

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

In the 20th century, the countries of the world had conflicting relations. Competition for colonies. The main conflicts during the 20th century were World War I, World War II, and the Cold War. The consequences of war have caused enormous damage to human life and property. It was also due to political competition for regional supremacy, such as Napoleon's French development policies. The policies to build a great Germany, for example, may be caused by ideological, political and religious conflicts such as the Crusades between Christianity and Islam in 13th century political conflicts such as the ideology of democracy and communism after World War II, etc. Important conflicts in the 20th century arose from adherence to different political ideologies. Until the cause of war with the formation of international cooperation organizations took place to resolve conflicts or to prevent conflicts that arise. Southern Thailand, also known as the southern border province Also known as Patani State, which consists of Yala, Pattani, Narathiwat, Songkhla and Satun, is in crisis. Both political and socio-cultural if not resolved, it will cause mental, economic and other crises, including serious collisions, casualties, property damage, etc., becoming a "tragedy" that causes cracks and injuries to a person's soul. "It is a bridge to a solution to the crisis." Peace means "a bridge to a solution" to the "crisis of violence resulting from the conflict and current political circles".

The conflict between the Thai government and the Patani Malay community in Southern Thailand started in the mid-1970s, but the roots of the conflict have been since 1902 when

the Patani Darussalam state was occupied by the Kingdom of Thailand.¹ The cause of this conflict was a policy of political integration. The Patani Malay community did not agree with the government's policies which attempted to reform and bring about national unity. This policy aims to replace the religious and cultural identity of Malay Muslims with a Thai cultural identity rooted in Buddhism. Even though in the early 2000s this conflict seemed to have disappeared to attract the attention of the outside world. But beneath the surface, the conflict continued on January 4, 2004. Since then, violent conflict has continued to the present day. Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawat (At a time of intense conflict) security reform in Thailand has been implemented using more repressive policies, but over the past 14 years the conflict has flared up (Dueramae, 2019).

There are various separatist movement groups in Thailand's southern border provinces, and their ideologies and operations differ. But the general aim is to divide the territory free of Thai rule.² Separatist rebels are rebels seeking special independence and therefore want to continue secession from Thailand. Usually the rebels stated that they were trying to separate from the government in order to gain independence. However, some rebel groups did not agree with the plan to be separated from the center because of the huge responsibilities and costs of becoming separate nations.³

The conflict became even more violent when it took place in Muslim Malay separatists (Dueramae, 2019), a separatist movement in Thailand in the southern border province. Many other groups emerged, such as Pattani United Liberation

¹ Ashman Fathy al-Fatani. 1994. Patani's historical engineer. Khotabaru Kelantan: Pustaka Darussalam. Pg: 53.

² Wijchayarat, waraphon. "Terrorist movements in southern Thailand" receive 20 Oct. 20 from [http://wiki.kpi.ac.th/index.php?title=Terrorist movements in southern Thailand](http://wiki.kpi.ac.th/index.php?title=Terrorist_movements_in_southern_Thailand)

³ Spencer, Metta. 1998. Separatism: Democracy and disintegration. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Organization (PULO), Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN), Gerakan Mujahidin Islam Pattani (GMIP), dan Particularly the BRN-Coordinate (a faction of BRN). And the Student, and Youth Association, the Patani group or PerMAS, etc., and the last one is called the new group. That MARA Patani / MajlisSyuraPatani has been officially launched for the first time. In Kuala Lumpur Malaysia on 27 August 2015, some of these groups, several eras, operated independently. Under the "split hit" strategy, but sometimes a new strategy "separate, walk together, hit" but whether it is driven by strategy, technique or method. However, the Mara Patani separatist group will not stop fighting until it attains full independence before being handled by the Thai government.

Since the government's massive robbery on January 4, 2004 at the Pattana Battalion Camp, Cho-Ai Rong District, Narathiwat Province Followed by the "Krue Sae Mosque" event, Pattani Province, on April 28, when 108 people were killed, and most recently, the dissolution of demonstrations in front of the Tak Bai Police, Narathiwat Province on October 24, leaving 84 people dead. The body is counted as 2004, the past is a year of violence "Unusual" for southern "border" lands.⁴

In February 2013, government representatives Yingluck and the BRN signed the "General Consensus on the Peace Dialogue Process" stating the government's intention to negotiate with the rebels in Kuala Lumpur. This is the first time the Thai government has publicly supported rebels. BRN made five requests on YouTube videos ahead of the first meeting. At a second meeting in April 2013, the government said it was considering lifting warrants for the arrest of suspected rebels as a request. At the third meeting in June, BRN representatives agreed to try and reduce violence. The

