya from day to day. So, it's a very unpopular war and the ruling elites have simply decided to be silent about it. But they can't be totally silent. Right now, in the congress, you can see a rebellion brewing. On the one side, you have Senator Lugar, prominent republican in terms of Foreign Affairs who is not happy with Obama. Lugar of course threatened by a Tea Party candidate in the primaries next year.

You've also got the Bob Corker resolution, which would force Obama to come to the congress to get permission to continue the war in Libya. And we have to remember that as of the 20th of June, just a little bit more than a week away, Obama will be impeachment day if he has not gotten the permission of congress or stopped the US role. But, I think the most important political potential for Obama on this, is the House Republicans, especially the Tea Party. Now, these are people who would like to have the United States default on its debt ceiling issue and they're being told by their Wall Street paymasters that that's not possible, so they're going to have to vote for a debt increase. So they will be desperate to find some way to act out their hostility to Obama. And, given the belief structure of many of these republicans, voting to put an end to the war in Libya is a very definite way for them to act out this hostility. So I think that's another potential factor.

Now, a third complex, we have Robert Gates, the US Secretary of Defence, in a rather hysterical speech, saying that NATO is running out of bombs, at least the British and the French are. And that the contribution of the European NATO States is totally inadequate. I think this points to the fact of overstretch. Just in the past week, Obama has added a new war. We've now got predator drones attacking in Yemen. That gives us Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Pakistan, and now Yemen. 5 wars. At what point does overstretch begin to kick in and relieve some pressure on the Libyan front? Especially, as President Ahmadinejad of Iran is reminded that the United States is preparing a move on the Pakistani nuclear forces. That would mean essentially opening shooting war between the United States and Pakistan. And even beyond that. The crisis around Syria is taking a very ugly turn and that could easily turn into a regional

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Anchor from Studio, Press TV, (to camera):

Right Doctor...

Voice of Webster Griffin Tarpley, Author & Historian, Washington:

...with scenarios which we could develop if we had time.

Anchor from Studio, Press TV, (to camera):

Now, Doctor, what are the NATO air raids in Libya aimed at really? I mean, it's assumed that the United States can take out Gaddafi anytime it wants. Is the United States letting him stay in power to justify more destruction in the country?

Voice of Webster Griffin Tarpley, Author & Historian, Washington:

No, I don't see that at all. I think Gaddafi is a very wily and effective opponent and I don't see the ability of the United States to eliminate him at any time. However, we do have leaks out of the recent NATO meetings with Obama attending them in Europe, that the US policy now is a stalemate, descending into chaos, where most of the country would go chaotic and the United States and some allies would cease and enclaves around oil resources that they considered important. So, a cynical strategy, but we also have CIA director Panetta, at his confirmation hearings to become Secretary of Defence, saying that the resistance by Gaddafi has blocked the entire process of colour revolutions that the US had planned across the Arab and Islamic world; what they called reform movements. It means a combination of street demonstrations with military coups behind the scenes. Gaddafi has basically blocked all of that.

Anchor from Studio, Press TV, (to camera):

And of course, finally, what is your assessment of the opposition's moves and their international status at this point?

Voice of Webster Griffin Tarpley, Author & Historian, Washington:

Well, when you have a so-called opposition that calls in NATO airstrikes that celebrates the murder of 3 little children, a couple of weeks ago, when the Gaddafi grandchildren were killed; when you have people who are eagerly demanding predator drones to come in and ravage their own country- in other words, an opposition that says come and let's turn Libya into a new Iraq or a new Afghanistan, a failed state, a new Somalia, I think these people deserve the opprobrium of the entire world and I think they're on their way to getting it.

Anchor from Studio, Press TV, (to camera):

Right, I'm sorry we're going to have to leave it there. Thanks Doctor. That was Dr Webster Griffin Tarpley, from Washington.

