

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

The Republic of Turkey and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have established their diplomatic relation since a long time ago. It was started in 1932 specifically after the establishment of the new Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018) Since then, the relation between these two countries become broader when both of them are the member of Islamic Organization named *Organization Islamic Cooperation* (OIC) that was build in 1969 that one of the goals is to strengthen the Islamic cooperation between member-countries. (Muradyan, 2016)

It is undeniable that during their bilateral relations, Turkey and Saudi Arabia experienced the dynamic of problems that affected to their relationship, such as in the year of 1990s both countries relation were getting tense because of the Saudi Arabia took side on Syiria when they have several disputes with Turkey. But then in 2000 when the Justice and Development Party (AKP) was obtain power in Turkey under President Reccep Tayyip Erdogan administration, it gave a big influence to the relation between Turkey and Saudi Arabia where these two countries found a tight footing relation because of President Erdogan want to focus on the party's relationship with the islamism. (Demirkol, 2015) Other than that in the case of the US invansion of Iraq in 2003, Turkey and Saudi Arabia getting closer since both of them feeling concerned about Iraq that fall into the hands of their common rival, Iran. (CNN-INTERNATIONAL.COM, 2003) When it comes to the year of 2011 in which there was a huge protest of demonstrations that known as Arab Spring,

Turkey and Saudi Arabia were started to show the different point of view. It was proved by the two attitudes taken which are very contradictory. Turkey here looks welcome the revolutions and the new form of government. Saudi Arabia, in contrast, viewed the start of the revolutions with a mixture of concern and scepticism also see this action as a destabilizing condition. (Momani, 2013) This disagreement point of views reach to the peak when it comes to Egypt where Mohammad Morsi, who was closely associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, won that Egypt's first post-Hosni Mubarak administration election in 2012. In this case, Mr. Erdogan supported Muhammad Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood's to have power in which it was opposed by Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states such as United Arab Emirates that have a long history of unfriendliness with the all Muslim Brotherhood in the Arab World. (Sassounian, 2014) Not only that, Turkey and Saudi Arabia again showed the opposite views in the Qatar crisis that occurred in 2017. Arab Saudi along with the Bahrain, the UAE and Egypt detached all of their relations with Qatar and decided to enforce economic blockade as the last support for muslim. Turkey, in responding to this case tried to expand its engagement with Qatar, offering economic aid and sending troops to its small military base in Qatar. (BBC NEWS, 2017)

Indeed, to interpret the Turkey's relation with Saudi Arabia is quite complicated after a long relationship history that has begun since 1932 and experienced pros and cons point of views in facing the issues that involving the influence of these two countries. Even today, Turkey-Saudi Arabia relations called Fremies (Friend and Enemies) that describe these two countries posture which sometimes have a different perspective but still needed each other.

Entering the end of 2018 on October 2<sup>nd</sup> , the International World was shocked by the news of the Journalist murder from the United States who has the Saudi Arabia Citizenship that was killed in Saudi Arabia Consulate in Turkey when he wants to arrange his marriage documents. In the result of the investigation there is no clarity regarding how the Khashoggi died and where his body placed that makes many people wonder about this tragic murder. (Eneng Susanti, 2018) As the host country of this murder incident, Turkey does not just remain silent but takes immediate action as the responses. Turkey's President, Mr. Recep Tayyip Erdogan has demanded extradition of suspects and a court in Turkey issued an arrest warrant for former Saudi intelligence chief Ahmad al-Assiri and former adviser to the royal family Saud al-Qahtani, on December 5th 2018 but it was being rejected by Saudi Arabia then Turkey replied by did not want to share the evidences such as audio recordings and others evidences that Turkey found during the investigation to the Saudi Arabia. (BBC NEWS, 2018)

In seeing on how these two countries response to each other in this case, it makes the relation between them is getting worse. It was shown by a Saudis Campaign to boycott Turkish products. (Kompas.com, 2018) Meanwhile Turkey here keep moving to investigate more deeply about this case while they also found evidence that show about 15 Saudi individuals in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul made four phone calls to the Mohammad bin Salman crown prince's office. (BBC NEWS, 2018) With all the evidences that Turkey had, those made Turkey to be more convinced that Saudi Arabia was involved behind this murder and decided to continue its accusation towards Saudi Arabia.

