

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **A. Problem Background**

Conflict resolution has become important in international relations study. Several policies are made by state actor to prevent the conflict happened in its country. Nowadays, Turkey has become an attention in international public because of concerning toward interstate conflict and less concerning about intra-state conflict. Turkey has tried to establish itself as a regional power and mediator in different ways, through initiatives such as facilitating last year's indirect dialogue between Israel and Syria.

Turkey's emerging profile on the world stage where it is currently a temporary member of the United Nation's Security Council has encouraged the country to become more outspoken on international events. Ankara was among also the fiercest critics of Israel's January war in Gaza and of China's response to the recent unrest in its Xinjiang province, home to the Turkic Uighur people.

After decades of conflict and repressive policies, Turkey appears to be taking crucial steps toward introducing a peace initiative to resolve longstanding unrest among its Kurdish population. But for any plan to succeed, it cannot be simply another state-run, unilateral initiative that fails to take into account local grievances. It must go beyond previous efforts and truly involve the Kurdish population in the process. But increased of Turkey on the international stage has also drawn attention to Turkey's domestic problems, particularly on going conflict

with its Kurdish population, who make up 20 percent of the country. Although the situation in Turkey's predominantly Kurdish southeast region is significantly better than it was during the 1980s and 1990s when the conflict with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) made the area a virtual war zone, but significant problems remain.

Local Kurdish politicians are still criticized for speaking Kurdish in their official capacity. And in recent years, dozens of Kurdish youth who demonstrated in anti-government protest have been jailed for supporting the PKK. Although the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) has Kurdish members and the pro-Kurdish Democratic Society Party (DTP) is represented in parliament with 20 of 550 seats, in reality there is little room for Kurdish voices within Turkey's current political structure.<sup>1</sup>

Coincide with the conflict escalation or violence action that happened in Turkey, it can be seen the effort of Turkey's government to settle conflicts even military or negotiation that followed by reaction of international actors, such as foreign state or non-state like international non-government organization. In here, the globalization or democratization are giving the significant influence toward conflict dynamic and conflict resolution in Turkey.

Because of many aspect and actor that involved within conflict and conflict resolution than inter-discipliner analysis is necessary and international relations study can give the useful contribution. Globalization process that disseminate universal values such as human rights, gender equality, political

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<sup>1</sup> *Turkey: Kurdish Party Prepares for Return to Parliament* (accessed November 14, 2009); available from <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav072707a.shtml>

freedom, civil society, and right to self determination, have influenced heavy toward various groups even government or non-government. Thus democratization has created new consciousness about political rights and civil that forcefully before and cannot give aspiration by freedom. By halves of international community that characterized by global interdependency, Turkey cannot be able to cover responsibility even legally or morally.

Beside of that, the leader that elected by democratic way through general election, want to show to the public if they have commitment toward democracy values in handling intra-state conflict. The transition turned to intra-state conflict, has encouraged the international relations scholar to change from traditional conflict that usually oppose the sovereign state with another sovereign states than giving attention just aimed at foreign policy study, Clausewitzan war model, and international diplomacy in various level seems like bilateral, regional, and multilateral.

But the winds of change are blowing out of Ankara. Earlier this year, the government launched Turkey's first ever state owned Kurdish language television station. And in recent months, both President Abdullah Gul and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan have strongly indicated that an initiative to seriously engage with the Kurdish population is in the works.<sup>2</sup>

Also, Turkish Home Affairs Minister Besir Atalay said during a 29 July news conference that the government is actively working on a comprehensive plan to increase Kurdish rights based on democratization, and expand their cultural

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<sup>2</sup> Musthafa Luthfi. *Turki dan Munculnya Wibawa Otoman* (accessed October 26, 2009); available from [http://hidayatullah.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=9602&Itemid=](http://hidayatullah.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=9602&Itemid=)

space. Although he did not offer any specific details or a timeframe, Atalay told reporters, “We have the intention to make determined, patient and courageous steps. This can be seen as a new stage.”<sup>3</sup>

According to the Turkish press, the government’s plan may include expanded cultural autonomy, including the establishment of private Kurdish language television stations and Kurdish language faculties in universities, as well as allowing towns and villages to once again use their original Kurdish names.<sup>4</sup> It is not clear if it would extend to a wide ranging amnesty program for members of the outlawed PKK.