4. Transcript Mar 22 2011 China slams US led airstrike on Libya

Steven Ribet, Press TV, Beijing (voiceover):

In Beijing, the Chinese government continued its condemnation of American and European airstrikes on Libya and called for an immediate cease-fire to end the violence.

Jiang Yu, Spokesperson, China Foreign Ministry [Translated from Chinese into English for the Press TV Report]:

The purpose of the United Nation Security Council was to protect the safety of civilians. We opposed the use of military actions resulting in civilian casualties and once again called for an immediate cease-fire.

Steven Ribet, Press TV, Beijing (voiceover):

The day before the mouthpiece of China's ruling Communist Party, The People's Daily, ran a strident editorial condemning the airstrikes. The newspaper likened the assault on Libya to the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, warning that armed action to end crises in sovereign, ran contrary to international law.

Steven Ribet, Press TV, Beijing (to camera):

When the United Nations Security Council, last week, voted on a no fly zone over Libya and the use of all necessary measures to protect civilians against the forces of Colonel Gaddafi, China was one of five members to abstain and they say was the first time that China, a permanent and veto-wielding member of the Security Council had departed from its normally rigid role of non-interference with other countries' internal affairs.

Steven Ribet, Press TV, Beijing (voiceover):

China has never allowed a Security Council Resolution to pass, based on humanitarian concerns alone. Analysts say, its shift this time, reflects greater involvement in the Middle East and deepening relations with Arab countries, some of which supported the resolution.

Shi Yanchun, Fmr. China Ambassador to Yemen & Syria [Translated from Chinese into English for the Press TV Report:

We did not use our veto out of consideration for the needs and positions of countries in the Arab Union. But, we had grave reservations of the no-fly zone. So, we didn't support it. The no-fly zone is there to protect civilians and should not be used as a pretext for armed intervention.

Steven Ribet, Press TV, Beijing (voiceover):

The idea that western countries were using humanitarianism as an excuse to use force to further their own interests was repeated by the stat-controlled Global Times. In an editorial, the English-language newspaper said China should unite countries opposed to the airstrikes.

Steven Ribet, Press TV, Beijing.

5. Transcript Mar 24 2011 EU divided on military operation in Libya

Yaidaz Sadakova, Press TV, Brussels (voiceover):

The European Union is satisfied by the UN Resolution authorising military action in Libya. That was the message of EU High Representative Catherine Ashton after meeting with the EU Foreign Ministers in Brussels.

Catherine Ashton, EU Foreign Policy Chief:

We adopt strong conclusions expressing our satisfaction with the adoption of resolution 1973 and stressing our determination to contribute to its implementation.

Yaidaz Sadakova, Press TV, Brussels (voiceover):

UN Resolution 1973 authorises all measures necessary for protecting Libyan civilians from the forces of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. But there are concerns in the Arab world as well as in Europe about the potential loss of civilian life as a result of the military intervention.

Yaidaz Sadakova, Press TV, Brussels (to camera):

The EU countries remain divided over Libya. Less than half of them have joined the military action and the biggest EU country, Germany, has refused to participate. But, another EU country which was originally opposed to military action, Italy, has now joined the Allied Forces. Rome's original reluctance, was due to the fact that Italy was Libya's biggest European ally.

Yaidaz Sadakova, Press TV, Brussels (voiceover):

Some analysts also doubt whether the assault to the western coalition, which includes the US and Canada, is the best way to protect revolutionary forces and civilians. They fear that the intervention might lead to a long drawn-out war as the UN resolution includes no exit strategy. What's more, Gaddafi has vowed to fight a long and difficult battle.

Nathalie Janne d'Othee, MEDEA Institute:

He will try to present this operation as a Western Operation with a lot of interests beneath it. But that's true, you cannot forget there that is petrol and that western powers are interested in keeping control...

