

A young child with curly hair is holding a small portrait of a man with glasses and a mustache. The child is looking directly at the camera. The background is blurred, showing other people. The entire image has a blue tint.

INFO PACK

Murder in a Consulate: The Killing of Jamal Khashoggi

Murder in a Consulate: The Killing of Jamal Khashoggi

© TRT WORLD RESEARCH CENTRE

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

CONTRIBUTORS

Alpaslan OĞUZ
Edebali Murat AKCA
Muhammed Lütfi TÜRKCAN

PUBLISHER

TRT WORLD RESEARCH CENTRE
October 2018

PHOTO CREDIT

ANADOLU AGENCY

TRT WORLD İSTANBUL

AHMET ADNAN SAYGUN STREET NO:83 34347
ULUS, BEŞİKTAŞ
İSTANBUL / TURKEY

TRT WORLD LONDON

PORTLAND HOUSE
4 GREAT PORTLAND STREET NO:4
LONDON / UNITED KINGDOM

TRT WORLD WASHINGTON D.C.

1620 I STREET NW, 10TH FLOOR,
SUITE 1000, 20006
WASHINGTON DC / UNITED STATES

www.trtworld.com

researchcentre.trtworld.com

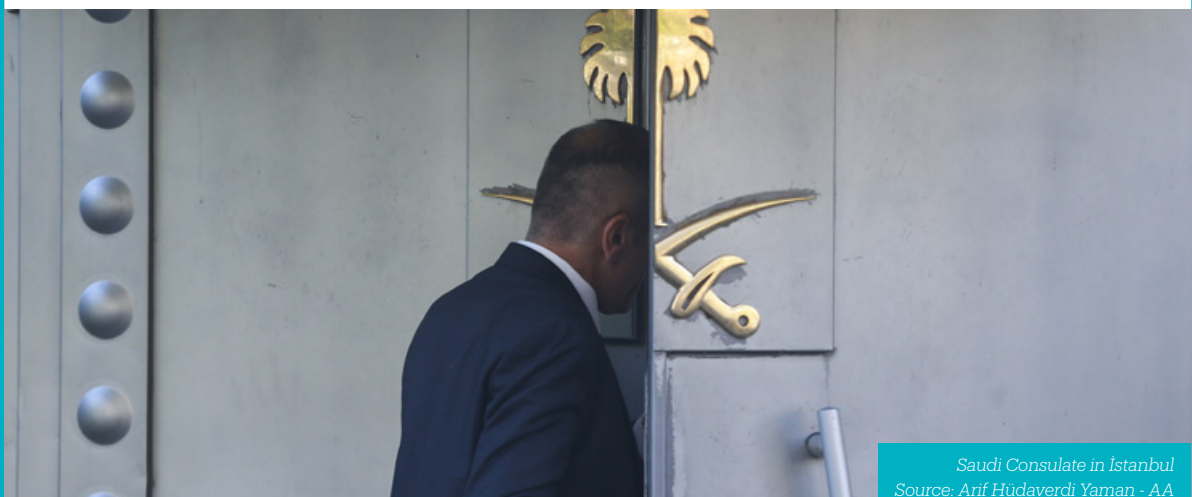
Introduction

The prominent Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi visited the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul on October 2, 2018 to process paperwork for his new marriage. He gave his mobile phone to his fiancée waiting outside the consulate and told her to call an advisor to the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, if he did not emerge within a reasonable amount of time. When Khashoggi failed to emerge from the consulate, his fiancée, Hatice Cengiz, alerted Turkish authorities.

Initially, Saudi Arabia categorically denied that a murder took place in its consulate and claimed that Khashoggi had left the consulate safely from its back door. However, amidst revelations and international pressure, the Saudi Authorities at last admitted on October 20 that Khashoggi was killed. The Saudi version suggests that Khashoggi was in some form of interrogation intended to convince him to return to Saudi Arabia. However, things went “very wrong” and Khashoggi was said to have lost his life in the course of a “brawl” with the interrogators. The official Saudi narrative has been received internationally with widespread skepticism given its incongruence with the evidence that began to emerge. New information and evidence continues to emerge day by day, indicating that the case is far from closed, despite the attempts to put it to rest. Rather than being a case of unintentional death, the availa-

ble evidence seems to point to a poorly-executed premeditated plot to kill the Saudi Journalist. Evidence reveals that a squad of 15 Saudi men, including security and intelligence operatives, conducted the operation. Turkish authorities disclosed that an official from the Saudi consulate travelled to Saudi Arabia on September 29, the day of the first visit of Khashoggi to the consulate, and three days before the operation, suggesting that the operation was planned in Saudi Arabia. Three members of this 15-man squad arrived in Istanbul a day before the operation and scouted the area around the Belgrade Forest in Istanbul as well as locations in the coastal city of Yalova. The remainder of the team arrived in Istanbul on October 2, and was already positioned inside the consulate before Khashoggi entered the building. Later that night, the group of men returned back to Saudi Arabia via Istanbul’s Atatürk International Airport.

This info pack outlines the information gathered so far regarding the murder of Jamal Khashoggi. It gives a detailed account of Khashoggi’s background and political stance. It also explores Saudi Arabia’s recent domestic and foreign policy behaviour under the de-facto rule of Mohammad Bin Salman Al Saud, aka MBS. The info pack also highlights the reactions of Turkey, the US and Saudi Arabia to the murder. Lastly, this document evaluates the potential implications of the murder of Khashoggi.



Saudi Consulate in Istanbul
Source: Arif Hüdaverdi Yaman - AA

A Background to the Saudi Operation and the Turkish Investigation

Turkey continues to investigate the death of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, amidst widespread scepticism about Saudi Arabia's explanation of how he was killed and who ordered the operation.

After almost three weeks after the disappearance Khashoggi, Saudi Arabia confirmed the death of journalist Jamal Khashoggi. The investigation led by Turkish prosecutors has pushed the Saudi authorities to abandon their earlier claim that Khashoggi had left the consulate and that whatever happened to him after that was unknown.

