

Notes

1. Iraq and the New Arab Public

1. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, August 30, 2003.

All quotes from al-Jazeera, unless otherwise noted, are this author's translation of the official transcript as published on the al-Jazeera Web site (<http://aljazeera.net>).

2. Poll conducted by Zogby International for Shibley Telhami, June 2001.
3. Fadhil Fudha, "Al-Jazeera and the Declining Arab Media," *Elaph*, May 5, 2004.
4. "The Third Gulf War," *al-Ahram*, May 2002; and in *al-Ahram Weekly* 612, November 7, 2002. Author interview, Cairo, May 2002.
5. Mamoun Fandy, "Perceptions: Where al-Jazeera and Co. Are Coming From," *Washington Post*, March 30, 2003, B01.
6. Quoted by Ibrahim Ghurayba, <http://www.aljazeera.net>, August 24, 2003.
7. *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, February 19, 2002.
8. Hazem al-Amin, *al-Hayat*, July 19, 2004.
9. *Al-Hayat*, May 18, 2003.
10. It is impossible to quantify the damage done by partisan translation services such as the Middle East Media Research Institute, which have consistently misled American audiences about the real distribution of opinion and argument in the Arab media.
11. The five are *The Opposite Direction*, *More Than One Opinion*, *Open Dialogue*, *al-Jazeera's Platform* [Minbar al-Jazeera], and *No Limits*; I exclude *Sharia and Life* because of its subject material.

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12. Mohammed Sid-Ahmed, *al-Ahram Weekly* 503, October 12–18, 2000.
13. Fawzia Abu Khalid, “Reading the Reaction of the Arab Street Against the American Aggression on the Iraqi People,” *al-Hayat*, January 10, 1999.
14. Zogby International public opinion survey, April 2002, available at <http://www.zogby.com/news/ReadNews.dbm?ID=564>.
15. Ipsos-Stat, National Opinion Poll Survey/Jordan (28/02/2003 BBC).
16. Mahmoud Bounab, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 3, 2000.
17. Salah al-Nasrawi, *al-Hayat*, July 10, 2003.
18. Hazem Sha’alan, interviewed in *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, November 23, 2004.
19. *New York Post*, June 21, 2004.
20. Rumsfeld quoted in the *New York Times*, February 8, 2004.
21. House hearing, April 18, 2002.
22. House hearing, April 18, 2002; and author interview, Washington D.C., August 2002.
23. *Washington Post*, August 14, 2002, A29.
24. Quoted in Rania Abouzeid, “Jazeera’s Iraq Coverage Hits U.S. Raw Nerve,” Reuters, May 18, 2004.
25. *Al-Jazeera’s Platform*, al-Jazeera, November 24, 2003.
26. *Open Dialogue*, al-Jazeera, December 2, 2003.
27. Mihna al-Habil, “The Democratic Republic of al-Jazeera,” <http://al-jazeera.net>, January 18, 2004.

2. *The Structural Transformation of the Arab Public Sphere*

1. Hazem Saghiyeh, “But Is There Really and Is It Possible For There to Be . . . ‘Arab Public Opinion?’” *al-Hayat*, July 2, 2004; author phone interview, July 19, 2004.
2. Michael Dobbs, “Envoy to ‘Arab Street’ Stays Hopeful,” *Washington Post*, June 9, 2003.
3. Palestinian Center for Survey and Policy Research, Public Opinion Poll no. 43, September 2–4, 1999 (<http://www.pcpsr.org/survey/cprspolls/99/poll43a.html>).
4. *Al-Jazeera’s Correspondents*, al-Jazeera, May 5, 2004.
5. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, July 27, 2003.
6. “Reporters Without Borders: Yemen Report,” December 28, 2004.
7. “Democracy in Jordan” annual surveys conducted by the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan. <http://www.css-jordan.org/polls/democracy/2003/index.html>.
8. <http://www.css-jordan.org/polls/democracy/2003/index.html>.

