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TURKEY AND PKK TERRORISM

by

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TURKEY AND PKK TERRORISM

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requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, Turkey's struggle against PKK terrorism is analyzed to find an answer to the main research question of this thesis: "Why has Turkey not overcome the PKK and its terrorism after thirty years of struggle?" To accomplish this, two sub-questions are asked. The first sub-question deals with the perceptions and consequences of terrorism. Consequently, the thesis seeks a comprehensive understanding the motivations of both PKK cadres and Turkish decision makers. The second sub-question seeks to answer the question of why Turkish countermeasures against the PKK's tactics did not put an end to it. Likewise, the second question seeks reasons why PKK terrorism has not achieved the group's political objectives. Hence, the thesis described the mistakes of both parties in the interactive process.

The main argument of this thesis is that Turkey has not managed to destroy the PKK because it is trapped by the PKK's tactics, which aim to make the adversary overreact and force its adversary to implement measures which have counterproductive unintended consequences. Hence, the thesis argues that the PKK has successfully created a gap between the Turkish state and its citizens with Kurdish origin. Consequently, the PKK has managed to survive for thirty years by convincing these alienated Turkish Kurds to tacitly support the terrorist group.

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I.   INTRODUCTION

A.   MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

Turkey has been fighting the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) for almost thirty years. As a consequence of terrorism, Turkey has spent a significant portion of its budget for its territorial defense for at least three decades. More than 35,000[1] Turkish citizens have been killed by this violent terrorist organization. Turkey has suffered the direct effects of the conflict in the form of devastated infrastructure in the conflict zones. It has borne the costs of reconstruction and has absorbed the costs of additional security spending. Turkey has also felt terrorism's indirect effects, such as loss of production, obstruction of transformation, loss of income from tourism and the costs of regaining the confidence of tourists.[2] Consequently, PKK terrorism should be seen as the one of the main factors which jeopardizes Turkey's economic stability and results in problems of socioeconomic devastation and social frustration.

Turkey has implemented counterterrorism policies to end this separatist movement. Although Turkey has been accused of depending solely on its military power to fight PKK terrorism, the country has implemented additional non-military policies against terrorism, in diplomatic, economic and intelligence dimensions. Nevertheless, Turkey has not destroyed the PKK or managed to mitigate the ramification of it. Scrutinizing the reasons for Turkey's failure to bring to an end to the PKK during its thirty-year struggle may be crucial to comprehending the nature of this issue. Therefore, the research question of this thesis is "why has Turkey not overcome the PKK and its terrorism after thirty years of struggle?"

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[1] Andrew Mango, Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone (New York: Routledge, 2005) 31.

[2] Necmi Gunduz, and Selami Sezgin, "Economic Consequences of Armed Conflict in South Eastern Turkey" at http://www.wider.unu.edu/conference/conference-2004-1/conference%202004-1-papers/Gunduz-Sezgin-0403.pdf accessed August 2007.

B.   IMPORTANCE

Turkey cannot contribute meaningfully to the region's stability while its own stability is threatened by the PKK. Since Turkey is the only country in the region with a majority Muslim population that has a democratic political regime, it is important that the country serve as a model for non-democratic countries in the region while it tries to resolve the terrorism-induced problems within its territory. Furthermore, Turkey has been accused of undermining individual liberties, human and cultural rights while implementing countermeasures to terrorism, since "terrorism delays the extension of freedom and other reforms, because a society's first instinct [is] to defend itself."[3] Hence, it could be argued that PKK terrorism has had a negative effect on Turkey's democratic liberalization and consolidation process. Since the PKK's attacks have had negative consequences on Turkey's stability and socioeconomic structure for almost thirty years, it is fundamental to figure out the reasons why PKK terrorism has continued.

In this thesis, two sub-questions are asked to formulate an argument for the main research question. The first sub-question deals with the perceptions and consequences of terrorism. Consequently, the thesis seeks to reveal a comprehensive understanding the motivations of both PKK cadres and Turkish decision makers. The second sub-question pursues an answer to the question of why Turkish countermeasures against the PKK's tactics did not put an end to it. Likewise, the second question addresses the reasons why PKK terrorism has not achieved the group's political objectives. Hence, the thesis describes the mistakes of both parties in the interactive process. The main argument demonstrates that the Turkish government has not managed to destroy the PKK because it has become trapped into a cycle of overreaction to the PKK's terrorism tactics, which, as designed, force its adversary to implement measures which have counterproductive and unintended consequences.[4] Hence, the thesis argues that the PKK has successfully exploited terrorism phenomena and created a gap between the Turkish state and its

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[3] Mango, Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone, 85.

[4] William F. Shugart II, "An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945-2000," *Public Choice*, no. 128, (2006): 20.

Turkish citizens with Kurdish origin. Consequently, the PKK has managed to survive for thirty years by obtaining the tacit support of these alienated Turkish Kurds.

C.   LITERATURE REVIEW

There are three main arguments that describe the reasons why PKK terrorism has lasted such a long time. The first argument is presented by scholars who have doubts about military solutions to terrorism. They argue that even though using military power against terrorism has some short-term positive advantages, in the long term, military solutions are not the remedy for terrorism, which results in a state's social, cultural, and economic deprivations.[5] Moreover, it is argued that even though some conventional operations, namely Turkish incursion into northern Iraq to deny safe havens, can accomplish some objectives, fighting against terrorism indirectly by unconventional methods is vital.[6] In addition, it is claimed that Turkey's insistence on using only its military has triggered some counterproductive consequences. At times, military accomplishments have caused the misperception by Turkish decision-makers that the PKK terrorism is over.[7] Turkish governments have abandoned social and economic policies fighting the PKK because of the misassumption that these terrorists who have acquired the patronage of international actors have weakened and given up their activities. Furthermore, some security personnel's individual mistakes have aroused grievances among the public, who have been targeted by the PKK for recruitment and support purposes.[8] The PKK has survived since Turkey has been relying only on military power to deal with its terrorism problem.

Although this argument satisfactorily projects that depending only on military solutions could be counterproductive rather than a panacea to the problem, the necessity of using military means against terrorists, their camps, safe havens, logistic

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[5] Necati Alkan, "Turkiye'nin Terrorizmle Mucadelesi" *Stradigma*, no. 9 (October 2003): 1, at http://www.stradigma.com/index.php?sayfa=makale&no=19 (accessed December 2007).

[6] Eric P. Wendt, "Strategic Counterinsurgency Modeling," *Special Warfare*, (September 2005): 3-6.

[7] Philip Robins, "The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs)*, 69, no. 4 (October, 1993), 668.

[8] Alkan, "Turkiye'nin Terrorizmle Mucadelesi," 7.

structures and financial routes should not be undervalued in terms of preventing the PKK terrorizing the population and continuing to exist.

The second argument in the literature investigates international support given to the PKK's cause. In this literature, there is common assent that it is almost impossible for a terrorist organization to survive without international support in terms of logistics, finance, arsenals, and safe havens.[9] In the Turkish case, it is argued that the PKK has been used by its neighbors and some western countries as an instrument to exploit the ongoing conflict, or as leverage -- by weakening Turkey -- to impose their own national interests on Turkey.[10] The countries which have been exploiting this issue are Iran, Iraq, Syria and Greece. Syria perceives PKK terrorism as revenge for Hatay's incorporation into Turkey in 1939; in addition, Syria welcomed the PKK's training camps as leverage against Turkey's Euphrates River water flow policy.[11] Likewise, Iran manipulates PKK terrorism to block Turkey's influence over the region.[12] Also, Iraq has been welcoming the PKK's presence in its territory as an instrument to weaken Turkey by using the Kurdish card. In Iraq, especially in Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), PKK presence and its attacks against Turkey have been perceived as leverage to both to mobilize domestic population by presenting Turkey as an enemy of all Kurdish people wherever they live and to accumulate international support to suppress Turkish influence in the region. Moreover, the Greek government's aid to the PKK, such as providing them with training camps, meeting with and issuing a passport to Abdullah Ocalan, leader of the PKK, who was captured in 1999 in Nairobi with a Greek-Cypriot passport, cannot be denied.[13] Greece's support of the PKK could be seen as a counterattack on Turkey as retaliation for the contentious issues, such as Cyprus and the Aegean Sea, between two countries. Finally, western European countries have been offering aid to the PKK and its

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[9] Alkan, "Turkiye'nin Terrorizmle Mucadelesi," 13.

