CHAPTER IV
TURKISH POWER INTEREST TOWARDS SAUDI ARABIA IN THE CASE OF JAMAL KHASOGGI MURDER

In this chapter, the writer will examined about Turkey Power interest in this case of Jamal Khashoggi murder that leads to the two purposes, firstly as an effort to maintain Turkey’s region security that being questionable because of this murder incident, secondly is about how Turkey utilizing this case to gain more power and weakening Saudi Arabia position in the Middle East.

A. Maintaining Turkish self-defense

The case of Jamal Khashoggi's murder not only caused a rift in Turkish and Saudi Arabia relations, but indirectly it affected the internal security situation of Turkey itself. After experienced a long emergency conditions that occur due to the threat of a coup in turkey against president Erdogan, in 2018 Turkey finally revoked the status of an internal security emergency condition which was imposed for 2 years since 2016. Turkey managed to get out of the status of dangerous zones by immediately taking very strict steps in dealing with the situation included the arrest of 80 thousand people and the dismissal of military officials, state employees, including teachers because they were suspected of being involved in a July 2016 coup. (Tempo.co, 2018) Star from that hard situation, the Turkish internal security conditions is getting stabil. But then when the emerged of Khashoggi’s murder in Turkey, the security stability in Turkey was called into question.
The rift between Saudi Arabia and Turkey over the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi is believed to have an impact on the economic sector. The tension over the Khashoggi killings has led nationalists to pro-government media to call for a boycott of Turkey whose slow economy. Turkey's economy experienced a sharp contraction of 3% in the fourth quarter of 2018. The economic condition was the worst in almost a decade and became a signal that the country's currency crisis could lead it into recession. As a developing country, Turkey was once seen as a key player by international investors, because its economic growth was more than 7% in 2017. But the growth did not last long. In 2018, the country was hit by a 30% decline in the value of the lira due to conflicts with the United States (US). The market also doubts the independence of Turkey's central bank. Quoting Reuters, Turkey's economy grew 2.6% in 2018. The economic growth was the lowest since 2009. Turkey's GDP in the IV quarter shrank 2.4% seasonally and compared to the previous quarter. Turkey's sudden economic slowdown that knocked out the lira currency due to the country's rift relations with Washington. This condition triggered the highest inflation at the level of 25% in October last year or the highest in the last 15 years and the Turkish central bank raised interest rates to 24% in September 2018. (International.kontan.co.id, 2019)

To take on this situation, President Erdogan immediately took steps to resolve this case by do such a deep investigation to find the suspect in this murder, but still the impact that Turkey got can’t be hindered especially from the Saudi Arabia itself. Seeing Turkey’s assertive actions towards Saudi Arabia, it was created resistance from the royal citizens. Saudis in recent days have called for a campaign to boycott Turkish products. This invitation was carried out as a form of protest over what they called 'Ankara's position
in the Jamal Khashoggi case'. Saudi activists using social media called for resistance to Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's policies in the case of the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi Arabian journalist’. (Kompas.com, 2018)

At that time, there was a growing call for the rich people in the oil-rich kingdom to boycott by not going on holiday to Turkey. Every year, hundreds of thousands of Saudi bourgeoisie go to Turkey for a softer climate, turquoise water, to status as the crossroads of the West and East. The Slogan "Don't go to Turkey" or "Turkey is not safe" is a news headline with a number of dailies starting to publish coverage in the past few months. Many media outlets, including Al Arabiya, released warnings from the Saudi Embassy in Ankara about the increase in passport theft and other crimes. Some travel agents also revealed that travel to Turkey had decreased significantly with Saudi tourism authorities declined to comment. The call appeared to be bearing fruit with the Turkish Ministry of Tourism reporting tourist arrivals from Turkey plummeted 30% in the first five months of until 2019, it shown by the table below:

![Turkey Visitor Arrivals Chart](chart.png)

