

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Middle East is one of region in the world that has a long history of civilization. Arabs, Assyrians, Kurds, Persians, and Turks are the majority ethnics who played important roles and fulfilled the history in Middle East. These ethnic one after another lead and keep the region to have influence in global order. Arabs and Persians along with number of Prophets became the pioneer of lightening era. Assyrians with the ancient kingdom of Palmyrene. Turks who were known with Byzantine, and also Ottoman Turks lead the Islam's authority under several influential rulers. Especially for Kurds, they were noted in the beginning era of Islamic period gave contributions and roles for Islam that could not be ignorance with numbers of scientist and the phenomenal leader, Salah al-din Al-Ayyubi.

Especially for Kurds, almost the whole history of Kurds, their people lived under ruler who conqueror their land of inhabitation. Persians and Turks were two dominant ethnic who control the people of Kurds. This condition happened for centuries after the triumph of Islamic era until today. Also for centuries, Kurds itself maintain on how to establish authority for their people or self-governance. In the middle of their effort to independent from other rulers or authority, Kurdistan presence as a concept that offer an exit door to their will. But, in fact, this concept has never came true, a vision of

‘stand on their own feet’ has always found a difficulties or even deadlock because a lot of factors.

Today, concept of Kurdistan was something that really difficult to be achieved. The land of Kurdistan are separated into five countries, they are Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Those sovereign countries do not want to give their region to Kurds who live in their lands. The struggle of Kurds to feel free to manage their people entrance a new stage in this condition.

Signed by the 20th century, the Kurds movements of self-governance or self-determination that want to separate from those countries came up. In Iran, a massive Kurds movement was began. Simko revolt in 1922, by the historian, was note as the first and aggressive movement that declare emergence of Kurdistan concept should be realized by expanding land militarily.¹ Unfortunately, Simko’s effort to realize the concept of Kurdistan was failed because the regime of Persian at that time more powerful than Simko’s ability to establish Kurdistan.

Today, Kurds who lived in Iran were categorized as one of largest ethnic minorities but their presence in Iran detected as a real threat for authority. After the effort of Simko, Iranian Kurds who propagated the idea of independence for Kurdistan nation emerged again and commanded by Serif Pasha in Sevres Treaty.² Later, this treaty was

¹ Farideh Koochi-Kamali, *The Political Development of the Kurds in Iran Pastoral Nationalism*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 80-81.

² Sevres Treaty is an agreement between Ottoman Turkey with British Allies as Winner of World War I that state about the partition of British ally territory, on <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/536839/Treaty-of-Sevres>, consulted on 9 March 2015.

cancelled by Ottoman Empire which ended the struggle of Kurds dream to have their own sovereign state in negotiation table, because another treaty was signed in 1923, Treaty of Lausanne, among Ottoman Empire and British allies.

Historically, Kurds who are living in Iran, has been a part under Iranian Dynasty protection for thousand years. Even in another time, they have ever been opposite for Iranian Dynasty, for instance when they fought for Ottoman Empire to fall down Safavid Dynasty. After disaffection of Kurds who disable to negotiate with any states in order to establish Kurdistan a state for Kurds nation, they have no power to fight against a new state, Turkey. Later, Kurds are aware to realize their willing that they should create national parties' movement that struggle in any ways for seeking Kurds' state.

In 1945, Qazi Muhammad, a nationalist Kurds, established The Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Iran or *Parti Demokirati Kurdistani Eran* (PDKI) which a year later signed the short-presence of semi-independent state, Republic of Mahabad, as the country for all of Kurds. This national party movement in Iran came as the seed of Kurdish movements in the future at whole. While Republic of Mahabad itself was destroyed by Pahlavi Dynasty and most of elites of PDKI moved to Iraq led by Mustafa Barzani, another nationalist Kurds from Iran, and then Kurdish movement in Iran still in remain. In 1967, Komala was formulated in Iran.³ This party alongside with PDKI

³ Rozh Ahmad, 'The Kurdish Struggle in Iran: A Lost Cause?', 7 March 2011, <http://www.ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2011/3/irankurd718.htm>, consulted on 9 March 2015.

in Iran fought together to separate from Iran territory and regime by using violence, even in fact that these parties had little political view differences.

The insurgency of Kurds in Iran be in peak level since 1979, when they alongside with Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's guards overthrown Pahlavi Dynasty. But then, Ayatollah instructed the guards to eliminate every Kurdish separatist movements after reached his power and wanted to keep Kurds as Iranian citizenship.

