

An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

Freedom of Expression



- Editorial Cartoon: Tom Toles | The world must not look away from the assault on free expression
- Post Commentary Reprint: “Jamal Khashoggi: What the Arab world needs most is free expression”
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Tom Toles | *The world must not look away from the assault on free expression*

October 8, 2018

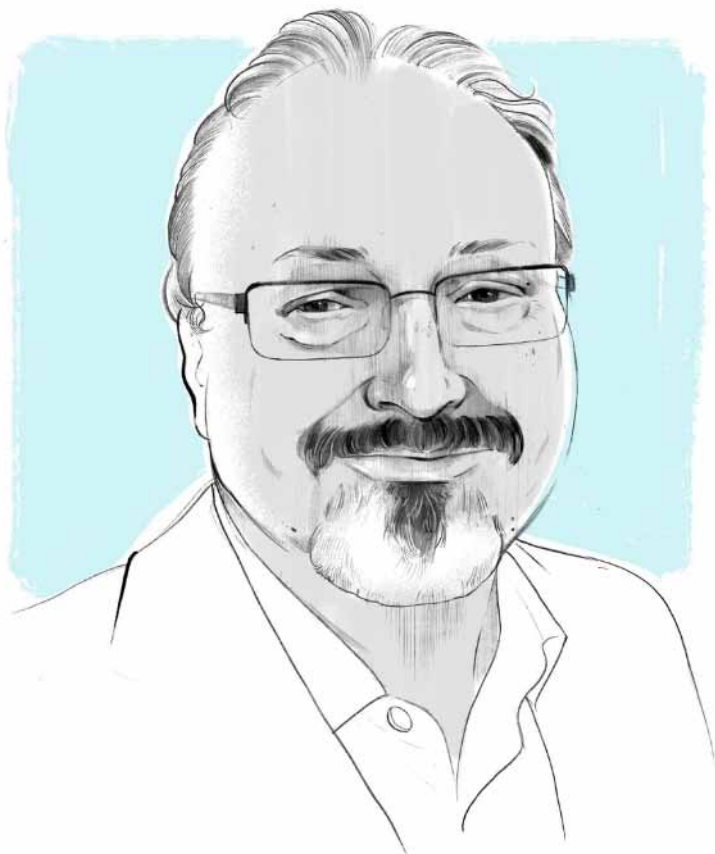


1. What do the ink pen and paper symbolize?
2. The name “Jamal Khashoggi” appears on the pen. Toles wants readers to be certain that his commentary is about a specific event and person. Who and what are they?
3. Why is the sheet of paper blank?
4. Editorial cartoonists choose their words carefully. To what do “This story is not finished” allude?
5. Through his alter ego, who appears in the lower right corner, Toles extends his commentary.
 - a. To what does “it” refer?
 - b. Explain the meaning of his statement: “It is part of something much larger.”

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GLOBAL OPINIONS

Jamal Khashoggi: What the Arab world needs most is free expression



A note from Karen Attiah

GLOBAL OPINIONS editor

I received this column from Jamal Khashoggi's translator and assistant the day after Jamal was reported missing in Istanbul. The Post held off publishing it because we hoped Jamal would come back to us so that he and I could edit it together. Now I have to accept: That is not going to happen. This is the last piece of his I will edit for The Post. This column perfectly captures his commitment and passion for freedom in the Arab world. A freedom he apparently gave his life for. I will be forever grateful he chose The Post as his final journalistic home one year ago and gave us the chance to work together.

Jamal Khashoggi

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEXANFER FINE
FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

BY JAMAL KHASHOGGI

• Originally Published on October 17, 2018

I was recently online looking at the 2018 “Freedom in the World” report published by Freedom House and came to a grave realization. There is only one country in the Arab world that has been classified as “free.” That nation is Tunisia. Jordan, Morocco and Kuwait come second, with a classification of “partly free.” The rest of the countries in the Arab world are classified as “not free.”

As a result, Arabs living in these countries are either uninformed or misinformed. They are unable to adequately address, much less publicly discuss, matters that affect the region and their day-to-day lives. A state-run narrative dominates the public psyche, and while many do not believe it, a large majority of the population falls victim to this false narrative. Sadly, this situation is unlikely to change.

