



OUR VALUES

A photographer runs amid tear gas fired during a protest held by Greek university students in Athens in February.

Reuters/Alkis Konstantinidis

As an organization founded by journalists, we use the tools of journalism to protect those engaged in acts of journalism. Our credibility rests on a bedrock of accuracy, transparency, fairness, accountability, and independence. Journalist safety is our top priority.

We believe freedom of expression is the foundation for all other human rights. Violations of press freedom often occur in a broader context, including discrimination and oppression based on political beliefs, race, ethnicity, religion, gender identity, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic standing. As enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, every person has the right to freedom of opinion and of expression, regardless of their nationality or identity. Access to independent information enables all people to make decisions and hold the powerful to account.

CPJ is committed to values of equity and free expression in our internal practices as well. As an organization headquartered in the United States, we aspire to build a diverse workplace, and to foster an inclusive and welcoming environment. As an international organization, we strive for our people to be representative of the global community on which we report, and to equip them with the opportunities and resources they need to learn and succeed.



Committee to Protect Journalists

Dear CPJ supporter,

Over the nearly quarter century I have spent at the Committee to Protect Journalists, I've seen an unfortunate shift in the way global events are covered. There are lots of opinions out there, often expressed by people who are far away from the action. But the most important reporting, I believe, is still carried out by journalists who are on the ground, observing events with their own eyes.

For much of 2021, the big story was protests. People around the world took to the streets to protest corruption. They demonstrated against election fraud. They called for equality and racial justice. In Myanmar in February, thousands protested a coup in which the military seized power from the elected government. In July, thousands of Cubans demonstrated against the Communist regime and against the shortage of food and medicine.

The journalists who covered these demonstrations, bringing the world vital news, too often came under attack, sometimes from the protesters themselves, but more often from governments using violence and repression as a form of censorship. This annual report chronicles the heroic journalists who brought us the news from the streets -- often at grave risks to themselves.

Then, in August, another vital story emerged: the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan, and the chaotic U.S. military withdrawal. Afghan journalists sought to cover the dramatic developments, but at a certain point many facing Taliban reprisal were forced to flee for their lives. CPJ was there to support them, working with our network of partners and news organizations to bring hundreds of them to safety.

When journalists go out to bear witness, CPJ is with them. And when their lives are at risk, CPJ steps in to get them out of harm's way. That is work we never relish, because it means, as happened in Afghanistan, the hollowing out of the local press corps. But we're in the business of saving lives. Sometimes, you need to step back in order to be able to fight another day.

For 40 years, CPJ has worked to uphold the rights of journalists all over the world. We campaign for the release of imprisoned journalists. We help support journalists who have been forced into exile. We demand justice for our slain colleagues. We give journalists the support they need to stay safe. We battle censorship and repressive legislation. We fight injustice. We push for change.

Now, as I prepare to step down after 15 years as executive director of CPJ, I remain guided by the belief that the essential human desire to know, to understand, and to communicate cannot be suppressed. And, because of your support, our voice today is louder and stronger than it has ever been.

Thank you for your unwavering support of our mission. And thank you for standing with CPJ.

Joel Simon
Executive Director

CPJ is headquartered in New York with offices in Washington, D.C., and Brussels and a safety team based in Europe. We also have a network of reporters all over the world, including in Abuja, Bangkok, Berlin, Bogotá, Brussels, Delhi, Guatemala City, Istanbul, Lisbon, London, Lomé, Lusaka, Mexico City, Nairobi, Rio de Janeiro, Stockholm, Taipei, and Vilnius.

Guatemala

In February, CPJ co-issued a statement calling on authorities to strengthen protections for journalists and ensure access to information, especially during the pandemic.

Haiti

In protests in 2021, Haitians called on President Jovenel Moïse to step down. Journalists were attacked while reporting on the demonstrations. In July, the president was assassinated. Page 10

Morocco

CPJ continues to advocate for the release of Omar Radi, an investigative reporter who is jailed on retaliatory charges of sexual assault.

Mali

CPJ called for the immediate release of French journalist Olivier Dubois, who was kidnapped in Mali in April.

Burkina Faso

CPJ condemned the murder in April of two Spanish journalists in the eastern part of the country, where the press is facing increasing dangers.