[10] Robins, "The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue," 658.

[11] James Brown, "The Turkish Imbroglio: Its Kurds," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 541, (September 1995), 125.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Michael M. Gunter, "Abdullah Ocalan: 'We are Fighting Turks Everywhere'," *Middle East Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (June 1998) at http://www.meforum.org/articles/399, accessed March, 2008.

affiliates by providing "a refuge and school for its militants, a source of funds, and a base for a wide-ranging propaganda campaign inciting violence in Turkey and seeking Western support for it."[14] This school of thought argues that international support to the PKK is so intense that, as a matter of fact, it is very hard for Turkey to bring an end to terrorism.

Even though this argument could be credited for emphasizing the fact that terrorism's international aspect should not be undervalued, if a terrorist organization has managed to survive for almost thirty years, there must be some domestic issues that Turkey ought to address.

The third group of scholars argues that the PKK issue should not be considered as a terrorist one and should instead be seen as a war of national liberation for an oppressed people — the Kurds that live in Eastern Turkey. They also argue that the Kurdish people, who do not yet have a state, are the one of the ancient peoples of the Middle East.[15] Hence, it is argued that the Turkish government's policies which deny the Kurds' existence, along with the restrictions — practically and legislatively — on the Kurdish language and the demonstration of Kurdish identity have provoked the Turkish Kurds. Moreover, these scholars advocate a federalist structure within Turkey, which should allow great autonomy to the Kurds, and diminish grievances among the Kurds so that eventually PKK terrorism would diminish. [16] It is argued that PKK terrorism cannot end as long as Turkey recognizes the issue as a Kurdish problem, or as a Kurdish nationalist movement.

Although this idea is credible in arguing that there are some domestic issues with which Turkey should deal, it ignores some empirical facts. For example, the PKK's cause cannot be explained solely by and recognized as Kurdish national aspirations. First is the fact that the PKK's foundation principle is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology rather

[14] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 35.

[15] Meral Yavuz, "'Kurt Sorununu Yeniden Dusunmek'ten Alti Cizili Satirlar," edited by Mustafa Akyol, at http://www.istanbulentellektuel.org, accessed December 2007.

[16] Nicole F. Watts, "Allies and Enemies: Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkish Politics, 1990-94," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31, no. 4 (November 1999): 637.

than a Kurdish nationalist ideology. For instance, Abdullah Ocalan has stated once, "In the beginning I was not a Kurdish nationalist."[17] Second, another statement from Ocalan could be given as empirical evidence, which shows that the PKK was not a Kurdish nationalist movement at first. He stated while criticizing his deputies in 1989, almost eleven years after he established the PKK, "When we look at the experience in other countries, we see that they started with 300 guerillas. Within two years their numbers rose to 10,000. We also started with 300, but we are still only 1,500. Why?"[18] If it were a Kurdish nationalist movement, there would be immense support for the PKK by Turkish Kurds.

One point should stand out clearly from these three arguments in the literature about the reasons Turkey has not brought to an end to the PKK: they ignore the terrorism phenomenon itself. Although the arguments are credible, since they unveil different aspects of the issue, they ignore the fact that terrorism's objective is to induce fear and hatred among its target audience. Furthermore, it aims to provoke its adversary to make mistakes, to polarize the people among a nation, to sow seeds of division between camps to promote its recruitment capability and to weaken its adversary.[19] The arguments do not pay sufficient attention to the dynamics of the domestic and international structure of the time when the PKK emerged. Moreover, they undermine the fact that Turkish governments have been manipulated by the PKK's tactics, which, initially, caused provocation among the Turkish-Kurds, and which, then, caused reluctant support of the PKK. Consequently, this thesis seeks to fill this crucial gap, to argue that Turkey's PKK is not so distinct from other terrorist movements in terms of strategies to manipulate its adversaries and to alienate people living in the same society.

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[17] Gunter, "Abdullah Ocalan: 'We are Fighting Turks Everywhere'," 1.

[18] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 38.

[19] Emre Kongar, "Terorle Mucadele," *Aydinlanma,* at http://www.kongar.prg/aydinlanma/2007/572_Teror.php accessed March 2008.

D. METHODS AND SOURCES

Using the process tracing method, this thesis presents the fundamental reason why the PKK has managed to survive for almost thirty years. In addition, with the process tracing method of tracing causal process and attempts to identify conditions, this thesis identifies solutions or recommendations for Turkey to overcome PKK terrorism, or at least mitigate many negative ramifications of it. The reason to choose this method is that every sub-question will facilitate this thesis to conclude main argument. Every answer to these sub-questions will be a step to reach the main thesis. To accomplish these aims, this thesis draws on scholarly articles, books, commission reports, newspaper articles, and interviews to provide a comprehensive picture of the issue.

To this end, the second chapter presents the background of PKK terrorism to prepare the audience of this thesis to comprehend the historical context of the issue. Then, in the third chapter, the sub-question "Why was it so easy for the PKK to manipulate Turkey?" is considered. In support of the question, the effects of Turkish domestic structure and dynamics will be examined, along with the Cold War era's norms and fears in late 1970s, when the PKK emerged. In the fourth chapter, Turkey's counter terrorism strategies against PKK's tactics are examined in three time frames in order to answer this chapter's sub-question: "Why have Turkish national counter terrorism strategies not put an end to PKK terrorism in thirty years?" In the last chapter, the main argument is presented as a holistic response to the main research question.

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II. TURKEY AND THE PKK

A. INTRODUCTION

In order to determine why Turkey struggles to bring an end to PKK terrorism, scrutinizing the dynamics of both the domestic and the international environments are informative. The grounds of the PKK's emerging in the late 1970s are presented in seeking to answer how Turkey was so easily manipulated by the PKK. To form a comprehensive answer, the effects of both Turkish internal and international dynamics in the late 1970s, when the PKK was established, will be examined, since it's argued that the dynamics of both the Turkish and international structure created room for the PKK to emerge as a Marxist-Leninist organization.

B. THE EFFECTS OF TURKISH DOMESTIC DYNAMICS IN THE LATE 1970S ON THE PKK ISSUE

Turkey did experience a form of modern terrorism before the 1970s. It is argued that the causes of 1970s terrorism go back to the 1950s when Turkey, with a newly introduced multi-party system, began to integrate itself into the global economic system. It is claimed that this unhealthy economic integration, along with high inflation in the 1950s, caused rising levels of socio-economic grievances, although the benefits of this integration can not be questionable.[20] These socio-economic resentments, it's debated, created a young generation in the universities who were angry with living under the effects of underdevelopment and believing themselves threatened by imperialism; namely, the American influence on Turkey.[21] These student unrest movements, under the auspices of the liberal constitution of 1961, created a chaotic environment in Turkey. In this sense, it is argued that there were many issues causing terrorism in Turkey during this time period.[22] Among them, "rapid urbanization as the population migrated from

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[20] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 14.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ulkumen Rodoplu, Jeffrey Arnold and Gurkan Ersoy, "Terrorism in Turkey: Implications for Emergency Management," *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine* 18, no. 2 (2003): 155.