The Arab world was ripe with hope during the spring of 2011. Journalists, academics and the general population were brimming with expectations of a bright and free Arab society



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within their respective countries. They expected to be emancipated from the hegemony of their governments and the consistent interventions and censorship of information. These expectations were quickly shattered; these societies either fell back to the old status quo or faced even harsher conditions than before.

My dear friend, the prominent Saudi writer Saleh al-Shehi, wrote one of the most famous columns ever published in the Saudi press. He unfortunately is now serving an unwarranted five-year prison sentence for supposed comments contrary to the Saudi establishment. The Egyptian government's seizure of the entire print run of a newspaper, *al-Masry al Youm*, did not enrage or provoke a reaction from colleagues. These actions no longer carry the consequence of a backlash from the international community. Instead, these actions may trigger condemnation quickly followed by silence.

As a result, Arab governments have been given free rein to continue silencing the media at an increasing rate. There was a time when journalists believed the Internet would liberate information from the censorship and control associated with print media. But these governments, whose very existence relies on the control of information, have aggressively blocked the Internet. They have also arrested local reporters and pressured advertisers to harm the revenue of specific publications.

There are a few oases that continue to embody the spirit of the Arab Spring. Qatar's government continues to support international news coverage, in contrast to its neighbors' efforts to uphold the control of information to support the "old Arab order." Even in Tunisia and Kuwait, where the press is considered at least "partly free," the media focuses on domestic issues but not issues faced by the greater Arab world. They are hesitant to provide a platform for journalists from Saudi

Arabia, Egypt and Yemen. Even Lebanon, the Arab world's crown jewel when it comes to press freedom, has fallen victim to the polarization and influence of pro-Iran Hezbollah.

The Arab world is facing its own version of an Iron Curtain, imposed not by external actors but through domestic forces vying for power. During the Cold War, Radio Free Europe, which grew over the years into a critical institution, played an important role in fostering and sustaining the hope of freedom. Arabs need something similar. In 1967, *The New York Times* and *The Post* took joint ownership of the *International Herald Tribune* newspaper, which went on to become a platform for voices from around the world.

My publication, *The Post*, has taken the initiative to translate many of my pieces and publish them in Arabic. For that, I am grateful. Arabs need to read in their own language so they can understand and discuss the various aspects and complications of democracy in the United States and the West. If an Egyptian reads an article exposing the actual cost of a construction project in Washington, then he or she would be able to better understand the implications of similar projects in his or her community.

The Arab world needs a modern version of the old transnational media so citizens can be informed about global events. More important, we need to provide a platform for Arab voices. We suffer from poverty, mismanagement and poor education. Through the creation of an independent international forum, isolated from the influence of nationalist governments spreading hate through propaganda, ordinary people in the Arab world would be able to address the structural problems their societies face.

[Read Khashoggi's last column for The Post before his disappearance in Arabic: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2018/10/17/jamal-khashoggi-what-the-arab-world-needs-most-is-free-expression-arabic/?utm_term=.54a6c2b56a4b]

[Read from Jamal Khashoggi's columns for The Washington Post:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2018/10/06/read-jamal-khashoggis-columns-for-the-washington-post/?utm_term=.fad8d4368184]

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Saudi Arabia's reformers now face a terrible choice

BY JAMAL KHASHOGGI

• Originally Published May 21, 2018

It is appalling to see 60- and 70-year-old icons of reform being branded as “traitors” on the front pages of Saudi newspapers.

Women and men who championed many of the same social freedoms — including women driving — that Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman is now advancing were arrested in Saudi Arabia last week. The crackdown has shocked even the government's most stalwart defenders.

The arrests illuminate the predicament confronting all Saudis. We are being asked to abandon any hope of political freedom, and to keep quiet about arrests and travel bans that impact not only the critics but also their families. We are expected to vigorously applaud social reforms and heap praise on the crown prince while avoiding any reference to the pioneering Saudis who dared to address these issues decades ago.

Last week's arrests were simply about controlling the narrative. The message is clear to all: Activism of any sort has to be within the government, and no independent voice or counter-opinion will be allowed. Everyone must stick to the party line.