Poland

In a virtual mission conducted in March, CPJ spoke to journalists about what they saw as the erosion of the independent press in the country.

Belarus

Dozens of journalists were detained during the clamp-down on press freedom in the country, and one, Raman Pratasevich, was kidnapped after authorities hijacked his flight.

Iran

CPJ coordinated support and safe refuge for our 2020 award winner, Mohammad Mosaed, who fled Iran on foot after being summoned to jail.

Myanmar

Security forces arrested hundreds protesting the military coup that took place in February. In July, CPJ found at least 32 journalists behind bars. Page 14

India

Following arrests of and attacks on journalists reporting on farmers' protests, CPJ issued a safety guide for journalists covering events related to state elections.

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Villas in the compound in Doha, where journalists stayed until they were resettled in a third country.

CPJ

A CRISIS IN AFGHANISTAN

In the 20 years that CPJ’s Journalist Assistance program was formed, CPJ has provided more than a million dollars in direct support to thousands of journalists from all over the world and, with our partners in the Journalists in Distress network, have supported thousands of others under threat.

We provide financial grants to journalists who need it. We contribute to journalists’ legal funds and give them medical care when necessary. We evacuate them when they are at risk and support them when they are forced into hiding or exile. And we help their families when they are killed.

This work over the past two decades culminated in our successful efforts to help journalists in Afghanistan this summer.

In August, the Taliban seized power, sparking a crisis for human rights and press freedom in the country. CPJ sprang into action, quickly becoming the go-to organization for journalists attempting to flee. We coordinated support with our partners and with governments to help journalists find safe passage, and we vetted journalists and their families to identify and prioritize them for evacuations. Throughout, we reported on the threats faced by

Afghan reporters, one of whom told us, “I may not be alive by the time the U.S. can evacuate me.”

In just a few weeks, CPJ helped 60 journalists, along with their families, flee Afghanistan. Our new Emergencies director, Lucy Westcott, flew to Doha, the destination for many of these journalists, where she helped assist in and coordinate logistics for journalists who would be resettled. Meanwhile, CPJ continues to coordinate efforts with governments and our partners to help journalists in the country and, of course, we are responding to thousands of emergency requests for help.



Abdul Khalid Andish

Andish, a radio journalist who CPJ helped evacuate, told us his family is still being threatened because of him. He expressed gratitude to CPJ and said that if we hadn’t contacted him, he “would have been arrested or killed.”

CPJ



Zahra Adeli

Adeli, a 20-year-old journalist, fled Afghanistan with her family on the CPJ evacuation flight soon after the Taliban seized Kabul. Like many Afghan women and journalists, Adeli gave up everything for a chance at a new and safe life. She and her family have been resettled in Ireland.

CPJ

A photographer runs from clashes between police and a political party in Pakistan in April.

AFP/Aamir Qureshi



DANGEROUS ASSIGNMENTS: COVERING PROTESTS

Thousands of people took to the streets this year to protest issues like corruption, election fraud, racial injustice, and inequality. While most protests were peaceful, others descended into violence. Cars were set on fire. People were assaulted. Many were harassed.

All of these demonstrations have one thing in common: Journalists report on them. They interview protesters and police. They take pictures. They follow the action. And many of them pay a price.

CPJ is focusing on ensuring that the journalists who report on these protests can stay safe—from physical attacks and from detention. We document abuses against the press and advocate directly with the authorities to get justice. We have developed a full range of safety resources that we translated into several languages. And we continue to provide direct assistance to journalists who need it, including for medical or legal bills.

In these next pages, you will see images that capture the passion, the violence, and the intensity of some of the protests that took place this year. Each photo was taken by a journalist who put themselves in harm’s way just to take the shot.

Journalists work as pro-Trump protesters storm the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington on January 6, 2021.

Reuters/Ahmed Gaber

UNITED STATES

Over the past decade, local police began relying on military tactics and equipment and started using highly aggressive methods, including “kettling,” to confront protesters. But journalists also got caught in the crosshairs.

In 2014, journalists covering the protests that erupted after the police killing of Michael Brown were harassed and attacked, and at least 11 were arrested. In 2017, at least 10 journalists covering the Standing Rock protests in North Dakota and Iowa were arrested and faced charges. In 2020, during the Black Lives Matter protests that swept the country, at least

139 arrests of journalists were reported, with another 427 physical attacks on the press, the U.S. Press Freedom Tracker found.

