



# News Coverage

prepared for: **The European Union delegation to Egypt**



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## Newspapers (28/12/2011)



Pages: 1

Author: Issam Abd al-Kareem

### The National Council for Revolution Victims' Affairs



Prime Minister Kamal al-Ganzouri made a decision to form the National Council for Revolution Victims' Affairs. Al-Ganzouri will head the council.

The council will provide the victims and their families with medical and financial aid and support.

The support will always include job opportunities and accommodation.



Pages: 1  
 Author: Hibha Saeed

## A Mass-demonstration After Tomorrow



Under the slogan of “Egypt’s Love” 15 political parties, 135 movements and revolutionary coalitions, in addition to 20 other coalitions are to organize a mass-demonstration on Friday. The demonstration is meant to unify the demonstrators of Tahrir and those of al-Abasiya (supporters of SCAF).

Representatives of the participating players held a press conference, yesterday. Amongst the goals of the demonstration are preserving the January 25 Revolution aims, the civil identity of the state, the peacefulness of protests, rejecting violence, preserving the public buildings.



Pages: 5

Author: Sami Khair Allah (interviewer)

### Priest of the Qiddisayn Church not Afraid of Islamist Rule



Father Maqar Fawzi of the Qiddisayn Church in Alexandria that witnessed bloody attacks in the New Year’s Eve told al-Ahram that he was not afraid of the Islamist lead in the parliamentary elections. He stated that moderate Muslims will never allow a fanatic rule against Copts. He further stated that it is not new to have an Islamic rule in Egypt, and that Copts were used to it.

Father Fawzi denied what was rumored the church leading campaigns in favor of some candidates. “We voted for Muslim Brotherhood’s candidates, especially in the run-off round.” He said.



المصري اليوم

www.almazryalyoum.com

Front Page

Author: Ahmed Shalaby.

### Mubarak Trial



Judicial sources said that Cairo’s Criminal Court will resume, today, the trial of former president Hosni Mubarak, his two sons, former minister of interior and 6 senior security officials in the cases of killing protesters and exporting gas to Israel. A decision is said to be issued before March 2012.

The court will ask the defense teams to focus on selecting the most relevant testimonies of witnesses because it is extremely difficult to listen to 6000 testimonies, according to the request previously made by the defendants’ lawyers.

The defense team for the plaintiffs was divided over requesting to hear the testimony of Lieutenant General Sami Anan, Chief-of-Staff and Deputy Head of SCAF, as some of them believe it is necessary for their case, while others said it will only cause more delays.

Repeated in: Al-Sherouk Page 7, Al-Ahram 1, 6, Al-Akhbar: 3, 8, Al-Dostour: 1



Front Page

Authors: Ahmed Al-Beheiri and Haitham Al-Sharqawi

### Al-Azhar's Independence



Informed sources told Al-Masry Al-Youm that Al-Azhar's Grand Imam Ahmed Al-Tayyeb held a closed meeting, yesterday, with Senior Judge Tareq Al-Bishri to finalize the amendment of Al-Azhar's law No.103 of the year 1961. This amendment will ensure Al-Azhar's financial and administrative independence from the authority of the state.

The draft law includes a number of articles including: Re-establishing Senior Scholars Authority, electing the Grand Imam from this authority, and providing independent sources for funding Al-Azhar Al-Sharief.

"I made this proposal 25 years ago and gave it to the Grand Imam at that time but he totally ignored it because the state was directly against Al-Azhar's independence," said Sheikh Gamal Qutb, former head of Al-Azhar's fatwa committee.



Pages: 8, 9.

Authors: Eid Abd Al-Gawad, Ali Al-Shouki (and others)

### Elections Updates



Members of the Freedom and Justice Party criticized heavily the former regime, SCAF and independent newspapers and channels, confirming that the former regime succeeded in spreading corruption in all ministries and authorities.

“Thanks to the January 25 revolution, Egypt now has an imprisoned president and an imprisoned government, and we are done with this era,” said Mohamed El-Beltagi, FJP secretary general during a conference in Al-Qalyubia.

Dr. Ahmed Khalil, member of the high board of Al-Nour Salafi Party, said that the first proposal for members of the party in parliament would be to ensure granting parliamentary immunity to deputies. He confirmed that the party seeks to provide Egyptians with security and health services and those they will coexist peacefully with Christians.