The group continues to attack Turkish security forces, mostly from its hideouts in northern Iraq. But in recent years the organization has realized that separating from Turkey is not a realistic goal and has made it clear that it only seeks expanded political and cultural rights for Kurds within Turkey. Meanwhile, jailed PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan is expected to release his own road map for solving the Kurdish his own road map for solving the Kurdish issue in the coming weeks.

This is not the first time Ankara has tried to solve the Kurdish issue. Prior initiatives involved various economic development packages for the underdeveloped southeast region which lags behind the rest of the country in

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<sup>3</sup> *Turkey Works on Plan Regarding Kurdish Conflict* (accessed November 13, 2009); available from <http://www.institutkurde.org/en/info/turkey-works-on-plan-regarding-kurdish-conflict-1232550518.html>

<sup>4</sup> *Turkey Addresses PKK Challenge with Kurdish Language Reforms* (accessed November 13, 2009); available from [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=34352](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=34352)

almost every economic indicator. This time, however, the government's initiative looks different.

Some policies that have done by Turkey's government give a new initiative to solve some Kurdish problem, but another ways still needed to continue peace building in Turkey. One of design that adapted by government was an internal problem overcoming to achieve succeed outer conflict process. From the description above, Turkey needs to continue its conflict resolution design to gain peace condition that had been happening for many years, in here the policies that decided by Turkey's government will be important for the future of Kurdistan. The basic concept of peace process was that have created still need to keep as well.

## **B. Research Question**

From the exploration of problem background above, the research question rising is that, "How was the peace process of Kurdistan conflict questions in Turkey?"

## **C. Objective of the Research**

The objectives of this research will be sought to do the following:

1. To know the history of Kurdistan conflict questions in Turkey.
2. To know the peace process actors of Kurdistan conflict questions.
3. To describe the peace process activities of Kurdistan conflict questions in Turkey.

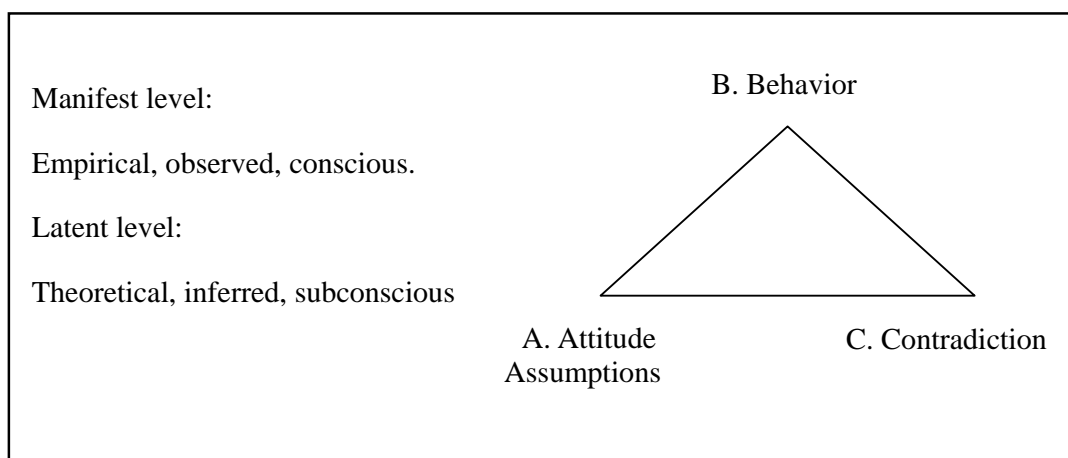
## D. Theoretical Framework

Within this writing, the writer is seeking to describe peace process of Kurds conflict. Through this writing and giving clear direction in discussion, the writer would trace and highlight the concept of conflict resolution especially in attaining peace process that consist of actor, achievement and the process also the condition of internal conflict in this discussion.