Is there no other way for us? Must we choose between movie theaters and our rights as citizens to speak out, whether in support of or critical

of our government's actions? Do we only voice glowing references to our leader's decisions, his vision of our future, in exchange for the right to live and travel freely — for ourselves and our wives, husbands and children too? I have been told that I need to accept, with gratitude, the social reforms that I have long called for while keeping silent on other matters — ranging from the Yemen quagmire, hastily executed economic reforms, the blockade of Qatar, discussions about an alliance with Israel to counter Iran, and last year's imprisonment of dozens of Saudi intellectuals and clerics.

This is the choice I've woken up to each morning ever since last June, when I left Saudi Arabia for the last time after being silenced by the government for six months. ...

I expect that I will still wake up every morning and ponder the choice I have made to speak my mind about what is happening in Saudi Arabia. It is a pattern that I have grown accustomed to. Despite the anguish it causes me, it reminds me of how much I miss my country and my home. But now, after these fresh arrests and the public humiliation of these individuals, my doubts are greatly diminished. The social reforms that are so important to Saudi Arabia cannot come at the expense of the public space once available to us for discussion and debate. Repression and intimidation are not — and never should be — the acceptable companions of reform.



MANAL AL-SHARIF.COM

“The power of self-imposed exile is that you can finally write openly without fear of prosecution. Little did we know that safety was still not guaranteed, that it could lead to a disappearance.”

— **Manal al-Sharif**
Saudi women's
rights activist

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JAMAL KHASHOGGI 1958 - 2018

His calls for reform grew into a shout

BY JOBY WARRICK,
LOVEDAY MORRIS
AND SQUAD MEKHENNET

• Originally Published on October 21, 2018

When he began his self-imposed exile to Washington last year, Jamal Khashoggi described himself simply as one “independent journalist using his pen for the good of his country.” With his brutal killing in Turkey this month, the Saudi journalist became much more: the Arab world’s loudest dissenter and an international symbol for the cause of free expression.

In their effort to silence the 59-year-old writer, Saudi officials eliminated a domestic nuisance who had angered the country’s de facto ruler, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman. In the process, however, they touched off a temblor of global outrage that would shake the kingdom and strain relations with its most important allies.

After two weeks of denials, the Saudi government acknowledged early Saturday that Mr. Khashoggi had died violently inside the country’s diplomatic consulate in Istanbul, while claiming that the death resulted from an argument and fistfight. A government statement announced the arrests of 18 Saudis, the firing of five top officials and a plan to overhaul the



METAFORA PRODUCTION/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jamal Khashoggi is seen in a March video interview.

country’s intelligence agencies — to be overseen by Mohammed.

Yet, if anything, the admission appeared only to further amplify Mr. Khashoggi’s criticisms of the Saudi government. Senior U.S. lawmakers of both political parties expressed skepticism Saturday over the Saudi explanation for his killing, and Rep. Adam B. Schiff (Calif.), the ranking Democrat on the House Intelligence Committee, demanded in a Twitter post that “The Kingdom must be held to account.” Sen. Lindsey O. Graham (R-S.C.) tweeted: “To say that I am skeptical of the new Saudi narrative about Mr. Khashoggi is an understatement. . . . It’s hard to find this latest ‘explanation’ as credible.”

Ironically, Mr. Khashoggi had never sought to be a disrupter and instead, as a lifelong member of the Saudi political establishment, had been an advocate for modest reform within the system. Refusing to be labeled a “dissident,” he argued simply that his fellow Arabs deserved the “right to speak their minds without fear of imprisonment,” as he wrote in a Washington Post column in April.

Up until his death, he firmly believed that such reforms were within reach, even in Saudi Arabia, friends and former colleagues said. “This was Jamal: He had a never-ending hope that changes could happen, and that Arabs could lead the way,” said Maggie Mitchell

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YASIN AKGUL/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

Egyptian politician Ayman Nour, left, and Turkish journalist Turan Kislakci address the media in front of the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul on Saturday, October 20, 2018, after the Saudi government acknowledged that Jamal Khashoggi had been killed there earlier this month. Kislakci called for Khashoggi's body to be returned for a funeral.

Salem, a former State Department official and Middle East specialist who became a lifelong friend.

“In killing him, it’s like they killed more than a man,” she said. “They killed a vision of what Arab media and society could be like.”

Speaking out boldly

Mr. Khashoggi spent his life straddling uncomfortable boundaries

between occupations and interests that often seemed in conflict.