Meanwhile, journalists also face threats from protesters. There is a hostility toward journalists in the United States today, stoked by former President Trump, who constantly attacked and demeaned the press. We believe the hostility is unlikely to diminish now, even though he has left the White House.

On January 6, when thousands of Trump supporters stormed the U.S. Capitol in

Washington, journalists reporting on the event were harassed, threatened, and attacked, and some had their equipment broken. The words “Murder the Media” were etched into the building. At least 20 journalists were physically attacked that day, the Tracker found. One told CPJ three different people threatened to shoot her. “We’re going to shoot you f**** dead in the next year,” one of them said.

It is clear that reporting on U.S. demonstrations has become a dangerous assignment.

CPJ continues to be concerned about threats to journalists reporting on protests in the United States. We issued safety information to help journalists prepare for possible hostility and violence from militia groups, protesters, and law enforcement and published that across social media and all of our channels. Our Emergencies team provided one-on-one physical, psychological, and digital safety support to journalists, and held digital safety workshops for journalists and U.S. newsrooms that were concerned about their staff being harassed online.

Journalists gather around police after their truck was targeted with tear gas.

AFP/Valerie Baeriswyl

HAITI

In 2021, thousands of Haitians took to the streets to protest the increase in kidnappings and criminal activity and to demand that President Jovenel Moïse step down, saying that his term limit had expired.

The protests descended into deadly violence, creating even more danger for journalists in Haiti who already face an exceptionally hostile environment due to gang violence, social and political unrest, and abuse by police and security forces. At least two journalists were shot in February, as police and armed forces fired live ammunition to disperse protesters in the capital, Port-au-Prince. No one was held accountable, continuing the pattern of impunity for violence against journalists in Haiti.

Then, on July 7, the president was assassinated in his home. The country erupted in political turmoil.

CPI continued to report on the risks journalists faced while covering the protests and called on authorities to protect the press. Our Emergencies team provided information to journalists and editors about ways to stay safe, and shared safety information online, with partner organizations and with local contacts, to help Haitian journalists and media outlets prepare for any dangers that could arise during the protests. We also provided assistance to several journalists in the country for medical support and for relocation assistance.



A protester carries a poster of Bobi Wine during a rally in Kampala in November 2020.

AFP/Badru Katumba

UGANDA

In Uganda, incumbent President Yoweri Museveni won a sixth term following the presidential election in January. During the campaign, security personnel arrested the two main opposition candidates and violently dispersed political rallies and protests. Numerous journalists were harassed, injured, attacked, and detained while covering the demonstrations. The media regulator introduced arduous accreditation rules that made it difficult for international journalists to travel to Uganda to cover the elections. Internet access and social media were blocked, and at least one media outlet was shut down.

In one particularly brutal event in February, soldiers used sticks and batons to assault and beat at least 10 journalists covering an event held by opposition politician Robert Kyagulanyi, popularly known as Bobi Wine, in Kampala. The

journalists told CPJ that police had witnessed the assaults but did not intervene.

“They were just beating everybody. As long as you were not in military police uniform or in police uniform, you were being beaten,” said Irene Abalo, a journalist with *The Daily Monitor* who was also targeted. “I ran until I was tired and could not continue running.”

CPJ reported on the attack, and on the other assaults on journalists covering opposition events. As part of the #KeepItOn coalition, we joined 54 other groups in a letter to President Museveni, calling on him to ensure open and unrestricted internet access. We issued a safety advisory for journalists reporting on the elections in Uganda, and provided assistance to journalists for medical support and for trauma support.



Anti-coup protesters discharge fire extinguishers to counter the impact of the tear gas fired by police during a demonstration in March.

AP

MYANMAR

In February, the military seized power from Myanmar’s elected government, detaining top leaders and restricting the media’s ability to report freely. Thousands of citizens protested against the coup, and the demonstrations soon became violent.

Over the months that followed, the military regime detained dozens of journalists during newsroom raids or street demonstrations, including AP reporter Thein Zaw, who spent nearly a month in prison. Many of the imprisoned journalists face charges under Article 505(a), which criminalizes the circulation of information that could cause government employees or soldiers to mutiny and carries a prison sentence of up to three years.