After Iranian revolution in 1979, the fighting spirit of PDKI and Komala, as traditional Kurdish separatist movements, against Iran Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) brought them into a long armed conflict. Although in the end these two parties could not reach 'victory' against Tehran's army. There were some reasons why these two parties lost in their battle to get attention for asking separation rights in Iran. Firstly, in their party found they got help, support, and logistic supply from Soviet Union by an 'approval' that these two parties should adopt socialist or communist ideology in their party ideology. Along with time, Soviet Union was betrayed them by interaction close relation Tehran regime; Pahlavi Dynasty leader and also to Ayatollah. It gave the effect to the party movement and weakened their party activities.

The second reason, Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps was too strong for these two parties to fight them over guns. Third, after a long way to fight against IRGC, PDKI and Komala had a big friction each other. It is noted, in early 1980's,⁴ there was civil war between Kurdish in Iran under name of PDKI and Komala. Moreover, no one

⁴ Ibid.

of them who could unite to represent all Iranian Kurdish voice. As the result of these causes, finally they changed their movement orientation by means 'soft' approach to reach their goals. Then, their goals also shift starting at asking independence or separation from Iran authority to become into demands for getting wider nationality right, those are political right and cultural right. In line with their end to do violation, PDKI declared its unilateral ceasefire with Tehran in 1996 and this party divided into two party groups. In the other side, Komala splited into three groups which one of them formed Communist Party of Iran in 1983.

Kurdish minority surrounding Iraqi Kurdistan had a new stage of their 'fighting' and big expectation when Iraqi Kurds got an Autonomous region in northern Iraq, named by Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in 1990's. As the brotherhood connection among Kurdish nations, Iranian Kurds hoped they would get support from KRG to get autonomous region in northwest of Iran. However, the reality delivered different fact.

In Iran, KRG had adopted negotiation and cooperation to Islamic Republic of Iran formally. This cooperation actually had mutual benefit to every sides. For KRG their existence, politically, could be recognized or admitted that make their power can last to stand because there is no dispute, conflict, or war to their autonomy, and gaining support from neighbor countries. In the other side, Iran would get safety from Kurdish separatists' movement because Iraqi Kurds who represented by KRG was denied to support any kind of separatists that will disturb Iran stability.

This thing had correlation to the end of armed conflict between duo Iranian Kurds parties against IRGC. Later, it was proved by the existence and protection that was given to PDKI's and Komala's elites with its military wing by KRG. They could stay and had haven in Iraqi Kurdistan region while they could do any activities there but they were forbidden to do harmful action to Iran authority. KRG also made a deal with Iran to put Iranian intelligent agents in Iraqi Kurdistan.

According to researcher, on Kurdish Diaspora politics, Vera Eccarius-Kelly, Kurdish minority group in Iran were really repressed in their political opportunities and cultural expression.⁵ The empty room of resistance of Iranian Kurds to fight for their political and cultural rights was exploited by Kurdish parties in Turkey, Kurdistan Workers' Party or *Partiya Karkeren Kurdistanî* (PKK), to revive such kind of separatist movement for Kurdish in Syrian, Iraq and in Iran which affiliated with PKK. Moreover, PKK's leader wanted to inspire other Kurdish groups who lived in these three countries on PKK's movement progress in Turkey that had already taken attention of Ankara authority to negotiate with them in order to fulfill their willing that were asking for autonomy and greater nation rights.

Especially in Iran, in 2004 they established Free Life Party of Kurdistan or *Partiya Jiyana Azad a Kurdistanê* (PJAK) as Kurdish separatist movement to fulfill the struggle for Kurdish nation's rights. Today, PJAK exists in the right time to maximize PKK

⁵ Alexandra Di Stefano Pironti, 'Iranian Repression of Kurds Behind Rise of Militant PJAK', 23 January 2014, <http://rudaw.net/english/middleeast/iran/23012014>, consulted on 8 March 2015.

support and Iranian Kurds to make any movement in Iran against Tehran regime and get their aims.

B. Research Question

According to the previous explanation in background then, there is a problematic that will be analyzed in this thesis by delivering a question: “Why did Kurdish separatist movement, PJAK, arise in Iran in 2004?”

C. Theoretical Framework

As a writing science research, every thesis needs theories or concepts to answer research question. In this thesis, the writer also need an applicable theories in order to state a scientific answer toward the research question. Theories are also needed as framework on research to make clear direction of this thesis.