He was a lifelong journalist who also moved easily within the highest circles of Saudi politics, and sometimes served as a spokesman and adviser to senior government officials. He was a supporter of political Islam who at times sympathized with the Muslim Brotherhood, the transnational Sunni Muslim movement that is

now outlawed in Saudi Arabia. Yet he was a strident critic of Islamist extremism, and he spent his later years championing liberal causes such as women’s rights and freedom of expression in Muslim societies.

Early in his journalistic career, in the 1980s and 1990s, he became famous for his repeated interviews with Osama bin Laden, and he wrote admiringly in those days

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about the wealthy Saudi whose U.S.-backed mujahideen militia was fighting the communist government of Afghanistan. But he later broke sharply with bin Laden over his embrace of terrorism, and he became one of the Arab world's most vociferous critics of al-Qaeda after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

"The most pressing issue now," he wrote in a 2002 essay, "is to ensure that our children can never be influenced by extremist ideas, like those 15 Saudis who were misled into hijacking four planes that fine September day, piloting them, and us, straight into the jaws of hell."

He considered himself to be a fierce Saudi patriot, friends say, though he embraced the West and was frequently critical of his country's rulers and policies. He met freely with officials and operatives from foreign intelligence agencies, including those of the United States and other Western countries, but sought no favors and "carefully avoided compromising his journalistic integrity," according to a former U.S. intelligence official who met frequently with him over two decades.

"He believed in working within legal parameters" to improve conditions in his country, said the official, who insisted on anonymity in describing his agency's information-collection efforts. "He also believed that the United States could be a force for good in Saudi Arabia."

His seemingly contradictory stances earned Mr. Khashoggi legions of opponents and critics.

Some Arab dissidents distrusted him because of his close ties with senior government officials, such as Turki al-Faisal, the Saudi prince and former ambassador to Washington, for whom Mr. Khashoggi once worked as a media adviser. But over time, it was the Saudi establishment that turned on the journalist, moving first to shut down his publishing platforms in the Arab peninsula, and then to crush him.

His chief offense: speaking out boldly about the problems he saw at home, said Hisham Melhem, a columnist for the Lebanese newspaper *An-Nahar* and longtime acquaintance of Mr. Khashoggi.

"He was offended by the corruption he saw, and he pushed for a degree of political empowerment for Saudi citizens," Melhem said. For Saudi Arabia's leaders, "that put Khashoggi in the category of misfits and troublemakers."

Shut down and fired

Born in the Saudi holy city of Medina, Mr. Khashoggi grew up without wealth in a middle-class Saudi family with Turkish ancestry. He did have numerous important familial connections to the upper echelons of Saudi society. His grandfather was a physician to the royal court. His uncle, Adnan Khashoggi, was an international arms dealer who briefly became a figure in the Iran-contra scandal of the 1980s. He was a first cousin of Dodi Fayed, the Egyptian film producer who was dating Britain's Diana, Princess of Wales, at the

time of their fatal car crash in Paris in 1997.

Khashoggi studied business administration at Indiana State University and managed bookstores in Saudi Arabia before venturing into journalism. He covered conflicts in Afghanistan, Algeria and Sudan for the *Saudi Gazette* and later would rise to the top ranks of Saudi newspaper writers and opinion-makers. But it was his advocacy of democratic reforms — most notably in the wake of the Arab Spring uprisings — that won him notoriety abroad and deep distrust within the inner circles of the Saudi elite.

"He was always drawing my attention," said Yasin Aktay, an adviser to Turkey's ruling AKP party who frequently engaged with Mr. Khashoggi during panels and conferences. "After the Arab Spring, he was very prominent in discussions, because, while his country was anti-Arab Spring, he was pro-Arab Spring, and promoting democratization movements. He thought the Arab Spring was a historical chance for the Arab world."

Friends say Mr. Khashoggi had a complex view of the Muslim Brotherhood and other political Islamists, particularly in his later years. He believed that democracy in the Middle East was impossible unless moderate Islamists were allowed a voice, acquaintances said, but also he disdained extremism, and his social leanings were decidedly secularist.

"His idea was that we shouldn't be an enemy to them," said a Saudi

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friend who requested anonymity because of the risk of official retaliation. “It’s wasn’t his mentality. He was more liberal, more Western.”

