

ADYNASTY WITH GLOBAL AMBITIONS

PARAIN arte





The royal family of Qatar is both an object of fascination and fear. Their portrait will tell the story of a country as tiny as it is immensely rich, torn between the enlightenment of the West and Bedouin conservatism.

It will be the story of the emergence of a kingdom of only 250,000 citizens sitting on the largest gas deposit on the planet.





But beyond these short sighted clichés, what do we really know about this country? Who are these Qataris really, who are trying to please the West as much as to impose their vision on the rest of the Arab world? How have the unlimited financial resources of a tiny minority of inhabitants altered their identity, between the nouveau riche syndrome, delusions of grandeur and the search for their roots? Can a society go from a state of underdevelopment to the management of the largest per capita financial manna on the planet in only one generation without trauma?

We will see above all how this impossible synthesis, even this permanent schizophrenia, explains the inconsistencies of Qatari policy decided by royal decrees. We will understand why and how Al Jazeera, the Qatari channel, is both a model of freedom of expression in the Arab world and internally a painfully obvious mouthpiece for the royal word.

SYNOPSIS

We will see that this impossible choice between tradition and modernity explains why Qatar has been financing an economy based on sport as well as all the conservative forces close to the Muslim Brotherhood, to the point of financing terrorism. The deciphering of these contradictions will also allow us to understand the seemingly unbridgeable gap between Europe and Qatar, between a self-confident West and an ever-complicated East.





This World Cup will be a symbol of the success of the "Qatar start-up" created by the House of Thani, a family saga with an almost romantic dimension. With its billions spent on everything, its princes and princesses with glamorous photos worthy of Vanity Fair covers and its palace revolutions, the Al Thani dynasty – which could be described as the "Kennedys of the Middle East" – will have succeeded in three generations in transforming a corner of inhospitable desert into a global capital.

This unauthorised portrait of the rulers at the head of the richest country per capita on the planet will contrast the nation's extremely rapid success story with its darker side: a diplomacy of corruption, worrying investments across the planet, the exploitation of quasi-slaves from Asia; but above all, the financing of the Muslim Brotherhood and multiple armed Islamist groups, some of which are terrorist, throughout the Arab Spring.

From the "micro" story – that of the saga of a shady royal family, made up of rivalries, contradictory visions and betrayals – the film expands to a "macro" perspective – the fate of an entire nation decided by the power of money into the Great Game of Western powers, oil companies and the endless Middle Eastern conflicts.

Despite the the region's tumultuous recent history, the French investigations into corruption charges, the hundreds of deaths of workers on Qatari construction sites, the scandal of awarding sports competitions to a country with a desert climate that broke out during the World Athletics Championships, the controversies about beer-swilling football fans in a country where alcohol is forbidden in the streets and public places... for the moment, nothing has been able to stop the World Cup construction sites.

With the competition in 2022 approaching, discover this family's incredible story; one that will keep upsetting the world political game and has managed to impose itself as a major player in international relations. Each in their own way, the inhabitants filmed in their daily lives will illustrate the Qatar of yesterday, today and tomorrow: discover the destiny of a country force marched into the future by a dynasty with an iron fist.

THE MOVIE

To illustrate this sociological dive into a country that fascinates as much as it is feared, the saga of the three generations in power within the royal family will be accompanied by sequences representing each stage of Qatar's "great leap forward". To embody the country's different eras and lifestyles, as well as the social, human and cultural cost of such brutal changes, we will choose speakers representative of the conditions of life under each of the rulers: Qataris of different generations, as well as foreign workers at the top and bottom of the social ladder. Through their life stories, we will see the identity upheavals that the discovery of hydrocarbons has sparked, as well as the difficult – if not impossible – synthesis between Middle Eastern traditions and Western-style ultra-liberalism.

We accompany old Qataris in their air-conditioned 4x4s to falcon in the desert, the last vestige of an ancestral tradition that is disappearing because of oil money. We will show **Western expatriates** who arrived before the country's transformation and who participated in the Qatari boom. We will film **poor workers** from the Indian subcontinent who toil under the scorching sun to finish the stadiums. Finally, we will meet the Qatari **golden youth** – globalised, sports and leisure enthusiasts – torn between the freedoms discovered in the West and traditional Bedouin values.

Our videos of them and their testimonies will help illustrate the historical and analytical statements, they will serve as pivots and markers specific to each era. These portraits will help to understand another Qatari unique trait: the country has only 250,000 citizens, all united within the same tribal system. Unlike other countries in the region that have to deal with religious minorities, especially Shiites, Qatar is made up of only a few large tribes that have always been used to forging family ties with each other. Because of its very small size and immense wealth, Qatar does not face political opposition. In this respect, the country is more like Monaco or Luxembourg than most other countries in the region. And while Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch regularly denounce the living conditions and lack of rights of immigrant workers, the two NGOs also note that Qatar is the only country on the Arabian Peninsula that has no political prisoners.



The film's visual universe will be at the crossroads between the tabloids, in which the family has regularly made the headlines, and the "sports fever" that drives the Gulf princes: from camel racing to the grand prix of horse racing, not forgetting the Champions League. We offer you a narrative that combines reports from Qatar and abroad, archives, stories and anecdotes told by people close to the government or well-informed observers.