## **B. Research Question**

From the background of the problem that has been elaborated, the writer found a subject matter, namely:

Why did Turkey accuse Saudi Arabia to be involved in the Jamal Khashoggi murder incident?

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

### 1. The Theory of Foreign Policy

In understanding how the process of making a foreign policy, it's really important to understand the meaning of foreign policy first. According to Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, the definition of Foreign Policy is as follows :

*“Foreign policy is a strategy or planned course or action developed by the decision makers of state and vis a vis other states or international entities aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interest. A specific foreign policy carried on by a state may be the result of an initiative by that state or may be a reaction to initiative undertaken by other states.”*

(International Relation Dictionary, 1969)

Based on the explanation above, it could be understood that Foreign Policy is a strategy or actions that being planned by the decision makers of a country to other country or the international entities in order to achieve a particular goals that in line with the National Interest. The Foreign Policy makers in deciding a policy need to consider about the national interest of the country because basically

a country's foreign policy was born from the national interest of the country itself. Therefore, it also necessary to understand about the concept of national Interest.

## 2. The Concept of National Interest

In understanding the concept of National Interest there is a book titled 'The National Interest in International Relations Theory' that emphasized two important analysis of the term 'the national interest' as it is used and understood in both the conduct of diplomacy and in the study of international politics. *First* the Idea of National Interest by Charles A. Beard which his investigation traces the earliest claims made on behalf of the national interest back to sixteenth-century Italy and seventeenth-century England when 'reasons of state', 'dynastic interests' and the 'will of the sovereign' began to lose their efficiency and were replaced by a term which more accurately reflected changes that were occurring in contemporary forms of political diplomacy. Beard's study is important because it explains how 'the national interest' as an idea and the rise of the nation-state as a modern form of political association were adjacent. *Second* it based on Frankel, the objective national interests are those which relate to a nation-state's ultimate foreign policy goals, independent of but discoverable by policy makers through systematic enquiry. These are permanent interests, comprising factors such as geography, history, neighbours, resources, population size and ethnicity. (Burchill, 2005)

There are also two basic ways to learn about the national interest: logical-deductive and empirical deductive. A logical deductive formulation assumes that states will pursue certain objectives in particular, preserving territorial and

political integrity. Meanwhile the empirical deductive where the national interest is induced from the statements and behavior of central decision makers. (D.Krasner, 1978)

Furthermore, according to Morgenthau, the basic meaning of the concept of national interest is survival, the ability of the nation-state is to protect its physical, political and cultural identity from the disturbances of other nation-states. In a more specific sense, the nation-state must be able to maintain its territorial integrity, maintain its economic-political regime and maintain its ethnic, religious, linguistic and historical norms. (Mas'ood, Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Disiplin dan Metodologi, 1990)

National interest can be said as the goals of the state in designing its foreign policy. National Interest has four basic purposes (**4p**) such as : (Jentleson, 2019)

- **Power** is the main requirement for the most basic goals of foreign policy, self-defense and maintaining national and regional independence.
- **Peace**, in which the final purpose of the national interest is to promote and to achieve peace.
- **Prosperity**, Foreign policy motivated by prosperity goals gives high priority to national economic interests.
- **Principles**, one of the core objectives of national interests is the principle, where the principle involves values, ideas, and beliefs.

Based on the explanation about the concept of national interest above, the correlation

with the case that the writer examine is that, here Turkey is actually conducting its Foreign Policy that based on its national interest proposed to the Saudi Arabia Government through intervene deeply by accusing Saudi Arabia who who is being involved in the case of Jamal Khasoggi Murder . Turkey's national interest is aimed for the most basic goals of foreign policy which is **POWER** interest for the sake of self-defense to maintain its national and regional independence. As the host country where this murder incident happened, Turkey directly took immediate action to investigate this case, because it is actually threatens the stability of the turkish region's security especially in the tourism sector.