In part because of his deep connections to Turki, the former ambassador, and to billionaire Saudi Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, Mr. Khashoggi managed to rise to increasingly prominent positions in the Arab media world, only to find his path blocked by more conservative Saudi officials who objected to his political views. He was twice appointed as editor of the influential Saudi daily *al-Watan* but was quickly fired both times — once after just three months on the job.

In 2015, he was named founding director of a new all-Arab satellite news channel, *al-Arab*, bankrolled by bin Talal. After four years of preparations, the broadcaster went on the air on Feb. 1, 2015, from a lavish studio in the World Trade Center in Manama, Bahrain. But the station quickly ran into trouble when it aired, during one of its first shows, a segment that featured a Shiite dissident critical of Bahrain’s violent crackdown on Arab Spring protesters four years earlier.

Bahraini officials halted all programming that same day, citing technical difficulties. *Al-Arab* would never come back.

Afterward, the man who was twice fired from newspaper jobs for allowing the expression of dissenting views seemed genuinely surprised that the TV project was shut down, said Salem, his Washington friend.

“His goal was to create a first-rate media outlet with the highest standards, in Arabic, because it was important to him that Arabs could access this kind of information,” she said. “He felt that the people in power would keep their word. He said, ‘They told me it would be protected.’ ”

Patrons sidelined, arrested

For some of Mr. Khashoggi’s friends and colleagues, the question that has reverberated since his disappearance and killing inside a Saudi consulate is simply: Why? Why should the mild criticisms of a gregarious, well-connected Saudi citizen so enrage the country’s crown prince?

“That’s the question,” the Saudi friend said. “You have four or five people in London that were far more dangerous for the government than Jamal. From the beginning, I was really surprised.”

One obvious contributing factor, some say, was the dramatic power shift in Saudi Arabia since Mohammed’s ascent to power. Previously, Mr. Khashoggi’s main patrons in the government were members of the *al-Faisal* branch of the royal family, including Turki and Prince Khalid *al-Faisal*, who was the journalist’s boss while he served as editor at *al-Watan*. But over the last two years, many of his backers were sidelined, and some were arrested by the crown prince, who has cracked down on all forms of dissent while also liberalizing certain aspects of Saudi society and culture.

After Mr. Khashoggi was barred

last year from writing his weekly column in *Al-Hayat*, a Saudi-owned newspaper based in London, the pressure inside his own country became unbearable, friends say. His wife — his second — sued for divorce, citing the increasing risk to his adult children — two daughters and two sons — and Mr. Khashoggi moved into a condo in McLean, Va., in the Washington suburbs. Soon afterward, he accepted an offer to become a regular contributor to *The Post*’s “Global Opinions” column.

“I’m under so much pressure from family members and friends to stay silent. But this isn’t right,” he explained in a text message to Karen Attiah, the section editor who recruited him. “We have enough Arab failing states. I don’t want my country to be one, too.”

His *Post* columns, translated into English, gave Mr. Khashoggi a powerful new platform and a vastly larger global audience. Yet many Saudi dissidents remained suspicious, and some resisted his efforts to recruit them for a new pro-democracy foundation he talked of launching.

“Jamal used to work for the government for the last 30 or 35 years, and because of that, he was away from dissidents,” said Omar Abdulaziz, a 27-year-old Saudi activist in Canada who runs a popular YouTube channel. “When he left the country and decided to criticize the Saudi government, the majority of them were saying, ‘You know what? Maybe Jamal is a spy.’ ”

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Yahya Assiri, a London-based activist who runs the ALQST human rights organization, said he also was skeptical when Mr. Khashoggi phoned him one day to see if he was willing to help.

“You used to be pro-government, and now you want to work with us,” Assiri recalled telling Mr. Khashoggi. The journalist replied that he had been supportive all along but had sought to work within the system — an option that was no longer tenable for him.

“I completely support your demands, when you demand democracy, when you demand human rights,” he quoted Mr. Khashoggi as saying. “But I was trying to do this reform from inside the country, from inside the regime.”