1. Level of Social Movement

In case of PJAK establishment, this separatist movement was not only became as minor group in Iran, but the background on their social and political content also identified as minority group. In the beginning, PJAK lied their ideology on the bases Marxist idea which was communism ideologically, but the leader, Abdul Rahman Haji Ahmadi, later he followed the idea of libertarian socialism. Generally, the idea, value, and philosophy of PJAK itself was adopted from Abdullah Ocalan, a leader of Kurdish

separatist movement in Turkey.⁶ The leader of PJAK now lives in exile in Germany still control the party from far distance. Although their leader is not in Iran, but organizationally PJAK convinces the level of leadership as one important point to run their mission.⁷ Socially, their movement support NGOs who supports Iranian Kurdish rights and they also support Kurdish cultural ceremonies.

While in their member recruitment, PJAK welcomes members of other ethnicities outside Kurds. New members receive theoretical training that includes the history of humanity, the history of Kurdistan, gender and the importance of women participation in the struggle, rhetoric, ecology and ecology awareness, military tactics and method. In PJAK membership structure there are permanent members and sympathizers. Permanent members are recruited from many backgrounds, but they prioritize the young man and woman. Their task will be emphasized on the structural organization such as confronting, founding, and fighting. Sympathizers usually come from common society like students, civilians, and journalists. They only support the needs and act as an extension of permanent members' missions, and vote for certain city council or parliamentary candidates.⁸

Activities or communication among PJAK members is different compare to other Iranian Kurdish separatist movements, they send a party member into a town in which the member will establish contact to sympathizers and together with them conduct

⁶ <http://ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2010/7/irankurd631.htm>

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Danish Refugee Council and Danish Immigration Service report, 'Iranian Kurds', Danish Fact Finding Report, Copenhagen, September 2013, p. 49-53.

activities such as distribution of flyers, recruitment, and fund raising. While armed struggle is still doing by PJAK military wing against Iranian army.⁹

2. Separatism

Separatism is an advocacy or practice of separation of a certain group of people in a huge scale on the basis of ethnicity, religion, or gender.¹⁰ A wave of movement that organize well and act to ask for separation who want more political control in area in which they live.

In reality, the separatism movement could be applied in two condition. The first is an absolute separation, it means separatist want to separate from the central authority and becoming totally new independent country. The second is relative separation, it means separatist want to remain a part of the same country but they have some of their own laws will be applied in their region. Researcher determines the position of PJAK as a relative separatist movement because they want greater autonomy in their regions.

3. The Theory

a. Protected Social Conflict

The writer delivers Edward Azar's theory on conflict resolution which termed as Protected Social Conflict (PSC). Azar is an American Lebanese-born Professor who dedicated his life as head of the Centre for International Development and Conflict

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/separatism>, consulted on August 2015.

Management at the University of Maryland in United States. Azar describes Protected Social Conflict as:

‘In brief, protracted social conflicts occur when communities are deprived of satisfaction of their basic needs on the basis of the communal identity. However, the deprivation is the result of a complex causal chain involving the role of the state and the pattern of international linkages. Furthermore, initial conditions (colonial legacy, domestic historical setting, and the multi-communal nature of the society) play important roles in shaping the genesis of protracted social conflict’.¹¹

By publishing this theory, Azar wanted to give a new framework to see conflict as based on conflict interests or purposes between two or more parties. He argued that basic character caused of conflict happened when people could not meet their basic need. Here, basic need that becomes Azar’s main focus is about security, such as human security, political security, economic security, and social security.

Later, Edward Azar explained about four main indicators that identified as precondition to genesis of violent conflict. Precondition means there is requirement of indicator from non-conflict situation into conflict condition. There are communal content, human needs, governance and state’s role, and international linkages. In this thesis, refers to the Azar’s classification of precondition to protected social conflict, the writer will use three main indicators; communal content, human needs, and governance and state’s role, to explain the establishment of Kurdish separatist movement, PJAK, as the response to Islamic Republic of Iran’s actions toward Kurdish people in Iran.

¹¹ Edward Azar, *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory & Cases*, Aldershot, Dartmouth, 1990, p. 12.

A.) Communal Content

Communal societies is the most significant factor that can lead Protected Social Conflict. Azar states that:

‘...characterized by disarticulation between the state and society as a whole. With the state usually dominated by a single communal group or a coalition of a few communal groups that are unresponsive to the needs of other groups in the society’.¹²

Communal societies in a country can be formulated by intentional act of colonial countries on agreement toward their colonialize country to divide major group who govern the country and minor groups become civilian or society. Another way, communal societies also can be made by historical system, means domination of one group with its allies over other group that has been created based on groups who play as most influential role in society’s activities.

Disharmonized situation between state (as major groups) and society (as minor groups) then creates domination of majority society which enabling government to provide minority society. In another spectrum, government could eliminate the existence of minority group’s identity in the name of state’s interest. As the result, it creates fragmentation between society and state, and then society will react against state to get and show their identity’s rights.