Within just a few months of the military coup, the country became one of the world’s worst jailers of journalists. “There is no hope at all for press freedom

in [Myanmar] under the military’s rule,” Nathan Maung, an American journalist who was imprisoned in Myanmar for more than three months, told CPJ.

CPJ published a mid-year prison census, which found that at least 32 journalists were behind bars on July 1. In a series of recommendations, we called on the military junta to release all imprisoned journalists and cease its licensing and other restrictions on news outlets. We reported on press freedom violations that took place in the country and continued advocating against the harassment of the Myanmar media. We translated our physical and digital safety information into Burmese, which included best practices for covering civil unrest. In the first half of the year, CPJ provided assistance to at least 54 journalists so they could continue to work safely in the country and report on local issues.



(AP)

A man wearing a press vest holds a microphone as police detain a protester in January.

Reuters/Anton Vaganov

RUSSIA

Protests erupted nationwide in January as Russians demonstrated against the detention of Alexei Navalny, opposition leader and anti-corruption blogger, who had returned to the country after being poisoned. Law enforcement officers harassed, intimidated, and assaulted hundreds of journalists reporting on the demonstrations. Dozens were detained, and many were sentenced to short prison terms and harsh fines. Four editors of the online student magazine *DOXA* were arrested and their apartments raided in April in connection with their coverage of the protests.

CPJ reported on the detentions of the journalists and called on authorities to stop their efforts to intimidate and harass journalists. Our Emergencies team provided support to multiple journalists, including financial assistance for medical issues, relocation, and trauma, and shared our safety information on covering protests and navigating civil unrest with journalists in the country.

Still, journalists were undeterred by the risks of reporting on the demonstrations. One told CPJ, “As a journalist, my strongest conviction is my right to have freedom of speech, and I will keep fighting for that freedom.”

Protesters stage a demonstration in Algiers in March.

AP/Toufik Doudou

ALGERIA

In 2019, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators protested in weekly rallies, calling for then-President Abdelaziz Bouteflika to step down. These became known as the “Hirak” (“movement”) protests. In April of that year, the president stepped down—but the protests continued.

Thousands of Algerians continued to march each week, calling for a purge of the ruling elite, an end to corruption, and withdrawal of the army from politics. Throughout, authorities arrested journalists, blocked news websites, and rescinded press accreditations to limit coverage of the protests. Dozens of journalists reporting on the demonstrations were

arrested, often briefly, while others were held on anti-state allegations, including false news and defamation.

“Instead of addressing the reasons for the ongoing protests in the country,” CPJ said, “Algerian authorities are locking up the messengers.”

CPJ published multiple news alerts and statements on the dangers faced by journalists covering the protests. We condemned the arrests on social media and repeatedly pointed journalists to the safety advisory we issued in 2019 to press reporting on the demonstrations. We also provided assistance to journalists, including digital and physical safety advice.



#FREETHEPRESS

CPJ believes all journalists should be able to report the news freely and safely, without fear of harassment or retaliation. But each day, all over the world, reporters, photographers, editors, and bloggers are imprisoned for their work. In fact, CPJ found at least 274 journalists behind bars in late 2020, the fifth consecutive year that repressive governments were holding a minimum of 250 journalists in jail.

This is why our work is so important. We document each journalist's detention and advocate on their behalf. We call the local police to inquire about each case, and we meet with government leaders of countries where journalists are behind bars. And each year, we launch a #FreeThePress campaign to call on authorities globally to release all journalists behind bars.

Over the past five years, advocacy by CPJ and other groups has helped win the early release from prison of nearly 400 journalists.

Here is one of their stories.



Mahmoud Hussein Gomaa, Egypt

In December 2016, authorities accused Al-Jazeera journalist Mahmoud Hussein Gomaa of working with the outlet to produce what they called “fake documentaries.” The previous month, Al-Jazeera had broadcast a documentary about conscription in Egypt, which the government criticized. Authorities arrested Hussein and charged him with “incitement against state institutions and broadcasting false news with the aim of spreading chaos,” allegations the journalist denied.