While writing his *Post* column, Mr. Khashoggi continued to lobby friends to help him launch his new foundation, which he had tentatively decided to call Democracy for Arab World Now, or DAWN, to be jointly

based in the United States and Turkey. He also turned his efforts to online activism, funding a project to build what he called a “bee army” to counter pro-government trolls on social media platforms such as Twitter. He put up \$5,000 of his own money to help buy foreign SIM cards for mobile phones, to be assigned to users in Saudi Arabia who were critical of the government but afraid to link their Saudi numbers to their Twitter accounts, activists said. About 200 SIM cards have already been assigned.

In late September, he met friends in London to discuss his various plans. Then he flew to Istanbul to deal with a bit of unfinished personal business: obtaining paperwork from Saudi Arabia that would allow him to marry his fiancée, Turkish doctoral student Hatice Cengiz.

On Oct. 2, he entered the Saudi Consulate to pick the document up in advance of the couple’s marriage,

planned for the following day. He was never seen again.

His death would become a global media sensation, in part because of the brutal fashion in which he was killed, according to accounts leaked over the following days by Turkish officials, who said he was tortured and dismembered inside the consulate.

For Arab colleagues, the gruesome details bore echoes of previous slayings of writers and dissidents whose hands and fingers were mutilated to send a warning to others who might dare to pick up a pen to criticize the powerful.

“The symbolism is deliberate: If you write with your right hand, your right fingers would be cut off, or burned in acid,” said Melhem, the Lebanese journalist.

“For us, Jamal is the last in a long train of journalists, artists and scholars to be killed in the Arab world,” he said. “It has been done mostly with impunity — until now.”

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

EDITORIALS

The future of the Middle East depends on justice for Jamal Khashoggi

THE MOST important question in the case of Jamal Khashoggi is whether Saudi Arabia's crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman, will be held accountable for what his regime acknowledges was a premeditated act of murder. Much of the available evidence points to the prince. We cannot find a Middle East expert who believes the official story that the 15-member assassination team sent to Istanbul, including five probable members of the prince's security detail, was a rogue operation.

Yet the regime is engaged in a determined stonewalling operation to protect the 33-year-old crown prince, who stands to inherit the throne from his father and become the absolute ruler of one of the world's largest oil producers, potentially for decades. He has the support of Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sissi — another dictator who has killed peaceful opponents — and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. According to Post reporting, Mr. Sissi and Mr. Netanyahu have lobbied the White House not to punish Mohammed bin Salman.

On the other side of the discussion is Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who is understandably outraged that Saudi Arabia would have used its consulate in Istanbul to slaughter a Post contributing columnist who was engaged to marry a Turkish citizen. In a Post op-ed posted online Friday, Mr. Erdogan rightly says that had the murder happened in Washington, U.S. officials would insist on getting “to the bottom” of what happened.

Yet the Trump administration appears to be cooperating with Riyadh in protecting Mohammed bin Salman. It has not announced its conclusions about the murder, even though Turkish authorities shared their evidence — including an audio recording of Mr. Khashoggi's final moments — with CIA Director Gina Haspel. It has taken no punitive action, other than suspending travel privileges for the low-level suspects the Saudis have rounded up. Like the Saudi regime, the White House and State Department have gone silent about the Khashoggi case — in the evident hope that demands for justice will fade.

Like his Israeli and Egyptian counterparts, Mr. Erdogan may have political reasons for his strong stance. His government is competing with that of Saudi Arabia for regional leadership. He is a supporter of Islamist political movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, that the

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Global Opinions

By blaming 1979 for Saudi Arabia's problems, the crown prince is peddling revisionist history

BY JAMAL KHASHOGGI

• Originally Published April 3, 2018

In an interview with the news program *60 Minutes*, Crown Prince Mohammed Bin Salman said of Saudi Arabia before 1979, “We were living a very normal life like the rest of the Gulf countries. Women were driving cars, there were movie theaters in Saudi Arabia, women worked everywhere. We were normal people developing like any other country in the world until the events of 1979.”

I was a teenager in the 1970s and grew up in Medina, Saudi Arabia. My memories of those years before the twin disasters of 1979 — the siege

of the Grand Mosque of Mecca and the Iranian Revolution — are quite different from the narrative that the 32-year old crown prince (known as MBS for short) advances to Western audiences. Women weren't driving cars. I didn't see a woman drive until I visited my sister and brother-in-law in Tempe, Ariz., in 1976. The movie theaters we had were makeshift, like American drive-ins except much more informal. The movie was beamed on a big wall. You would pay 5 or 10 riyals (then approximately \$1.50-\$2) to the organizer, who would then give a warning when the religious police approached. To avoid being arrested, a friend of mine broke his leg jumping off a wall. In the 1970s, the only places on

the Arabian Peninsula where women were working outside the home or school were Kuwait and Bahrain. ...