rural Turkey to its cities…economic hardships as employment failed to keep up with an exploding urban population…growing unrest in the southeastern…and nascent radical Islamic and leftist student movements"[23] could be presented as the fundamental ones. Eventually, this chaotic structure in Turkey invited a coup d'état on March 12, 1971.[24] After the military intervention, there was a short-lived silence between 1971 and 1973.[25] After the civilian powers took over the executive branch again, the Turkish government's policies showed a lack of competence by failing to deny terrorism a foothold in Turkish soil. This situation was not limited to terrorism: the political incompetence, along with the economic problems, created a strange socio-economic structure within almost all classes of Turkish society. Teachers, the police, and workers were politicized and divided along with left and right-wing factions.[26] Consequently, the 1970s left these statistics before the military intervened once again: "231 political murders in 1977, 832 in 1978, 898 during the nine months between December 1978 and September 1979, and 2,812 during the following twelve months."[27]

During the 1970s, there were mainly two fronts in Turkey. On one side were the leftist organizations such as People's Liberation Party/Front (THKP/C) and Turkish People's Liberation Army (THKO), which were involved in some terrorist activities, namely killing, usurpation, robbery, and kidnapping.[28] On the other side there were the rightist organizations such as Turkish Revenge Brigade (TIT) and other extreme nationalist organizations, which were determined to protect the nation from leftist assault.[29] Especially in 1978 and 1979, there were many assaults on prominent citizens

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[23] Rodoplu and others, "Terrorism in Turkey: Implications for Emergency Management," 155.

[24] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 16.

[25] Ibid., 17.

[26] Ibid., 18.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Alkan, "Turkiye'nin Terorizmle Mucadelesi," 1.

[29] Ibid.

from both leftist and rightist sides in the name of either liberation of Turkey or protection of the Turkish state. Between 1978 and 1982, 43,000 terrorist incidents were reported, with an average of 28 deaths per day.[30]

Some scholars argue that the degree of a state's self-confidence has an effect on the state's response to terrorism.[31] In this respect, it is useful to compare the reactions of France, which is described as "a self-assured, centralized, strong state, after a 200-year tradition of dealing with social discontent,"[32] and West Germany, which is described as a less consolidated state, to terrorism during the 1960s and the 1970s.[33] One author concluded that

> While the inflexible and unnecessarily harsh actions of the West German police contributed to the escalation of the conflicts in that country, in France volatile situations were repeatedly defused by the subtle, concerted action of the head of the police and the leaders of the protest movements, as both sides wanted to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. Thus France was able to cope with the restless 1960s and 1970s, which were marked by innumerable street battles and confrontations, without additional security laws and without a state of emergency.[34]

In this sense, it could be argued that even though the Turks have a strong tradition of governing a state, the rulers of the Turkish Republic might have perceived that their new state was vulnerable to these confrontations and social discontents after having experienced the conflicts during the 1960s and the 1970s. Consequently, Turkish officials might have recognized that the best response to terrorism and any kind of quasi-terrorist movement should be harsh suppression, for the sake of the country's future and survival.

Moreover, as Crenshaw argues, if the state's regime is perceived as politically vulnerable, any terrorist organization could see this situation as an opportunity to use

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[30] Rodoplu and others, "Terrorism in Turkey: Implications for Emergency Management" 155.

[31] Peter Waldman, "Ethnic and Sociorevolutionary Terrorism: A Comparison of Structures," *International Social Movement Research* 4 (1992): 250.

[32] Waldman, "Ethnic and Sociorevolutionary Terrorism: A Comparison of Structures," 250

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

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their acts to challenge the government.[35] In this sense, it could be argued that the situation of late 1970s in Turkey suited that description; hence, the PKK decision makers might have perceived that the Turkish state, which had been struggling with mainly leftist terrorist organizations for a while, was vulnerable to terrorism.

Along with leftist and rightist factions' conflicts with each other, the fact remained that economic problems had been threatening Turkey as well. The east of Turkey, where most of the Kurdish population is concentrated, suffered much more than the west. Besides, the PKK, with the aim of accumulating more recruits, tried to manipulate the indigenous people by claiming that Turkey did not invest the east on purpose, although it has been argued that disproportionate economic development between the two regions, namely the east and west of Turkey, was not intentional.[36] Rather, it was a consequence of industrial revolution, which created a gap between the east and the west in terms of economic prosperity. This inevitable gap results more from the geography of Turkey, where the west has ports and is located next to industrialized countries but the east, on the other hand, is far away from these countries and has a feudal structure, along with a rough mountainous territory-- all of which hinders equal distribution of wealth and presents numerous barriers to effective transportation. Along with this historical economic deprivation, the draining effects of terrorism created by the PKK hindered an upsurge in economic terms in the region. For instance, "in 1993, 10 percent of the budget was allotted to education and 3 percent to health, whereas defense and security expenditures compromised 40 percent of the total."[37] In this respect, some scholars argue that "poverty fosters terror because it creates a sense of hopelessness, restricts educational opportunity, and produces frustration over inequality."[38] In this sense, it could be claimed that the PKK has not emerged as a Kurdish nationalist

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[35] Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism" in Walter Reich ed., *Origins of Terrorism* (Washington D.C.: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 14.

[36] Yavuz, "Alti cizili satirlar: Kurt sorununu yeniden dusunmek/Mudtafa Akyol."

[37] Ertugrul Kurkcu, "The Crisis of the Turkish State," *Middle East Report*, no. 199 (April-June, 1996): 7.

[38] Michael Moussea, "Market Civilization and Its Clash with Terror," *International Security* 27, no. 3 (Winter 2002-2003): 5.

movement. Its existence resulted from the rapid social and economic change in Turkey, which promoted great expectations, and sought short-cuts to when discontents occurred as a result of unmet expectations.[39]

At some point, scrutinizing the Turkish officials' initial reactions to PKK terrorism predicted the Turkish countermeasures developed. Then-Prime Minister Turgut Ozal argued that this new terrorism wave was intentionally provoked by external powers to undermine the Turkish economic improvements and its stability.[40] In this vein, he stated that "certain countries -- for their own interests and by their attitudes -- seemed to be protecting terrorism against Turkey. No ideology could be more sacred and important than human life…There is no doubt that as we grow stronger, they will put new obstacles in our path."[41] In this respect Ozal stated his government's first countermeasures as "ensuring the continuity of state authority and security, securing tranquility, preventing illegal crossing -- particularly from Iraq and Iran -- in and out of Turkey, thorough an effective border control and isolating the terrorists in Turkey."[42] Furthermore, it was reported that then-Interior Minister Yildirim Akbulut labeled the attackers as "isolated actions by bandits as in the past."[43] Actually, it could be argued that the Turkish officials perceived PKK terrorism not just as some bandits' attacks to the state, but also as a national security problem, so that their first responses were focusing on assuring security of the state and of its citizens.

Moreover, the PKK managed to exploit the reality that Turkish security forces were not prepared to deal with non-conventional threats by using hit-and-run tactics in

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[39] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 32.