9. Palestinian Center for Survey and Policy Research, Public Opinion Poll no. 43, September 2–4, 1999 (<http://www.pcpsr.org/survey/cprspolls/99/poll43a.html>), and Public Opinion Poll no. 47, February 24–26, 2000 (<http://www.pcpsr.org/survey/cprspolls/2000/poll47a.html>).
10. See Fallows 2003 for a skeptical evaluation of this event; in terms of Arab perceptions, however, these questions hardly matter.
11. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, April 6, 2002.
12. Ibrahim al-Aris, “Who Draws the Picture of the Arab Mind?” *al-Hayat*, February 13, 2004.
13. As quoted by Ian Urbina, *Asia Times*, March 1, 2003.
14. Ian Urbina, *Asia Times*, March 1, 2003.
15. Interview, Abd al-Rahman al-Rashed, *al-Arabiya*, August 3, 2004, available at <http://www.alarabiya.net/Articlep.aspx?P=5458>.
16. Abd al-Rahman al-Rashed, interviewed in *al-Riyadh* (Saudi Arabia), as reported on *al-Arabiya*, May 19, 2005; and Rashed quoted in the *The Economist*, February 24, 2005.
17. As quoted in “Arab TV Stations Debate Use of Videos Supplied by Camera-Toting Militants,” Associated Press, August 10, 2004.
18. Arab Advisors Group survey, reported in *Arab News*, September 10, 2004.
19. Arab Advisors Group, survey released January 26, 2005, <http://www.menareport.com/en/business/179353>.
20. Arab Advisors Group, January 2005; survey available at <http://tbsjournal.com/ArabAdvisors.html>.
21. See *al-Ahram Weekly*, July 10, 2004, for details.
22. Tarek Atia, “Aiming for Extinction,” *al-Ahram Weekly*, October 14, 2004.
23. As quoted by Rania Abouzeid, Reuters, May 18, 2004.
24. As quoted by Nicholas Kristof, “Al-Jazeera: Out-Foxing Fox,” *New York Times*, July 3, 2004.
25. Yasir Abu Hilala, *al-Rai*, October 7, 2003.
26. *No Limits*, al-Jazeera, January 4, 2003.
27. *No Limits*, al-Jazeera, September 6, 2000.
28. Aida Dabbas, author interview, Amman, May 21, 2002.
29. Faisal al-Qassem, author phone interview, March 1, 2004.
30. *Open Dialogue*, al-Jazeera, December 2, 2003.
31. On al-Jazeera, January 13, 2002.
32. *Open Dialogue*, al-Jazeera, July 17, 2004.
33. Khaled Haroub, “Sociology of the Arab Media,” *Wajhat* (UAE), January 10, 2005.

34. Yusuf Nur Awadh, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, June 3, 1999.
35. Munir Shafiq, *al-Dustour*, February 1, 2004.
36. *Open Dialogue*, al-Jazeera, December 2, 2003.
37. *The Iraqi Scene*, al-Jazeera, April 24, 2005.
38. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, February 4, 2004.
39. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, July 27, 2003.
40. Anti-Defamation League's Arab Anti-Semitism Watch.
41. *No Limits*, al-Jazeera, August 28, 2002.
42. On al-Jazeera, January 7, 2002.
43. "The Arab Media to Where?" al-Jazeera, January 13, 2002.
44. *The Opposite Direction*, October 21, 2000.
45. On al-Jazeera, January 13, 2002.
46. *Wall Street Journal*, November 21, 2002. Also see Brumberg's Congressional testimony, October 8, 2002.
47. *Al-Hayat*, August 17, 2002.
48. *Al-Hayat*, April 16, 2003.
49. *Al-Jazeera's Platform*, al-Jazeera, October 21, 2002.
50. *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, July 13, 2004.
51. Marie Colvin, "How Saddam's Agents Targeted al-Jazeera," *Sunday Times of London*, May 12, 2003. The role of the Iraqi National Congress in delivering these documents makes their authenticity difficult to determine.
52. On January 3, the Associated Press reported that this videotape showed then al-Jazeera station director Mohammed Jassem al-Ali saying to Uday Hussein that "al-Jazeera is your channel." On January 9, the AP retracted the story as a mistranslation.
53. These specific allegations are from Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Eric Stakelbeck, "Uday's Oil-for-News Program," *Weekly Standard*, May 16, 2005.
54. Abd al-Bari Atwan, author phone interview, July 8, 2004.
55. Salama Nima'at, author interview, Amman, May 2002; also see Brand 1995.
56. David Pallister, "Media Mogul Accused of Running Saudi-Funded Propaganda Campaign," *The Guardian*, January 26, 2005.
57. Abd al-Bari Atwan points out that for all the INC's efforts, no evidence has been produced of any Iraqi payments to *al-Quds al-Arabi* (author phone interview, July 8, 2004). It is worth noting that during the research for this book, I was told with great authority by well-informed people that *al-Quds al-Arabi* was financed alternately by Qatar, by Saddam Hussein, by independently wealthy Palestinians, and by others. Whatever the truth, such opacity invites speculation and political questioning.