On a personal note, this film will also be the culmination of our coverage of politics in the Gulf, after almost 10 years of living in this part of the world. This documentary will therefore be the culmination of all our experiences and encounters in Qatar, a look both inside and outside a little-known society, often caricatured because it is misunderstood, of a country constantly shifting, in all domains – financial, geopolitical, societal, diplomatic – whose ambition and unlimited financial means worry the rest of the planet.

This portrait of the Qatari royal family will cover **three generations**, from Khalifa, the grandfather who distrusted the discovery of oil and cautiously obtained the country's independence from the British, to grandson Tamim, the ideal son-in-law who, at only 38 years old, has the heavy responsibility of calming his country and relations with its neighbours after the hectic reign of his father Hamad, the emir with excessive ambitions who wanted to win the world cup.

To understand the intellectual matrix of these three generations, we will meet Qatari citizens who actually know those times, from the time of the Bedouins to the era of over-connected globalisation.



"THE MAN FROM THE OLD DAYS" KHALIFA, THE GRANDFATHER

1972-1995

In the heart of the desert, on a Friday, a day off in the Muslim world. The Qataris like to go deep into the dunes to reach their camps. At 65, Said Al Hassan is no exception to the rule. With his brothers and cousins, he continues to falcon, one of the ancestral traditions of his country.

Around the fire that closes the day out, the men of the family pass the hookah to each other and Said recounts the time when the desert was the playground of camel drivers and falconers, before the appearance of the 4x4.

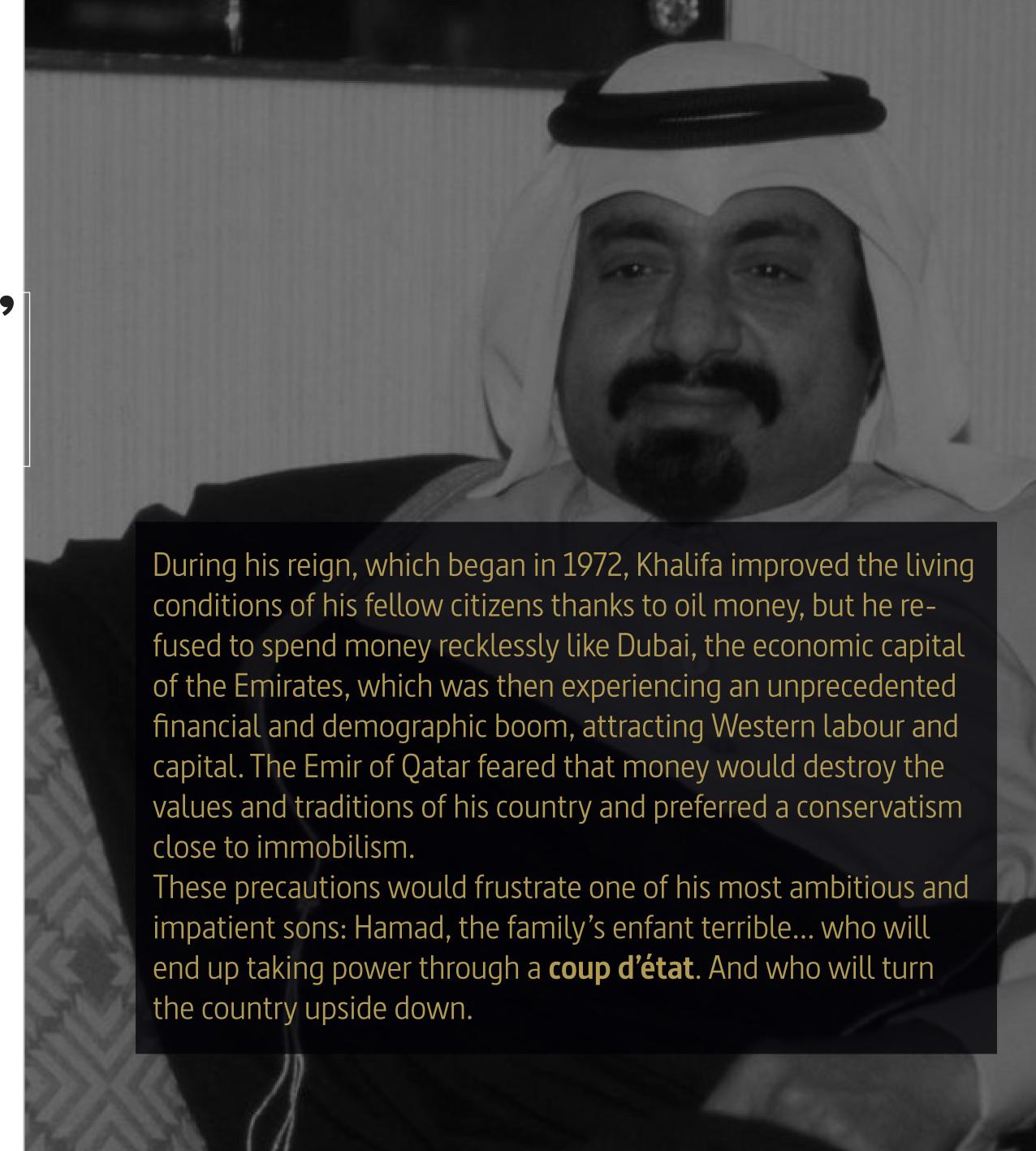
The memories of this sixty-year-old will serve as a transition to go back in time and tell us, with archives and testimonies, about the beginnings of the frantic Qatari adventure and its seemingly unstoppable princely family.