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**Turkey Visitor Arrivals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Monthly Arrivals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct '18</td>
<td>3,704,478,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov '18</td>
<td>1,691,673,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec '18</td>
<td>1,535,997,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan '19</td>
<td>1,454,561,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb '19</td>
<td>1,092,070,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Source: CSC DATA COM / CSC Data
Moreover, based on reports from the King Faisal Islamic Research and Study Center, Saudi tourists spend 500 US dollars a day, or around Rp. 7 million, compared to European visitors. The boycott's appeal, it seems, did not just hit tourism. Recently, there was also an invitation to boycott all products from Ankara. A video shows Riyadh Governor Faisal bin Bandar rejecting an offer to sip Turkish coffee before news emerged about the Khashoggi case. Ajlan al-Ajlan, Chair of the Riyadh Chamber of Commerce and Industry, is a figure who strong enough to call for a boycott through Twitter on last June. Ajlan said the action took place because the Turkish government and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan continued to antagonize and attack the Saudi leadership. "We shouted louder so that they will be boycotted in all areas. Imports, employment and links with Turkish companies," (Utomo, 2019)

B. Gaining more influence in the Middle East

The long-standing rivalry between Turkey and Saudi Arabia was influenced by a various tragedy that happened in the Middle East. The conflict between Turkey and Saudi Arabia is about more than just geopolitics, it also influenced by the ideological and survival. Whether Turkey or Saudi Arabia, they have an ideology that they support. Saudi Arabia with the Salafi trend, persistently and wrongly labeled Wahhabism in this country and rather to the west. Meanwhile Turky, under the President Erdogan administration, rather to the Muslim Brotherhood which comes in a huge variety of flavors. Meanwhile for Saudi Arabia they see that the Muslim Brotherhood is a terrorist organization (Ryan Crocker, 2018)

Talking about the rise and fall of the Muslim Brotherhood is basically transformed the nature of the Middle East Geopoltics and rutted Turkey and Saudi
Arabia against each other. Backs on 2007, when the king of Saudi Arabia come visited Turkey, President Abdullah Gul and the Prime minister erdogan departed from diplomatic protocol when they went to visit the king at his hotel. This caused a considerable for the Turkish people where they think that action is not appropriate enough that done by the two Turkish important persons. At that point, when the contention in Syria raised, Ankara and Riyadh united to help the Sunni outfitted gatherings against the Assad regime, which was supported by Russia and Iran. For a short timeframe, the Middle East appeared to adjust conveniently along partisan lines, with a Sunni coalition drove by Turkey and Saudi Arabia set against an Iranian-drove alliance upheld by Moscow. This didn't keep going long, in light of the fact that the Sunni alliance itself cracked profoundly over the emergency in Egypt. The ascent of the Brotherhood to control in 2011-12 was welcomed energetically by Ankara, not least since the Brotherhood shapes a center ideological impact on Erdoğan's AKP. In fact, Turkish leaders saw the Arab upheavals as a historic chance to establish Turkish leadership in the Middle East, using the Brotherhood and its affiliated groups from Tunisia to Syria as the vehicle. Qatar, with close connections to the Brotherhood, took a comparable position. On the other hand, Erdoğan was insulted and frightened by the Egyptian military's topple of Morsi's administration, not just on the grounds that it is influenced Turkey's territorial authority aspirations, but since he considered it to be a piece of a more extensive provincial plot against his own capacity. This additionally discloses Erdoğan's choice to dismantle out all brakes to act the hero. Sources near the Turkish administration clarify that Erdoğan sees the bombed upset against him in July 2016 as an integral part of a similar intrigue that unseated Morsi and tried to oust the Emir of Qatar.
Behind this scheme, in Erdoğan's psyche, stands the Gulf governments as well as "world Zionism." Be that as it may, the governments of the Gulf state except for Qatar saw otherwise. They saw the Brotherhood as a hazardous, rebellious, and progressive association that could compromise security in the region of their own. The United Arab Emirates led the pack in assigning the Brotherhood a psychological militant association, something wholeheartedly supported by Saudi Crown Prince Muhammad Salman. Both the Crown Prince and the Brotherhood advocate change, however the kind of change they have as a top priority is oppositely restricted. Where the Brotherhood needs to dig in an Islamist political philosophy that is intrinsically against Western, hostile to Israeli, and somewhat thoughtful to Iran (which supports Hamas, the Brotherhood's Palestinian wing), the Crown Prince has set out on a procedure of modernization and change that would transform Saudi Arabia into a something totally extraordinary. He sees Iran as the Kingdom's most outstanding adversary, the United States as his main partner and accomplice, and Israel as a true partner.