58. Quoted by Tarek Atia, "Horsing Around," *Cairo Live*, <http://www.cairo-live.com/newcairolive/critic/hurra.html>.
59. Mustafa Hamarneh, Center for Strategic Studies, author interview, Amman, May 21, 2002.
60. Abd el-Monem Said, *al-Ahram Weekly*, October 30, 2003; author interview, Cairo, May 2002.
61. Nawaf Obayd, "What the Saudi Public Really Thinks," *Daily Star*, June 24, 2004; *Washington Post*, June 30, 2004.
62. Mustafa Hamarneh, author interview, May 21, 2002.
63. Tharya al-Shahri, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, May 18, 2004.
64. *Open Dialogue*, al-Jazeera, May 21, 2003.
65. Ragheda Dergham, *al-Hayat*, January 15, 1999.
66. Alterman 1999.
67. Muta Safadi, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, August 10, 1998.
68. Layth Shubaylat quoted in *al-Quds al-Arabi*, January 29, 1998.
69. *Al-Hayat*, June 6, 2000.
70. *Al-Ahram Weekly*, May 2, 2002.
71. *Daily Star*, February 28, 2002.
72. Bilal al-Hassan, in *al-Hayat*; as quoted by *Mideast Mirror* 14.197 (October 12, 2000).
73. John Kifner, "The New Power of Arab Public Opinion," *New York Times Week in Review*, November 11, 2001.
74. Roscoe Suddarth, "Take Account of Arab Opinion and Keep a Cool Watch on Saddam," *Washington Post*, December 9, 1997, 8.
75. Makiya remarks to American Enterprise Institute, "The Day After: Planning for a Post-Saddam Iraq," October 3, 2002.
76. This excludes important special-interest programs such as *Sharia and Life* (Islam) and *Under Blockade* (Palestine)—which would bias the sample toward overemphasizing those themes—as well as the plethora of programs devoted to Iraq beginning in 2003 (see chapter 5 for details).
77. Faisal al-Qassem, author phone interview, March 1, 2004.
78. Jumana al-Namour, *Minbar al-Jazeera*, al-Jazeera, June 27, 2002.
79. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, April 16, 2002.
80. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, April 19, 2002.
81. See Musa Kaylani and Walid Said articles, *Jordan Times*, August 12, 2002.
82. *Washington Post*, November 4, 2002.
83. *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 2003.
84. Arab Press Freedom Watch Annual Reports of 2001 and 2002.
85. Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Sharia and Life*, al-Jazeera, July 11, 1999.

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86. Yusuf al-Qaradawi, "Dialogue between Islam and Christianity," *Islam Online* 2001. My translation.

87. "Muslims and the West . . . Dialogue or Clash?" September 10, 2002, <http://qaradawi.net>.

88. Hazem al-Amin, *al-Hayat*, July 19, 2004; Shakir al-Nabulsi, *Elaph*, July 2004.

3. *The Iraqi Challenge and the Old Arab Public*

1. Personal correspondence, William Rugh, U.S. Ambassador to the UAE, 1992–1995.

2. Quoted in Deutsche Presse Agentur, March 5, 1997.

3. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 17, 1994.

4. Akeel Sawwar in *Akhbar al-Khaleej*, February 21, 1994; see *Mideast Mirror* 8.35 (February 21, 1994), 8.36 (February 22, 1994), and 8.38 (February 24, 1994) for details.