Born in 1932, **Khalifa Al Thani** – like many princes of his generation – was born and raised in the desert, in camel-hair tents. At the time, Qatar was a far cry from the glitzy luxury for which the Gulf is famous today: the House of Thani ruled over tribes of a few hundred fishermen and goat-breeding Bedouins. The men liked to compete in falcon hunts and camel races. Until the 1950s, there were no schools or hospitals in the country. There was no running water and electricity was produced by very few generators imported by the British in search of oil.

When the British coloniser left the Arabian Peninsula in 1971, the Al Thani made their first crucial choice for the future: contrary to expectations, they opted for the independence of their peninsula, snubbing the invitation of their distant cousins to become part of the "United Arab Emirates", now a federal state. This may seem trivial, but the choice was seen as a betrayal by the Emiratis. And this autonomy would have consequences for the relations between the two countries and the stability of the Middle East – until today.

"THE MAN FROM THE OLD DAYS" KHALIFA, THE GRANDFATHER 1972-1995

On the corniche along the Doha skyline, we meet **Said el Hassan**. The Qatari likes to walk along the water's edge, in this green space at the foot of the skyscrapers, where families come to picnic or play sports. Opposite him, a white pyramid with balconies on every floor: the first 5-star hotel in the capital, inaugurated in 1979. Said is nostalgic for the time when the bay was still the playground of fishermen and sailors. He then recalls the beginnings of oil exploitation and the development of the country under the leadership of **Emir Khalifa**.



THE CHARACTERS "THE SKY IS THE LIMIT" HAMAD, THE FATHER 1995-2013

Hamad is a force of nature: He is almost two metres tall and weighs well over 100 kilos. An anecdote perfectly encapsulates the prince's relationship with the rest of the world. One day, landing in a European country, the customs officer examining the passport of the then Qatari defence minister said to him, "What is Qatar? Is it a country?" Vexed, the future emir then vowed to make his nation famous. To put it on the world map

In 1995, taking advantage of his father's holiday in Switzerland, the crown prince took power in a non-violent palace revolution. After resisting a counter coup by his father – at one time envisaged with the intervention of the former "super-gendarme" of the Elysée Palace, Paul Barril – Hamad will finally have a free hand to exploit the reserves of his subsoil to the maximum.

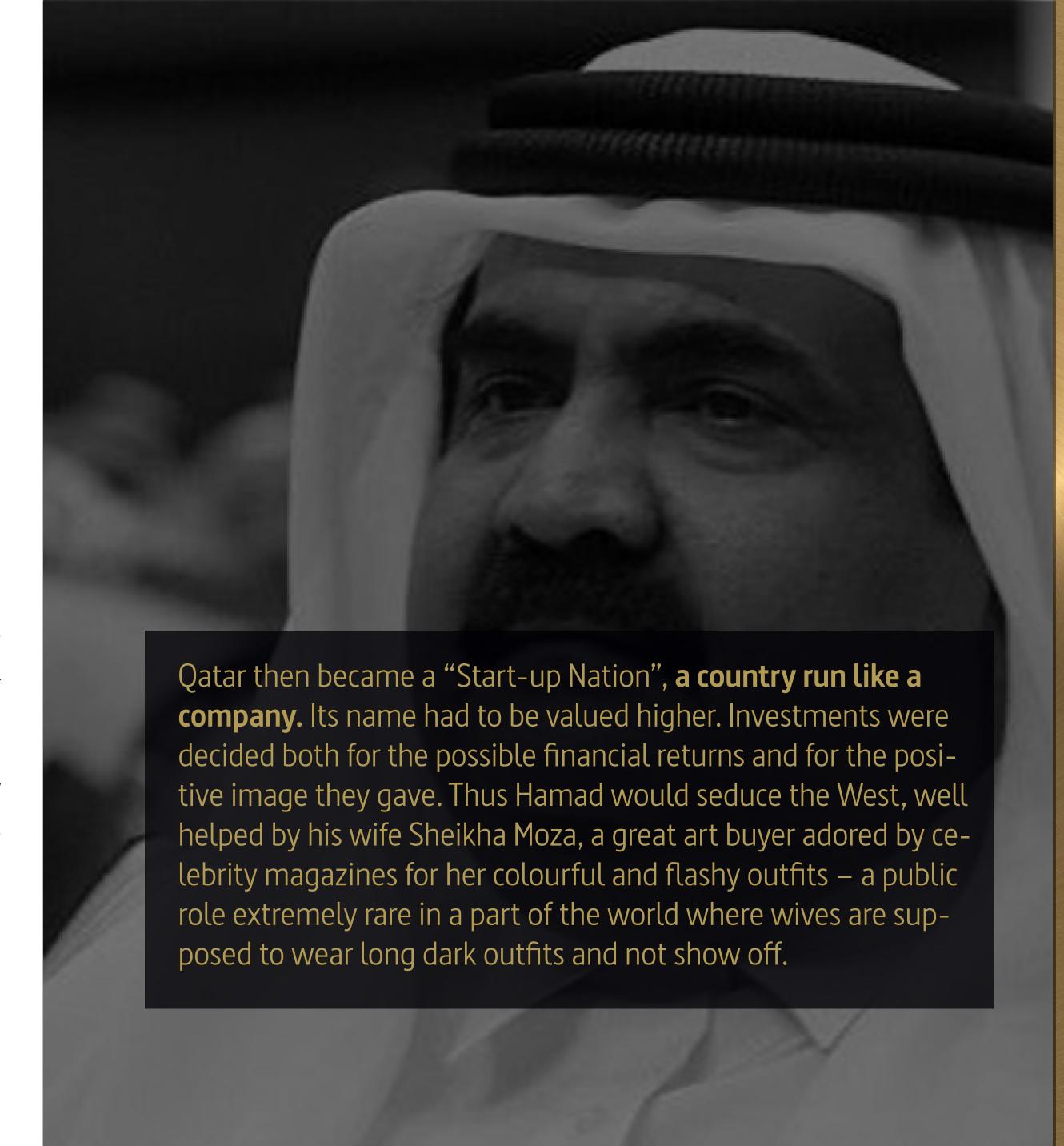
And with the help of **Shell, ExxonMobil and Total,** he took a gamble that no one believed in at the time: building offshore gas platforms that were much more expensive than those for oil. Qatar had access to the largest gas field on the planet (which it shared with Iran) and this investment was to pay off in the following decades, with the explosion in gas consumption and the fall in the cost of a barrel.