There have been several statements given by senior Turkish officials in the past few weeks to the effect that Khashoggi had been killed and subsequently dismembered inside the consulate. The Saudi narrative has changed a number of times. After having denied that he had been killed, the Saudis released a statement indicating that he had been killed accidentally in the course of fight with his interrogators. Following the release of more evidence and international incredulity at the Saudi version of events, the Saudi public prosecutor has now admitted that Khashoggi was killed in what appears to be a 'premeditated plot'. The Saudis have now sacked five officials, including a key adviser to the crown prince and a top intelligence officer, and arrested eighteen people in con-

TURKEY'S INVESTIGATION INTO THE MURDER OF KHASHOGGI

■ "Murder of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi was premeditated"

■ "Vienna convention would not allow such a 'savage' murder"

■ "Diplomatic immunity, which is a part of the Vienna Convention, will be opened to debate"

■ "It is very important that such a critical investigation should be conducted by a neutral and fair committee"



nection with Khashoggi's death. None of those people are reported to be members of the Saudi royal family.

The Saudi account has done little to satisfy critics who consider it as yet another tactic aiming to deflect blame away from the Saudi Crown Prince. The fact the Saudis took more than two weeks to confirm what Turkish investigators have been saying all along and didn't allow authorities to search diplomatic buildings for 10 days, makes it even harder to believe.

In the meantime, Turkish investigators have been busy interviewing consu-

lar employees, who seemingly provided information that further calls into question the Saudi explanation. Staff members said they were told to take two days off, including October 2, the day Khashoggi entered the consulate. The Turkish prosecution team has also searched the Saudi consul general's residence, as well as a consulate-registered car that were retrieved from a private parking lot.

Consequently, Turkey has been revealing more and more information each day about what they say happened inside the Saudi consulate.



Turkish Police conducting investigation in Saudi Consulate in Istanbul. Source: Onur Çoban - AA

SAUDI ARABIA'S CONSULATE IN ISTANBUL



It has been 24 days since Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi went missing after he entered the Saudi consulate in Istanbul

1 SAUDI ARABIA'S CONSULATE

2 BACK DOOR ENTRY

3 PARKING LOT

4 FRONT DOOR SECURITY CAMERA

5 JAMAL KHASHOGGI'S LAST SEEN SPOT
(OCT. 2 - 1:14 PM)

6 WAITING SPOT OF HATİCE CENGİZ
(FIANCEE OF KHASHOGGI)

Source: Anadolu Agency

Timeline

June 2017

Jamal Khashoggi leaves Saudi Arabia for Washington, DC amid a crackdown on dissent in his native Saudi Arabia.



May 2018

Khashoggi meets Hatice Cengiz, a 36-year-old Turkish Ph.D. student to whom he is soon engaged, at a conference in Istanbul.

September 28, 2018

He visits the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul for the first time to obtain a document he needed in order to be able to marry Hatice Cengiz. Cengiz said that first meeting was positive and said consulate personnel had "welcomed him warmly and assured him that the necessary paperwork would come through".



October 1, 2018

Jamal returns to Istanbul following a trip to London.

October 2, 2018

Khashoggi visits the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul at 13:14 local time, seeking the documents he had previously been promised. His fiancée, Hatice Cengiz, waits for him outside for four hours, but he never comes out and is told by Saudi Consulate personnel that he left out a rear door. Cengiz subsequently contacts the Turkish police.

03:28 The fifteen Saudi suspects arrive at Istanbul Atatürk Airport

05:05 They check in at a hotel near the Saudi consulate in Istanbul

09:55 Six of the suspects leave the hotel

13:14 Khashoggi enters the Saudi consulate

15:08 Two Saudi consulate vehicles leave the premises

15:11 One of the cars arrives at the consul's residence

19:57 - 20:11 The suspects check out of the hotel

21:00 Private jet carrying the suspects takes off from Istanbul Atatürk Airport



October 3, 2018

On Wednesday October 3, a group of people consisting of journalists and civil society representatives gathers at the Consulate claiming that Jamal Khashoggi had been detained and demand for him to be released.

Saudi Arabia's government issues a statement affirming Khashoggi's disappearance but allege he left the consulate building after the appointment.

Meanwhile, Ibrahim Kalin who is a spokesman for Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan makes a statement to the effect that Khashoggi is still inside the consulate: "Our relevant authorities are in contact and engaged in negotiations with their counterparts. I hope this issue will be solved with ease".

October 4, 2018

The government of Saudi Arabia announces that they are following the news that Khashoggi had disappeared and are working with Turkish authorities to find him. The Turkish authorities say that he is still in the building and that an official invitation is required to be able to investigate.



Turkey's foreign ministry summons Saudi Arabia's ambassador to Ankara over the disappearance of Khashoggi. However, the Ambassador denies having any knowledge of his whereabouts. He adds that he would inform authorities once he got further information.

October 5, 2018

In an interview with Bloomberg, the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia Mohammed bin Salman says that Turkish authorities can search the Saudi consulate general in Istanbul. The Crown Prince responds to suggestions that Khashoggi may be in Saudi Arabia saying, "If he was in Saudi Arabia, I would know".

October 6, 2018

Saudi Arabia's Consul General to Istanbul Muhammed al-Otaibi allows Reuters to monitor the building to prove that Khashoggi is not in the mission.

On Saturday night, Reuters quotes two Turkish officials as saying that "he was killed in the consulate". Furthermore, according to Reuters "we believe that the murder was planned and the body has been taken out of the consulate" the official said.

The Istanbul office of the chief prosecutor announces an investigation into the incident.

October 7, 2018

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan says that "My expectations are still based on good faith, I hope we do not face a situation we do want".

October 8, 2018

Turkish officials said they suspect the Washington Post contributor was killed at the Saudi Consulate and that his body was later removed from the building. The Saudi consulate says Khashoggi left its premises.

Erdoğan said the kingdom has the responsibility to prove its claim that the missing Saudi journalist left the consulate alive.

US President Donald Trump says he is concerned about reports of Khashoggi's disappearance.

October 9, 2018

Saudi officials offer to allow Turkey to search the premises of the consulate in Istanbul.

Meanwhile, UN human right expert David Kaye calls for an independent international investigation into the disappearance, urging that the probe "should not be politicised."

"I am confident of the capabilities of Turkish government officials (in the sense of resolving this issue)," Hatice Cengiz, Khashoggi's fiancée, wrote in an article for the Washington Post.

October 10, 2018

Turkish news agency Demirören News Agency (DHA) shares images of the Saudi team entering Turkey.