For more than four years, Hussein languished in jail. He was held for long periods in solitary confinement, according to Al-Jazeera, and suffered physically and psychologically. His daughter told CPJ that prison authorities denied him

treatment for an arm injury in 2017. CPJ advocated for years for Hussein's release. We published news alerts and highlighted his case in our year-end census and on the One Free Press list of most urgent cases. We urged the U.S. State Department and U.S. Congress to put pressure on the Egyptian government. We joined Al-Jazeera's international campaign that called for the journalist's release and appeared on Al-Jazeera numerous times, stating unequivocally that he must be freed.

In February, Hussein was freed from prison and reunited with his daughter, seen here. However, the journalist has been forced to report to the police station twice a week.

Mahmoud Hussein Gomaa, seen with his daughter after his release from prison.

A Bangladeshi leaves a rose as tribute to Avijit Roy in March 2015.

AP/Mahmud Hussain Opu

IMPUNITY: AVIJIT ROY'S STORY

On February 26, 2015, men with machetes attacked Avijit Roy and his wife, Rafida Ahmed Bonya, while they were leaving a book fair in Bangladesh. Bonya survived; Roy did not.

Roy covered issues including science, homosexuality, atheism, and free expression on his blog, *Mukto-Mona* (Free Mind), and was critical of religious fundamentalism in his writings on Bangladesh, a predominantly Muslim country. His was one of a series of murders of bloggers and a publisher in Bangladesh in 2015, all allegedly by Islamic extremists.

CPJ condemned Roy's murder and called on authorities to hold the perpetrators to

account. We published several alerts and features, advocating for justice, and featured Bangladesh in our annual Impunity Index, which spotlights countries where journalists are murdered and their killers go free. We did not stop seeking justice in his killing.

In February, a Bangladeshi court convicted six individuals for their involvement in Roy's murder. Five of them were sentenced to death, and the sixth to life in prison. They are appealing their convictions. CPJ opposes the death penalty for those convicted of murdering journalists and urged Bangladesh to "hand down humane sentences to these defendants on their appeals."



One of the individuals convicted in the 2015 murder of Avijit Roy

AP/Mahmud Hussain Opu

INTERNATIONAL PRESS FREEDOM AWARDS

CPJ is proud to honor these brave journalists with its 2021 International Press Freedom Awards. They have faced attacks, legal action, imprisonment, and exile to report the truth. Through their outstanding work, they continue to push the frontiers of press freedom.



Anastasia Mejía Tiriquez, Guatemala

Anastasia Mejía Tiriquez is director of Xolabaj TV and Xolabaj Radio in Joyabaj, in the Guatemalan department of Quiché. She founded Xolabaj Radio in 2013, which provides a platform for women, particularly Indigenous women, and covers issues that affect their lives. In September 2020, police arrested Mejía on criminal charges, including sedition and arson, connected to her coverage of a protest against the local mayor. She was detained for five weeks. Since then, her hearings have been cut short and postponed several times. CPJ covered her arrest and trial and highlighted the threats to Guatemala’s Indigenous journalists in a 2020 special report.

Anastasia Mejía Tiriquez



Katsiaryna Barysevich, Belarus

Katsiaryna Barysevich is a Belarusian journalist who was imprisoned in relation to her reporting on protests that took place against the results of the August 2020 presidential elections in which the incumbent Aleksandr Lukashenko was declared the winner. She served six months in jail on charges of “violating medical confidentiality with grave consequences” after she questioned the authorities’ version of a protester’s death. The day before Barysevich was freed, authorities raided the offices of *Tut.by*, where she worked, and detained some of its journalists. One of them told CPJ authorities were “waging a war against independent journalists.”

BelaPan/Tatyana Korovenkova



Matías Guente, Mozambique

Matías Guente is executive editor of the independent weekly *Canal de Moçambique* and its digital publication *CanalMoz*. Guente has faced official harassment and intimidation for years. In December 2019, unidentified men beat and attempted to kidnap him. In July 2020, he was charged with violating state secrecy and conspiring against the state. Officials later dropped the charges but said they could be reintroduced. In August 2020, unidentified individuals set fire to the newspaper’s office. Still, Guente and his team refused to be cowed. The next day, they set up an open-air newsroom to produce the newspaper. The headline on that week’s edition was “We will not bow to fire.”