⁴ Chanwit Kasetsiri." The unrest in the southern border provinces and history of wounds" Receive 11 may 2560 From https://www.silpa-mag.com/history/article_9119

talks sparked the Ramadan Peace Initiative, which aims to reduce violence during fasting. On July 12, Malaysia announced that the two sides were trying to reduce violence from July 10 to August 18. The response of the authorities and government failed to contain the violence. On August 6 there was a video from BRN saying the group had suspended talks with the Thai government. (Southern Thailand: Dialogue in Doubt, 2015)

In April 2017, the BRN issued a statement calling for peace talks with the Thai government. With a truly neutral mediator there is a director, but BRN will wait until the political parties in the group are ready and won't negotiate under pressure.⁵ So far, there have been several attempts to achieve a peaceful path, such as conflict reform, reducing military movements, overcoming the lack of state legitimacy and diplomacy. The government holds talks with the rebels to build peace. But negotiations have generally stalled, including the military administration. Until now, there is no completely effective solution to this problem. But the separatist Mara Patani has agreed with the Thai government to seek a resolution to the conflict in the negotiations that have been carried out.⁶ Until now, peace efforts have not yielded any meaningful results. To further complicate the conflict, it involves many sources, such as political, economic, ethnic and religious conflicts that have not been found much (Dueramae, 2019).

Before proceeding to the problem formulation section, the author will include several literature reviews on the similarity of research topics that have been previously read by the author. The article entitled "The approach to political settlements in solving vertical conflicts (Case study: Conflict

⁵ Tuansiri. 2012. Negotiating a peaceful coexistence between the Malays of Patani and the Thai state. Pattani: Patani forum. Pp: 19-23.

⁶ Matthew Wheeler. 2004. Thailand's Southern Insurgency. Southeast Asian Affairs. pp. 319-335

between the Thai government and separatist groups)," was written by Haseemah Dueramae from Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta. In his writing, he states that the conflict between the Thai government and separatist groups has been going on for a long time and is acting very strong again, namely from 2004 to now there has not been a stop even though there was negotiation but it had not been successful. And the story about the conflict in southern Thailand and there are many separatists in southern Thailand to fight with the Thai government. This is supported by a theory of political settlements and two concepts, namely the negotiation process and civil society. The paper emphasizes on the study of political security which focuses on the ongoing process of conflict resolution. Southern Thailand is very different in terms of ethnicity and religion when compared to other regions, giving rise to conflict problems between separatist groups and the Thai government.

Based on the above, this research focuses on peace dialogue between the Thai government and separatist groups. Moreover, the time frame chosen is also an important point, because in the last years the conflict between the Thai government and the separatist groups has been a long time and the two sides have attempted a peaceful solution.

B. Research question

Based on the background and the understanding of the background problems above, the research question is formulated as follows: Why negotiation between Thai government and Southern provinces have not successfully reached its target?

C. Theoretical framework

In order to understand the context of this research, the author will use the Negotiation theory to analyse why after

series negotiation process, conflict between Thai government and Southern borders have not much reach targets. The negotiation process has been carried out several times by two parties, namely the Thai government and separatist groups. The negotiation process is carried out by means of agreement and compromise to reach agreement and cooperate. This process executes the agreement in a situation where either party is not using its full power. Ideally, negotiations will result in a prudent agreement and will improve relations between the two parties⁷

Negotiation is an effort made between conflicting parties with the intention of finding a way out to resolve disagreements in accordance with mutual agreement. ⁸Negotiating is not looking for winners and losers. In every negotiation, there is an opportunity to use all of your social skills and effective and creative communication you have to produce a positive and mutually beneficial outcome. As the definition of negotiation from Roger Fisher & William Ury in the book getting is:

“Negotiation is a basic means of getting what you want from others. It is back and forth communication designed to reach an agreement when you and other side have some interest that are shared and other that are opposed”.⁹

⁷ Sito Meiyanto & Soedardjo. 1999. Current negotiations: all win. Psychology Bulletin. Year VII, No.2. pp. 1-2

⁸ Afid Burhanuddin (2014). Konflik dan negosiasi. From <https://afidburhanuddin.wordpress.com/2014/01/25/konflik-dan-negosiasi/>

⁹ Roger Fisher & William Ury. (1991). Getting Yes. 2nd ed. Random House Business Books: London. P.xiiv

According to literatures, there are six factors that determine the success of peace negotiation, namely:

1. Mutual trust relationships

Mutual trust relationships are very important if the relationship between the conflicts is not good it is hardly possible to bring the parties to a mutual settlement. Trust is an utterly essential instrument that needs to be a part of the foundation of the negotiation as well as the relationship. There are multiple reasons the latter is essential.