¹² Ibid, p. 7.

B.) Human Needs

Violent conflict will come when deprivation of human basic need, that is security, occur in the middle of society. The primary security of human needs are safety and prosperous, described by Azar:

‘The most obvious ontological needs are individual and communal physical survival, and well-being. Individual or communal physical survival is contingent upon the satisfaction of basic needs. In the world of physical scarcity, these basic needs are seldom evenly or justly met. Whilst one group of individuals may enjoy satisfaction of those needs in abundance, others may not. Grievances resulting from need deprivation are usually expressed collectively. Failure to redress these grievances by the authority cultivates a niche for a protracted social conflict’.¹³

Society will feel unsatisfied when distribution of needs is only enjoyed by certain groups. Then, unfulfilled human basic needs will boost society to disaffection of minor groups and bring them to mass protest toward their government.

C.) Governance and State’s Role

Other precondition indicator to Azar’s Protected Social Conflict relates to the existence and role of government on defining of all groups could be fulfilled of their basic human needs without discrimination. Authoritarian government system in a country usually could trigger violent conflict rather than other form of government’s system. Logically, authoritarian regime will centralize power to one identity group and ignore other groups’ aspiration.

¹³ Ibid, p. 7-8.

Minority groups face pressure from their government which cannot act fairly to all of groups and government leans to resist participation of minority group in state's activities. Reaction will be done by minority groups because of this unfair government's action. As Azar said that,

‘such crises exacerbate already existing competitive or conflictive situations, diminish the state's ability to meet basic needs, and lead to further developmental crises. Thus regime type and the level of legitimacy are important linkage variables between needs and protracted social conflict’.¹⁴

Usually, authoritarian regime does not hesitate to use their military power to every repressive actions toward their regime.

b. Relative Deprivation

In analyzing violent or conflict in the society, there is a relevant psychology theory that could explain the nature of conflict and the root of human aggression which systematically loses their rights from state's institutions. It is called as political violence, corrupt of political system and its agents are blamed for some degree of people discontents. This cause of violence and conflict is seen from psychological reason which elaborated by Ted Robert Gurr in his book, *Why Men Rebel*. For the first time, he explains that political violence can be boosted by revolution of system inside the country. Disability of collective people to adapt the revolution on system can start the social turbulence which lead to conflict.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 11.

In the middle of society, there are a lot of groups that have different characteristics. When government governs to satisfy the needs of all groups in the state, there will always be probability that one group feels satisfied while other groups do not. The expectation of collective people to their needs fulfillment and the reality that they get from government treatment create one condition that Ted mentions as 'Relative Deprivation'. Next, relative deprivation explains that people tend to show their identity based on race, ethnic, and religion category. When the group of people come as one identity and be under the powerful majority group then, violence will happen toward these groups.

Referring to Ted definition on his term, relative deprivation itself means actors' perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities. Forth, value expectation defines as the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled and then, value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping.¹⁵

¹⁵ Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970, p. 24.

There are three patterns to describe on how relative deprivation works. Incremental deprivation, a condition when value expectation remains constant but there is declining on value capabilities; aspirational deprivation, in which value capabilities in flat degree and value expectations increase; and progressive deprivation, an increasing in value expectations and decreasing in value capabilities¹⁶. Related to this thesis, the writer will use one of three patterns that is used by Ted to explain precondition of conflict. That is the third pattern, progressive deprivation.

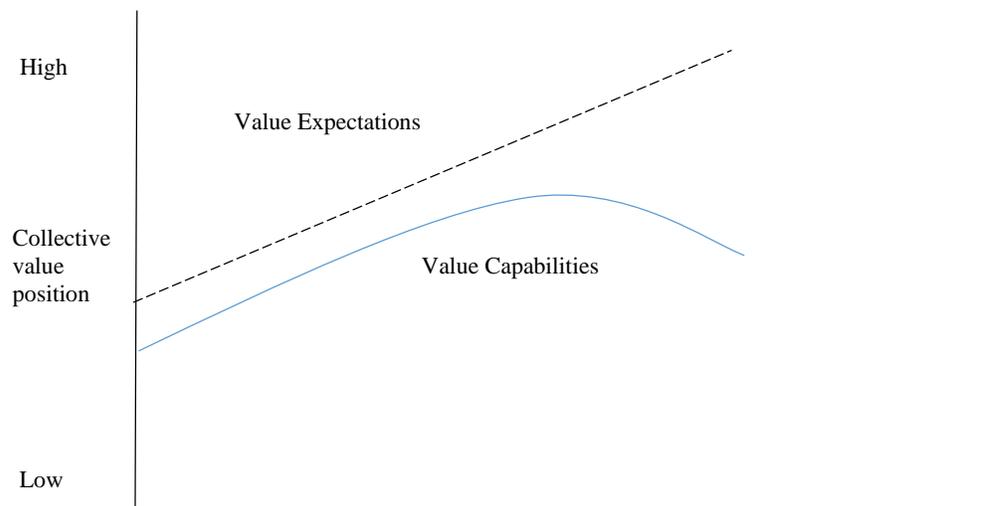


Table 1.1 J-Curve by Davies
 Source: Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970.