5. *Akhbar al-Khaleej*, March 5, 1997; and *Mideast Mirror* 11.45 (March 5, 1997).

6. Abd al-Bari Atwan, the editor of *al-Quds al-Arabi*, says that at the time his newspaper was the only one, other than a few Jordanian papers, to challenge the sanctions. Author phone interview, July 8, 2004.

7. Hafez al-Shaykh, in *Akhbar al-Khaleej*, May 11, 1997; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 11.90 (May 12, 1997).

8. Quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 7.138 (July 20, 1993).

9. Kamaran Karadaghi, *al-Hayat*, November 23, 1993, and March 21, 1994.

10. Salim al-Nashi, *al-Qabas*, April 13, 2002.

11. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, November 29, 1993.

12. http://www.fao.org/documents/show_cdr.asp?url_file=/DOCREP/004/W6519E/W6519Eoo.HTM.

13. Richard Garfield, author interview, March 2001.

14. Dennis Halliday's resignation speech, September 30, 1998.

15. Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD, September 30, 2004, http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/iraq_wmd_2004/chap1.html.

16. Salama Ahmad Salama, *al-Ahram*, March 22, 1994; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 8.56 (March 23, 1994).

17. *Mideast Mirror* 8.205 (October 24, 1994).

18. Gamal Mattar, *al-Hayat*, June 22, 1994.

19. Warren Christopher, as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 8.89 (May 11, 1994); and interview with *USA Today*, quoted in Deutsche Presse Agentur, October 24, 1994.
20. Indyk quoted in "Coalition Against Iraq Starts to Fray," *Baltimore Sun*, April 15, 1994, 12A.
21. Ragheda Dergham (*al-Hayat*, April 25, 1997) argued that Iraq understood this to be American policy.
22. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, April 7, 1997; as reported in *Mideast Mirror* 11.66.
23. Quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 8.219 (November 11, 1994).
24. Author interviews: Martin Indyk, Washington D.C., September 28, 2001; Robert Pelletrau, Washington D.C., March 23, 2000; Kenneth Pollack, Washington, D.C., September 27, 2001. Anthony Lake, author phone interview, November 5, 2001.
25. Thomas Pickering, Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 21, 1998; author interview, Washington, D.C., October 25, 2001.
26. Samuel Berger, National Security Adviser, remarks on Iraq, Stanford University, December 8, 1998. http://www.state.gov/www/regions/nea/981208_berger_iraq.html.
27. Tareq Aziz, quoted by Barbara Crossette, *New York Times*, April 15, 1995.
28. Abd al-Rahman al-Rashed, editor of *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 9.73 (April 18, 1995); Hazem Saghiya in *al-Hayat*, as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 10.20 (January 29, 1996).
29. Ragheda Dergham in *al-Hayat*, as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 9.76 (April 21, 1995).
30. Yasser Za'atra in *al-Quds al-Arabi*, as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 9.156 (August 15, 1995).
31. For details on Saddam's use of the oil-for-food program, see the first interim report of the Independent Inquiry Committee into the United Nations Oil-For-Food Program, chaired by Paul Volcker (February 3, 2005), available at <http://www.iic-offp.org/documents.htm>.
32. Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD, September 30, 2004, http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/iraq_wmd_2004/chap1.html.
33. *Mideast Mirror* 10.28 (February 9, 1996). Interviews with Lake (November 5, 2001) and Pelletrau (March 23, 2000).
34. Ragheda Dergham in *al-Hayat*, as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 10.39 (February 23, 1996).