TRT World also obtained footage showing Khashoggi entering the Saudi consulate on October 2. A screenshot of Khashoggi entering the consulate taken by a Turkish police camera, at 1:14pm on October 2 is the last known image seen of the writer who was living in exile between Washington, DC and Istanbul.

■ October 11, 2018

The Washington Post reported that the Turkish authorities told US officials that they were in possession of audio and video recordings, which showed that Khashoggi was "interrogated, tortured and then murdered" inside the consulate before his body was dismembered. Turkey's Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu said Turkey would release information about what happened with Khashoggi after the completion of the investigation. Reports began circulating in the Turkish media identifying the 15 Saudis who entered Istanbul in the lead-up to Khashoggi's killing as Saudi royal guards, intelligence officers, soldiers and even a forensics expert.

■ October 12, 2018

Trump declares the US will uncover the truth about what happened to Khashoggi. Trump tells reporters that he has not talked to Saudi Arabia's King Salman but will call the royal leader soon. In a statement posted on Twitter, the Saudi Foreign Ministry expressed its appreciation to Turkey for agreeing to form a "joint action team," adding that the kingdom is keen "to sustain the security and safety of its citizenry, wherever they might happen to be." CNN, relying on an anonymous foreign intelligence official, claims that Turkey possesses audio and video recordings from inside the Saudi consulate.

■ October 13, 2018

Turkey's Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu says in London that Turkey expects cooperation from Saudi Arabia in the Khashoggi case. He announces that there is consensus on forming a joint working group with Saudi Arabia to investigate the case. Saudi Arabia's interior minister rejects claims that there were orders given from the highest echelons to kill Khashoggi, describing them as "baseless allegations and lies".



■ October 14, 2018

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in a phone call with Saudi King Salman stresses forming a joint working group to examine the disappearance of Khashoggi, according to a Turkish presidential source.

■ October 15, 2018

US President Donald Trump announces that he has spoken with Saudi King Salman regarding the Khashoggi affair, and that he is dispatching Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to Saudi Arabia. Media reports based on anonymous sources indicate that Saudi Arabia is preparing a statement that would acknowledge that Jamal Khashoggi was killed as the result of an interrogation that went wrong.

■ October 16, 2018

US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo meets with King Salman and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman in Saudi Arabia on the same day. The Consul General of Saudi Arabia, Mohammad al Otaibi, returns to his country.



■ October 17, 2018

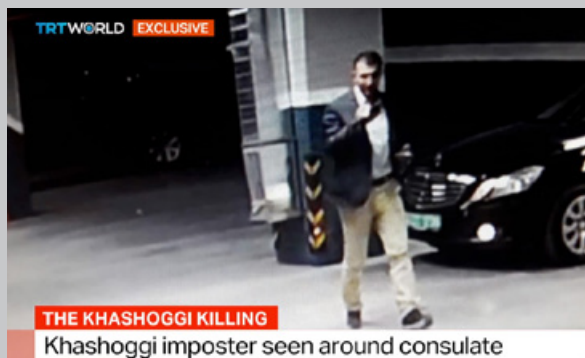
The investigation at the Saudi consul's residence in Istanbul will continue and all consular vehicles use will be inspected, says Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu after his meeting with US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo in Ankara. Çavuşoğlu says Pompeo communicated US President Donald Trump's messages and concerns regarding Khashoggi's disappearance to President Erdogan.

■ October 20, 2018

Saudi Arabia says Jamal Khashoggi was killed in the consulate during a "brawl". Saudi Arabia's public prosecutor announces that their own investigation into Khashoggi's disappearance shows that he was killed during a fight that took place shortly after he arrived at the consulate. He announces that 18 Saudis have been detained in connection with the case. US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo says the US has a "wide range" of potential responses if it is proven that Saudi Arabia is culpable for Khashoggi's death. Çavuşoğlu says that Ankara will share results of investigation on Khashoggi's disappearance with the World.

■ October 22, 2018

The AK Party spokesman says the results of the investigation into journalist's killing will be revealed and that those found responsible will be punished. Police find an abandoned car in a private parking lot in Istanbul with diplomatic plates that indicate it belongs to the Saudi consulate and match those of the car seen outside the building when Khashoggi disappeared.



The Hit Squad Behind Khashoggi's Murder



1. Meshal Saad Albostani, 31

- He came to Istanbul on October 2, 01:45 and left the same day at 21:46.
- He stayed in the

Wyndham Grand Hotel and left the city on a private jet belonging to Sky Prime Aviation.

- Studied at the University of Louisville
- He has been a lieutenant in the Royal Saudi Air Force.
- There are reports that after Khashoggi's disappearance, Albostani died in a suspicious traffic accident.



2. Mustafa Muhammed Almadani, 57

- Almadani is a member of Saudi intelligence.
- He is believed to have come to Istanbul to act as a body double for Khashoggi in an attempt to cover up his murder.
- He is seen on the video footage dressed up in

Khashoggi's clothes leaving the embassy.

- He came to Istanbul on the Sky Prime Aviation jet. He stayed in Mövenpick Hotel. He left at 00:18 on a commercial flight.



3. Maher Abdulaziz Mutreb, 47

- Previously an intelligence colonel stationed at the Saudi Embassy in London.
- It is revealed that he accompanied MBS on several high level visits.
- He came to the Airport on the Sky Prime Aviation jet on 03:38 and left with the same plane, going through the passport control at

17:49. He stayed in the Mövenpick Hotel.



4. Salah Muhammed Tubaigy, 37

- Came to the Ataturk Airport on October 2, 03:38 and left with a Sky Prime Aviation private jet.
- He is an autopsy expert and the chief of forensic evidence in the public security branch of the Saudi Interior Ministry.



5. Naif Hassan S. Alarifi, 32

- In his now-deleted Facebook profile, he was seen in a military uniform.
- He came to Istanbul Ataturk Airport at 16:12, stayed in the Wyndham Grand Hotel and left with the Sky Prime Aviation private jet.



6. Muhammed Saad Alzahrani, 30

- In an Arabic caller-ID app, Alzahrani is defined as a Royal Guard in the Saudi military.
- He came to the Istanbul Ataturk Airport on 16:29 and left with the Sky Prime Aviation private jet.