And Khashoggi concludes:

In Saudi Arabia at the moment, people simply don't dare to speak. The country has seen the blacklisting of those who dare raise their voices, the imprisonment of moderately critical intellectuals and religious figures, and the alleged anti-corruption crackdown on royals and other business leaders. Liberals whose work was once censored or banned by Wahhabi hard-liners have turned the tables: They now ban what they see as hard-line, such as the censorship of various books at the Riyadh International Book Fair last month. One may applaud such an about-face. But shouldn't we aspire to allow the marketplace of ideas to be open?

I agree with MBS that the nation should return to its pre-1979 climate, when the government restricted hard-line Wahhabi traditions. Women today should have the same rights as men. And all citizens should have the right to speak their minds without fear of imprisonment. But replacing old tactics of intolerance with new ways of repression is not the answer.



BRYAN R. SMITH/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman at the United Nations on March 27 in New York.

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Global Opinions



JASON REZAIAN
GLOBAL OPINIONS WRITER

In a previously unheard interview, Jamal Khashoggi talks Saudi Arabia and freedom with Jason Rezaian

• Originally Published on Oct. 20, 2018

Jamal Khashoggi and I wrote about opposite, but equally troubled, shores of the Persian Gulf for *The Washington Post's* Global Opinions section: Jamal focused on Saudi Arabia, and me on Iran.

This past summer, Jamal and I sat down with Global Opinions editor Karen Attiah for a wide-ranging conversation about the Middle East, Saudi Arabia and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman.

Jamal and I used to call Saudi Arabia and Iran, respectively, home, and then their regimes made clear – in word and deed – that we were no longer welcome to return.

What struck me most at the time was how much we appreciated and cared about Iran and Saudi Arabia. We both wanted better for those societies but could not overlook the abuses, repression and mistakes of their governments.

Both countries are young and dynamic. Most people there want what most people want everywhere: more opportunities, more transparency, more stability.

“Saudi Arabia is a country with 20 million people population. Two-thirds of them are young, less than 30 years old,” Jamal told us. “Mohammed bin Salman is putting all issues — economic, religion — in Saudi Arabia on fast-forward.”

Jamal and I wrote to elevate the desires of everyday Saudis and Iranians and to perhaps encourage the leadership to change course.

“Even some people who do not disagree with me writing, they will say to me, ‘But it is not the right time to say it,’” Jamal said during our conversation. “We are far away from democracy. Democracy in

America and Finland and Denmark, it humbles the leaders. It make the leader accountable to the smallest person in the street. Our leaders? No. Our leaders see themselves as leaders who know best, and people like me and Jason are just hindering the process for their reform.”

Jamal and I didn’t agree on everything, but our exchange is what is needed most right now: open, fact-based discussion about important geopolitical issues.

I’m glad we are able to share Jamal’s thoughtful comments. What a great shame that his voice has been silenced.



POST TV

Months before his disappearance, Post contributor Jamal Khashoggi sat down for a conversation with Global Opinions writer Jason Rezaian and editor Karen Attiah. You can listen to an excerpt from their conversation at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2018/10/20/in-a-previously-unheard-interview-jamal-khashoggi-talks-saudi-arabia-and-freedom/?utm_term=.ec6eddfe7fcc.

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Saudi Khashoggi saw Turkey as base for a new Middle East

BY SARAH EL DEED

Associated Press

• Originally Published October 20, 2018

ISTANBUL — Friends say Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi was a proud Arab who wanted to set up a base in his ancestral homeland of Turkey, contributing to the growing community of exiled Arabs who have taken refuge there.

For Khashoggi, a history lover, the growing Arabic community and Turkey's power in the region echoed aspects of the Ottoman empire, when Istanbul was at the center of a rich and multicultural Middle East. With millions of Arab exiles who fled their homes because of wars or oppression, Turkey has become a fertile ground for talent and ideas, a place where Khashoggi might be able to pursue his own projects, including a pro-democracy group, a media watch group, a forum to translate economic studies and launching online magazines.