35. On these events, see Hiro 2001: 107, and Cockburn and Cockburn 2000.
36. UN press release GA/9113 (October 2, 1996).
37. Ragheda Dergham, *al-Hayat*, January 31, 1997.
38. Salamah Nimaat, author interview, Amman, May 9, 2002; Lynch 1998/99.
39. *Jordan Times* (September 26, 1998); Abd al-Hadi al-Majali, speaker of the House of Representatives, author interview, Amman, May 5, 2002.
40. Salem al-Nahass, author interview, Amman, April 29, 2002.
41. Ahmed al-Qadiri, president of Professional Associations, author interview, Amman, May 2002.
42. Bassam al-Dajani, author interview, Amman, April 20, 2002.
43. Author interviews: Sulayman Arar, Amman, July 10, 1997, and Hakem al-Fayez, Amman, April 30, 2002.
44. Hamza Mansour, author interview, Amman, May 6, 2002.
45. Aida Dabass, author interview, Amman, May 21, 2002.
46. Salem al-Nahass, quoted in *Jordan Times* (January 27, 2000). Also see reports in *Jordan Times* (October 31, 1999); *Jordan Times* (February 27, 2000); *Jordan Times* (May 17, 2000).
47. Author interviews: Hisham Bustani, Amman, May 7, 2002; and Salem al-Nahass, Amman, April 29, 2002.
48. Communique published in the *Jordan Times* (October 29, 1997).
49. Inter-Press Service, January 23, 1997.
50. Fuad Zakaria, *al-Hayat*, February 4, 1994.
51. Faryal Ghazul, author interview, Cairo, May 15, 2002.
52. Iraqi News Agency, March 22, 1995 (BBC SWB ME/2258/MED); for other examples, Cairo-MENA, November 14, 1998 (FBIS-NES-98-318).
53. Nabil Fahmy, author interview, October 18, 2000; Gehad Awda argues that the lines between the Egyptian state and civil society are so blurred that it would be nearly impossible to sharply distinguish between what was government and what was private in this context (author interview, May 15, 2002).
54. Cairo-MENA, December 27, 1997 (FBIS-NES-97-36227); Cairo, al-Mu-sawwar, January 23, 1998 (FBIS-NES-98-023).
55. Faryal Ghazul, author interview, May 15, 2002.
56. SANA News Agency, November 6, 2000 (BBC SWB).
57. On al-Thani, see chapter 2, figure 18 of the Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD, September 30, 2004, available at http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/iraq_wmd_2004/chap2.html.
58. Faryad Ghazul, "What After the Sadness?" *Nur* 17 (2001): 10.
59. Faryal Ghazul, author interview, Cairo, May 16, 2002.

60. Naguib Mahfouz, quoted in Iraqi weekly *Alif Baa*, September 9, 2000.
61. Author interviews: Hakem al-Fayez and Sami Awadallah, Amman, May 1, 2002.
62. Bassem al-Dajani, president of Arab Conference of Professional Associations for Solidarity with Iraq, author interview, Amman, April 30, 2002.
63. Assam Namaan, chairman of the Arab Nationalist Conference, on al-Jazeera, May 7, 2003.
64. Huda Hussein, in *al-Sharq al-Awsat*; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 10.32 (February 14, 1996).
65. In *al-Hayat* and in *al-Ahram*; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 10.89 (May 8, 1996).
66. In *al-Ahram*; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 10.94 (May 15, 1996); *Mideast Mirror* 10.100 (May 23, 1996).
67. Usama al-Baz, interviewed on Cairo-MENA, June 11, 1996 (FBIS-NES-96-114); Hosni Mubarak, in *Mideast Mirror* 10.111 (June 10, 1996).
68. Author interviews with senior British and French officials at the United Nations, 2000–2001, and with Antonio Monteiro, chair of the Sanctions Committee, July 12, 2000.
69. BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, January 9, 1996.
70. January 27, 1996 (FBIS-NES-96-019).
71. Quoted in *Jordan Times*, February 10, 1996.
72. Ismat Abd al-Meguid, interviewed in *al-Quds al-Arabi*, November 29, 1994.
73. Omani Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Yusuf bin Alawi bin Abdulrah, September 10, 1995 (FBIS-EE/D2406/ME).
74. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, January 12, 1999.
75. Ghassan Attiyah, in *al-Malaf al-Iraqi*; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 7.126 (July 2, 1993).
76. Iraqi News Agency, March 3, 1995 (BBC SWB ME/2293/MED).
77. Nabil Fahmy, Egyptian Ambassador to the United States, author interview, Williamstown, MA, October 18, 2000.
78. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, June 27, 1993.
79. For example, Abderrahim Omar, in *al-Rai* (Jordan), June 27, 1993; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 7.122 (June 28, 1993).
80. For example, Salama Ahmed Salama, in *al-Ahram*, July 13, 1993; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 7.134 (July 14, 1993).
81. Jihad al-Khazen, *al-Hayat*, June 28, 2003.
82. *Al-Ahram* leader and column by Salama Ahmed Salama, June 28, 1993; both quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 7.123 (June 29, 1993).
83. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, June 27, 1993.