7. Mansur Othman Abahuseyin, 46

- Lieutenant colonel in the Saudi Civil Defence Unit.
- Came to the Istanbul Ataturk Airport at 16:13, checked in to Wyndham Grand Hotel and left on a commercial flight at 21:45.



8. Halid Aedh Altaibi, 30

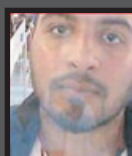
- Member of the Saudi Royal Guard.
- His trips to the US overlap with royal family's visits.
- He came to Istanbul on a commercial flight at 01:44,

stayed in the Wyndham Grand Hotel and left Istanbul the same day going through the passport control at 20:28.



9. Abdulaziz Muhammed Alhawsawi, 31

- Member of the Saudi Royal Guard.
- He came to Istanbul at 01:43, stayed in the Wyndham Grand and left the same day on the Sky Prime Aviation private jet.



10. Waleed Abdullah Alsehri, 38

- Officer in the Saudi Air Force who was promoted to the rank of Major last year.
- He came to Istanbul on the Sky Prime Aviation private jet, checked in through the passport control at 03:41. He stayed in the Mövenpick Hotel and left at 17:44 with the same private jet.



11. Thaar Ghaleb Alharbi, 39

- Promoted to lieutenant last year after the MBS palace attack.
- He came to the Airport on the Sky Prime Aviation jet on 03:41 and left with the same plane, going through the passport control at 17:44. He stayed in the Mövenpick Hotel.



12. Fahad Shabib Albalawi, 33

- Member of the Royal Guard.
- He came to the Airport on the Sky Prime Aviation jet and left with the same plane, checking out the passport control at 17:46. He stayed in Mövenpick Hotel.



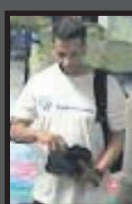
13. Saif Saad Alqahtani, 45

- He works in the royal palace.
- He came to Istanbul on the Sky Prime Aviation jet. He stayed in Mövenpick Hotel. He left at 00:20 on a commercial flight.



14. Türki Müşerref Alsehri, 36

- He came to Istanbul on the Sky Prime Aviation private jet at 03:39 and left with the same plane, checking out the passport control at 17:44. He stayed in Mövenpick Hotel.



15. Badr Lafi Alotaibi, 35

- He came to the Airport on the Sky Prime Aviation jet and left with the same plane, checking out the passport control at 17:44. He stayed in Mövenpick Hotel.

Source: Anadolu Agency

WHO IS AL-MADANI, KHASHOGGI'S BODY DOUBLE?

AFTER THE OCT. 2 KILLING
OF SAUDI JOURNALIST JAMAL
KHASHOGGI, ALL EYES TURNED TO
HIS BODY DOUBLE WHO APPEARED
IN SURVEILLANCE CAMERAS

**MUSTAFA
AL-MADANI**



**JAMAL
KHASHOGGI**



Mustafa Al-Madani, 57, who is of similar age and height, was captured on surveillance cameras in Istanbul on the day Khashoggi was murdered

Al-Madani may be a figure close to Riyadh and King Salman bin Abdulaziz

Al-Madani is believed to be part of the 15-member Saudi hit squad, who was allegedly sent to Istanbul to kill the journalist

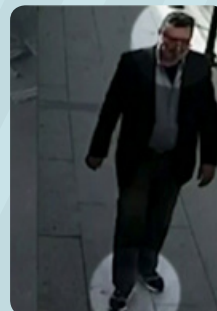


CNN RELEASED SURVEILLANCE FOOTAGE

- A surveillance footage released by CNN shows al-Madani leaving the Saudi consulate by the back door
- The video obtained by CNN also shows al-Madani without a beard and wearing a blue and white shirt and dark blue trousers
- He is also seen in Khashoggi's clothing near the city's Blue Mosque in Sultanahmet district hours after the journalist was seen entering the consulate building on Oct.2



**JAMAL
KHASHOGGI**



**MUSTAFA
AL-MADANI**

Source: Anadolu Agency

Who is Jamal Khashoggi?



Jamal Khashoggi speaking at a conference. Source: Gökhan Balcı - AA

Jamal Khashoggi, a prominent Saudi Journalist killed inside his country's consulate in Istanbul October 2, 2018, was born on 13 October 1958 in Medina, Saudi Arabia. Khashoggi graduated from Indiana State University in the US in 1985 and subsequently started to working as a journalist.

He served as editor-in-chief and editor of Al-Madina newspaper from 1991 to 1999. During this period, he

reported from countries such as Afghanistan and Bosnia and famously interviewed former Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. He also worked as an executive at Arab News and was, for a short time, the editor-in-chief of the Saudi daily Al-Watan.

Following the publication of articles criticizing the structure of the Saudi state, he was dismissed from his post at Al-Watan. After this incident, he began to work as a media consultant for Prince Turki Al Faisal, a former ambassador of Saudi Arabia to the UK and the US. In 2008, Khashoggi was reinstated to Al-Watan as editor-in- chief and was again unseated owing to critical articles published in 2010. In 2015 Jamal was a contributor the

the Al Arab news channel financed by Saudi Prince Al-Walid bin Talal. However, following an interview with a Bahraini opposition figure, the channel was shut down. .

In September 2017, he took up residence in Washington DC and became a regular contributor to the influential American newspaper, the Washington Post.

Khashoggi's thoughts on the Arab Spring

■ Khashoggi was known to have supported the principles of the Arab Spring and believed that Arab countries needed to adopt a more democratic system.

■ In an interview with Der Spiegel in 2011, speaking on the Arab Spring Khashoggi said:

■ "Everyone wants modernity, but no one wants to face the side effect of it. One day, like other nations, this nation will reform. We need freedom, transparency, and rule of law, an elected prime minister and a real parliament".

■ "What will happen if the democracy struggle succeeds in Tunisia and Egypt? We cannot afford to remain politically isolated".

■ "History is flowing and no one can stop it".

In his final article published by the Washington Post posthumously, he emphasized that " 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". He added that as a result, the Arabs in other countries are either unaware of the developments or misinformed. Finally, he highlighted that "the Arab world was full of hope in the fall of 2011. However, all expectations were quickly destroyed. Arab societies went back to the old status quo, and faced even more challenging conditions than previously".