Progressive deprivation is named as “J-curve” by Davies. This pattern represents the setting of people’s expectation who want to enjoy steady improvement on value position while value capabilities decline after some period of improvement.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 46.

Progressive relative deprivation hypothesis is regarded as special case of aspirational deprivation pattern.

Davies describes that deprivation is the result of revolutions. His hypothesis is ‘revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal’.¹⁷ There are any changing of ideologies and system, especially on political and economic system that happen simultaneously in the middle of society and it will bring any group of people to have sustained improvement on their value position.

Political violances are likely to happen in this time, because the declining of social structure, beliefs, and norms can not be handled by government or they deliberately do such declining to maintain their existance. Furthermore, Davies stresses on the governemnt action that suppress their people to have some opportunities to satisfy their basic needs.¹⁸ So, precondition of politial violance will occure if the greater opportunity to satisfy basic needs do not meet to the reality while revolutions on system becomes the factor to government controlling the regime.

¹⁷ James Chowning Davies, ‘Toward a Theory of Revolution’, *American Sociological Review*, Volume 27, No. 1, February 1962, p. 6.

¹⁸ Ted Robert Gurr, *Op. Cit.*, p. 52.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the explanation on background and theoretical framework, the hypothesis of the research, they are:

1. Losing of Kurdish identity in lot of aspect of their lives is effected by the government's policies and actions which indicated that there is an effort from government to de-kurdinisation.
2. Disappointed of Kurdish elites in Iran toward the government on their political deprivation rights to rule Kurdish people.

E. Research Objectives

This Undergraduate thesis is created for purposes of:

1. Research is to understand conflict situation between Iran and Kurdish minority movements in Iran.
2. Describing on the establishment of insurgency group, especially in case of PJAK movement in Iran.
3. Means in applying the theory of conflict and assembling of knowledge during lectures.
4. Providing a final paper as final project of lecture.

F. Research Method

The research will be conducted by using qualitative method. A method to research natural setting where the writer becomes main instrument, by combine data collectively, data analysis is inductive, and the result of research more stress on sense rather on generalization it.¹⁹ The analysis of writer toward the case will be important to take the best result of research by understanding collective data that are collected. Library Research method will be used as the way to collect data to support research. Mean writer, by academic responsibility, will collect secondary data from various sources, such us books, journals, magazines, newspapers, sites, and other sources related to the thesis topic in order to complete the research.

G. Range of Research

In this thesis, the researcher would like to range the research time and it will be limited from 2004 to 2014. This time is taken start from the insurgency action between Kurds separatist group under PJAK and Iranian Government. In 2004, when no Kurdish party exist to against Iranian regime, PJAK established and organized their interest. PJAK was established to fulfill this purpose and became organization that wanted to seek separation from Iran by doing militant activities or being separatist group. Up to

¹⁹ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif Kualitatif dan R&D*, Bandung, Alfabeta, 2012, p. 13.

the moment when Iranian Government announced that PJAK has already deployed their position into Iran-Iraq border.

Kurds was known as the ethnic group who majority of them originally today live in several countries; Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syrian. Iranian Kurds were regardless as second minority nation in Iran and in this research. (Kurds will be emphasized as PJAK.)

Nevertheless, the data and events that occurred in another time that relevance to the research, writer will be taken as the consideration as the supporting data toward the topic.

H. Thesis Outline

Systematic writing is needed to create a scientific writing and framework of research in clear outline. The outline of this thesis is described as follows:

Chapter I. It contains of background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, objective of research, method of research, range of research and thesis outline.

Chapter II. Tittle as Dynamic of Kurds in Middle East. It will elaborate the history of Kurds and its identity as nation. Digging the past story will lead the story of minority Kurds in Middle East, especially in Iran.

Chapter III. This chapter will mention about the treatment of Iranian Government policies toward minority Iranian Kurd.

Chapter IV. This chapter will explain the main research problem in case of the establishment of Kurds separatist movement in Iran by using theoretical analysis.

Chapter V. The conclusion of this thesis as the final summary of research.