The Egyptian Bloc supporters held an electoral conference, yesterday, in Marsa Matrouh. “We refuse the cheap rumors that Islamist groups spread about us,” they said.



Front Page, 4.  
Author: Antar Said.

### Friday Protests



A large number of the revolution’s victims and their families confirmed that they will start a sit-in in Tahrir Square on the first anniversary of the January 25 revolution. They confirmed that the government is still ignoring their demands and fails to provide them with medical and financial assistance until today.

Tamer Radwan, brother of one of the revolution’s martyrs Sherief Radwan, said he will go to Tahrir Square to demand retribution from the police officers who killed his brother.

The mother of Ahmed Abd Al-Khaleq, one of the protesters injured during the revolution, said her son underwent around 18 operations and did not receive any support from the national center assigned the task of providing care to the victims of the revolution and their families.



Page: 3

Author: Mohamed Abdel-Salam

### Zewail Blasts at Political Impasse in Egypt



Nobel laureate Ahmed Zewail condemned the political scene in Egypt as chaotic.

Disputes among political powers and parties over shaping Egypt's future, whether to have an Islamic or a civilian state, will not, by any means, lead to a safe transition, Zewail said.

The disputes will only widen the gap of political and ideological differences, which could last for months, Zewail told an annual meeting of the Science Age Society.

Page: 3

Author: Abdel-Rahman Abu-Ouf

## Salafists Set Up Popular Commissions to Protect Churches



A number of Salafist groups are coordinating efforts to form vigilante groups to protect churches during the Christmas and New Year holidays.

The Salafist Call and Salafist Board of Trustees are adding their final touches to the organizing of the vigilante groups. The move aims to prevent the recurrence of terrorist attacks, like the ones plotted against the Two Saints Church of Alexandria on the eve of January 7, 2011, the Coptic Easter.

## Trial of Israel Gas Exports Case Adjourned



The Cairo Criminal Court decided to postpone, to January 22, the trial of former petroleum minister Sameh Fahmi and a number of former officials. The figures of former regimes were brought to trial over the export of gas to Israel at below-market prices.

Fugitive businessman Hussein Salem is being tried in absentia over the same case.

Page: 6

Author: Sahar Salama

### CAPMAS Chief Expects Low Turnout in 3<sup>rd</sup> Elections Phase



Chairman of the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) Abu-Bakr el-Gendi expected a low voter turnout at the third and final stage of the parliamentary elections.

The results of the third phase will not be that different from the previous ones, Gendi said, referring to the winning majority of Islamists over parliament seats.

A total of 13,966,000 Egyptians are eligible to vote in the third phase, he said.



Pages: 1

Author: Iman Abd al-Munim

## Would the Muslim Brotherhood Impose Zakat?



Following the Islamist lead in the Parliamentary elections, controversy aroused about their possible intentions to pass a law to impose Zakat (alms-giving).

Member of the economic committee at the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) Abd al-Hafiz al-Sawi proposed to impose Zakat through a law following the steps of Malaysia to overcome the economical crisis.

Freedom and Justice Party leader Hilmi al-Jazzar denied al-Sawi's suggestions, arguing that Zakat is like the pray; a personal commitment between people and God.

General Secretary of FJP Saad al-Katatni said Zakat was a duty on the rich and a right for the poor in the Islamic Law.

As for the suggestion of imposing Shariaa in a law, al-Katatni stated that it was for the People's Assembly and the government to decide on the issue.



Pages: Front Page, 6  
 Author: Rana Mamdouh

## Administrative Court Rules against Virginty Checks



The Administrative Court annulled the legitimacy of virginity tests carried out by SCAF on women protesters last March.

The virginity tests carried out by SCAF have aroused national and international controversy.

SCAF wanted to prove that the women protesters were involved in prostitution and to prevent them later from claiming that they were raped by Armed Forces officers.

SCAF had promised international Amnesty to stop the virginity tests.

The ruling showed that the virginity tests were illegal and are not included in any law. There is no constitutional text that gives this right under any condition.