### 1. Peace Concepts

As part of conflict resolution, a peace study has become one instrument to restraint the conflict. The conflict resolution that offered by Johan Galtung will become one alternative, it has relevance to discuss conflict cases, such as conflict Turkey and Kurds. But they are basic characteristic to know well about the conflict factor. In here Galtung has explained into three categories, which are explain about the background condition of the conflict happened.

**Figure 1.1: The Conflict Triangle<sup>5</sup>**



<sup>5</sup> Johan Galtung. *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace, Conflict, Development and Civilization*. (London: Sage and Prio, 1996). 72.

By figure described above then the attitude, assumptions, behavior and contradiction of decision maker in this research, the writer means peace process is really determine by those parts of conflict triangle. The social, economic and politic condition will be established by the one or more of three conflict triangle that made by Galtung. The main actor of decision maker will determine the success of peace process to attain the peace situation

After that according Johan Galtung, there are three processes that should be used before creating peace. There are peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace building. Peacekeeping is process to prevent or reduce violent action toward military intervention as a role of neutral peace keeper. Apart from using military force, peacekeeping is quite different from collective security. The latter identifies an aggressor and employs military force to defeat the attacker. Peacekeeping takes another approach and deploys an international military force under the aegis of an international organization such as the United Nation to prevent fighting, usually by acting as a buffer between combatants. The international force is neutral between the combatants and must have been invited to be present by at least one of the combatants.

Peacemaking is a process that has a goal to reconsolidate or to confront political attitude and strategic from every parties through mediation, negotiation, arbitration, especially in elite or leader level. Peace building is implementation process to change or construct a social, politic and economic in according to gain immutable peace.

Through peace building process, it can be hoped that negative peace or the absence of violence will turn to positive peace, where the society shall feel social justice, economic charity and efficiency political representation.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 1.1: Johan Galtung’s Conception of the Point of Departure for Peace Studies**

Place by Peaceful Means. <sup>7</sup>
To start with, two compatible definitions of peace: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace is the absence/reduction of violence of all kinds.</li> <li>• Peace is nonviolent and creative conflict transformation.</li> </ul>
For both definitions the following holds: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace work is work to reduce violence by peaceful means.</li> <li>• A peace study is the study of the conditions of peace work.</li> </ul>

In order to clarify case that will be discussed, the writer will refer to distinguish of peace research literature and conflict settlement between negative peace and positive peace. Negative peace often decided by separating of direct violence and positive peace is elimination of structural violence and cultural violence. From this view, a peace building after settlement is consisting of two parts: negative task to prevent the arising of conflict within brutal violence

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<sup>6</sup> Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. (London: Polity Press, 1999), 187.

<sup>7</sup> Johan Galtung. *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace, Conflict, Development and Civilization*. (London: Sage and Prio, 1996). 9.



conflict and positive task to help national reconciliation and to eliminate the causes of internal war.

This disparity can be strong relations among two task that completing each other. But belong to Secretary General of United Nations about peace building after conflict can mentioned as multiple diverse of common action and this is implemented to consolidate peace condition and to prevent arm conflict repetition.

Because of peace building process is not a simple work, and then it needs many parties to understand and to know the political barrier or technically to optimize a function of peace maker. This analyze frame work can be one tool to show the short priority and at least to gain peace comprehensively in conflict area. This framework can be a check list to evaluate what having done or having not done yet.<sup>8</sup>

But after all, the important one is how that conflict resolution and peace approach widely can prevent, manage, and transform the conflict by offering peaceful, secure and realistic way. The writer believes that peaceful condition will be gained by best effort of each individual or general and every party. There are many posts that can be checked to know how far the peace building has implemented by actor of peace process. All of peace actors itself has tried to find peace solution, the preparation of a democratization initiative to resolve the Kurdish question by way of reforms and granting cultural rights set the pace for the peace process.

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<sup>8</sup> Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse. *Resolusi Damai Konflik Kontemporer*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2002), 324.