[40] BBC, "Turkish Prime Minister on Terrorist Incidents in Anatolia," *BBC*, on October 19, 1984 at http://www.lexisnexis.comlibproxy.nps.edu/us/lnacademic/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T3698291647&format=GNBFI&sort=RELEVANCE&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T3698291650&cisb=22_T3698291649&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=10962&docNo=9 accessed May, 2008.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Between Guerilla War and Political Murder: The Workers' Party of Kurdistan," *Middle East Report*, no. 153 (July-August, 1988): 40.

the first phase of its campaign. Much more time would pass before Turkish countermeasures became mature enough to resist terrorism.[44]

As a strategic rule terrorist organizations try to place their adversaries in unwinnable situations. As Martha Crenshaw argues:

> Governments, especially democratic governments, are constrained further in their responses to terrorism by the force of public opinion. Indeed, in addition to creating a climate of fear, terrorist groups may be able to achieve their goals by provoking governments into adopting repressive countermeasures that undermine civil liberties or simply disrupt daily life so much so that the citizenry turns its ire, not against the terrorist themselves, but against the governing regime. Extensive security precautions may also serve a terrorist group's cause by contributing to the public's perception of its power.[45]

It could be argued that this is what happened in late 1970s and early 1980s in Turkey. The coup d'état of the 1980's left 175,000 people, mainly leftist, imprisoned within the first year by a regime widely accused of being oppressive.[46] From that point, a manipulated and overreacted state and its exploiter, the terrorist organization PKK, were the two political poles in Turkey. In this context the ban of using the Kurdish language, which was imposed in 1983,[47] could be presented as an unwise response to terrorism by the Turkish officials, which was provoked by the PKK. It was interesting that even though there was no discrimination against the Kurds living in Turkey, after the PKK's manipulations and provocations, the countermeasures were perceived as discrimination tools against them. The propaganda of the PKK was so effective that Turkey is viewed by many around the world as an oppressor of the Kurds, and that PKK terrorism resulted mainly from repressing the Kurdish identity, namely a ban on using Kurdish language, which is a misperception indeed.

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[44] Alkan, "Turkiye'nin Terorizmle Mucadelesi." 1.

[45] Shughart II, "An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945-2000," 12.

[46] Omer Karasapan, "Turkey and US Strategy in the Age of Glasnost," *Middle East Report*, no. 160 (September-October, 1989): 8.

[47] Robins, "The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue," 662.

As a retired American General stated, "to understand Turkey, one must keep in mind that it lives in very bad neighborhood. No other NATO [A]lly faces as many threats, problems, and challenges right across its doorstep."[48] It could be argued that since Turkey is located in a region where powerful nations' interests lie, there is a common perception among Turks that these nations would create artificial problems to make Turkey unstable. Actually, the supporters of terrorist activity in Turkey were mainly Turkey's neighbors. It is claimed that "supported by Bulgaria and other Soviet satellites, left-wing terrorists operating out of university safe-havens struck targets in major Turkish cities. Right-wing groups receiving assistance principally from Syria and finding their own sanctuaries in local mosques quickly emerge to counteract the terrorists of the left."[49]

In conclusion, Turkey was trying to deal with many domestic issues in different areas in the late 1970s. Rapid industrialization from the drive to join the global economy fueled the leftist-rightist conflicts of the 1960s and 1970s. The effects of economic deprivation and a new political structure led to societal grievances that made it prey to terrorist activity.It should be remembered that Turkish officials perceived that their relatively newly born state's survivability was under threat. For that reason their response to terrorism was not the same as France's, a supposedly strong state. In this case, when the PKK realized that the domestic dynamics of Turkey was available for manipulation, along with the fact that the Turkish political structure was vulnerable at that time, the PKK exploited every possible incident and government countermeasures to foment unrest among the indigenous people against the leadership.

C. THE EFFECTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT ON THE PKK ISSUE

The Cold War has both direct and indirect effects on Turkey's struggle against thePKK. The students creating unrest, who had been influenced by the international environment, could be mentioned as one of the indirect effects. These students were used

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[48] Karasapan, "Turkey and US Strategy in the Age of Glasnost," 6.

[49] Shughart II, "An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945-2000," 24.

to provoke anti-imperialism, namely anti-Americanism, in Turkey. It's a fact that anti-imperialism was not peculiar to Turkey: Vietnam, Algeria, and Cuba are successful examples of anti-imperialism movements under the banner of revolutionary anti-imperialism.[50] In addition to these locations, Turkey might have been chosen as another stage where the Cold War's global actors tested their powers.

As mentioned above, the Cold War had also direct effects on Turkey's fight with PKK terrorism. It is argued that PKK terrorism should be considered within the framework of the Cold War.[51] The Soviets' support of the Syrian Baath regime and Hafez al-Asad's support of the Palestinian cause in return for balancing the Israelis, which are the Americans' allies in the region, could be considered as Cold War tactics.[52] Likewise, the PKK was supported by the Soviets and its proxies, namely Bulgaria, Syria, and the Palestinians, particularly Marxist groups.[53] Moreover, along with being a proxy of the Soviets, Syria had other reasons for supporting the PKK, such as Turkish Israeli relations in terms of intelligence and military, water rights issues, and the disputed city of Hatay, on the border between Turkey and Syria.[54]

Since the Cold War set the communist bloc against the capitalist bloc, terrorist organizations were seen as leverage to promote regime changes, namely from capitalism to communism, or at least as a tool to create instability. It's argued that Turkey was one of the examples in which international actors played an active role in creating terrorism within Turkish borders. Because of this perception, after the 1980 coup, the Turkish officials declared, "Certain foreign powers and their treacherous collaborators at home who knew that their deviant ideologies could not ever come to power in Turkey through democratic channels, planned to create a climate of violence in the country."[55] The 26,000 rocket launchers, 7,000 machine guns, 48,000 rifles, 640,000 handguns, and 6

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[50] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 14.

[51] Ibid., 34.

[52] Ibid., 34.

[53] Ibid., 35.

[54] Niyazi Ekici, "Turkiye-Suriye Iliskilerinde Su Sorunu ve Su-Teror Baglantisi," *International Strategic Research Forum* 2, no. 1 (Ocak-January, 2008): p. 16.

[55] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 19.

million rounds of ammunition that were captured by the Turkish security forces, were presented as proof of international support to terrorist groups within Turkey.[56]

Then-Prime Minister of Turkey Turgut Ozal described the Cold War's dynamics and its effects on international politics in 1984 in terms of how terrorists organizations were being used a tool by some countries for imposing their policies on others. In this sense he argued that

> For the past 15 years, terrorist incidents have been used as a tool of a worldwide strategy. The hot war was replaced by a cold war and the cold war was replaced by a war being waged by terrorist organizations. This is the method being used in all countries in a bid to disrupt state authority and divide nations. In countries which are not armed against terrorism, professional terrorist groups can achieve   surprising results in a short time.[57]

Furthermore, some scholars argue that

> Europe's transition to a market economy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to [the] rise of antimarket socialist, communist, and fascist movements as well as sectarian terror. Similarly, the transition toward a market economy in many contemporary developing countries is associated with antimarket socialist, ethnofascist, hypernationalist, and religious fundamentalist movements-as well as sectarian terror.[58]

In this sense, it could be argued that these antimarket socialists and communists in Turkey joined global leftist movement and got on the bandwagon to liberate the Turkish people and establish a well-structured fair regime in Turkey during the 1960s and 1970s. The parallel situation in West Germany supports this argument.

> The RAF-Red Army Faction, the movement of June 2, and Revolutionary Cells…emerged from the declining student movement and the extraparliamentary opposition of the 1960s, rejected the West Germany system because of its supposed fascism and imperialism…The aim of the terrorist attacks was to liberate the German working class and the poor, exploited masses of the Third World countries from the capitalist yoke.[59]

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[56] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 19

[57] BBC, "Turkish Prime Minister on Terrorist Incidents in Anatolia."

[58] Moussea, "Market Civilization and Its Clash with Terror," 19.

[59] Waldman, "Ethnic and Sociorevolutionary Terrorism: A Comparison of Structures," 238.

Within this context, it could be argued that for the decision makers of the PKK, this context might have been perceived as an opportunity to realize their cause.

Moreover, it is claimed that harsh counterterrorism policies could incite terrorism.[60]

> In the late 1960s and early 1970s, state institutions often reacted to protest in over-repressive ways. To cite just one by no means extreme example: in the United States…the Nixon administration countered social protest by escalating surveillance, resorting to intimidation, establishing special congressional committees to investigate members, and creating the CIA's 'operation chaos'…[Likewise] the Reagan administration implemented a similar policy in the 1980s.[61]

Since the fact that Turkey has established good and close relations with the United States in many areas, it could be argued that it was inevitable for Turkey to be influenced by the American administrations in responding to terrorism and other expressions of social discontent in the same way the Americans did. The Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) of 1980, which is "primarily a defense agreement…in response to two crises that occurred in 1979, namely, the revolution in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan,"[62] demonstrates how these two countries had a similar worldview during the 1970s and the 1980s.