Pages: 2  
 Author: Bisan Kassab

### The Advisory Council Disagrees



Members of the Advisory Council do not seem to agree on one stance towards the timing of presidential elections.

While some members agree on holding early presidential elections, others stick to SCAF assigned date in June 2012.

A high-ranked source from the Advisory Council reported the conflict to al-Tahrir.



Pages: 2

Author: Yusuf Saaban and Peter Magdi

## Bishop Kyrillos: Nag Hammadi Waits for a New Massacre in Christmas



The Coptic Orthodox Church in Nag Hammadi canceled Christmas celebrations.

Bishop Kyrillos of Nag Hammadi stated that the decision was made due to indications to potential attacks against Copts on Christmas.

Bishop Kyrillos said he was directly threatened of death for resisting children abduction in Nag Hammadi.

The Archbishopric reported on the disappearance of 13 Copts.

Bishop Kyrillos informed the security on August 11 when he received the first threat. He also asked the Security Apparatus to secure churches during the Christmas and New Year's celebrations, but the security deterioration after the revolution will make the task impossible.



Pages: 2  
 Author: Al-Walid Ismael

### 122 Suspects Deny Charges



A hearing session was held, yesterday, in the case of the latest incidents downtown Cairo known as the cabinet clashes

122 suspects denied charges of rioting, mobbing and assaulting the Armed Forces. They said that they had been arrested randomly.

The Court has received the forensic reports that included nine martyrs whose identities were recognized and three unknown ones.



Pages: 2

Author: Jamal Issam al-Din

### FJP: No MB Candidate for Parliament Speaker



Islamists and Liberal powers will compete to choose the Speaker of the new People’s Assembly.

Freedom and Justice Party’s Muhammad Hisham al-Souli stated that the Speaker should not necessarily be an Islamist.

Similar news was reported in al-Ahram, pp. 1, 6; al-Akhbar, p. 4; al-Shurouk, p. 9; al-Yom al-Sabee, pp. 1, 4; al-Dustour, p. 1; al-Go, horiya, pp. 1, 3.



Pages: 3

Author: Iman Abd al-Munim

### Muslim Brotherhood's MPs Withdraw Five SCAF Authorities



The new Parliament is to hold its first session in a three-week time. Islamists seem to be gaining more than 70% of the seats.

Subhi Saleh, member of the Constitutional Committee and representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice in the People's Assembly said the Parliament would withdraw five of SCAF's authorities, namely, legislation, development planning, the State's General Plan, the budget and monitoring the governmental performance.



Page: 3  
 Author: Ahmed Adli

### Kato's Trial over Anti-Protesters Statements in February



The Misdemeanors Court set February 1<sup>st</sup> to examine a lawsuit filed by the Arab Network for Human Rights Information against Major General Abdel-Moneim Kato, an adviser to SCAF's Morale Affairs Department, over his statements against protesters.

Kato, in previous press statements, had said that the protesters must be burned in ovens like what Hitler did with the Jews.

Kato had dubbed the lawsuit as smearing campaign and intellectual terrorism.

### Egypt's Prevention Of Vice Commission Appoints Officials



A Face book page named 'The Commission of The Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice' a group established in Saudi now of which the idea is starting to be promoted for in Egypt. It confirmed that they have received hundreds of applications requesting to join.

They issued a statement - which carried Al-Nour's slogan - mentioning they are now appointing officials in each governorate.

The Security Authorities in the Red Sea arrested a member of the Saudi commission over possession of a firearm and a wireless device.

Al-Nour once again denied its link to the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Commission. However, the page founders claim it is affiliated to the party.

### Parliament Secretary Sends the Prosecutor Recordings of the Clashes



The incumbent Secretary General of The Parliament, Sami Mahran, sent the films recorded by the People’s Assembly cameras to the Public Prosecutor to examine them as part of Mohamed Mahmoud and Occupy Cabinet investigations.

After 5 cameras were crashed during the clashes, only 21 cameras recorded the incident.

Mahran revealed that the losses are estimated at EGP 5 million.

## Advisory Council Meets Interior Minister



The Advisory Council met, yesterday, with the Minister of Interior, Mohamed Ibrahim, to discuss the Ministry's plan to restore security.