**Table 1.2: Post-settlement peace building: A framework**

	<b>In term/short-term measures</b>	<b>Medium-term measures</b>	<b>Long-term measures</b>
<b>Military/security</b>	Disarmament, demobilization of factions, separation of army/police	Consolidation of new national army, integration of national police	Demilitarization of politics, transformation of culture of violence
<b>Political/constitutional</b>	Manage problems of transnational governments, constitutional reform	Overcome the challenge of the second election	Establish tradition of good governance including respect for democracy, human rights, rule of law, development of civil society within genuine political community
<b>Economic/social</b>	Humanitarian relief, essential services, communication	Rehabilitation of resettled population and demobilized soldiers, progress in rebuilding infrastructures and demining	Stable long-term macro-economic policies and economic management, locally sustainable community development, distributional justice
<b>Psycho/social</b>	Overcoming initial distrust	Managing conflicting priorities of peace and justice	Healing psychological wounds, long-term reconciliation
<b>International</b>	Direct , culturally sensitive support for the peace process	Transference to local control avoiding undue interference of neglect	Integration into cooperative and equitable regional and global structures

## 2. Internal Conflict Concept

The second important concept that applied by this paper is internal conflict resolution. The study of internal conflict in international relations has going into significant changes. Michael E. Brown define that internal conflict as a violent or potentially violent political disputes whose origin can be traced primarily domestic rather than systemic factors, and where armed violence takes place or threaten to take place primarily within the borders or a single state.

Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse use the contemporary conflict concept to describe the internal conflict as conflict that happened after world war. For specifically such as ethnic conflict, Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr said in their book “Ethnic Conflict in World Politic”, there are five principal that used by international society toward ethno politic conflicts: first, state and society should be recognize the right of minorities. Second, the best way to protect the right of group is using democratic institution. Third, the adaptation of negotiation is that in accordance with state framework. Fourth, international actors should take care the minority rights and to promote the solution of ethno politic war. And the Fifth, international actors can use coercive approach to stop the civil war and genocide.<sup>9</sup>

In internal conflict, it cannot be simply the fact. For instance, to explain the Kurdistan conflict that happened in Turkey or Iraq, several persons said that it caused by hostility between Kurdistan and Turkey’s army that has been take for so long. This explanation cannot be clearly received because cannot explain how the

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<sup>9</sup> Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr. *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics* (Washington: Westview Press, 2004), 182 – 189.

same conflict does not happen in other place even the demography configuration rather same. In other side the explanation cannot be clear to describe the variation of conflict based on its intensity and level of settle dispute.

Furthermore, in book entitled World Security: Challenges for a New Century edited by Michael T. Klare and Yogesh Chandrani. Michael E. Brown wrote,

*Many policymakers and journalist believe that the causes of internal conflicts are simple and straightforward. The driving forces behind these violent conflicts, it is said, are the “ancient hatreds” that many ethnic and religious groups have for each other.....Serious scholars reject this explanation of internal conflict. This simple but widely held view cannot explain why violent conflicts have broken out in some places, but not others, and it cannot explain why some disputes are more violent and harder to resolve than others.<sup>10</sup>*

The theory that proposed by Brown, give more understanding of complexity in internal conflict that cannot be explained one by one of factor or variable. Then Brown distinguished the underlying causes of conflict from the proximate causes of conflict. Specifically, Brown gives the pressure to the policy influence or the behavior of political actor as a trigger of conflict escalation in certain place. This explanation will be easier by describing by Brown into table that consisted of two causes; they are underlying causes of internal conflict and proximate causes of internal conflict.

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<sup>10</sup> Michael E. Brown, *The Causes of Internal Conflict*, in World Security: Challenges for a New Century, ed. Michael T. Klare and Yogesh Chandrani (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1998), 180.