Furthermore, it is claimed that since there was no credible alternative to the left, which was globally in crisis; besides, the Turkish social democrats' and labor unions' inability to integrate to global market caused socio-economic grievances within the Turkish society.[63]

In conclusion, within the framework of the Cold War, using proxy states and organizations, namely terrorist organizations, to impose policies and or to balance

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[60] Donatella della Porta, "Introduction: On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations," *International Social Movement Research* 4, (1992): 15.

[61] Ibid., 15.

[62] Mahmut Bali Aykan, "Turkish Perspectives on Turkish-US Relations Concerning Persian Gulf Security in the Post-Cold War Era," *The Middle East Journal* 50, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 345.

[63] Omer Karasapan, "Turkey and US Strategy in the Age of Glasnost," *Middle East Report*, no. 160, (September-October 1989): 10.

counter opponents and to create instability within the rival's bloc during the Cold War might have considered as a tactic by the main actors of the Cold War. In this essence, the emergence of the PKK could be perceived as a consequence of the Cold War dynamics' effect on Turkey. Moreover, it could be argued that the Western bloc implemented relatively repressive countermeasures to respond terrorism within the Cold War's context. Accordingly, non-compromising counterterrorism strategies were perceived as competent tools to assure the states' and its citizens' security. These norms' effects on the Turkish decision makers cannot be denied. For that reason, it could be argued that Turkey implemented harsh countermeasures just as its allies did. Consequently, these countermeasures were exploited by the PKK to sustain its recruitment pool in Turkey.

D.   CONCLUSION

It could be argued that there are two main factors which provoked terrorism in Turkey. The first one is economic deprivation, a result of lack of a strong economic structure while undertaking a too-rapid integration into the global market. Since, during these so-called economic improvement years, the Turkish people had suffered negative consequences of rapid industrialization, this naturally created resentment and unrest among members of Turkish society. This resentment came to be embodied in terrorism; namely, PKK terrorism. The PKK exploited these resentments and manipulated them against the Turkish state, with the aim of creating a recruitment pool to survive.

The second factor is the rapid changes in Turkish social and political structures, namely rapid urbanization and the democratization process, along with the Cold War's effect on these issues. The people who had suffered the multiple negative effects of industrialization and urbanization were first intimidated and then exploited by the PKK.

The process of rapid industrialization, urbanization, economic deprivation, and socio-politic grievances played a major role in provoking terrorism in Turkey in the 1970s. As a consequence of a new and unfamiliar Turkish domestic structure, the PKK found room to emerge and manipulate Turkey, with the help of Soviet Union, within the context of the Cold War.

In conclusion, some scholars argue that there are four dimensions for an organization to start a collective action; the first is discontent; the second is ideology-feeding grievances; the third is the capacity to organize; and the last is political opportunity.[64] In this context, when Turkey is analyzed it could be argued that the PKK exploited the socio-economic grievances caused mostly by rapid urbanization and perceived economic deprivation. In addition, the PKK used Marxist-Leninist ideology to liberate the Kurds who had been exploited by the previous, long-standing feudal structure in the region. Along with the external support to organize, it was easy for the PKK to take advantage of the political environment to initiate its struggle, because in the late 1970s both Turkey and the world had become vulnerable to terrorism.

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[64] Anthony Oberschall, "Explaining Terrorism: The Contribution of Collective Action Theory," *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 1 (March 2004): 27.

III. TURKEY'S COUNTERTERRORISM STRATEGIES AND THE PKK'S TACTICS

A. INTRODUCTION

Turkey has implemented counterterrorism policies to bring an end to separatist terrorism. Although Turkey has been accused of depending solely on its military power to fight PKK terrorism, the country has implemented additional non-military policies against terrorism, in diplomatic, economic and intelligence dimensions. Nevertheless, Turkey has not destroyed the PKK completely nor managed to mitigate all the ramifications of it up to now.

In this chapter, Turkey's counter terrorism strategies and the PKK's tactics will be examined within three time frames in order to answer the sub-question of this chapter, "Why have Turkish national counter terrorism strategies not put an end to PKK terrorism for thirty years?" The first time frame begins with the year of the PKK's foundation and ends at the beginning of 1990s, when the Cold war had just finished. The second time frame covers the 1990s, and the last one begins with the capture of Abdullah Ocalan in 1999 and extends to the present. The purpose of this time frame separation is to observe the adjustments of Turkish countermeasures according to changes in the PKK's arguments and tactics. Hence, the reasons for Turkish countermeasures' failure to bring to an end to PKK become clear.

B. TURKEY'S COUNTERTERRORISM STRATEGIES AND THE PKK'S TACTICS

1. From the Late 1970s to 1990

a. The PKK's Tactics

The PKK was established by Abdullah Ocalan in November 1978, in Lice, near Diyarbakir , with twenty-three of his friends, including some Turks, ,[65] with the aim

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[65] Chris Kutschera, "The Middle East talks to Abdullah Ocalan," *Middle East*, no. 289 (April 1999): 10.

of establishing an independent Kurdish state on the base of Marxist-Leninist ideology.[66] The fact that there were some Turks in the establishment process of the PKK could be presented as proof that the foundation of the PKK was not based on Kurdish nationalism. Then, before the 1980 military coup, Ocalan escaped to Lebanon to avoid being prosecuted.[67] After the invasion of Lebanon by Israel, Ocalan left for Damascus, Syria in 1982 to assure the security of his terrorist organization.[68]

On August 15, 1984,[69] the PKK began its violent career in Turkey with raids on two towns, Eruh in Siirt and Semdinli in Hakkari. Initially, the PKK targeted civil and indigenous layers of society, most with Kurdish descent, using the Turkish government's affiliates, namely, teachers and doctors, to foment unrest and gain the local people's support.[70] In essence, it could be argued that at the beginning of his struggle Ocalan used the annihilation approach; in addition, it is claimed that he aimed to mobilize local people by using their hatred and feelings of antagonism feelings. His message, which was the Kurds are poor and like women, could be presented as evidence of this approach.[71]

Later, in 1986, the PKK changed its target policy and it extended its target file by including the "village guards," a system [72] which was introduced in 1985 to defend isolated villages and hamlets with lightly armed local villagers[73] — 16,000 by the end of 1989 and twice in number by 1993.[74] Then, the PKK implemented a new tactic to accumulate more recruits by declaring so-called "military service law" to intimidate people into sending their children to the mountains to be members of the PKK or face the

[66] Svante E. Cornell, "The Kurdish Question in Turkish Politics," *Orbis* 45, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 39.

[67] Kutschera, "The Middle East talks to Abdullah Ocalan," 10.

[68] Ibid.

[69] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)," at http://www.usakgundem.com/pdfs/USAK_PKK_Kronoloji.pdf, accessed April 2008.

[70] Kutschera, "The Middle East talks to Abdullah Ocalan," 10.

[71] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[72] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[73] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 37.

[74] Chris Kutschera, "Mad Dreams of Independence: The Kurds of Turkey and the PKK," *Middle East Report* (July-August, 1994): 14.

PKK's retaliation.[75] It could be argued that the PKK chose this forcible tactic to make endogenous people participate in or affiliate with their actions in one way or another so that first, the parents would be vulnerable to the PKK's demands in terms of logistics, recruitment, and safe haven. Second, young men and women who were recruited forcibly would be participating in the illegal actions of the PKK, creating a common feeling of guilt and delaying their escape. Third, unwillingly recruited children would be forced to stay in the mountains with the PKK in order to avoid retaliation against their families. It could be argued that this tactic might have served as the most effective catalyst to force local families to support the PKK's cause at the expense of creating alienation between the Turkish state and them. With this direct challenge, the PKK tried to prove the Turkish state's ineffectiveness in the region by exploiting the region's harsh geographic conditions.