84. *Mideast Mirror* 10.174 (September 6, 1996) quotes *al-Quds al-Arabi* and *al-Bayan* (UAE); *Mideast Mirror* 10.177 (September 11, 1996) quotes Tareq Masarweh in *al-Quds al-Arabi* and Salama Ahmed Salama in *al-Ahram*.

85. *Sada al-Usbou* (Bahrain); in *Mideast Mirror* 7.116 (June 18, 1993).

86. Deputy Prime Minister Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad, address to Kuwaiti National Assembly; quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 7.124 (June 30, 1993).

87. Mohammed al-Rumayhi, *al-Hayat*, July 19, 2003.

88. Abd al-Wahhab Badrakhan, *al-Hayat*, June 21, 1993.

89. *Mideast Mirror* 7.118 (June 22, 1993).

90. *Mideast Mirror* 7.227 (November 23, 1993).

91. Kingdom of SA TV1, December 12, 1993 (BBC SWB ME/1880/MED).

92. United Press International, January 27, 1994.

93. *Mideast Mirror* 8.33 (February 17, 1994).

94. Associated Press, April 27, 1994.

95. Deutsche Presse Agentur, September 18, 1994.

96. United Press International, November 8, 1994.

97. *Riyadh Daily*, October 30, 1994.

98. GCC communique, October 10, 1994.

99. Ali Sayyar, in *Sada al-Usbou* (Bahrain); as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 8.237 (December 7, 1994).

100. Shafik Ghubra, in *al-Watan* (Kuwait); as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 8.247 (December 21, 1994).

101. Mahmoud Shammam, in *al-Watan*; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 8.222 (November 16, 1994).

102. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 8.244 (December 16, 1994).

103. *Mideast Mirror* 8.247 (December 21, 1994).

104. Kuwait TV, December 23, 1994 (BBC SWB ME/2186/MED).

105. Amr Mousa, Cairo-MENA, December 20, 1994 (BBC SWB ME/2183/MED).

106. *Al-Ahram*, September 30, 1994; as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 8.189.

107. Associated Press—Salah Nasrawi, January 11, 1995; Omani statement in Radio Monte Carlo, January 30, 1995 (BBC SWB ME/2214/MED); Qatari statement quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 9.44 (February 13, 1995).

108. UPI—Faisal al-Matheri—March 14, 1995.

109. King Hassan, quoted in *New York Times*, March 12, 1995.

110. Saudi Radio, March 22, 1995 (BBC SWB ME/2258/MED).

111. *Mideast Mirror* 9.68 (April 7, 1995).

112. Dilip Hiro, Inter-Press Service, October 22, 1995.

113. Dilip Hiro, Inter-Press Service, January 2, 1996.

114. *Mideast Mirror* 10.233 (November 28, 1996) quotes UAE Foreign Minister Rashed Abdallah Nu'aimi.

115. Al-Sayyid Zahra, in *al-Akhbar al-Khaleej* (Bahrain); as quoted in *Mideast Mirror* 10.234 (November 29, 1996).

4. *The al-Jazeera Era*

1. *Sharia and Life*, al-Jazeera, December 20, 1998.
2. *More Than One Opinion*, al-Jazeera, January 5, 1999.
3. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, February 2, 1999.
4. *More Than One Opinion*, al-Jazeera, March 8, 1999.
5. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, August 24, 1999.
6. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, December 12, 2000.
7. *Behind Events*, al-Jazeera, May 7, 2003.

8. There has been much speculation as to whether the Bush administration had intended to invade Iraq prior to 9/11. My point here refers only to the American public agenda, not to the president's private deliberations.

9. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, June 12, 2001.

10. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, August 1, 2001.

11. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, October 16, 2001; *No Limits*, al-Jazeera, November 28, 2001; *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, December 4, 2001.