**Table 1.3: Underlying Causes and Proximate Causes of Internal Conflict**

<b>Underlying Causes of Internal Conflict</b>	<b>The Proximate Causes of Internal Conflict</b>
<p><i>Structural Factors</i></p> <p>Weak states</p> <p>Intrastate security concerns</p> <p>Ethnic geography</p>	<p><i>Structural Factor</i></p> <p>Failed states</p> <p>Change of balance of military power</p> <p>Change of demography patterns</p>
<p><i>Political Factors</i></p> <p>Discriminatory political institutions</p> <p>Exclusionary national ideologies</p> <p>Intergroup politics</p> <p>Elite politics</p>	<p><i>Political Factors</i></p> <p>Political transition</p> <p>Influence of exclusionary national ideologies</p> <p>Rivalry of intergroup politics sharply</p> <p>Rivalry of elite politics sharply</p>
<p><i>Economic/Social Factors</i></p> <p>Economic problems</p> <p>Discriminatory economic systems</p> <p>Economic development and modernization</p>	<p><i>Economic/Social Factors</i></p> <p>Economic problems in serious condition</p> <p>Imbalance of economy widely</p> <p>Rapid economic development and modernization</p>
<p><i>Cultural/Perceptual Factors</i></p> <p>Patterns of cultural discrimination</p> <p>Problematic group histories</p>	<p><i>Cultural/Perceptual Factors</i></p> <p>Patterns of cultural discrimination</p> <p>Degradation of ethnic and propaganda</p>

The scholarly literature on internal conflict has tended to focus on the underlying factors or permissive conditions that make some places and some situations more tend to violence than others. More specifically, scholars have identified main clusters of factors that make some places more tendency to violence.

Three main structural factors have drawn scholarly attention: weak states, intrastate security concerns, and ethnic geography. Weak state structures are the starting point for many analyses of internal conflict. When state structure weakens, violent conflict often follows. Power struggles between and among politicians and would be leaders intensify. When states are weak, individual groups within these states feel compelled to provide for their own defense, they have to worry about whether other groups pose security threats. If the state in question is very weak or if it is expected to become weaker with time, the incentives for group to make independent military preparations grow.

In some states with ethnic minorities, ethnic groups are mingling in other, minorities' tend to live in separate provinces or regions of the country. Countries with different kinds of ethnic geography are likely to experience different kinds of internal problems.

Besides structural factors, political factors have attracted attention in the scholarly literature of internal conflict. They are discriminatory political institutions, exclusionary national ideologies, and intergroup political and elite politics. After that, three broad economic and social factors have been identified as potential sources of internal conflict such as economic problems, discriminatory economic systems, and the trials and attributions of economic development and modernization.

In other side cultural and perceptual factors have been identified in the scholarly literature as sources of internal conflict. Such as cultural discrimination against minorities include inequitable educational opportunities, legal and political

constraints on the use and the teaching of minority languages, and constraints on religious freedom. Meanwhile, another factor that falls under this heading has to do with group histories and group perceptions of themselves and others. Stories that are passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth become part of a group's lore. This often become distorted and exaggerated with time, and are treated as received wisdom by group members.

### 3. Integration Theory

To begin understanding the background conflict of Kurdistan, the writer will use the integration theory. There are many meaning of integration theory but in this occasion according the writer the definition of Morton Kaplan was exactly. According to Kaplan, integration is the process when several separation systems develop their common framework to gain some common destination and to implement the common policies. By this definition, it will be seen that integration comes from some approach such as economic, politic, military, and ideology without showing any one of those approaches.<sup>11</sup>

After that the definition above did not give the ambiguity conception such as common norms, sense of community, common duty, collective capacity, etc. that they are is controversial subject and complicated to operate it. This definition also has neutral characteristic in geographically or systematically then it will possible to compare it with integration process in regional subsystem and it will be easier to learn integration if there was few important data.

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<sup>11</sup> Andrzej Korbonski, *Theory and Practice of Regional Integration: The Case of Comecon*, Richard A. Falk and Saul H. Mendlovits, *Regional Politics and World Order* (San Fransisco: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1973), 155-156.

Because of the wider meaning of integration, then it will difficult to know the concept of integration itself. Beside of that, the writer also using the integration theory according to Walter S. Jones in his book *The Logic of International Relations* to know the factor of integration:<sup>12</sup>

- Economic

This sector is one of the complex sectors and related to the basic human requirements. This integration is often create the common market, when each individual consolidate all or partly of their economic activities. The main function of common market is to increase the economic potency through policies consolidation.