As it became the richest country in the world per capita, Qatar would develop its country at a rapid pace... thanks to a workforce from all over the world.

Deepak is one of the countless "foot soldiers" who have arrived from Africa or Asia and who have enabled Qatar to go from an unknown piece of desert to one of the most urbanised countries in the world in just a few years. This 40-year-old Bangladeshi is now a foreman on one of the construction sites of the Doha metro, planned for the football World Cup. The working conditions are exhausting and have not changed for decades: temperatures reach 55 degrees in the shade in summer. He explains how he arrived in Qatar in the 1990s, as a simple handyman hired by an agency in Dhaka, like hundreds of thousands of his compatriots. **From his point of view as a worker, he will tell us about the beginning of Qatar's expansion.**

"THE SKY IS THE LIMIT" HAMAD, THE FATHER 1995-2013

At the time, Emir Hamad used his enormous fortune to engage in extremely aggressive soft and hard power policies. This was unprecedented behaviour on the part of a small Gulf nation; it created a major upheaval in the region, and even the world. Thanks to his sovereign investment fund – one of the best endowed on the planet – the Qatari emir would spend lavishly on sports, luxury goods and hotels. They bought the Paris Saint-Germain club, the Royal Monceau hotel, the Martinez, and invested in the Lagardère, Accor Hotels, Porsche, and Balmain groups... a spending spree that never seems to end.



THE CHARACTERS "THE SKY IS THE LIMIT" HAMAD, THE FATHER 1995-2013

At the other end of the social scale, Western expatriates organise the country and run the big companies. Villa, swimming pool, employees... Stéphane is one of these foreign managers who have benefited from the Qatari appetite for international expertise. Light years away from the living conditions of Deepak the Bangladeshi worker, this Toulouse native, a former football player, arrived in the early 2000s to manage a Qatari club. At first, he thought he would just be there for a few years to save money, but faced with the very comfortable living conditions, he decided to stay.

Today he coaches the Qatari "under 16s". He shows us the brand new stadiums in which the youngsters train, the state-of-the-art equipment to which they have access... The man from Toulouse explains: for Qatar to shine in sport, the sky is the limit to spending... The main achievement of Hamad, the insatiable emir, is to have won the right to **host the football World Cup**. Thanks to generous bribes, the small country surprisingly won the organisation of the 2022 edition. Qatar has no footballing tradition, no FIFA-standard stadium and it is 55 degrees in the shade in the middle of summer – the usual season for the competition. But no matter... the petromonarchy is rich to the tune of billions. And its leader Emir Hamad is a personal friend of **Nicolas Sarkozy**. The French justice system, which is investigating the accusations of corruption, is particularly interested in a lunch at the Elysée Palace on 23 November 2010 in the presence of the French president, Crown Prince Tamim al Thani and Michel Platini, who has now been implicated in the case. As part of the investigation into the awarding of sports competitions, the French judiciary has found traces of suspicious money **transfers** and has ordered several hearings and indictments.

Another scandal: the hundreds of suspicious deaths of workers on the World Cup construction sites, regularly denounced by human rights organisations.

We meet Deepak at the end of his working day. He lives in one of the workers' camps on the outskirts of the city. Here, the workers are crammed into 8-10 rooms. The kitchens are shared, as are the showers. Despite these difficult living conditions and the distance from his wife and children back home, the Bangladeshi continues to work in Qatar because he earns three times as much as in his native country.