The PKK's choice to use mountains at the common borders of Turkey and Iraq and Iran as a safe haven and as a front to conduct hit-and-run actions against Turkey was not an arbitrary choice. Throughout history these mountains have served as safe haven to bandits and smugglers, away from the reach of the central government's authority. Their rugged character hinders transportation and communications networks, and the small villages are far away from each other,[76] the PKK chose these mountains to exploit the natural structure of this region as a safe haven, as a liberated area to prove that it is in charge in the region.[77] Especially under these conditions, "the security of the people must be assured as a basic need, along with food, water, shelter, health care and a means of living."[78]

In this region, the June 1987 Pinarcik massacre, which took 30 innocent lives (sixteen children, six women, and eight men),[79] was the PKK's first large scale

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[75] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 37.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Gregory Wilson, "Anatomy of a Successful COIN Operation: OEF-Philippines and the Indirect Approach," *Military Review*, (November-December, 2006): 6.

[79] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

attack in Turkey. As it was vowed by Abdullah Ocalan, "Let's kill them to be authority,"[80] the aim of these attacks was to be in charge in the region by terrorizing the local people who were in a desperate situation.

As a countermeasure, when the Turkish authorities evacuated some small villages and hamlets to prevent them from being used as a logistics line by the PKK and to protect the lives of the villagers, the PKK tried to exploit the resentment among the villagers who had encountered some problems while transferring from the mountains to the cities; in addition, the PKK tried to present this countermeasure as a harsh tactic and as a discrimination against the Kurds.[81] By doing so, it could be argued that the PKK calculated that there would have been more pressure on Turkey from the Western European countries to push Turkey in a position that the PKK could easily exploit.--that the Turks destroyed the Kurdish villages. This was intended to create an outrage among the Turkish citizens with the Kurdish origin so that the PKK could recruit more members for its organization or get more support from its target audience, the endogenous Kurdish population. Moreover, as Amin Maalouf's argument that "the single biggest contributor to identity based violence is 'humiliation' articulates, when a group feels threatened, marginalized or humiliated, the identity that was nominal before becomes the dominant defining characteristic. Humiliation, he argues, is the most reliable indicator of the rise of fanaticism."[82]

From 1987 to 2002, the PKK focused on official state infrastructures to undermine the Turkish state authority over the region and to show the Turkish state's inability to protect its citizens, especially Kurds, and to create a favorable environment for its cause.[83] During this time period,

> 307 public servants were killed and 204 injured. The victims included 96 teachers killed. Also killed were 90 junior officials and manual workers employed by the state, 32 prayer-leaders, four doctors, and three mayors.

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[80] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[81] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 38-39.

[82] Amin Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity*, at http://blog.shunya.net/shunyas_blog/2007/07/identity-donnin.html accessed May 2008.

[83] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 39.

There were 114 schools totally destroyed and another 127 damaged. Health centers (six destroyed, eight damaged), road-making and mining machinery… (500 pieces of equipment destroyed), railway carriages (45 destroyed and 40 damaged), post offices, electricity lines, bridges were all targeted.[84]

The Marxist-Leninist argument was at the foundation of the PKK's ideology in this phase. The most tangible tactic of the PKK was killing civilians. This combination was designed to transfer the Kurdish people's hatred and grievances to the Turkish state. The strategy also dissuaded the local people from turning against the PKK. Finally, the government was manipulated into evacuating small villages in response, and this was used to get more support from both the local public and the international community[85]

b. *Turkey's Countermeasures*

Generally, it is argued that Turkey's counterterrorism strategy is based on a no-compromise, no-negotiation approach.[86] The rationale for this approach is classic deterrence: that as long as states show firmness and determination against terrorist acts, they can bring to an end to terrorism.[87] In this sense, it is argued that "concessions to terrorist demands will encourage terrorism."[88] Therefore, it is assumed that "reducing the rewards for terrorism and increasing its costs affect the calculations of terrorists."[89] As articulated by former Foreign Minister of Turkey, Ismail Cem, "Social and political demands or the presumed lack of certain freedoms cannot justify the murder and the massacre of thousands. Terror cannot be justified under any circumstances."[90] Another

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[84] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 39.

[85] Martha Crenshaw, "An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism," *Orbis* 29, no. 3 (1985): 485.

[86] Gunduz S. Aktan and Ali M. Koknar, "Turkey" in *Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries* edited by Yonah Alexander (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 2002), 273.

[87] Martha Crenshaw, "How Terrorism Declines," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3, no. 1 (1991): 73.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., 74.

[90] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 86.

reason for this policy is the fact that the PKK, which claims to represent the Kurds in Turkey, has proved it does not in fact support Turkish citizens with Kurdish origin. As Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan states:

> The terrorist organization [PKK] does not represent my citizens of Kurdish origin. It cannot be. The separatist terrorist organization is trying to profit from our Kurdish citizens. It tries to create opportunities for itself by exploiting them. It has not shown anything but blood and tears to our people of Kurdish descent.[91]

Moreover, there are no grounds that PKK is the only counterpart with which Turkey should negotiate, since Turkish citizens with Kurdish origins can enjoy all legal rights which are given and assured by the Turkish constitution. As some scholars argue,

> In the absence of legal or other forms of discrimination against Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin who have enjoyed full political rights under the Turkish constitution, access to the system has never really been an issue. In this regard, Turkish Kurds have risen to high levels of government in both elected and appointed positions.[92]

Ideally, a consolidated democracy with all its benefits, such as free media, representation in government, and labor union rights, should promote equal opportunity in every level of society and trade affairs, and provide public services such as health, transportation, and education, to all Turkish citizens, and not favor a particular political group or an ethnic group. Hence, as some argue that an open government system works best when its citizens share equally in enjoying benefits and bearing the consequences of hard times. Thus, when the Turkish constitutional Supreme Court heard a trial to shut down a political party that represented an ethnic group, it announced that giving extra rights to an ethnic group could promote them in a privileged manner, which is against national sovereignty and nation-state concepts.[93] Consistently, Turkey has showed its

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[91] Today's Zaman, "PKK not representative of Turkey's Kurds, says Prime Minister Erdoğan," December 12, 2007 at http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=128955 accessed December, 2007.

[92] Aktan and Koknar, "Turkey," 268.

[93] Talat Salk, "Kuzey Irak ve PKK Teroru," at http://stratejikgundem.com/haber.php?id=15216, accessed December 2007.

determination by refusing to negotiate with the PKK, even when its activities were peaking during the mid-1990s, and by reaffirming that there is neither a discrimination against an ethnic group, nor a privilege in favor of an ethnic group.

In the case of the PKK, one of Turkey's main responses was to impose martial law. It is argued that since there was insufficient coordination between civilian and military officials, there was not sufficient improvement in terms of countering terrorism.[94]

Therefore, in 1987, Turkey replaced martial law with a new system within which a regional governor may exercise emergency powers to establish comprehensive coordination to respond local peoples' needs and to counter the PKK.[95] Moreover, in 1987, in order "to protect the villagers and to deprive the terrorists of food and shelter which they [the PKK] could otherwise force local people to provide,"[96] the Turkish government ordered villagers to evacuate their villages and hamlets. Although Turkey was accused, by mostly western European countries and NGOs, of undermining human rights by destroying Kurdish villages,[97] it is argued that "this tactic degraded the terrorists' logistical resources and curbed their ability to conduct propaganda and recruitment activities."[98]

Another countermeasure was the Southeast Anatolia Project, GAP, which began in the early 1960s[99] to promote prosperity among agricultural workers and of the textile sector in this region by means of a comprehensive irrigation system.[100] With this project, "water from Ataturk Dam (one of the 23 dams comprising GAP) will irrigate 310,000 acres of land. The other 22 dams and 17 hydroelectric plants now in various

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[94] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 38.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone,* 38.