There is nothing fair about his changes: As has been generally noted, he has expedited more noteworthy individual flexibilities a cultural level however additionally limited the limits of political articulation. In another words, Muhammad bin Salman has set out on a customary procedure of top-down dictator modernization. For Turkish Islamists, what the Crown Prince is attempting to do is suggestive of the top-down dictator common change procedure of its most outstanding adversary, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Against this background, it’s very clearly that the contention among Riyadh and Ankara is a limited extent about geopolitics and authority of the Middle East. But it is equally about ideology and even survival. For a brief time between 2011 and 2013, Erdoğan and
the Muslim Brotherhood were on the offensive, and looked to build up another regional order. But they then faced a severe setback in Egypt, and both Qatar and Turkey were put on the defensive Erdoğan and the Emir even observed their very hold on power threatened. In the interim, the prime recipient of this intra-Sunni strife is Iran, which has misused it to merge its situations in Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. (CORNELL, 2018)

However, The Khashoggi affair allowed Erdoğan to present Turkey in a positive light. It could be said that here Turkey was successfully maximalize this case by the how Turkey show its responsibility towards the case. A number of observers have noted the masterful way in which Ankara has stage-managed the release of information surrounding the Khashoggi case. On November 2, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan took to the opinion piece page of the Washington Post to demand that more pressure Saudi Arabia to respond regarding the demise of Jamal Khashoggi. Erdoğan's opinion is symptomatic of the way in which his administration has moved to increase maximum profit by the Khashoggi case. Erdoğan hits a few significant focuses: He underlines that Turkey is a "responsible member of the international community" and a NATO partner, and refers to a Khashoggi murder as a "kind soul" and "honorable man." He guarantees Turkey has "moved heaven and earth" to get to reality of the case, and has shared the evidences to the U.S. government to ensure others "keep asking the same questions." In particular, Erdoğan composes that he doesn't accept "for a second" that the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques that is, King Salman would have ordered for the murdered. (CORNELL, 2018)

Deconstructing these arguments discloses to us a lot about Turkey's interests for the situation. Rarely in the past several years has the embattled. Turkish
President had the option to wear a robe of uprightness in driving Western media. Now on, given the intense media enthusiasm for the Khashoggi issue, the Turkish President sees an opportunity to show his nation in a positive light. Since as we know many analysis of the situation has noted, Turkey is the world's driving jailer of journalists, and the country has dropped to 157th place of 180 countries on the World Press Freedom Index (still, it ought to be noted, 12 spots higher than Saudi Arabia. Therefore, Turkey really put a high maximum interest towards this case to show its concern towards journalist also to bring Turkey into a light position especially in the Middle East Region. Other than that Khashoggi's case brought political advantages for Turkey because the popularity of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan increased internationally. In the last decade, Saudi Arabia and Turkey have political differences related to the Middle East. From this case President Erdogan gained a reputation as a NATO and US partner. The evidence of the investigation into the Turkish Government's Khashoggi assassination is an important asset so that Saudi Arabia, the European Union and the US want to establish more profitable relations with Turkey.