Yaidaz Sadakova, Press TV, Brussels (voiceover):

Meanwhile, in the Brussels meeting, the foreign, the Foreign Ministers decided to expand EU sanctions against the Libyan regime. The block extended its asset freeze and travel ban to 11 more people and 9 more institutions in Libya.

Brussels recently froze the assets of Gaddafi and 25 of his associates and it imposed financial sanctions on 5 top Libyan institutions such as the Central Bank.

Yaidaz Sadakova, Press TV, Brussels

6. Transcript May 02 2011 NATO airstrike kills Gaddafi's youngest son

Majid Afshar, Reporting, Press TV (voiceover): Celebrations in the eastern city of Benghazi after news of the death of Gaddafi's youngest son hit the headlines late Saturday.

Jubilant youth who have lost loved ones in their bid to oust Gaddafi, say they're happy the blood of the martyrs was not wasted.

Unidentified Benghazi resident [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]: What happened today is big joy. The death of our martyrs will not go unpunished. But the big joy, will be the day Gaddafi is killed.

Majid Afshar, Reporting, Press TV (voiceover): This building was a residential villa, where Gaddafi and his family stayed in the past few weeks. The NATO airstrike killed Gaddafi's son Saif Al-Arab and 3 of his grandchildren, but missed the apparent target, Kernel Gaddafi himself. An unexploded bomb remains at the site.

A government spokesman says the Libyan leader has not been harmed.

Moussa Ibrahim, Libyan Government Spokesman: The leader with his wife was there in the house with other friends and relatives. The attack resulted in the martyrdom of brother Saif Al

Arab Muamar Gaddafi, 28 years old and 3 of the leader's grandchildren. The leader himself is in good health; he wasn't harmed.

Majid Afshar, Reporting, Press TV (voiceover): This is the second child Gaddafi loses in foreign air raids. His adopted daughter was killed in 1986 in a US airstrike. NATO says it's not targeting Gaddafi specifically, but will continue to attack his command centres.

Saturday's bombing came a day after the State TV building was attacked while Gaddafi was making a speech. In that speech, Gaddafi called for a cease-fire and negotiations with the opposition; a demand rejected by the revolutionaries.

Jalal el-Gallal, Natl. Transitional Council Spokesman: At least we don't believe there is a solution that includes him or any member of his family. So, it is well past any discussions. The only solution is for him to depart.

7. Transcript Apr 8 2011 NATO strikes on Libyan opposition fighters

Majid Afshar, reporting, Press TV, (voiceover): Latest airstrikes in Libya, but the target this time is not Gaddafi forces. It's the revolutionaries, those NATO insist is trying to support. Initial reports say at least 5 opposition forces were killed in the attack near Brega. Many other sources put the death toll much higher. Many over a dozen. Many more were wounded. They were all brought back to a hospital in Ajdabiya.

This is the second time NATO fighter jets target revolutionaries in less than a week. On Saturday, a NATO airstrike hit vehicles carrying opposition forces, killing 13 of them and wounding many more. Such incidents are mounting anger in eastern part of Libya where people are fighting to oust Moamar Gaddafi.

Unidentified Female Benghazi Resident [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]: It's unbelievable, NATO, with all the equipment they have. Is this a second mistake? Is it really a mistake? Or something arranged secretly?

Majid Afshar, reporting, Press TV, (voiceover):

On Wednesday, the head of the opposition's Armed Forces said NATO's inaction has allowed government troops to advance and kill people in the city of Misrata and many other cities.

NATO dismissed the criticism, but some analysts say NATO is not in Libya to protect civilians or help the revolutionaries.