Canal de Moçambique



Aye Chan Naing, Myanmar

Aye Chan Naing is founder, chief editor, and executive director of the Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB), an independent broadcast media group in Myanmar. DVB has been blocked from the national airwaves since the February 2021 coup, though it continues to broadcast online and has provided daily accounts of the regime’s crackdown. Aye Chan first established DVB in Oslo, Norway, in 1992 on shortwave radio to broadcast news, pioneering Myanmar’s exile media movement in which underground in-country reporters disseminated news that would have been impossible to publish from inside the then-military-ruled country. CPJ has covered the government’s harassment of DVB for more than a decade.

Democratic Voice of Burma

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The Committee to Protect Journalists is extremely grateful to the individuals, foundations, and corporations whose generosity makes our work possible. We also extend our gratitude to the many contributors who supported CPJ with gifts under \$1,000, not listed here due to space limitations. This list includes donors who made gifts from January 1, 2020 to December 31, 2020.

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ABC

Make Press Freedom Your Legacy

In 2015, CPJ formed the “Sanders Society” to honor the legacy of Marlene Sanders, one of TV’s first female journalists.

Please consider following Sanders’ example and include a charitable bequest to CPJ in your will. With your help, we can continue the fight to defend journalists around the world and ensure CPJ’s future.

Contact CPJ at development@cpj.org to ensure your legacy has a lasting impact!

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	Marc Haas Foundation	NBC	Present Progressive Fund				

Statement of financial position as of December 31, 2020

(with comparative totals for the year ended December 31, 2019)

Assets	12/31/2020	12/31/2019
Cash and cash equivalents	\$11,774,516	\$6,867,698
Investments	139,680	0
Prepaid expenses and other receivable	68,248	146,688
Pledges receivable, net	6,477,986	3,029,815
Investments held for special purposes	0	436,030
Investments held for long term endowment	14,389,921	13,788,119
Fixed assets, net	3,462,111	3,051,117
Security deposit	691,735	757,528
Total assets	37,004,197	28,076,995
Liabilities and Net Assets		
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	533,219	1,353,238
Due to landlord	1,000,775	789,339
Deferred revenue	25,000	0
Loans payable	2,066,901	1,443,848
Paycheck protection program	654,700	0
Conditional contribution	0	400,000
Total liabilities	4,280,595	3,986,425
Net assets		
Without donor restrictions	9,511,316	8,015,942
With donor restrictions		
Restricted for specific purpose and time	9,034,343	2,663,487
Donor restricted endowment	14,177,943	13,411,141
Total net assets with donor restrictions	23,212,286	16,074,628
Total net assets	\$32,723,602	\$24,090,570
Total liabilities and net assets	\$37,004,197	\$28,076,995

Complete audited financial statements, including auditors’ notes, are available at CPJ’s website, cpj.org.

Statement of functional expenses for the year ended December 31, 2020

(with comparative totals for the year ended December 31, 2019)

	Program Services	Management and General	Fundraising	Total Expenses 12/31/20	Total Expenses 12/31/19
Salaries	\$2,827,245	\$373,504	\$659,324	\$3,860,073	\$3,802,696
Payroll taxes and benefits	1,044,368	48,668	243,455	1,336,491	1,199,109
Professional fees (including in-kind)	3,354,623	630,709	676,842	4,662,174	3,221,813
Occupancy	600,808	33,234	129,241	763,283	589,536
Travel	58,684	1,040	3,827	63,551	559,042
Grants	322,222		0	322,222	213,833
Office supplies and maintenance	46,541	3,984	26,207	76,732	64,940
Telecommunications	72,987	3,316	19,260	95,563	68,209
Publications, printing, and postage	9,768	483	82,170	92,421	91,165
Food, facility, and entertainment	0		0	0	394,478
Insurance	66,459	2,699	16,273	85,431	48,711
Fees	24,849	9,621	28,644	63,114	65,801
Depreciation	90,672	3,651	130,888	225,211	124,011
Other	101,100	167,770	81,072	349,942	186,923
Total Expenses	\$8,620,326	\$1,278,679	\$2,097,203	\$11,996,208	\$10,630,267
Less: Cost of direct benefits to donors					(394,478)
Total Expenses	\$8,620,326	\$1,278,679	\$2,097,203	\$11,996,208	\$10,235,789

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An Afghan journalist films the car in which a government leader was shot dead by the Taliban in early August.

AP/Rahmat Gul

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