[97] Ibid.*,* 38-39.

[98] Aktan and Koknar, "Turkey," 277.

[99] Yuksel Oztekin, "Terrorism in Turkey," *USAWC Strategy Research Project*, (April 17, 2000), 11, at https://www.hsdl.org/homesec/docs/dtic/ADA378270.pdf&code=2d4eca14f7f073af37eb4400774325be, accessed April 2008.

[100] Emrullah Uslu, "Turkey's Kurdish Problem: Steps toward a Solution," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30, (2007): 164.

stages of completion will cost over $32 billion [which was financed solely by Turkey]. When completed, this project and its accompanying infrastructure, including six-lane highways linking to the cities of Adana, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa and Diyarbakir [cities at the south, from west to east], will provide employment opportunities for the local people…"[101]

In summary, it could be argued that Turkey's countermeasures were characterized as no-negotiation and no-concession. The long term counter-terrorism strategy of the Turkish state was to impose martial law, because of the lack of civilian-military coordination. On the other hand, the GAP should be noted as the most effective countermeasure in terms of decreasing unemployment and lessening grievances in the region by demonstrating that the Turkish government is making good on promises to take care of the people of this region.

In evaluating Turkish countermeasures to the PKK's tactics, two observations should be noted. First, Turkey perceived the PKK's cause as a security problem, not a political one, since the PKK was advocating secession. The countermeasures were, therefore, militarily focused. Hence, the PKK exploited these countermeasures in favor of its cause to accumulate more recruits and to further alienate the Kurds from the Turkish state. Second, as Andrew Mango argues, "terrorism can corrupt the state."[102] Under these conditions, some security forces might have been trapped by this aspect of terrorism--corruption. Eventually, those corrupted security force members' actions might have been exploited by the PKK to foment unrest among endogenous people in the region.

2. From 1990 to 1999

a. The PKK's Tactics

The PKK decided to add urban area activity as well as maintaining its presence in rural areas. It also decided to trade in its Marxist-Leninist ideology and

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[101] Oztekin, "Terrorism in Turkey," 11.

[102] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 20.

rhetoric for a nationalistic tone, since it was the post-Cold War era in 1990.[103] Even the leadership of the PKK deviated from their main purpose, which was establishing an independent Marxist-Leninist Kurdish state as soon as possible. The change can be found in Ocalan statements such as, "My people need Turkey; we can't secede for at least forty years…Unity will bring strength."[104] As a matter of fact, the PKK began to gradually implement a new tactic, is the same one used by the IRA in Northern Ireland to legitimize Sinn Fein. The PKK tried to use political proxies to conduct its separatist struggle in the Turkish political arena within the constitutional framework.[105]

Besides the Persian Gulf War, the year of 1991 had another meaning in Turkish political life. The elections of 1991 brought eleven deputies[106] from southeastern Turkey into the Turkish National Assembly through an alliance with the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP). These deputies transferred to the People's Labor Party, HEP, which was accused of being the mouthpiece of the PKK. In July 1993, the Turkish Constitutional Court shut down the HEP, whose party program in 1992 referred to the "People's Fundamental Right to Self-Determination,"[107] and whose members later founded the Party of Democracy, DEP.[108] It could be argued that theses parties, were accused of being the mouthpiece of the PKK, did not manage to become one of the liberal mainstream political parties in Turkey, which could have managed to add value to Turkey's democratization process. Conversely, they chose to become a tool of the PKK to prove to its international target audience, namely the Western European countries that it was sincere about working within the existing political framework. The cadres of these parties are blamed for promoting utopian ideas, namely an independent Kurdish state on the Turkish soil.[109] It could be argued that the election results in 1995 and 1999 showed

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[103] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[104] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 41.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Watts, "Allies and Enemies: Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkish Politics, 1990-94," 631.

[107] Watts, "Allies and Enemies: Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkish Politics, 1990-94," 637.

[108] Ibid., 632.

[109] Mumtaz Soysal, "Guneydogu ve Devlet," *Cumhuriyet*, January 7, 2008 at http://www.gscemiyet.org.tr/Yazilar.aspx?HId=13091, accessed March 2008.

that local people in southeastern Turkey did not buy theses parties' ethnic identity policies by giving them no more than 4 percent of the vote.[110]

In 1992, the PKK tried to manipulate the Nevruz celebrations-"Nevruz, a combination of Persian words Nev (New) and Ruz (Day), means the new day and it is celebrated as New Year's day by Turks living in Central Asia, by Anatolian Turks and Persians"[111]- with the aim of provoking the local people to initiate a revolt against the Turkish state. Fortunately it was suppressed with the help of both local officials and local people who had sufficient common sense to confront this provocation.[112] Moreover, it is claimed that the PKK forced the local people to close their shops to show that while the PKK was still strong enough to overturn the authority of the Turkish state, it was actually trying to hide its decline.[113] The PKK did not hesitate to kill the endogenous people who refused to respond accordingly. In this event, "Hasan Ozgun, a 30-year-old cellphone shop owner in Kiziltepe, [a town near Mardin in southeastern of Turkey] remembers his father trying to assess whether to open his fabrics shop every morning, after having found other merchants dead with their hands still on the locks. He said the group [the PKK] had killed more than 30 people in his village."[114]

The PKK declared a unilateral "ceasefire" in 1993 as a gesture of its changed policy, which began to focus on political dimension of the issue, and was designed to mislead the public into believing that the PKK had given up its previous goals.[115] In this sense, "the political goal was revised in 1993 to demand autonomy for Turkey's Kurdish population."[116] Even though there was a declared unilateral cease fire,

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[110] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 41.

[111] Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture, *Nevruz Celebrations in Turkey and Central Asia,* at http://www.discoverturkey.com/english/kultursanat/h-nevruz.html, accessed in June 2008.

[112] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[113] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 40.

[114] Sabrina Tavernise, "As Kurds' Status Improves, Support for Militants Erodes in Turkey," *New York Times,* November 2, 2007 at http://ebird.afis.mil/ebfiles/e20071102557901.html, accessed in November, 2007.

[115] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[116] Amnesty International, "Turkey, Death Sentence after Unfair Trial: The Case of Abdullah Ocalan," *Amnesty International*, (August 1999): 4.

the PKK continued to conduct its terrorist activities in Turkey, such as Basbaglar massacre where 28 people were killed, including women, in July 1993. The group also stopped two minibuses in Bitlis and then shot the passengers; 15 were killed and 13 were wounded. In October, the PKK gathered villagers in a kahvehane, a type of café, to promote their cause, and then shot them to death after setting fire to their houses.[117]

Later, the PKK began to commence attacks in large metropolitan areas as a consequence of changing tactics in 1995.[118] In 1996, the PKK added suicide bombing to its portfolio as a tactic, which is described by Abdullah Ocalan as "the more actions, the more propagation and agitation; the more action, the more authority."[119] As Robert Pape argues, "Suicide terrorism follows a strategic logic, one specifically designed to coerce modern liberal democracies to make significant territorial concessions. Moreover, "…terrorists have learned that it pays."[120] However, the PKK's choice of suicide bombing as a logical strategy to force Turkey to grant some concessions did not pay off as envisioned, as a consequence of Turkey's countermeasures.[121] As Pape shows, the PKK's campaign is the one out of 11 campaigns which ended in failure rather than getting some political concessions from its adversary.[122]

In PKK history, this time period was marked by a deviation from Marxist-Leninist ideology to a more nationalist ideology. In addition, a revision in its political goals was seen explicitly. The PKK declared that it did not aspire to an independent Kurdish state, at least for the time being. When the PKK perceived a relative decline in strength and support as a consequence of Turkey's cross-border operations, it devised a so-called cease-fire to veil its decline, even though it presented this tactic as an independent ambition to realize its cause from within the Turkish political arena. Lastly,

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[117] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* [Vol. 97], No. 3 (August, 2003): 343.