Voice of Peter Rushton, Historian & Political Commentator, London:

They really have no interest in supporting a revolution. Their interest is in weakening Gaddafi or getting rid of Gaddafi and imposing US and NATO control over that country and over the region. And you don't need to look very far to see why that might be the case, both in terms of economic strategy, in terms of oil and gas and other minerals in Libya and the region and in terms of military strategy, with seeking to enhance the role of the US and its military and diplomatic allies across the region, especially after the Egyptian revolution.

vi. Syria Ghoutta Sarin Attack

1. Transcript Dec 7 2012 Syria militants may use chemical arms

Anchor, Studio, Press TV (to camera):

Alaa Ibrahim is a journalist and political commentator who joins us from Damascus. Alaa Ibrahim, it's very disturbing, what that video showed, and in particular some of those chemicals that were being used there were Turkish made. Now, tell us do you think this is indeed what may happen, that Syria its government being set up by the west and through the rebels using these poisonous gas and then blaming it on the government. The deputy foreign minister said it's a conspiracy that's being hashed.

Alaa Ibrahim, Damascus:

Well unfortunately, first of all, Syria has been the source of many disturbing videos this year and the year before it of people getting killed. But this is certainly alarming. It's alarming for many reasons, first of all, [video footage on side of interviewee] we do know that the insurgents will spare no effort in their fight against the government forces and they have shown some sectarian trends in their targeting of certain places, where certain minorities reside in these places. So, it is very alarming that they might possess some kind of weapons of mass destr---, weapons that would have such a killing power actually.

Second of all, as for the conspiracy that the Vice Foreign Minister, Dr. Faysal Makdad, yes such conspiracy could exist. But I don't think it is imminent right now. Let's bear in mind that if the West or the western powers would like to stage an incident where the Syrian army uses chemical weapons of any kind, it's not very difficult to stage such an accident. And it will be easy for them. I don't think it's something that we should worry about. When they put their mind into invading Syria or put their minds into doing something military against Syria, they will not lack the motive, or they wouldn't lack the reason or to create a reason or pretext for this attack. So, I don't think this is an imminent danger. But I think the most disturbing thing is what you mentioned if the insurgents, who are known to be irresponsible, who are people who we have seen , willing to carry out executions and mass killing, have these kind of weapons, it is very alarming. I don't think the Turkish government are supplying chemical weapons to the insurgents, but they definitely might be turning a blind eye to the insurgents getting their hands on some materials that can be used for the manufacturing of basic chemical weapons, which is not difficult, by the way.

Anchor, Studio, Press TV (to camera):

OK, thank you so much. We appreciate that, journalist and political commentator, Alaa Ibrahim, there for Damascus.

2. Transcript May 31 2013 Al-Nusra has used sarin gas in Syria before Redwan Rizk

Anchor, Studio, Press TV (to camera):

Turkish police have reportedly found cylinders of Sarin gas after raiding the homes of militants from Al Qaeda-linked Al Nusra front, a Takfiri terrorist group fighting the government in Syria. Several Turkish newspapers report the raids were carried out in Turkey's southern provinces. [video footage]The confiscated Sarin gas was allegedly going to be used in an attack in the southern Turkish city of Adana. However, the city's governor, has denied that the militants were in possession of the poisonous substance.

Sarin is a colourless, odourless liquid that causes respiratory arrests and death. According to testimony gathered by a UN Commission Inquiry, militants have used Sarin against Syrians in the ongoing unrest, which has claimed thousands of lives. [End of video footage].

Redwan Rizk is one political analyst with me now live from Beirut to share his thoughts with us. Mr. Rizk, first of all, the issue of chemical weapons and chemical substances being used in weapons, is of course, when we speak of humanitarian issues of war, very important. How can we guarantee that these weapons are not going to be used and what does this report, do you think, say about the use of the chemical substances in Syria?