12. For example, Ghassan Attiyah, *al-Hayat*, October 9, 2001; Tareq Masarweh, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, October 8, 2001.

13. Ragheda Dergham, *al-Hayat*, April 25, 1997.

14. *More Than One Opinion*, al-Jazeera, September 17, 1999.

15. *More Than One Opinion*, al-Jazeera, September 17, 1999.

16. Saoud al-Samakha, *al-Qabas*, March 20, 2002.

17. For example, Abdullah al-Biyari, vice president of Kuwaiti Democratic Forum, on *More Than One Opinion*, al-Jazeera, August 4, 2000. Some Kuwaitis did dismiss Iraqi suffering: Ayad al-Manaa (*The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, December 12, 2000) claimed, "I asked many Iraqis, how bad is the problem? And they said what problem? We have food, medicine. . . . The problem there is not so great . . . except what is imposed from the inside." But this was very much the exception to the rule.

18. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, August 24, 1999.

19. *Al-Hayat*, May 29, 2002.

20. *Today's Encounter*, al-Jazeera, January 13, 2000.

21. *Today's Encounter*, al-Jazeera, February 18, 2000.

22. Khadija bin Qanah, another female presenter, challenged Iraqi Oil Minister Omar Rashid on the same point (*Today's Encounter*, al-Jazeera, March 9, 2000).
23. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, August 24, 1999.
24. *More Than One Opinion*, al-Jazeera, November 5, 1999.
25. *More Than One Opinion*, al-Jazeera, August 4, 2000.
26. *No Limits*, al-Jazeera, June 28, 2000.
27. I exclude *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, which would have tilted the numbers below into a more anti-Saddam, pro-Saudi direction, as well as the less widely read *al-Arab*, which tilted toward a Libyan, critical line.
28. Madeleine Albright, *al-Hayat*, August 2, 2000.
29. *The Star* (Amman), "An Arab Stand on Iraq," May 23, 1996, p. 4 (FBIS-NES-96-101).
30. Agence France Presse, October 19, 2000.
31. Amr Musa, author interview, Cairo, May 2002.
32. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, December 12, 2000.
33. *More Than One Opinion*, al-Jazeera, May 19, 2000.
34. Haroun Mohammed, *al-Hayat*, May 28, 2001, and Maan Bashour, *al-Hayat*, May 31, 2001.
35. Mohammed al-Rumayhi, *al-Hayat*, January 6, 1999.
36. Mohammed al-Rumayhi, *al-Hayat*, August 16, 2000.
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62. Mahmoud Attallah, on *More Than One Opinion*, al-Jazeera, January 5, 1999.
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74. Assam al-Yasri, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, July 18, 2002.
75. Ala al-Lami, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, November 27, 1998.
76. Bashir Musa Nafii, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, November 25, 1998, and Adli Sadeq, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, November 30, 1998.
77. For good examples, see Ghassan Attiyah, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, January 7, 1999; *al-Hayat*, June 30, 1999; *al-Hayat*, July 29, 1999; *al-Hayat*, October 7, 1999. Also see Salah al-Nasrawai, *al-Hayat*, May 25, 1999; Haroun Mohammed,

al-Quds al-Arabi, April 27, 1999; Haytham al-Nahi, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, July 4, 1999; Mohammed Bahr al-Uloum, *al-Hayat*, July 14, 1999.

78. Abd al-Halim al-Rahimi, *al-Hayat*, November 19, 2001.

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80. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, November 12, 1999.

81. *Al-Hayat*, October 29, 1999.

82. *Al-Mutamar*, February 16, 2002, p. 12. Al-Jazeera hosts applied this rule consistently, not singling out Iraqi opposition voices for censure.

83. Kanan Makiya, "The Day After: Planning for Post-Saddam Iraq," panel discussion, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., October 3, 2002. Transcript available at <http://www.aei.org/events/filter..eventID:72/transcript.asp>

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87. Hazem Saghiyeh, *al-Hayat*, January 13, 1999.

88. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, August 7, 1998.