Pages: 1&23  
 Author: Alaa Tawfeeq

## Haniyeh: No Coordination between Hamas and MB



Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh expressed his gratitude towards the Egyptian government for supporting the Palestinian cause and mediating for the release of Palestinian captives.

He stated there is no coordination between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood for the elections. Hamas would not nominate any presidential candidate in the Palestinian elections, he added.

He said the Secretary General of the Arab League told him that Abu Mazen (Mahmoud Abbas) received Gaza reconstruction funds, which did not take place.



Page: 9

Author: Khadeega Afify, Ezzat Mostafa

## Judges Threaten To Suspend Ministerial Cabinet and Kasr El-Eini Investigations



After 12 hours, judges in charge of Ministerial Cabinet and Kasr El-Eini investigations, decided to release 20 suspects on bail pending further investigations. They remanded 100 others in custody pending investigations.

The two judges threatened to suspend their investigations after a number of lawyers crossed the line while proving demands of the defense.

The suspects were accused of mobbing, resisting authorities, vandalizing private and public properties, arson and throwing Molotov cocktails and rocks on members of the Armed Forces.



## TV Coverage (27/12/2011)



**Program: Al-Hayat Al-An (News)**

**Channel: Al-Hayat**

**Host: Maha Bahnasy**

### Guests:

Mohamed Abdol-Fadil Al-Kosy, Minister of Endowments

Advisory Council meets with Minister of Interior to discuss the ways police forces should follow when dealing with protestors in the future.

### HEC of Advisory Council said:

The Parliament is responsible for choosing the members of the Constituent Assembly.

The Shura Council elections will be held during the period from January 29 and February 22, 2012.

We cannot bring forward presidential elections; however, the period assigned for holding the Shoura Council elections was reduced. This will allow more time to draft the new constitution.

Conducting elections in the delayed constituencies on January 10 and 11.

Administrative Court orders head of the HEC to refer the reports filed for excluding some of the parliamentary candidates to the administrative court.

HEC appeals to SCAF to count votes in the substations and to amend the law governing the People's Assembly and the Shoura Council.

Alexandria Administrative Court halts the results of the second constituency in Beheira governorate.

"The date of High School exams will be modified if it came at the same time of the presidential elections," Minister of Education said.



**Program: Al-Hayat Al-Yom (Talk Show)**  
**Channel: Al-Hayat**  
**Host: Sherief Amer**

Advisory Council discusses forming a legal committee to discuss the law of choosing the new president.

A new alliance made between Abbasiya and Tahrir protestors. It calls for a million-man march to unite the Egyptian people.

Administrative Court decides to suspend the implementation of the administrative authority's decision over the case of virginity checks. The Head of Military Justice Authority says that suspending the verdict is not possible.

Minister of Endowments said, "Those who call for the promotion of virtue and prevention of vice by using force have extreme ideas."

**Program: Masr Al-Gadeeda (Talk Show)**  
**Channel: Al-Hayat 2**  
**Host: Moataz Al-Demerdash**

Guests:

Gamila Ismail (Politician and media figure)

Abu Al-Abbas Mohamed, Journalist in Al-Ahram Newspaper

Gamila Ismail said:

SCAF failed in administring the transitional period.

2012 will be a promising year for Egyptian women.

Handing over power to a civilian authority will take place sooner than we expected.

Protestors' violence is due to repression and violence used against them.



**Program: Sabah Al-Kheir Ya Masr**  
**Channel 1 "National TV"**

Guest:

Dr. Mohamed Madkour, Political Analyst



According to Al-Dostour Newspaper: Egypt will not retrieve any of the money smuggled outside the countries.

According to Al-Akhbar Newspaper: MB said” we are against handing over the power to the Speaker of the Parliament.”

According to Al-Shorouk Newspaper: Parliament members launch an initiative to end the political crisis and Shura elections to be in one phase, drafting the constitution to be by the middle of February and the presidential elections to be on April 1<sup>st</sup>.

Dr. Madkour said Liberals are divided between newly born parties and parties with no credibility.

**News All Day  
Channel 1” National TV”**

Dr. Amr Gad is appointed as Secretary of the National Council of Revolution Victims Affairs.

Military Justice Authority denies that there is a verdict that states the virginity tests are allowed in prisons.