Redwan Rizk, Beirut:

Well, before we say that, what guarantees to we have not to be used those gases against civilians or against the army, it's...uh...we have to talk that these chemical weapons have been used in Syria before in places and last time was actually in Khan al Asl, which killed many civilians and among even killed birds and animals in that village. All investigations showed that those gases were used by the gangs of Al Jabhat al Nusra in all of the investigations and reports to the UN Council approved that those gases was used by Jabhat al Nusra. [video footage]

The question remains, where do they get those gases from and how do they transport those kind of gases and were they trained to use those gases? So, it's actually... the investigation must go further than that. Who is just supporting or delivering those gases to the rebels? How can they transport them under the Turkish Intelligence noses without even being stopped from that? Now, the scenario we have seen lately or you know like yesterday, that they were captured with Sarin gas that also proves that the Americans and the Europeans are lying about that. The source must have been from one of those countries who are delivering this kind of weapon to them.

Now, the investigation with the UN, must believe and recognise that those cannot...even if they deny that they did not supply or they're not allowing them to use any, they have arrested them, but it's nothing but, but a lie. And this proves that those kinds of groups cannot be controlled at all and they are willing to go as far as using any lethal weapons they do have.

Anchor, Studio, Press TV (to camera):

OK Mr. Redwan Rizk, political analyst speaking with us there, live from Beirut, with his comments there. Thank you very much, Mr. Rizk.

3. Transcript May 31 2013 Turkey cannot be silent on sarin issue Hisham Jaber

Anchor, Studio, Press TV (to camera):

Turkish police have reportedly found cylinders of Sarin gas after raiding the homes of militants from Al Qaeda-linked Al Nusra front, a Takfiri terrorist group fighting the government in Syria. Several Turkish newspapers report the raids were carried out in Turkey's southern provinces. [video footage]The confiscated Sarin gas was allegedly going to be used in an attack in the southern Turkish city of Adana. However, the city's governor, has denied that the militants were in possession of the poisonous substance.

Sarin is a colourless, odourless liquid that causes respiratory arrests and death. According to testimony gathered by a UN Commission Inquiry, militants have used Sarin against Syrians in the ongoing unrest, which has claimed thousands of lives. [End of video footage].

Mr. Hisham Jaber is a retired Army General with me now live from Beirut to give us his thoughts on the situation. Mr. Jaber, welcome to the Top 5 (Program). Now, one question that was raised earlier on in our News Bulletin about the use of Sarin gas and chemical substances is, where are these substances coming from? Where do the militants get these chemical weapons or chemical substances and what the United Nations has to do about this, because we do see an inquiry saying that militants have used them, but what kinds of steps need to be taken from this stage on to prevent their use?

Hisham Jaber, Retired Army General, Beirut:

First of all, we have to say that this is another proof that insurgent organisations in Syria, they do have access to chemical weapons. It's not the first time and last March this year, a rocket was launched on the north of Idlib had chemical weapons and especially they said this was chlorine gas. And they said at that time, this is a homemade and we didn't see any real and serious investigation at that time and also no result. And now, it's very dangerous, it's very important. Since they discovered 2 KG of Sarin, Sarin gas is very dangerous. I think the Turkish authority could not be silent towards this dangerous, you know, they found 2 KG of Sarin inside Turkey in north of Adana. So, for this reason, they did arrest those people, they would investigate where this gas from. While we are talking about KG- 2KG of Sarin, we have to remember that 1 single gram can kill a person, 2 KG can contaminate and kill a lot of people if they are used in, you know, closed areas and against civilians or even the army. Now, we have to wait and see the investigation, but in my opinion, Nusra and Al Qaeda, they have been provided by some side of these chemical weapons. Chemical weapons after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1990, they had been sold in the market and who did have this kind of chemical weapons, who sent it to Al Nusra through Turkey, I don't know, I am not in a position to confirm it. But, we have to remember that every, some sides in the Western Bloc still accuses Syria to use chemical weapons. In my opinion, Makdassi did recognise- the spokesman at the time last year- recognised that Syria has chemical weapons. Syria is very careful for not using those chemical weapons and doesn't have any interest to use it. Also, Syria is responsible to protect those chemical weapons, not to be in the hands of irresponsible organisations. That's the situation.