Khashoggi was planning to marry his Turkish fiancée on Oct. 3, a day after he walked into the Saudi consulate in Istanbul to get his divorce from a previous marriage confirmed. He had bought a home in Istanbul and friends said he planned to split



Turkey's President Erdogan



Crown Prince Mohammed Bin Salman



Journalist Jamal khashoggi

his time between there and Virginia, where he had owned a condo since 2008.

He never emerged from the consulate. Saudi authorities said Saturday that he died in a brawl involving visiting officials, an account that has drawn wide-spread skepticism. Turkish pro-government media say a Saudi hit squad traveled to Turkey to kill the columnist for *The Washington Post* which has called for an investigation led by a U.N.-appointed panel to determine what happened.

Khashoggi's killing sent a chilling message to the many exiled Arabs who have taken refuge in Turkey. Several anti-government Arab TV stations broadcast from Turkey and Istanbul's Arab Media Association has about 800 members. Turkey has also welcomed thousands of members of Egypt's now-outlawed Muslim Brotherhood group, after its then-President member was ousted from power by the military in 2013. Many Syrian groups opposed to President Bashar Assad have also unsurprisingly converged in neighboring Turkey, where nearly 3 million Syrians have fled to escape the war back home.

Eiad Alhaji, a Syrian filmmaker who was working with Khashoggi on a video about an Ottoman military figure central to Arab-Turkish relations, described their time together after work and interviews.

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“We used to go together to sit and talk, two strangers outside our country and society, about what is happening with the Arabs in Turkey and in America. Me as a Syrian, and him as a Saudi Arabian,” said Alhaji.

“He was pained to be living in exile but at the same time, he was glad to be free in his opinion and new life.”

Another companion, Fatih Oke, of Istanbul’s Arab Media Association, said Khashoggi was an important adviser to the group and “we had plans to establish some projects.”

In his last interviews, Khashoggi declared his support for Turkey’s policy toward Syria, while criticizing his own government’s stance.

Saudi Arabia has grown closer to the U.S. policy in Syria, openly supporting Kurdish-led forces in eastern Syria that Turkey sees as a threat. Khashoggi had criticized his country’s rift with Turkey, arguing that an alliance between the two regional powerhouses should come more naturally than a U.S.-Saudi partnership.

Khashoggi, once a Saudi royal family insider, grew critical of the kingdom’s rulers following their crackdown on opposition, their

war on neighboring Yemen and the severing of ties with the small Gulf state of Qatar.

Khashoggi found a “welcoming place” in Istanbul, said Azzam Tamimi, a British-Palestinian.

“In Istanbul you don’t feel like a stranger, the people, the food, the habits,” Tamimi said. “Also, Turkey’s current political authority has been the closest to Arabs since the fall of the Ottoman Empire a hundred years ago. Erdogan and his party opened up to the Arabs.”

Turkey has itself faced criticism for jailing more journalists during a crackdown after an attempted coup in 2016.

Khashoggi’s ancestors lived in what is today central Turkey. The family’s name means spoon maker and its Turkish spelling is “Kasikci.”

Alhaji, the filmmaker, said Khashoggi was an “encyclopedia” of the region’s history.

Alhaji worked with Khashoggi on a documentary on the life of Fakhreddine Pasha, the last Ottoman governor and military commander in al-Medina who defended the city in modern day

Saudi Arabia against an Arab revolt during World War I.

The siege signaled the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the birth of new Arab states. Khashoggi’s family was displaced during the fighting — some fled to Izmir, in modern Turkey, including his father, while others went to Damascus.

The legacy of Fakhreddine, who fought against the birth of new nation states to preserve Ottoman influence, is a deeply divisive issue between Gulf leaders and Turkey.

Last year, Gulf rulers, critical of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, compared the two, accusing Fakhreddine of robbing them of their heritage by taking manuscripts out of al-Madina to Istanbul as he left. Ankara, which sided with Qatar, responded by naming the street in Ankara of the Emirati embassy after Fakhreddine.

“This period is a turning point for the future of all Arab countries and Middle East,” said Alhaji on what he believed Khashoggi hoped to convey with their project. “We (should) not be focused on Fakhreddine as a biography but we should deal with the history of this period.”