First, securing and solidifying the relationship will improve the odds in your favour. If there are misunderstandings and miscommunications, the resulting uncomfortable environment may incite the desire in the other party to strengthen their opposition and make their position more firm. This will invariably make the negotiation tenser and regardless of the monetary or business outcome, both parties walk away with diminished value.

Second, a strengthened relationship ensures an open channel of communication in the future. Building this network can be nutritive to you as a professional.

Third, mutually trusting and respecting relationship levels the playing ground and can balance power dynamics. The role of power, especially if it is against your interests, diminishes. Hence, trust is the cornerstone of building a relationship is any capacity. (Kwame Christian Esq., 2019)

2. Management Conflict

Conflict management, also known as conflict resolution, involves having a workplace that precludes conflict and a management team that successfully handles and resolves workplace issues. (Doyle, 2020) Has determination and determination to actually solve the problem. Conflict management is the process for handling

disputes and disagreements between two or multiple parties. The goal of this system is to minimize the negative factors that are influencing the conflict and encourage all participants to come to an agreement. Successful conflict management results in a mutually beneficial outcome that's agreed upon by each party. (Amaresan, 2019)

3. Public Consultation

Public consultation is one of the key regulatory tools employed to improve transparency, efficiency and effectiveness of regulation besides other tools such as Regulatory Impact Analysis (RIA), regulatory alternatives and improved accountability arrangements. There are three related forms of interaction with interested members of the public. In practice, these three forms of interaction are often mingled with public consultation programmes, complementing and overlapping each other:

- a. Notification: It involves the communication of information on regulatory decisions to the public, and it is a key building block of the rule of law. It is a one-way process of communication in which the public plays a passive consumer role of government information. Notification does not, itself, constitute consultation, but can be a first step. In this view, prior notification allows stakeholders the time to prepare themselves for upcoming consultations.
- b. Consultation: It involves actively seeking the opinions of interested and affected groups. It is a two-way flow of information, which may occur at any stage of regulatory development, from problem identification to evaluation of existing regulation. It may be a one-stage process or, as it is increasingly the case, a continuing dialogue. Consultation is increasingly concerned with the objective of

gathering information to facilitate the drafting of higher quality regulation.

- c. **Participation.** It is the active involvement of interest groups in the formulation of regulatory objectives, policies and approaches, or in the drafting of regulatory texts. Participation is usually meant to facilitate implementation and improve compliance, consensus, and political support. Governments are likely to offer stakeholders a role in regulatory development, implementation and/or enforcement in circumstances in which they wish to increase the sense of “ownership” of, or commitment to, the regulations beyond what is likely to be achieved via a purely consultative approach. (Delia Rodrigo, Administrator, and Pedro Andrés Amo, 2006)

4. Mediator

Mediation is a procedure in which the parties discuss their disputes with the assistance of a trained impartial third person(s) who assists them in reaching a settlement. It may be an informal meeting among the parties or a scheduled settlement conference. The dispute may either be pending in a court or potentially a dispute which may be filed in court. Cases suitable for mediation are disputes in commercial transactions, personal injury, construction, workers compensation, labour or community relations, divorce, domestic relations, employment or any other matters which do not involve complex procedural or evidentiary issues. Attendance at the mediation conference is voluntary by the parties, except where governed by statute or contract clause.

The mediator is a person with patience, persistence and common sense. She/he has an arsenal of negotiation techniques, human dynamics skills and powers of effective listening, articulation and restatement. The mediator is a facilitator who has no power to render a resolution to the

conflict. The parties will fashion the solution as the mediator moves through the process. In many jurisdictions, the mediator is an attorney but cannot give legal advice while in the role of a mediator. However, the mediator's subject area expertise may be beneficial to the parties in wording and framing the mediated agreement or in circumstances where the parties are open to neutral case evaluation. (Writers, 2016)

5. Context the environment

The context of the environment includes places, appointments, and rules, which contribute to successful mediation.

a) Locations and appointments

The negotiating position must be neutral, not to advantage one party or to disadvantage. There must be no pressure during the negotiations, such as no protests outside the negotiating room. Even the negotiating table needs to be equally equal, and the round table is used to see everyone in front of each other, so the meeting room should be fit and there is the same floor that is not a stage-lecture meeting room.¹⁰ Lewicki said, it should not be a disadvantage, and it should be comforting to talk, it may be a neutral place to talk, formal or informal, depending on suitability. If there is a formal, such as in a meeting room, or informal, for example, in a restaurant, for appointments and negotiation times, how long will it take? When the negotiations are stopped, how the negotiations will be suspended, it depends on the satisfaction and mutual agreement from the two sides.