Anchor, Studio, Press TV (to camera):

OK thank you very much Mr. Hisham Jaber, retired Army General, with us there, live from Beirut, with his comments.

4. Transcript Apr 30 2013 UN chief chooses team to investigate claims of chemical use in Syria

Hank Flynn, Press TV, New York [voiceover]:

UN Secretary General Ban Ki moon chose an opportune day, the UN's day of remembrance for victims of chemical warfare to introduce his Team Leader for his called for investigation into chemical weapons usage in Syria. Ban says that Swedish scientist Ake Sellstrom has his complete confidence.

Bank Ki Moon, UN Secretary General:

Dr. Sellstrom and his team of experts remain ready to deploy to Syria within 24 to 48 hours. Our addressed team is positioned in Cyprus as you know. I have complete confidence in the integrity and the independence and the professionalism of Dr. Ake and his team of experts.

Hank Flynn, Press TV, New York [voiceover]:

The Syrians and Russians apparently don't share that confidence. Sellstrom's team is tasked to investigate all claims of chemical warfare usage in Syria including British and French claims that one Syrian minister has branded 'bald-faced lies'. Also Monday, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said that no proof had been submitted to the UN for the British and French claims. And yet, Ban renewed his call for complete, unfettered access.

Bank Ki Moon, UN Secretary General:

A credible and comprehensible inquiry, requires full access to the site where chemical weapons are alleged to have been used. I again urge Syrian authorities to allow the investigation to proceed without delay and without any conditions.

Hank Flynn, Press TV, New York [voiceover]:

At noon on Monday, Ban's spokesman Martin Nesirky said that Sellstrom's team is already at work investigating what he called "available information".

Hank Flynn, Press TV, New York [to camera]:

On that, Nesirky added that the US office of disarmament affaires had been in touch with a number of countries to solicit information. He wouldn't go into details however, about what countries or what information they provided.

Hank Flynn, Press TV, New York [voiceover]: Nesirky said that Syria hadn't granted access to the investigation team because of differences.

Martin Nesirky, Spokesman, UNSG:

There are clearly still differences in the understanding of what is required to carry out the investigation. And so, that's why the communication continues with the Syrian authorities.

Hank Flynn, Press TV, New York [voiceover]:

When asked about wider concerns, that a possible investigation might be biased and used as a political football, Nesirky returned to Ban's stated confidence in Sellstrom.

Ban's office did issue a statement on Monday condemning the mornings' attempted assassination at Syrian Prime Minister Wael al-Halqi.

Hank Flynn, Press TV, New York.

vii. Syrian Cabinet Resigns

1. Transcription 29 Mar 2011 ▶ Syrian cabinet resigns amid reform pledges - Press TV News

Khaldoun al-Aridi, Press TV, Damascus (voiceover):

In the framework in the reform seeking peace in Syria, the government submitted its resignation to President Bashar Assad, who accepted it. Unclear would be appointed as Prime Minister doesn't unclear. Observers expect the formation of a new government within the next 24 hours. The step comes as hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets of Damascus and other Syrian cities. Showing their support for the Syrian President and a national unity in Syria, under the title of loyalty to the nation:

Unidentified male demonstrator [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]: We've come to the streets to express our support to President Bashar Assad and to Syria. Long live President Assad and long live Syria.

Unidentified female demonstrator [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]:

We've taken to the streets today to show our national unity, which nobody can threat or degrade.

Khaldoun al-Aridi, Press TV, Damascus (voiceover):

Unclear...shouting slogans and lifting package which called for preserving national unity and expressed support for social economic and political reforms. Experts have viewed this move as very important change in the country.

Bassam Abu Abdullah, International Affairs Expert:

Syrians today, they wanted to show their unity, that what happened in the last, let's say, week, it targeted their hurt, because this plan was targeting their unity.

Khaldoun al-Aridi, Press TV, Damascus (voiceover):

Buthaina Shaaban, Syrian president's spokesperson unclear package of reforms would be implemented soon...unclear... The possibility of ending the emergency law.