Khashoggi and Saudi Arabia

He had close relations with the highest level of the Saudi royal family and was assigned to various prominent positions in the kingdom. Yet, his critical approach became an issue for him, particularly his stance on political reform and democratisation in Saudi Arabia.

Since leaving of Saudi Arabia, Khashoggi used his platform with the Washington Post (and other media outlets) to emphasize the negative fallout from censorship of media freedoms in Saudi Arabia, calling out Salman specifically for not fulfilling his promises. In this regard, he spoke of media censorship in his final article, published posthumously by the Washington Post:

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.

"Muhammed Bin Salman has full control over TV and digital content that is produced in the kingdom," he mentioned in a column in February 2018, following the arrest and detention in the Ritz Hotel in Riyadh of prominent businessmen and royals, ostensibly to combat corruption.

Another issue relates to Khashoggi's views regarding the Muslim Brotherhood. Although he was not a member of Muslim Brotherhood, he acknowledged that the movement, and other grassroots forces, represented the voice of a significant number of people in the Arab world and that rulers should take them and their ideas into consideration. He particularly emphasized the pro-democracy sentiments articulated by the movement as being representative of a wider desire among citizens of Arab countries. Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia and its allies continued to mobilize against the perceived threat that the Brotherhood represented.



Activists hold a candlelight vigil outside the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul October 25, 2018. Source: Muhammed Enes Yıldırım - AA

Saudi Arabia under the Rule of MBS

When King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz died in January 2015, Salman became the king at the age of 79. Upon assuming the throne, King Salman made two important decisions in April 2015: first, he named his nephew, Muhammad bin Nayef, as Crown Prince and second, he appointed his son, Mohammed bin Salman (MBS), as Deputy Crown Prince. Retaining his position as the Defence Minister, MBS launched a military campaign in Yemen in the same year and pursued an aggressive strategy to increase his grip on power. In June 2017, breaking the traditional line of succession that passes to the eldest brother, King Salman deposed Muhammad bin Nayef from all his positions and appointed MBS as the Crown Prince, making him next in line to the throne.

As MBS consolidated his power, he positioned himself as a reformer who intended to modernise his country through economic, cultural, political and social reforms. MBS's image as modernising reformer has been welcomed by many western countries, particularly by the US. Western media outlets draw attention to MBS' reformist agenda praising him as the long-awaited saviour who would transform the country in line with western values and standards. He has also represented himself as an adherent to so-called 'moderate Islam' as opposed to the extremist representations that have commonly been associated with Saudi Arabia and its promotion of Salafism.

MBS: Change or Smokescreen?

■ MBS introduced an overly ambitious plan called "Vision 2030" that outlines the goals that would allegedly transform the country from being an oil-dependent economy to one that is diversified and self-reliant.

■ While many experts expressed scepticism about its feasibility, Vision 2030 is said to be diversifying the Saudi economy, investing in critical infrastructure and in the public sector areas, as well as seeking to attract more foreign investment into the kingdom.

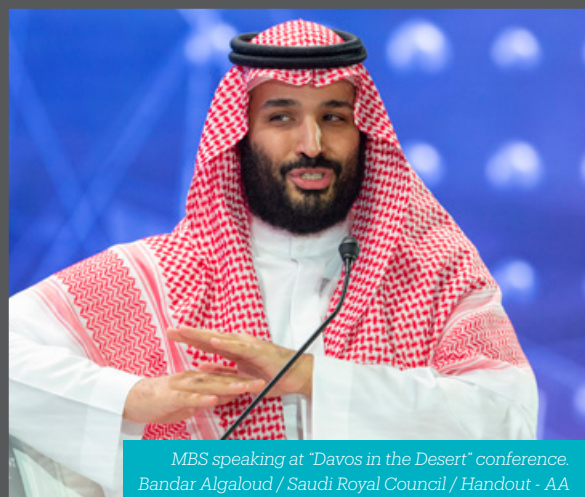
■ According to this vision, new policies would be implemented in order to develop the public sector including education, health, tourism and recreation.

■ A decades-old ban on women driving has officially been ended this year. Yet, this came amid a harsh crackdown on women rights activists in the kingdom.

■ As part of the plans announced by MBS, the first movie theatre in over 35 years was opened in the kingdom. Concerts are also now permitted to take place, however dancing during concerts is forbidden. Sporting events were opened to women and families for the first time. These moves are said to have opened more space for women in the public sphere. However, women's organisations continue to express deep concerns about the status of women in the kingdom.

■ Despite his announced intentions for change and his carefully-established image as a moderniser, MBS has proved on several occasions that he is more concerned with consolidating power than transforming the country. He spent huge budgets on lobbying and public relations to project a positive image for Western media consumption.

■ He continues to be perceived as a power grabber on the international scene in his pretended attempt to curb the influence of Iran.



MBS speaking at "Davos in the Desert" conference.
Bandar Algaloud / Saudi Royal Council / Handout - AA

Despite his attempts to make historic reforms and his carefully-established image as moderniser, MBS has proved on several occasions that he is more concerned with consolidating power than transforming the country. As such, he has sought to suppress any form of dissent and has

jailed those who are opposed to his policies while projecting an image of a modern ruler and a reformer. He continues to work to establish himself as a regional leader seeking to increase the international profile of the kingdom as well as to curb the influence of Iran.

The War in Yemen

■ In March of 2015, Saudi Arabia, together with UAE, launched an intense aerial campaign against the Houthis in Yemen.

■ According to human rights organizations, the Saudi-led coalition has indiscriminately targeted civilians, including children and critical infrastructure, including hospitals and water management services.

■ Over 10 000 people have been killed and millions of others displaced or become dependent on humanitarian assistance to survive in Yemen.

■ This toll has been exacerbated by "the worst famine in 100 years" according to the UN. More than 8 million Yemenis are considered 'food insecure' and at risk of starvation.

■ According to the WHO, harsh conditions and malnutrition threatens millions of Yemeni, approximately 500,000 of whom are children.

■ The war in Yemen has left more than 16,000 civilian casualties; over 6,000 of them are children.

■ According to Save the Children, at least 349 civilians have been killed between June and September 2018 in the city of Hodeidah. Save the Children have stated that an internationally mediated ceasefire is urgently needed in order to protect civilians.