Furthermore, this case could bring a positive impact for Tukey's strategic position in which Turkey want to have a big influence in the Middle East and want to become the Muslim World Leader. As we know, Turkey and Saudi Arabia both aspire to become leaders of the Muslim world, but the struggle for power is not just about belief, political influence and economic benefits that can be given can also change things. Therefore, Turkey is really utilizing this case, to get sympathy as well as to prove that Saudi Arabia is part who have to responsible Saudi name in the eye of world and to prove that Saudi Arabia as a part who have to responsible for this murder incident.

#### **D. Research Argument**

In using the concept of National Interest as the theoretical framework, this research argues that Turkey conducting its national interest of the country through deeply intervene by accusing Saudi Arabia who was involved in the case of Jamal Kashoggi murder. From

the goals of national interest, it could be indentified that Turkey is play its National Interest that underlining for one big purpose, which is for the **Power** interest that for two purposes, which are :

- To maintain the stability of the Turkish region's security
- To strengthen Turkey's strategic position to have a big influence in the Middle East.

#### **E. Purpose of Writing**

1. To explain Turkey's involvement in the case of Jamal Khasoggi Murder
2. To analyze the main reasons behind Turkey's accusation towards Saudi Arabia in the case of Jamal Khasoggi Murder.

#### **F. Research Methodology**

##### 1. Type of Research

In this study, the author used explanatory research methods to prove a concepts of a case or problem that occured. In this case, the author wanted to prove by using the theory of Foreign Policy and the concept of national interest in understanding Turkey's interests in Saudi Arabia in intervening in the case of the murder of Jamal Khasoggi.

##### 2. Level of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study is the state, namely the reason Turkey in intervening the case of Jamal Khasoggi Murder and its unit of explanation is the state, namely the case of Jamal Khasoggi murder carried out by Saudi Arabia. As the results of the two units, it can be explained that this research is included in the level of correlation analysis, because the level of analysis with the level of explanation is the same, which is the state.

### 3. Data Collection Technique

The author used the research library in collecting research data. The point is that every data obtained comes from books, online and offline journals, official websites and trusted sites.

### 4. Data Analysis Technique

In analyzing this research, the author used Deduction analysis techniques, in which this research originated from a concepts which was then proven by fact finding and research. Without a clear concepts, the author would have difficulty to arrange the research and waste a lot of time.

## **G. Scope of Method**

In understanding the process of the research, this thesis placed focus on seeing the issues from Turkey's perspectives in analyzing its intervention in the case of Jamal Khasoggi Murder. The time interval of this research starts from the beginning of their both diplomatic relations since 1932, including the ups and downs of its diplomatic relations until it comes to the case of Jamal Khasoggi murder that is affect to both countries diplomatic relations today. Furthermore, with the purpose of deepening the analysis of this research, the writer could possibly use the data before or after the aforementioned period of time as long as the topics that going to be analyzed are still relevant to the issue of the thesis.

## **H. Structur of Writing**

In this research, there are five chapters planned by the writer. The first chapter examined the background of the study, research question, emphasizing the theories or concepts, research argument, research methodology and the structure of writing.

The second chapter explained about the history of Turkey and Saudi Arabia relation since the beginning

of their diplomatic relation. It also attaches the sequences of events that affect both countries relation during their journey in establishing the cooperation.

The third chapter, the writer will expounded about the tragic of Jamal Khasoggi murder, what the causes are and also the who the suspect behind this murder is. The writer also examined about the found evidences.

The fourth chapter explained about the Turkey's Interest to Saudi Arabia by intervening the Jamal Khasoggi scandal. In this chapter the writer emphasized broadly the power purpose that Turkey had, in facing this case.

In the last chapter, the writer concluded all the study materials in where the writer giving the highlight to prove the research argument that has been constructed by the writer regarding the issue discussed in the previous chapters and lastly try in giving suggestions fo any other futher study.