**Program: Yeseed Sabahak  
Channel 2 “National TV”  
Host: Hany Tawfik , Yasser Hakim**

Guest:

Tamer Al-Kady, Member of Executive Revolution Council

Tamer Al-Kady said:

We are waiting for SCAF to move the handing over power to a civilian authority to an earlier date than January 25.

A serious change should be made in all entities and former ruling system members should be replaced by youth to spread democracy.



Al Arabiya Channel

Guests:

Nageh Ibrahim, Islamic preacher

Advisory Council discusses the criteria of choosing the Constituent Assembly members and stressed that it will represent all spectrums of society.

Advisory Council Head said:

Clashes between the council and any party should not happen.

Egypt doesn't need more time to draft the constitution.

Handing over power will be in time whether the constitution is drafted or not.

Islamic presidential candidates conduct negotiations to choose a candidate by consensus.

MB announced that they will not nominate a presidential candidate.

Islamic presidential candidates are afraid of fragmenting the Islamic votes.

Nageh Ibrahim:

Some Islamic movements don't have an idea on how to rule a country.

MB and Salafi disagreement was intellectual and ideological, and after the elections it became a disagreement over the official posts.

Most of the Salafis support presidential candidate Hazem Salah Abu-Ismaail.

I think that Islamist parties should unite with Liberals.

The small number of Al-Jamaa Al-Islameya parliamentary seats was caused by the fact that the leaders of the parties were imprisoned for a longtime.

FJP will ally with liberals not Salafis.

Whoever will rule Egypt, the Military must accept him.

I expect that Egypt might be a refuge for Hamas leaders after Syria is destroyed.

Voting in the elections instead of rejecting the ruling system.

MB meets Hamas Prime Minister in the group's public office.



Head of Hamas government said:

Hamas is a Palestinian Gihadi movement of MB with a Palestinian face.

We came to ask our brothers in Egypt for help and to explain to them the situation in Gaza.

From MB headquarters, we say to Israel that you are not our friend or neighbors but an enemy.

Badea said: the former ruling system supported the concept of the Palestinian reconciliation.

MB Group Leader said: Hamas Movement is a very interesting example.



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## Radio Coverage (26/12/2011)



### **News**

#### **Channel: Radio Masr**

With the Minister of Interior, the Advisory Council discusses the ways of police dealing with protestors.

The Administrative Court rejects the execution of the administrative decision to carryout virginity tests and Head of the Military Justice Authority says the verdict can't be executed.

A new alliance between Abbaseya and Tahrir protestors and calls for a million-man march to unite the people.



### **News**

#### **Channel: Al-Sharq Al-Awsat**

Military Justice Authority denies a decision to carryout virginity tests in prisons.

Administrative Court halts the results of the second constituency in Behera governorate.

The Cabinet holds a meeting tomorrow to discuss several economic issues to boost production in Egypt.

Advisory Council held a meeting to discuss the current political status updates and the criteria of the Constituent Assembly that will draft the Constitution.

### **News All Day**

#### **Channel: Al-Barnameg Al-AM**

Dr. Amr Gad is appointed Secretary of the National Council for the Revolution Victims' Affairs.



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## Internet Coverage (28/12/2011)



### We ara all Khaled Saed

The Court has accepted the lawsuit filed by Samira Ibrahim to end forced virginity tests on female detainees by the Military. People will remember she did not fear the stigma and was able to ban such a crime against Egyptian women.

State-TV aired the confessions of children who were arrested on December 14<sup>th</sup>, saying they participated in Occupy Cabinet events, days after their arrest.

The Misdemeanor Court set February 1<sup>st</sup> for Abd El-Moneim Kato's trial (strategic expert) for his statements about burning Egyptian protestors in Hitler ovens.

### Egyptian Cabinet

On the agenda of the National Council for revolution victims:

Providing employment opportunities for the revolution martyrs and injured families who need jobs.

Providing homes for those who need them.

Help them in starting small projects to fulfill their needs.

National Council for revolution victims will have a separate budget and takes their decisions.

A database of all the names of the martyrs and injured since the beginning of the revolution till the recent Cabinet and Kasr Al-Einy incidents will be created.

A comprehensive medical service will be provided to revolution victims' families.

Provide permanent care to who have permanent injuries.