"THE SKY IS THE LIMIT" HAMAD, THE FATHER 1995-2013

Hamad and his kin have mastered the art of politics: On the one hand, the House of Thani allows the exploitation of the weakest.

On the other hand, it seduces capitals and foreign embassies. Thus becoming both a model of social openness and a supporter of ultra-conservative forces. Finally, its political choices, its religious proselytism and its economic expansionism are beginning to worry specialists of the region and public opinion.

One of its most controversial decisions in the region was to create **Al Jazeera**, which quickly became the most watched channel in the Arab world. From the beginning, the editors did not hesitate to broadcast extremely controversial statements: in 2001, it served as a relay for Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda messages claiming responsibility for their terrorist attacks.



A second institution embodies the ambivalence of Qatari policy: The Qatar Foundation. This key player finances cultural events, sports competitions, intellectual meetings... classic soft power to which are added polemical charity actions in fragile countries or the financing of clerics close to the **Muslim Brotherhood**, like Tariq Ramadan in Europe. This **closeness to fundamentalist movements** was to come to light during the Arab Spring. Qatar then decided to give the Muslim Brotherhood movements media support through Al Jazeera but also financial and military aid. This key role in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria and Libya irritated the West, as well as the conservative Arab monarchies, including Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

THE CHARACTERS "GLOBALISED YET ISOLATED" TAMIM, THE SON AND THEIR HEIR

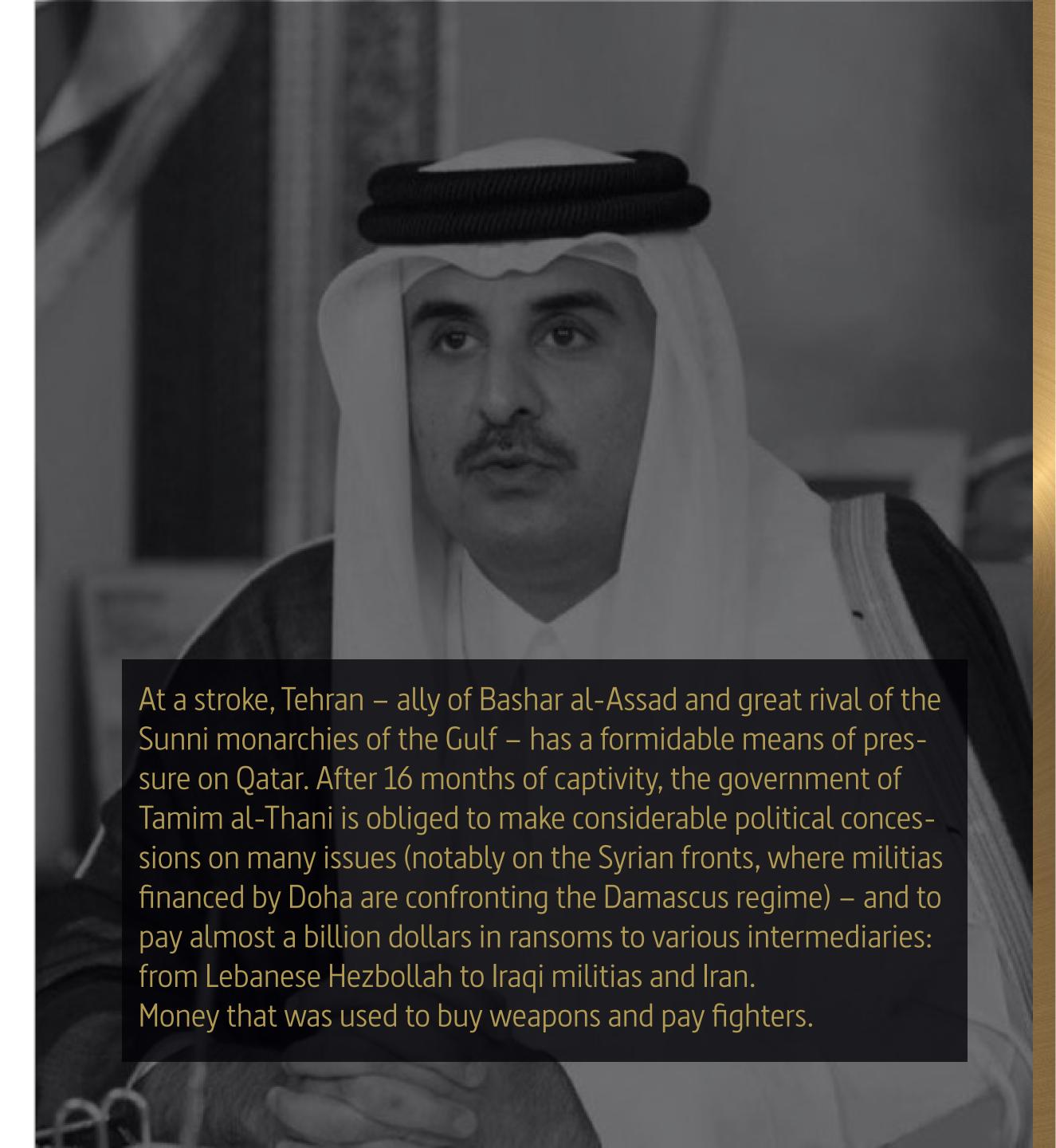
Faced with neighbours angry about the Arab Spring, envious of Qatar's wealth and fame, and above all jealous of the future World Cup; Emir Hamad, who was ill and under pressure from other crowned heads in the region, decided to give up his throne in 2013. This is unheard of in the area, where power only changes hands if a ruler dies or is ousted. Hamad did not choose his eldest son, a hothead better known for his Parisian escapades and for skipping his classes at Saint Cyr, but his second, calmer and more diplomatic son: Tamim al Thani, 33, considered by his brothers and cousins as a sports fan without stature, is supposed to bring peace to the Arabian Peninsula. This young heir has an almost impossible task: to synthesise the contradictory aspirations and blueprints for society proposed by his father.