■ According to a UN Human Rights Council report, the Saudi-led coalition may have been responsible for war crimes including rape, torture, disappearances and "deprivation of the right to life" during the war in Yemen.

GCC crisis

■ On 5 June 2017, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain and Egypt cut diplomatic ties with Qatar and imposed a sea, land and air blockade.

■ The Saudi led-bloc demanded Qatar close Al Jazeera, end its alleged support for terrorism, cut ties with Iran and end support for the Muslim brotherhood.

■ Qatar refused to comply with the demands of the bloc and denied any claim regarding the support for terrorism.

■ In the following weeks, Qatar's imports dropped nearly 40 percent compared to the previous year, yet, Qatar successfully managed the situation by seeking out new trade routes, investing in domestic firms and implementing effective economic policies.

■ The Qatar Crises is regarded as a repercussion of MBS's ambition to become the leading regional

power in the Gulf and the wider Middle East, and as part of his strategic objective to contain the influence of Iran.



President Trump, King Salman and President Sisi put their hands on an illuminated globe in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia on May 21, 2017.
Source: Bandar Algaloud / Saudi Royal Council / Handout - AA

The Ritz-Carlton purge

■ In 2017, more than 200 high-level Saudi officials, including members of the Saudi royal family, ministers and businessmen, were arrested as part of an anti-corruption probe and detained in the Ritz-Carlton hotel in Riyadh.

■ Saudi billionaire Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, who was listed on time Magazine's hundred most influential people in the world in 2008, was among those arrested.

■ At the end of the probe, the Saudi officials stated that more than \$100bn had been recovered following financial settlements concluded with the detainees. The charges against them were never made public.

■ The anti-corruption sweep was considered as MBS's attempt to sideline people considered as present and future political threats to MBS's project.

Detention of human right activists

■ According to the UN, over 60 prominent activists, religious leaders and journalists have been detained since September as part of the latest crackdown on dissidents in Saudi Arabia.

■ Salman al-Awdah, a prominent Islamist preacher who is considered as a 'reformist' and a supporter of increased human rights within the kingdom, is among those arrested.

■ Dozens of rights activists have been detained this year, including those who campaigned for women's right to drive and the removal of the male guardianship system.

■ Aziza al-Yousef and Loujain Alhathloul, two prominent activists were arrested in May along with many others. Loujain Alhathloul was known for her attempt to cross Saudi-AUE border while driving in 2014.

■ Samar Badawi and Nassima al-Sadah, who have been previously targeted by the Saudi state with travel bans, detention and harassment due to their activities calling for women's rights, are also among the women rights activists held in jail.

■ The diplomatic fallout from the arrest of Samar Badawi and other women rights activists resulted in the expulsion of the Canadian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, recall its own Ambassador from Canada, and announce a freeze in additional trade deals with the Canadians.

■ The crackdown on human rights activists has revealed that there is very little room for criticism of or opposition to the policies of MBS in the country.

Lebanon's PM resignation

■ On November 3, 2017 the Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri travelled to Saudi Arabia to hold official meetings with King Salman and Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman. On the second day of his visit, Saad Hariri unexpectedly resigned from his post as Prime Minister in a live broadcasting on a Saudi-owned television channel, citing threats to his life and political interference from Iran.

■ This surprising resignation came amidst the Saudi anti-corruption purge that resulted in the arrest of dozens of top Saudi officials and businessmen.

■ Following the intervention of French President Emmanuel Macron, Hariri returned to Lebanon two weeks later and declared his decision to suspend his resignation at the request of Lebanese President Michel Aoun in a bid to avoid a major political crisis.

■ Much of the analysis of this unprecedented event indicated that Hariri was compelled to resign by MBS as part of

schema to replace him with a more pro-Saudi personality, willing to confront Hezbollah in order to counter Iran's interference in the region.



Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri Source: Lebanese Presidency / Handout

Why was Khashoggi Killed?

Before named as the crown prince, MBS was known as a young, ambitious and modernizing face of the Al-Saud family. However, he was also said to have aspirations for Saudi Arabia's regional dominance, exemplified by the destructive war in Yemen.

After being appointed as the crown prince by his father King Salman in June 2017 following the removal of Muhammad bin Nayef, King Salman's nephew, he initiated his reform agenda. Regulations restricting the power of religious police,

different roles. He was loyal to the Saudi elite, working closely with the regime in different positions as an advisor. However, when MBS appeared on the scene of power within the Al-Saud family in 2015, Khashoggi's ties with the regime began to loosen.

He was warned by the regime on several occasions regarding his critical writings of the government's policies. Although Khashoggi was not always critical of MBS's policies, particularly during the initial period of the reform



MBS at Gulf Cooperation Council meeting, Pool / Bandar Algaloud - AA

allowing women to drive and the Saudi Vision 2030 project aiming to decrease the dependence on oil by diversifying its economy are some examples of these reforms.

While initiating such reforms to signal that Saudi Arabia was undertaking a modernization of state and society, the Crown Prince initiated a crackdown on dissidents at home and abroad.

A wave of arrests took place targeting journalists, writers, intellectuals, clerics, businessman and women's right advocates. While MBS was portrayed as a reformist, he simultaneously initiated a crackdown seeking to silence opposition voices.

Khashoggi did not consider himself as a dissident of the Saudi regime. Instead, he always conveyed himself as a reformer for better democratic standards in Saudi Arabia. He worked as a journalist in many Saudi media networks in

process, the pressure on him eventually led him to leave the country for the US. Following the crackdown on the opposition and MBS's consolidation of power at home, Khashoggi began to openly criticize the regime from his column at the Washington Post.

What makes Khashoggi a threat to the Saudi regime stems from his personality and non-alignment with any particular opposition group.

He acknowledged the fact that the Arab Spring was represented a seminal moment for the region and although he did not have any direct ties with the Muslim Brotherhood, he also acknowledged that understanding the Muslim Brotherhood is vital to understanding the people of these Arab nations as they represent a considerable portion of societies in their respective countries. He suggested that the Saudi leadership should take these mass movements and protests into serious consideration.

How Did Turkey Handle the Murder of Khashoggi?

Following the call of Khashoggi's fiancée, Hatice Cengiz, to Yasin Aktay, an advisors of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkish authorities started to investigate the case. The Turkish authorities announced that they believe that Khashoggi have not left the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul and there was evidence suggesting that Khashoggi may have been murdered.