On the other hand, analyzing about what are the impact towards Saudi Arabia as being proved that its people who become the suspect of this murder, could be said the impacts are quite serious. International pressure and evidence put forward by the Turkish Government regarding the death of Khashoggi left the Saudi Government cornered and finally acknowledged the incident. Khashoggi's body, which until now has not been found, is suspected to have been mutilated and destroyed. The case of Khashoggi's death was a step backwards for the efforts to modernize the Saudi Vision 2030 (Saudi Vision 2030) spearheaded by Prince Mohammed bin Salman. With Vision 2030, Saudi
Arabia is carrying out domestic economic and social reforms aimed at making the country's economy more open, diversifying the country's economy in the non-oil sector, and building a moderate Saudi society. There are a number of targets that have been launched so that Saudi Arabia is equal to the moderate countries of the Gulf region such as the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and even European countries. As the de facto leader of Saudi Arabia, Prince Mohammed bin Salman presented himself as a reformist figure. The conducive climate he created helps attract business interests to invest in Saudi Arabia. But after Khashoggi was killed, Saudi Arabia's position internationally was cornered, the credibility of Crown Prince Prince Mohammed bin Salman as a modernist figure was doubtful, even considered to be the order of the murder. Meanwhile, the success of the Turkish government proved the murder of Jamal Khashoggi at the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul, further cornering the position of the Saudi government. The efforts of the King Salman Government to gain sympathy and improve the reputation of the Saudi kingdom through meetings with Khashoggi's sons were also criticized. Distrust of Saudi Arabia can be seen from the absence of many important figures in the world economy and allied countries of Saudi Arabia in the Future Investment Initiative (FII) or "Davos in the Desert" conference in Riyadh. The European Union and the US criticized and threatened to impose sanctions on Saudi Arabia if it did not reveal the case. The European Union and the US criticized and threatened to impose sanctions on Saudi Arabia if it did not reveal the case. Several European and US countries have revoked visas for 21 Saudi nationals suspected of being linked to the crime. The Khashoggi case is embarrassing for the Saudis and endangering US foreign policy. Saudi Arabia is a major international actor in the Middle East and plays an important role in the Palestinian-Israeli
issue. Saudi Arabia is also one of the biggest buyers of weapons for Europe and the US. Khashoggi's case made the weapons producing countries forced to postpone the sale of their weapons to the country. This has caused economic disruption and political differences between European Union countries, especially between Germany and France supported by the US. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Saudi Arabia's military budget was the third largest in the world in 2017. In that year, Saudi Arabia signed an arms agreement with the US worth US $ 110 billion or around Rp1,667 trillion, with options increasing to become more from US $ 350 billion in 10 years. The US described this agreement as the largest in history. Stopping arms sales to Saudi Arabia, besides harming the US economically, will also encourage the country to move arms suppliers to Russia. If that happens, the position of the US and its allies in the Middle East will be threatened. In the economic field, the value of trade in goods and services between the US and Saudi reached US $ 46 billion or nearly Rp700 trillion. The US enjoyed a surplus of US $ 5 billion, and the US Ministry of Commerce estimates the trade relations between the two countries have helped sustain 165,000 jobs in the US in 2015. That is why so far the US has not spoken much to repression within Saudi Arabia and related to the Jamal Khashoggi case, the US only asked Saudi Arabia to immediately handle out this incident, without any further strict actions that could bring down Saudi Arabia. (Pujayanti, 2018)

Furthermore the disadvantage that also felt by Saudi Arabia through several situations belows: (Liputan6.com, 2019)

- The Share stock of Saudi Arabia is decreased sharply
As reported by express, in one week, foreign investors sold 814.9 million pounds (Rp. 16.1 trillion). This is one of the biggest selling actions since mid-2015 when the market opened to allow foreign direct purchases. The mass sell-off took place over a week during which Saudi relations with foreign powers deteriorated during the investigation into the death of Saudi journalist Khashoggi. According to the data breakdown, investors sold 5 billion riyals (Rp20.2 trillion) and only bought 991.3 million riyals (Rp4 trillion). Since Khashoggi's disappearance and death, Saudi Arabia's stock has dropped 4 percent.

- Richard Branson withdrew a 1 million pound sterling railroad deal
  Richard, the founder and leader of the Virgin Hyperloop One Group which is a fast transportation technology concept company, refused to attend an investment conference in Riyadh after the Saudi leadership was allegedly involved in Khashoggi's murder. Richard insisted on wanting a clear explanation of Khashoggi's disappearance. He said if the allegations were true, he would not do any business with the Saudis. At present, it has suspended all business with the Saudis until they get a satisfying explanation. The Los Angeles-based company has several projects with the UAE.

- Saudi Arabia Threatened to fail in becoming the host country of G20 summit on November 2020.
  UN experts Agnes Callamard, a UN expert assigned to investigate Khashoggi's death, spoke at the Brookings Institution in Washington said the case he handled was "state murder". According to him, it should encourage world leaders to
reconsider Saudi Arabia as host of the G20 summit next year. "The murder of Jamal Khashoggi fulfills all the characteristics of state killings," Callamard classified that this is the tragic murder ever that happened in the Consulate office, so the suspect of this murder need to get a serious punishment. (Tribunnews.com, 2018)