Reem is the same age as Tamim al Thani. This young Qatari speaks English as well as Arabic. After studying abroad, she returned to work in the administration of Aspetar, the ultra-modern sports clinic in Doha. The young woman represents this Qatari golden youth ultra-connected, sports-loving and idle – who have identified with Tamim since his appointment as head of his country. But after years away from the country, Reem is struggling to find her place in the ultra-conservative society she was born into. She has become accustomed to the freedoms enjoyed by women in the West and today she refuses to wear the abaya, the long black tunic traditional in the Gulf. Like Sheikha Moza, Sheikh Hamad's glamorous wife, the young woman keeps posting videos of her jogging along the corniche or her weight training sessions, attracting thousands of Like from all over the world. During one of these workouts, she recounts how the start of the embargo was a tragedy for her and her family.

Contrary to expectations, the young emir soon found himself in open conflict with the new rulers of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, who came to power just after him in 2014 and 2015. Mohammed bin Salman, the crown prince of Riyadh, and Mohamed bin Zayed, the crown prince of Abu Dhabi, dream of punishing their impudent small neighbour for its excessive ambition. An unprecedented news item would give them the opportunity to take action against Tamim, whom they perceive as the weak link in the al Thani dynasty.

"GLOBALISED YET ISOLATED" TAMIM, THE SON AND THEIR HEIR

By the end of November 2015, the civil war in Syria was raging, as was the fight against the Islamic State group in Syria and Iraq. With little regard for the instability in the region, a score of Qatari royals – Tamim's cousins – organise a camping trip to Iraq to falcon, their sport of choice. They hunt the houbara bustard, an extremely rare bird that is said to have aphrodisiac properties and has almost disappeared in the wild. Except in Iraq, where it survives in a vast desert no-man's land on the border with Iran. And so it was that one night while camping, the Qatari hunters became royal prey and were kidnapped by Iraqi militias in the pay of Iran.





a country also hated by Donald Trump.

In June 2017, MBS and MBZ launched an embargo against their small neighbor, cutting land and sea borders and all air links. But Tamim resists the pressure: **he turns to Turkey and Iran to find new allies**. He had 14,000 cows imported by plane and boat to meet the population's need for dairy products.

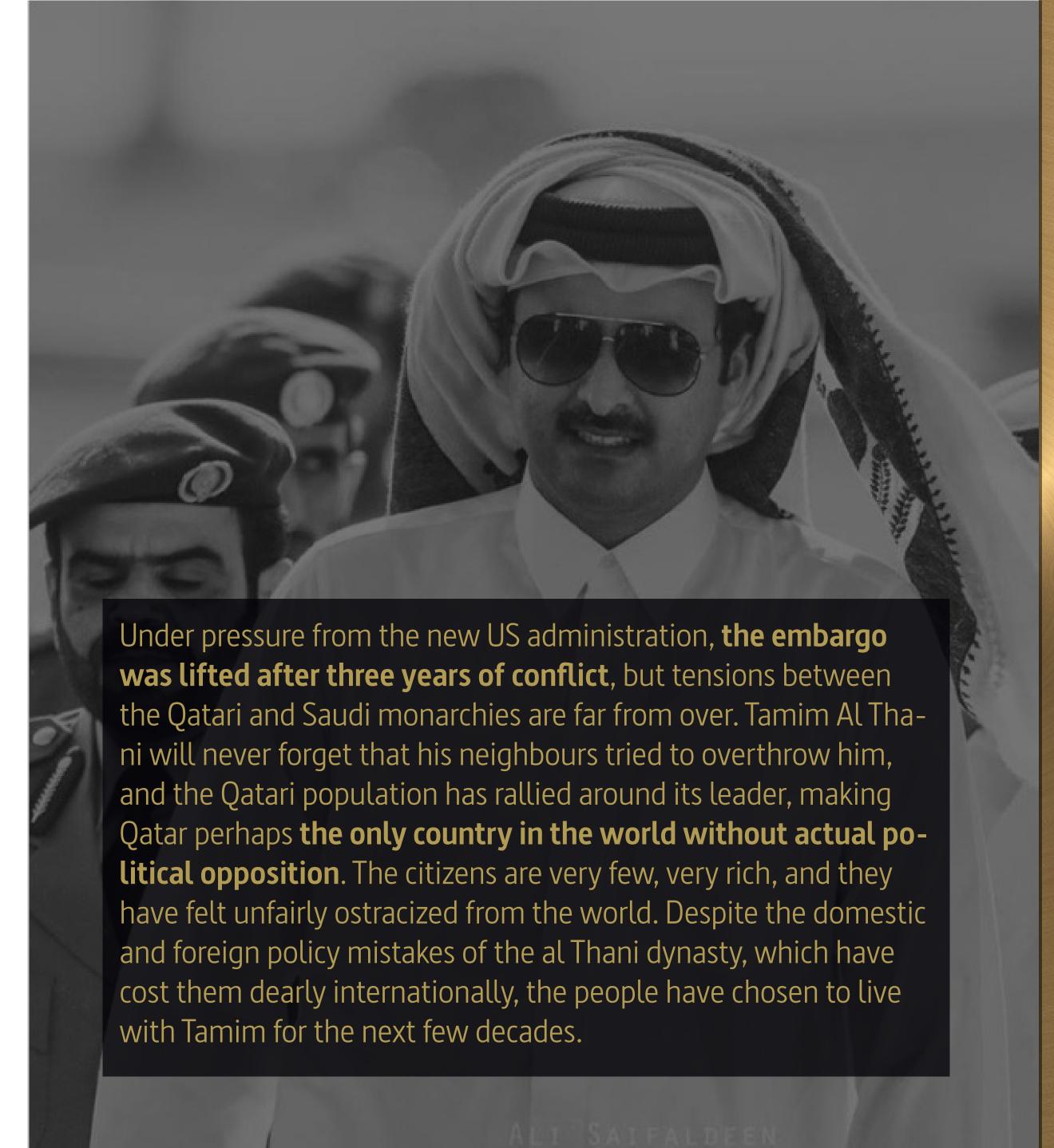
In a few months, local industrialists develop the production of steel, plastic, vegetables in greenhouses... On the diplomatic side, the country opened its wallet to buy arms at any price and thus guaranteed the protection of the major European countries, from France to Germany, via England.