Al-Ganzory stressed that the Government will not cancel lands contracts with investors even if they violate the laws. But the country will get back their right, especially in the lands that changed their previously assigned activity.



### Aalam Wassef

Here's the link to Maikel Nabil's message from prison, dated 15/12/2011:  
[http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note\\_id=346429872037190](http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=346429872037190)

Today is Maikel Nabil's 8th day of fasting from fluids, solids and medications. Please spread the word and join demonstration on Dec. 29th at 6 pm in Tahrir Square.

Now, an Egyptian prisoner of a good conscience is dying with no access to medical care. His story is here (English)  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vBHs1Xs2IF4&feature=youtu.be>

### Monasosh

If we wish to make a new world we have the material ready. The first one, too, was made out of chaos. #RobertQuillen

Marches are great because they provide revolutionaries with energy to continue their struggle. I believe discussions and video presentations in the streets are even more important because they help us gain more supporters.

### Ghonim

Introduction to Masrena movement: Read, Spread and Contribute.  
[https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note\\_id=295645383804746](https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=295645383804746)

### Iyad ElBaghdadi

Let's recap the lesson from today's Arab League tour - whichever area Bashar pulls his army from, erupts in large peaceful protest.

So despite the blood let's be clear on this - if the Arab League gets Bashar to pull back his army, this alone will be a huge plus.

In fact, I'd say that if pressure somehow gets Bashar to pull back his troops to their barracks, we're two moves away from checkmate.

I don't know how many times I heard "I don't have a problem with you as a Muslim, I have a problem with Islam."

People should discuss their positions first and then their creeds. Otherwise, I feel, it's putting the cart before the horse.

He's making the case that there are "criminal gangs", so his army's presence is necessary.



We know that these "gangs" are his own thugs of course. Question is how he'll handle that contradiction.

### Gsquare86

Since I am trending in USA, I wanna say STOP supporting SCAF who is killing protesters. STOP aid to dictatorships!

An officer said to injured protesters: "God damn this revolution that made us see people like you!"

The first session of Major General Abd Al-Moneim Katto's trial will take place on 1st of February 2012 over his statements on Hitler's execution camps.

### WaelAbbas

Scandal: Tawfik Okasha's supporters pay Abbasiya protesters 50 pounds and a free meal! [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nYazb5jMNjY&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nYazb5jMNjY&feature=player_embedded)

State Security prevents Ultras groups from attending the match: <http://twitpic.com/7zbrlx>

### Arabist

The mufti of Egypt is on twitter: @DrAliGomaa.

New on Arabist: Egypt: An end to virginity tests <http://arb.st/vncQGN>

That last tweet in Arabic via @negadelborai: Iran switches to punish adultery by hanging rather than stoning. How progressive!



## ▪ Publication overview

### ❖ **Al-Ahram: Egyptian state-run official daily newspaper**

Founded in 1875, is the most widely circulating Egyptian [daily](#) newspaper, and the second oldest after al-Waqa'i`al-Masriya (English: The Egyptian Events, founded 1828). It is majority owned by the [Egyptian government](#).

### ❖ **Al-Akhbar: Egyptian state-owned semi-official daily newspaper**

It was founded in May [1952](#) as a part of [Akhbar El Yom](#).

### ❖ **Al-Gomhoria: Egyptian state-owned daily newspaper**

An influential state-owned [Egyptian Arabic language](#) daily [newspaper](#). It was established in 1954.

### ❖ **Al-Shorouk: Egyptian daily independent newspaper**

Is a prominent Arabic newspaper published in Egypt [\[1\]](#) and several other Arabic nations It is a daily independent newspaper, covering mainly politics, militant affairs and sport.

### ❖ **Al-Masry al-Yom: Independent daily newspaper**

On 7 June 2004, it published its first edition. The paper initially circulated primarily amongst Cairo's intellectual elite, providing objective news coverage in the belief that good news would beat sensationalist reporting found in other Egyptian print media. After 3 years, it was challenging *Al-Ahram* for the status of being the national paper of record. Though

### ❖ **Tahrir: Daily independent newspaper**

### ❖ **Dostor: Daily independent newspaper**

### ❖ **Yom 7: Daily independent newspaper**



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