89. Barzan al-Tikriti, Iraq's representative to the UN in Geneva, interviewed in *al-Wasat*, December 10, 1996 (BBC SWB ME/D2793/MED, December 12, 1996).

90. Tariq Aziz, Iraqi TV, February 24, 1998 (BBC SWB, February 25, 1998).

91. Several American officials, including Pollack and Indyk, told me that Iraqi propaganda got better over time, although Saddam still could be counted on to sabotage himself under pressure.

92. Tariq Aziz, speech to visiting Jordanian delegation, Iraqi TV, Baghdad, September 28, 2000 (BBC SWB, September 29, 2000).

93. Ghassan Attiyeh, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 4, 1998.

94. Mahfouz al-Ensari, chief editor for MENA, commentary on Cairo-MENA, December 29, 1998 (FBIS-NES-98-363).

95. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, January 21, 2001.

96. National Assembly statement quoted on Iraqi TV, October 23, 2000 (BBC SWB ME/D3980/MED, October 25, 2000).

97. Salim Nassar, *al-Hayat*, September 4, 1999; Salah Nasrawi, *al-Hayat*, October 7, 1999; *al-Quds al-Arabi*, March 24, 2000; Sabah Ali al-Shahir, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, May 16, 2000; Salim Nassar, *al-Hayat*, March 16, 2002.

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99. For example, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, September 30, 1998, and October 3, 1998.

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101. *Al-Ayyam* (Ramallah), January 20, 1998 (FBIS-NES-98-020). Mohammed Krishan, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, June 1, 1998.

102. Abdullah al-Ashaal, *al-Hayat*, March 21, 2002; Mohammed Sid Ahmed, *al-Khaleej*, March 21, 2002.
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104. Mohammed al-Musaffir, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, March 5, 1999.
105. Ghassan Attiyah, *al-Hayat*, May 2, 2000.
106. Muta Safadi, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, December 10, 2001.
107. Fahd al-Fanik, *al-Rai*, March 19, 2002.
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110. Ahmed al-Rubai, *al-Qabas*, March 18, 2002.
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112. Khalid al-Shami, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, March 19, 2002.
113. Abd al-Bari Atwan, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, March 11, 2002.
114. For example, Awni al-Qalmaji, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, January 14, 1998.
115. *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, August 5, 1998 (FBIS-NES-98-217).
116. Adli Sadeq, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, January 27, 1998.
117. Mohammed Abd al-Hakim Diyab, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, January 31, 1998.
118. Muta Safadi, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 9, 1998.
119. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, January 29, 1998.
120. Mohammed Abd al-Hakim Diyab, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 28, 1998.
121. Editorial, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 21, 1998.
122. Muta Safadi, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, March 23, 1998.
123. Ghassan Attiyah, *al-Hayat*, September 7, 2001.
124. Muta Safadi, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 16, 1998.
125. *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 24, 1998; Mohammed Abd al-Hakim Diyab, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 28, 1998.
126. Ghassan Attiyah, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, March 5, 1998.
127. Ghassan Attiyeh, *al-Quds al-Arabi*, February 4, 1998.
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129. Hasan al-Khashif, *al-Ayyam* (Ramallah), November 12, 1998 (FBIS-NES-98-318).
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132. Hamad Abd al-Aziz al-Kawari, *al-Hayat*, February 4, 1999.
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12. Fatahallah Arslan, *Behind Events*, al-Jazeera, April 26, 2003.

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16. *The Opposite Direction*, al-Jazeera, November 5, 2002.
17. *Al-Jazeera's Platform*, al-Jazeera, August 22, 2002.
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16. As quoted by Alan Sipress, *Washington Post*, January 8, 2004.
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42. *From Washington*, al-Jazeera, July 1, 2004.

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44. Ali al-Ghufli, *al-Khaleej*, July 12, 2004.

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57. *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, Sept 3, 2003.

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73. *The Iraqi Scene*, al-Jazeera, January 11, 2004.
74. As quoted by Paul Majendi, Reuters, October 1, 2004.
75. Mamoun Fandy, "Where's the Arab Media's Sense of Outrage?" *Washington Post*, July 4, 2004, B04.
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78. Munir Shafiq, *al-Hayat*, December 6, 2004.
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