Today, Reem's family eats "made in Qatar" as a political act. The diplomatic crisis with neighbouring countries has in fact brought Qataris together around their leader and strengthened the country's autonomy. Reem's luxury 4x4 is decorated with a portrait of Emir Tamim. The young woman is far from being an isolated case: the Qatari capital, Doha, is plastered with giant stencil portraits of the Emir.

"GLOBALISED YET ISOLATED"
TAMIM, THE SON AND THEIR
HEIR

Paradoxically, Tamim will have benefited from the embargo; it made him a charismatic figure, a head of state... With a slogan:

The World Cup will be held. The latest attempt to humiliate him: the leaders of the neighbouring monarchies proposed to Gianni Infantino, the president of FIFA, to expand the world cup from 32 to 48 teams, which would have forced the small organiser to share "its" world cup with other countries in the region... for several months, the proposal was studied, before finally being rejected in June 2019.



DIRECTOR'S NOTE

We will make the editorial choice to draw up a portrait not authorised by the Doha Palace – that is to say that we will give ourselves the freedom to tackle the most controversial themes (the exploitation and death of workers on the World Cup construction sites), the most scandalous secrets (the ransom of more than one billion euros paid to pro-Iran militias), the corruption cases for obtaining the World Cup or the financing of terrorism. This choice of editorial freedom will certainly prevent us from having an official interview with Hamad or Tamim, men who almost never give interviews or only with proofreading and absolute control of their words. We will still ask for it but we will mainly seek to approach them during public events they attend or press conferences they give when they are abroad. We may, however, meet and interview members of the Qatari royal family and friends of the family. There is also an extensive archive of videos and speeches from all three generations of emirs, as well as from Princesses Sheikha Moza and her daughter Al-Mayassa.