- Social

The integration in social sector is deflection of national preference into loyalty to attain more unity of politic. Because of that, the changing of attitude from nationalism into supra nationalism is needed. The success of social integration will be viewed by common tolerance and similarity political and social norms of part integration members.

- Politic

This integration refer to limited meaning, it is integration of political institutions also changing the sovereignty toward the international common institution. The goal of this changing is not to disappear the national government but to decrease the authority in some function. In order of that, if the economic

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<sup>12</sup> Water S. Jones, *Logika Hubungan Internasional: Kekuasaan, Ekonomi Politik Internasional dan Tatanan Dunia*. (Jakarta: P.T. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1993), 429-436.



integration can strengthen the national economy of state, then it hope loyalty will arise toward its country or more communities.

- Security

Based on security sector, integration can grow from alliance. But contrary of that the real integrative alliance is seldom. There are two conclusion of security integration: first, because of the important strategic policies for national or national elite, then security integration should be putting forward than political integration. Second, appropriate with the fact of politic, the steps toward security integration just for crisis condition. This way is not contrary with political and social consideration but it means vital urgent requirement.

**Table 1.4: Integration Factors<sup>13</sup>**

<b>Integration sectors</b>	<b>Momentum</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Precondition</b>	<b>Process condition</b>
- Economic - Politic  - Social  - Security	- Feed back - (intra sector)  - Expantion (all sector)	- To maximize - Economic potency - To maximize the political potency - Settlement regional conflict	- Social assimilation - Spreading the elite value - Hope to gain common benefit - Transaction history is peaceful - The benefit comparison among cost and benefit - External influences: a. Member centre b. Non-member centre	- Functional satisfaction - Increasing transaction frequencies - Institution - Technocrat development - Community jurisprudence - Increasing the result of decision - Massa attitude assimilation - External factors: a. Member centre b. Non-member centre - Loyalty transfer

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 454.

## **E. Hypothesis**

Policy-makers in Ankara failed to realize that the war in Iraq has created new realities and unleashed new forces that had to be taken into account. By considering my analysis through the theoretical framework above, it can be supposed provisionally that the peace process that done by Turkey's policies toward Kurdistan is going into new point of view, they are:

1. The peace process of Kurdistan questions turned to peace making and peace building process.
2. Turkey was striving to create the peace building process such as open the constructive dialogue with the Kurdistan and then the cooperation that built by Turkey to recognize the existence of Kurdistan as a part of its society and important actors, it can be proven in recent government of Turkey.
3. The best effort that has done by Turkey to draw out its troop and change it into peacemaking approach process has moved into new way peace process toward Kurdistan.

## **F. Research Method**

This is a content analysis research. In this model researcher is allowed to research the object from a far without involving in it<sup>14</sup>. The conclusion will be taken by counting the appearance of key words needed in articles, academic journals, speeches, official statements, etc. In this model, analyzed data will be

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<sup>14</sup>Earl Babbie and Theodore C. Wagoner, *The Practice of Social Research Method* (California: Wadsworth, 1983), 274.

taken from books, encyclopedia, magazines, newspapers and journals. In addition, the internet media will be valuable resources used in order to obtain data, reports, surveys, because updated information related to the topic is only available through the internet media. From these sources, the writer tries to elaborate the research.

### **G. Writing System**

The outline of this thesis is described as follows:

CHAPTER I will discuss about the problem background, research purpose, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research model, and writing system.

CHAPTER II will explain about the dynamic of the Kurdistan question in Turkey since 1980, who is explain more specifically about history of the Kurds, its minority right and the evolution of conflict that happened between the PKK and Turkish government.

CHAPTER III will elaborate the actor of peace process in Kurdistan conflict problem with Turkey. This chapter will dig the background of actor that described into internal actor and external actor.

CHAPTER IV provides explanation about process of peace process in Kurdistan question. This chapter will also explain the relation between Turkey's government and other countries as an impact of Kurdistan conflict.

CHAPTER V is the closing part of this thesis that contains the conclusion.