Marwan Kabalan, Political analyst:

We are all in this country seeking a genuine reform rather than a cosmetic reform. Any new government should be having reasonable timeframe in order to translate all the promises that have been made over the past week concerning lifting the state of emergency, fighting corruption, the parties' law, the new media law...

Khaldoun al-Aridi, Press TV, Damascus (voiceover):

The resignation is the latest concession by the government aimed at calming more than a week of unrest in the country. The protests in Syria, which began on the 19th of March have left several people dead including protesters and security forces. The protesters say they want more political freedom.

The Syrian authorities say that these reforms are part of their comprehensive plan, which is in response to the people's demands calling for accelerating these measures.
Khaldoun al-Aridi, Press TV, Damascus.

viii. Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh leaves

1. Transcript Mar 29 2011 Ali Abdullah Saleh leaves Yemen

Mohammed al-Attab, Press TV, Sana'a (voiceover):

A day after granting him immunity from prosecution, Yemeni embattled ruler Ali Abdullah Saleh left the country on Sunday to the United States of America. On Saturday, the parliament passed over full immunity for Saleh and partial political immunity for his assistants.

A move that has sparked outrage and anger among protesters. Thousands of anti-government protesters took to the streets across Yemen to denounce the parliament's decision that gives Saleh full immunity from prosecution.

Unidentified female on the street:

In my, opinion, we don't have to accept that thing, such immunity poll. We against that thing. And about Ali Saleh, he left our country, we said to him 'go away, run away, escape from our country'. But we didn't leave you to escape.

Mohammed al-Attab, Press TV, Sana'a (voiceover):

As martyrs' relatives denounced the parliament's decision, the board that would appeal the law in international courts said they wouldn't back down until they see Saleh and his assistants stand trial for the killing of peaceful protesters and corruption charges.

Unidentified male on the street: The immunity bill doesn't concern us; the revolutionaries here and protesters in Sana'a or in unclear. The immunity bill came out of the GCC initiative, which we don't agree on it. We agree on the Security Council 2014 constitution. That's it, everyone who committed crime against humanity or the crowd kill, he would be followed and prosecuted.

Mohammed al-Attab, Press TV, Sana'a (voiceover):

In the capital Sana'a, protesters tore down the street and chanted anti-government slogans, denouncing the parliament's decision, which they described as the betrayal to the bloods of martyrs.

Demonstrators complained that they would continue with their protesting sit-ins until they achieved all the revolution's Bills.

In a televised speech before his departure, Ali Abdullah Saleh asked his countrymen, who he described as people of strong-will for forgiveness. While stating that he would travel to Washington for medical treatment, Saleh confirmed that he had formally handed over power to his vice-president Abd Rabbuh Mansur.

Ali Abdullah Saleh, Yemeni Outgoing Ruler [translated into English from Arabic for the Press TV report]:

I ask Yemeni people to forgive me if there are any shortcomings during my 33 years role. I am going to travel to the United States for medical treatment. And I will return back to the country as head of my party after the unanimous presidential candidate Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi's winning elections of 21st of February.

Mohammed al-Attab, Press TV, Sana'a (voiceover):

Meanwhile, United Nations special envoy to Yemen, Jamal bin Omar described the parliament's decision as the best possible way out of the political crisis. He called on Yemeni people to put speed in making the upcoming elections a success.

Parliament's decision came in line with the power transferred deal, by which Ali Abdullah Saleh has been granted immunity from prosecution in exchange for handing over his powers to his deputy Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hady.

Mohammed al-Attab, Press TV, Sana'a (to camera):

Granting Saleh immunity from prosecution is a way out of the current political and economic crises. Protesters and relatives of martyrs say that those who shed the blood of peaceful protesters will be brought to justice.

Mohammed al-Attab, Press TV, Sana'a.