Since the October 2, when Khashoggi went missing after entering the Saudi Consulate, Turkey has been addressing the case with an utmost attention. Turkey accused Saudi Arabia of not being transparent and cooperative with the investigation. The initial claims of the Saudi authorities, which suggest that Khashoggi left the consulate from the back door were dismissed by the Turkish authorities.

Moreover, through leaks to Turkish media, it was claimed that there was an audio recording of what took place inside the consulate. According to this alleged audio recording, it was claimed that Khashoggi was interrogated, tortured, and finally murdered by a purported Saudi hit team who arrived in Istanbul on October 2nd. Turkish sources claimed that the hit team was composed of 15 people including a forensic expert. Later, a report by the New York Times suggested that some of the Saudis who entered Turkey on October 2nd, were close associates of MBS.

Turkish sources claimed that Khashoggi was killed inside the consulate by a hit team and the body was dismembered to get rid of any evidence of the murder. The pressure from the Turkish side on Saudi Arabia led to a joint investigation on the case. Saudi authorities allowed Turkish police to enter the consulate for the investigation. Based on this investigation, a report was released by the Turkish police suggesting that there was new evidence, which supported the claim that Khashoggi was killed inside the consulate.

Amid growing international pressure, Saudi Arabia's King Salman spoke to Turkish President Erdogan on October 20th. Hours later it was admitted by Saudi authorities that Khashoggi was killed during a

"brawl" inside the consulate. It is said that the Saudis were trying to convince Khashoggi to return to Saudi Arabia and things went terribly wrong, turned violent and resulted in Khashoggi's death. Those responsible then tried to cover up the killing. This was followed by dismissal of 5 high-ranking Saudi intelligence officers and 18 detentions.

Trump on Khashoggi

The Trump administration appeared ready to accept the Saudi version of the story from the beginning. President Trump first put forward the "rogue killers" theory. Later, this theory was used by the Saudis as part of their admission of Khashoggi's death at the consulate.

Even after it was accepted by the Saudis that Khashoggi was killed inside the consulate by Saudi intelligence agents, the Trump administration's comment on the Saudi regime's admission was that "it is a good first step". Trump further said that the Saudi's story was convincing. Later, amid the pressure on Trump administration, calls for a deeper and transparent investigation took place. When asked by reporters about any possible arms sales sanctions on Saudi Arabia, President Trump responded "I would prefer we don't use as retribution cancelled \$110 billion worth of work", referring to the arms deal between the US and Saudi Arabia amounting \$110 billion.



President Trump hosts MBS at White House. Bandar Algaloud / Saudi Kingdom Council / Handout - AA

THE PRINCE'S MEN

As the veil of mystery surrounding the murder of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi lifts, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad bin-Salman moves to put the blame on a number of people closest to him

THESE FOUR PEOPLE
--"THE PRINCE'S MEN"--
ARE SUSPECTED OF
PLAYING A MAJOR
ROLE IN THE
MURDER



The crown prince has spent a substantial fortune in lobbying to change the impression about his country in the international arena and yet the murder of Khashoggi damaged his image to the extent beyond his imagination.

CROWN PRINCE
MOHAMMAD BIN SALMAN



Royal court adviser
**SAUD BIN ABDULLAH
AL-QAHTANI**

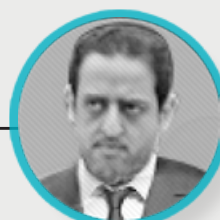


Known as the head of the 'Electronic Files' that run smear campaigns on social media targeting dissidents against Saudi Arabia's new administration led by bin-Salman



Deputy head of the Al-Mukhabarat Al-A'mahi
BRIG, GEN, AHMAD ASIRI

Made a name as the spokesman for the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen



Colonel-Royal Guard
**MAHER ABDULAZIZ
MUTREB**



Head of the 15-man team that arrived in Istanbul on the day of the murder. London-based daily Al-Quds Al-Arabi claimed he planned the murder



Head of the Saudi Scientific Council of Forensics
**SAHAL MUHAMMED
AL-TUBAIGY**



According to London-based daily Al-Araby Al-Jadeed, he is known as 'bin Salman's man'.

Source: Anadolu Agency

Erdoğan's Speech on Khashoggi Killing on October 23, 2018

This murder took place in Saudi Arabia's consulate building which is considered Saudi soil. However, it should be remembered that it is still within Turkey's borders. Furthermore, the Vienna Convention, as well as other forms of international law, cannot allow the investigation of such a brutal murder to be concealed under diplomatic immunity. We will surely investigate this murder committed within our borders.

Furthermore, Jamal Khashoggi is not just a Saudi citizen but also an internationally renowned journalist, which gives us an additional responsibility on an international level. Turkey is following up on this matter not just as a matter of its right to sovereignty, but also on behalf of the international community and the collective conscience of humanity.

All the information and evidence that has been uncovered thus far lead to the conclusion that Jamal Khashoggi was the victim of a gruesome murder. Concealing such an atrocity would hurt the collective conscience of humanity. We expect the same sensitivity from all parties in the matter, especially the Saudi Arabian administration.

The Saudi administration has taken a significant step by admitting to the murder. From now on, we expect them to openly identify all of those responsible in the event, from the highest to the lowest level, and punish them before the law. We have strong indications that the murder was not the result of a spontaneous event but that of a planned operation.

In light of the existing information, these questions continue to be on people's minds:

- Why did the 15 people, all connected to the event, meet in Istanbul on the day of the murder?
- On whose orders did these people come

■ Why was the consulate building opened for investigation days after [the event] and not immediately?

■ Why were there so many inconsistent statements made despite it being so obvious that it was a murder?

■ Why is the body of a person who was admittedly murdered still absent?

■ If the statement that the body was given to a local accomplice is true, then who is this local accomplice?



Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.
Source: Gökhan Balci - AA

Blaming this on some security and intelligence officers will satisfy neither us nor the international community. The conscience of humanity will only be satisfied when all those from the person who gave the order to anybody who carried it out are brought to account. Personally, I do not doubt the sincerity of the Custodian of the Two Mosques, King Salman bin Abdul Aziz.