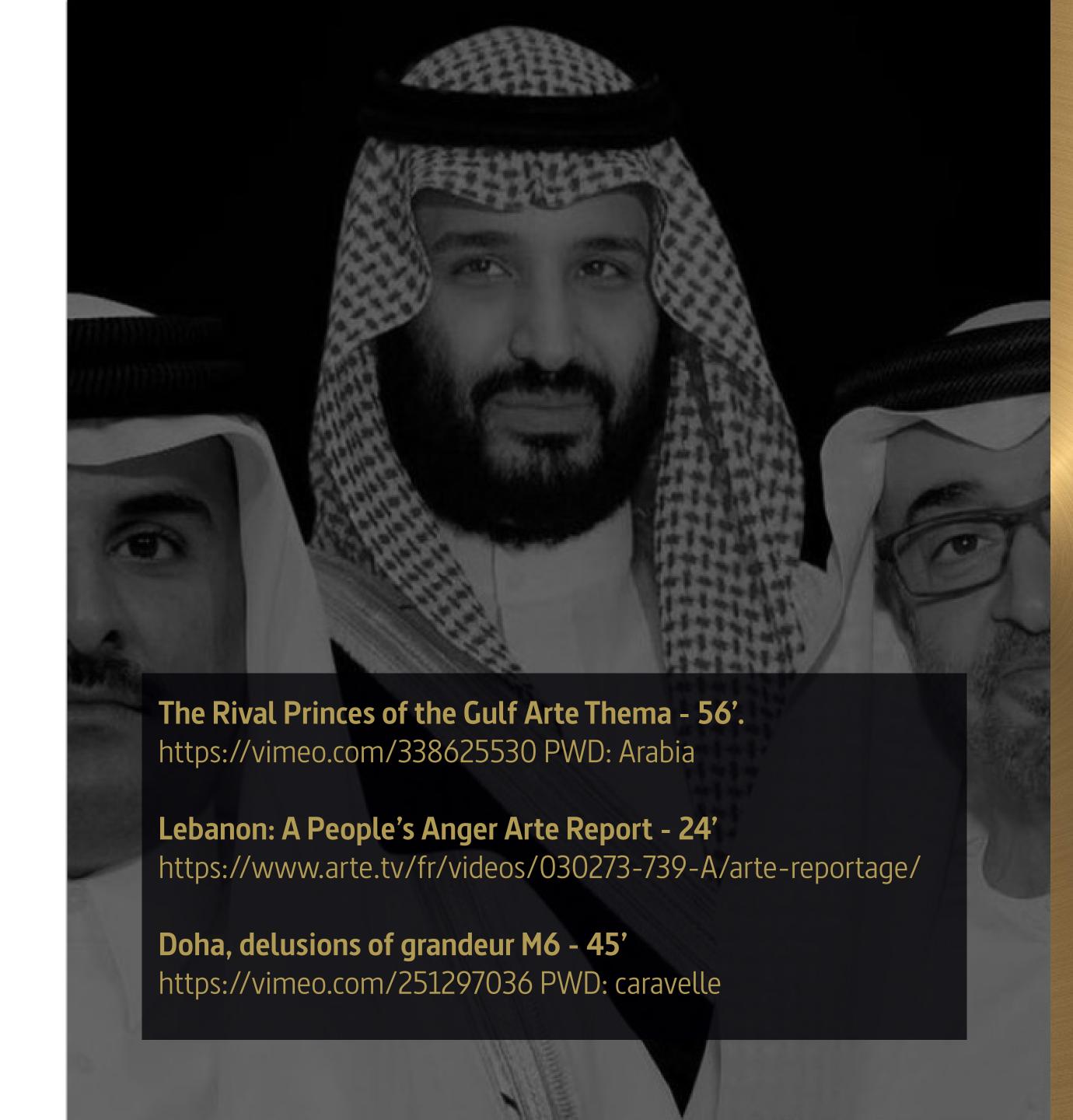
We have been covering the Arabian Peninsula for five years and have visited Qatar many times. We have already filmed and will be able to return to **the places that symbolise the emergence of Qatar**: the brand new towers and shopping centres, the World Cup construction sites and the workers' camps, the Al Jazeera studios, the military parade for the bank holidays, the 14,000-cow farm, the vegetable greenhouses, but also to film the royal family's passions for everything to do with the desert: falconing, camel racing. Abroad, we will be able to film at Qatar's investment sites, notably in France, the Arc de Triomphe horse race bought by Qatar, to the PSG or the ultra-luxurious private mansions bought by the royal family.

THEAUTHORS

Sylvain Lepetit (Prix Albert Londres 2014) and **Miyuki Droz Aramaki** have been based in the Middle East for over 7 years and regularly produce major reports and documentaries for French television channels (France 2, Arte, Canal+, M6, France 24).

They have travelled to Qatar on numerous occasions, initially for news missions (scandals involving the death of workers on building sites, the embargo on Qatar, coverage of sports competitions), which has enabled them to discover this country that is difficult for foreign journalists to access.

Since then, they have made two documentaries on Qatar: The first being "*Doha, the New El Dorado*" for '66 minutes' on M6 (2018) and the other being "*The Rival Princes of the Gulf*" for Arte (2019).



PROSPECTIVE SPEAKERS

Sheikha Al-Mayassa al Thani, Qatari princess, sister of Emir Tamim. Born in 1982, she is one of the world's most influential patrons of the arts, like her mother Sheikha Moza before her. In 2012, she made Time magazine's list of the 100 most influential people.

Hassan al Tawadi, a member of the royal family and secretary general of the 2022 World Cup organising committee. A key man in Qatar's sports diplomacy, he is the link between the emir and the expatriates in charge of managing the competition' worksites.

Rémi Piet, French, professor of International Relations at Qatar University, from 2011 to 2016. He is a regular expert on Al Jazeera, France 24 and The World Today. Very good analyst of the Qatari paradoxes.

Karen E. Young, Gulf specialist, graduate of the George Washington University and the London School of Economics, Middle East Studies. One of the most brilliant members of the think tank 'Arab Gulf Institutes', based in Washington and known for its very critical positions towards Qatar.

Robert F. Worth, journalist at the New York Times, author of the main investigation on the kidnapping of members of the royal family in Iraq. At 54, he was the NYT's bureau chief in Beirut and is the author of several critically acclaimed books on the Middle East.

Benjamin Barthe, Le Monde's Middle East correspondent, Gulf specialist, winner of the Albert Londres Prize in 2008 for his coverage

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