¹⁰ Wanchai Watthana. (2007). Conflict: Principles and Tools to Solve Problems. 3rd edition. Khon Kaen: Siripan Offset Printing House, 2007.

b) Rules and regulations for talking

When the middleman and the parties enter the negotiating table. The first step is to say hello, introduce yourself briefly, and then the intermediary to open the negotiations. Talk about the goal of negotiating together, such as using creative communication methods. Treat each other with respect. Avoid doing anything that will bring paranoia to each other. The speech must take turns. When one person speaks, the other should listen without quick judgment. Try to get him to pay attention to us. Everyone has equality. Don't focus on winning. The rules should be based on the participation of the parties with mutual consensus.¹¹

6. Clear and correct communication

The communication must begin with the negotiating party making clear information about themselves. Tell me what you want the reason they want is clear. And the parties should understand what we have communicated the use of two-way communication is helpful. Both formal and informal channels, such as during coffee breaks an informal meeting between the lower level negotiators or when either party has the opportunity to dominate the negotiation. May have to create rules let everyone speak, for example, not more than 5 minutes each (Lewicki J. Roy, 2001) (Pratheuangrattana, 2016). Thus, according to the above argument when two parties fulfil the seven factors then win-win solution may be able to reach, otherwise negotiation will not satisfy both parties and negotiation will not get resolution. This framework will be used to

¹¹ Wanchai Watthana. (2007). Conflict: Principles and Tools to Solve Problems. 3rd edition. Khon Kaen: Siripan Offset Printing House, 2007.

investigate the case of Thai government and Southern provinces peace negotiation.

D. Hypothesis

Of the six factors mentioned above. There are three factors of conflict between the Thai government and the three southern provinces that have not been successful in negotiations in the past to present as follows: lack of mutual trust, management conflict and there is not stage depth of discussion forums.

E. Research methodology

The research study on *The Tragedy of Conflict Irresolution: Peace Dialogue in Southernmost Thailand* was qualitative research. Which analyses efforts to end the conflict between the Thai government and the three southern provinces with more emphasis on case studies the qualitative methods contain information on the main phenomena surveyed in this study. The qualitative research objectives can also be discussed in the selected research design. Hence, this research can be analysed more deeply after collecting more detailed data and information.

This case study approach is a type of approach used to investigate and understand incidents or problems that arise by gathering different types of information that is obtained to find a solution so that the revealed problem can be resolved.

1. Techniques for data collection

The purpose of this study is to develop an effort to establish a negotiation agreement to resolve conflicts in southern Thailand. Therefore, the author collects data through literary studies as a basic for analysis. The study

of literature is carried out by processing books, journals, magazines, newspapers, the Internet, interviews, research papers, academic papers, and institutional reports, and other relevant resources to support the research content.

2. Data Analysis Techniques

This is the data from the structured interview and the unstructured interview. (Unstructured Interview) in an open-ended manner (Open-ended Question), the researcher will bring Content analysis and using techniques for classification and systematization of information is to bring the obtained data to be classified and categorized into a system such as data by categories that have already occurred, category information, suggestions for solving problems. Other category information etc.

F. Purpose of research

The main aim of this study is to analyse the factors that cause failure on the negotiation process between the Thai government and the southern provinces. Thus the result of this research can be used for further effort to resolve the conflict among parties.

G. Scope of research

This research is limited to negotiation process between Thai government and southern provinces conducted from 2004 to 2019.

H. System writing

Chapter I, will be explaining about the problem Background, Research Question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Research Methodology, Purpose of Research, Scope of Research, and System of Writing.

Chapter II, will be explaining about the short history southernmost Thailand, process peace talk between Thai government and separatist group, and factors of conflict between the Thai government and southernmost Thailand that have not been successful in negotiations.

Chapter III, Conclusion from the entire paper as a whole.