With that said, it is of utmost importance that such a critical investigation be led by a truly impartial and just committee — nobody connected to the murder should be

a part of the investigation team. Considering that this was a political killing, accomplices in various different countries — if they do exist — have to be investigated.

This is required by international law, Islamic law and, I believe, also by Saudi law. As Turkey, we will follow this matter until the very end, making sure that whatever international law and our legislation require will get done.

In fact, I am making a call from here today. This call is to the high-level officials, primarily King Salman bin Abdul Aziz. The incident took place in Istanbul. Therefore, the adjudication of these 15 plus three, these 18 people, should be carried out in Istanbul. That is my proposal.



**JAMAL
KHASHOGGI**

WORLD NOT SATISFIED WITH SAUDI EXPLANATION ON KASHOGGI

Global leaders, governments and international organisations are not satisfied with the Saudi explanation of journalist Jamal Khashoggi's killing



"On this issue [Khashoggi's killing], I will make statements hopefully on Tuesday during the [ruling Justice and Development (AK) Party's weekly] group meeting. Why did these 15 people come here [in Istanbul], why were 18 people arrested [in Saudi Arabia]? These need to be explained in detail."

RECEP TAYYIP ERDOĞAN Turkish President



THE U.K., FRANCE AND GERMANY CONDEMNED THE KILLING OF KHASHOGGI IN A JOINT STATEMENT

"Nothing can justify this killing and we condemn it in the strongest possible terms, yet there remains an urgent need for clarification of exactly what happened on Oct. 2 -- beyond the hypotheses that have been raised so far in the Saudi investigation, which need to be backed by facts to be considered credible"



Chancellor Angela Merkel demanded urgent clarification on Khashoggi's killing, saying: "As far as arms exports are concerned, those can't take place in the current conditions."

GERMANY



Brexit Secretary Dominic Raab said "I don't think it's credible" on Saudi Arabia's explanation

U.K.



President Donald Trump told reporters he thinks Saudi Arabia's explanation was credible, adding he did not think he has been lied to during conversations with Saudi Arabia's senior leaders

US



French Foreign Ministry: "Verifying that Khashoggi was killed is the first step towards revealing the truth. Many questions are still unanswered."

FRANCE



Spain's written statement said the perpetrators of the incident should pay the price of it before justice "after a wide-scope and transparent investigation"

SPAIN



Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte called for further investigation into the incident, saying: "Thorough investigation is necessary."

NETHERLANDS



Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland in a statement on Saturday criticised Saudi Arabia's explanation. "The explanations offered to date lack consistency and credibility," she said.

CANADA



"The fact that the Saudis last night confirmed that he died, after previously insisting he left the consulate alive, shows that we haven't been told the full truth," Danish Prime Minister Lars Lokke Rasmussen said

DENMARK



UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres stressed on "the need for a prompt, thorough and transparent investigation into the circumstances of Mr. Khashoggi's death and full accountability for those responsible"

UN



"EU, like its partners, insists on the need for continued thorough, credible and transparent investigation, shedding proper clarity on the circumstances of the killing and ensuring full accountability of all those responsible for it" the High Representative Mogherini said

EU



"The New Zealand government continues to condemn in the strongest possible terms the killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi by Saudi operatives," statement said

NEW ZEALAND



Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison: "We deplore the killing of Jamal Khashoggi... We expect the Saudi government to cooperate fully with Turkish authorities regarding the investigation of this matter"

AUSTRALIA

Source: Anadolu Agency

What is next: Potential Implications?



Saudi Consulate in Istanbul
Source: Arif Hüdaverdi Yaman - AA

■ The reformist image of MBS that has been created by huge PR campaigns and millions of dollars spent on lobbyists has been tarnished as a result of the murder of Jamal Khashoggi. After becoming Crown Prince and consolidating his power, MBS sent powerful messages to the world that he was going to modernize the country in accordance with the expectations of the Western countries and open Saudi society to the wider world. Convincing the White House that Saudi Arabia under the rule of MBS would be a workable partner became the number one priority. The reforms were praised by many western journalists, intellectuals and leaders, particularly in the media, which presented MBS as a visionary and ambitious young leader who would alter the direction of the country for the better. Yet, despite his rhetoric, MBS sought to repress opposition through arbitrary detentions and public smear campaigns, which went mostly unnoticed by the media. Many in the western world continued to maintain their belief in MBS as a reformer even while he was holding over 200 top officials and royals in a luxury hotel as part of the anti-corruption probe. Additionally, the Saudi-led coalition's reported killings of civilians and children during the war in Yemen did not draw much attention. After largely positive coverage in the international media and with the increased concerns over MBS's ambition to consolidate his power, it appears that MBS will not remain unscathed from the tragic killing of Jamal Khashoggi. This may lead to questioning of MBS's policies within the country thereby reducing his grip on power. In addition, regional and international players might start questioning the ambitious foreign policy choices of MBS in Yemen, GCC and other areas.

■ Since the beginning of the incident, Turkey has started an investigation into the disappearance of Khashoggi,

and took seriously the allegations that he was murdered inside the Saudi Consulate. As the investigation unfolded, Turkey shared new evidence corroborating Khashoggi's murder and shed light on what actually happened in the Consulate. Turkey also kept diplomatic channels open with Saudis as well as other leaders in order to deepen the investigation. As such, a joint working group between Turkey and Saudi Arabia to investigate Khashoggi killing was established. From the day one, Turkey painstakingly went after the case and ensured that the investigation continued no matter the results. Together with the pressures of the international community, Turkey managed to keep the case in the headlines thereby preventing the issues from being swept under the rug. As a result of their handling of this incident, Turkey enhanced its perception as a capable, powerful and reliable country both in the region and across the world.

■ The White House's approach towards the disappearance and murder of Khashoggi cast doubts on US's self-assumed moral authority. As leaks and new information continued to emerge, the Trump administration remained hesitant. Trump showed an inclination to trust the Saudi version of the story even as the evidence indicated otherwise. President Trump invoked the billions of dollars in arms contracts with the Saudis, stating that he does not want to jeopardise American jobs over this affair. Taken together with the other human rights violations that the Saudis committing in its domestic and external affairs; such as oppression of opposition, imprisonment of rights activists, the Yemen War, that went unnoticed by the Trump administration, the US's condoning behaviour towards violence against masses or individuals decreases its position as being a moral authority over the global affairs.