[121] Ali Wyne, "Suicide Terrorism as Strategy: Case Studies of Hamas and the Kurdistan Workers Party," *Strategic Insights* 4, no. 7 (July 2005) 1.

[122] Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," 356.

the PKK's suicide bombing campaign could be presented as a strategic logic both to retaliate against Turkey's operations and to force Turkey to grant autonomy to Kurds.[123]

b. Turkey's Countermeasures

Turkey gave full support to U.S.-led coalition forces during the Gulf War. It could be argued that the developments after the Gulf War soured Turkey's relationship with the U.S., when the negative ramifications were compared with the support given. First, it was perceived among Turks that the U.S. had supported Kurdish tribes in northern Iraq to reduce the influence of Saddam Hussein's regime over the territory. This policy was seen as a motivation for Iraqi Kurds to aspire to an independent homeland, which produced tensions among the Kurds living in the region. Then, the conflicts between the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriot Union Party (PUK) along with the policies pursued by the coalition forces, created a power vacuum which was immediately exploited by the PKK.[124] Moreover, Turkey lost approximately $30 billion in revenues from trade and pipeline fees during and after the Gulf War.[125] Consequently, the Gulf War damaged Turkey's social, economic and political structures.

In 1991, Jalal Talabani, the leader of the PUK, appealed to the PKK to declare a ceasefire, to which the PKK responded with a round of attacks in Turkey.[126] This caused a conflict between the PKK and the PUK. In 1992, Masoud Barzani, leader of the KDP, warned the PKK cease its attacks from the camps within northern Iraq or face consequences.[127] Then Turkey conducted cross border operations into northern Iraq against the PKK to stop it from conducting attacks within Turkey. The first large scale operation, Hakur, took place in October 1992, to prevent the PKK from creating a liberated area in northern Iraq.[128] This was followed by the Zeli Operation in 1994, the

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[123] Wyne, "Suicide Terrorism as Strategy."

[124] Cornell, "The Kurdish Question in Turkish Politics," 41.

[125] Marcie J. Patton, "Voices from Turkey's Southeast," *Middle East Report*, 227 (Summer 2003): 43.

[126] Kutschera, "Mad Dreams of Independence: The Kurds of Turkey and the PKK," 14.

[127] Ibid.

[128] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

Celik Operation in 1995, and the Balyoz Operation in May 1997; these were the other large scale operations conducted against the PKK in northern Iraq.[129] As a consequence of the Balyoz Operation, during which "not only 3, 000 terrorists were killed but also the PKK's economic infrastructure was diminished, which destroyed its members' morale,"[130] the PKK launched a suicide bombing campaign.

As a consequence of Turkey's pressure on Syria to withdraw its support to the PKK and hand over leader Abdullah Ocalan, the PKK once again declared a bilateral ceasefire in 1998.[131] After Turkey decided that enough was enough and sent its troops to its border with Syria, Syrian officials got the message, and after closing down the PKK's camps, they forced Ocalan to leave their country.[132] From Syria, Ocalan first flew to Greek Cyprus then proceeded to Greece.[133] After Greek encouragement not to stay in Greece, he went to Moscow.[134] He was invited to Rome when he was no longer welcome in Moscow.[135] Even though Turkey requested his extradition, it was rejected by Italy, where he lived in a private villa as a guest.[136] At that time, "no European country was prepared either to give him asylum or to prosecute him."[137] Finally, sending Ocalan to an African country, namely Kenya, was perceived as a solution; hence, he ended up in Nairobi after a short visit to first Greece, and then to Greek Cyprus.[138] When he was traveling from Kenya to Holland using his Greek Cypriot passport, he was captured by the Turkish officials on February 15, 1999.[139]

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[129] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[130] Wyne, "Suicide Terrorism as Strategy."1.

[131] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[132] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 44.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid., 45.

[139] Ibid.

Along with Ocalan's capture, the Turkish army extended its success "having apparently realized the importance of not alienating the civilian population…and initiated a public relations campaign that included the introduction of health and educational facilities for the population of the southeast. Meanwhile, the Turkish military eventually adapted successfully to guerrilla warfare and gathered enough strength to strike the problem at its roots in northern Iraq."[140]

In achieving a winning strategy,

> …the Turkish military hit the [terrorists] hard, crushing the PKK, closing down international support for them and eventually arresting its leader. But the Army directed its fire at the [terrorists] and not the surrounding population. In fact, the Turks worked very hard to win over the Kurds, creating stable governing structures for them, befriending them and putting forward social-welfare programs- to improve agriculture and women's education, for example. The Turkish government made a massive investment (totaling well over $32 billion) in the Kurdish southeast. On a per capita basis, it has invested more in the Kurdish region than in any other part of Turkey…[Eventually,] the PKK was forced to give up suicide terrorism as a tactic of warfare against the Turkish government, in large measure because the very individuals upon whom it crucially relied for support-Turkish Kurds—repudiated suicide terror when it was used by the PKK in 1996.[141]

Likewise, it is argued that the PKK did not manage to provoke a conflict on the grassroots level between Turks and Kurds.[142] A poll in 1993 indicated that "a great part of the Kurdish population has taken on Turkish identity in whole or in part; over 13 percent of Istanbul's population claimed Kurdish roots, while 3.9 percent considered themselves Kurds, and 3.7 percent identified themselves as 'Turks with Kurdish parents.' Apparently, the remainder considered themselves simply 'Turks.'….this outcome clearly shows that a significant number of Kurdish people have integrated into Turkish society."[143] Consequently, the presence of Kurdish people in all spheres of social and political life could be felt, such as they are some Kurds participating

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[140] Cornell, "The Kurdish Question in Turkish Politics," 42.

[141] Wyne, "Suicide Terrorism as Strategy." 1.

[142] Cornell, "The Kurdish Question in Turkish Politics," 43.

[143] Ibid.

in the ranks of the Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetc¸i Hareket Partisi—MHP), which is often characterized in the West as fascist and anti-Kurdish.[144]

In general, it could be argued that the negative ramifications of the Gulf War affected Turkey's struggle against the PKK. Hence, terrorism was an unwelcome part of the daily life of Turkish people in the early 1990s. Fortunately, Turkey later managed to take advantage of conflicts between the factions in Northern Iraq to weaken the PKK. Cross border operations, along with diplomatic efforts, paid off and Turkey captured Ocalan. Finally, Turkey implemented some social and economic programs to mitigate the ramifications of terrorism, along with programs to reintegrate the alienated Kurdish people into Turkish society.

In the evaluation of this time frame, it should be stressed that it was Turkish countermeasures' efficiency that managed to reverse the PKK's efforts to create so-called liberated areas in early 1990s, and to decapitate the PKK at the end of the decade. On the other hand, it is claimed that some factions in the Turkish security forces did not manage to prevent collateral damage to civilians because conducting countermeasures in the mountainous areas made it hard to distinguish between the endogenous people and terrorists; therefore, it is argued that these unfortunate mistakes were exploited by the PKK to increase its recruitment pool.[145]

3. From 1999 to Now

a. *The PKK's Tactics*

When Abdullah Ocalan was captured in Kenya in February 1999, , a new tactic, which envisaged a political struggle to overcome the problems the PKK had encountered, was implemented immediately to prevent decline of the organization, which has a strong hierarchy structure.[146] As a consequence of this policy change, Ocalan ordered the PKK to withdraw most of its armed men from Turkey and to keep the so-

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144 Cornell, "The Kurdish Question in Turkish Politics," 35.

145 Ibid., 41.

146 USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

called ceasefire lasting; however, the PKK intensified its suicide bombing attacks within Turkey.[147] In this sense, with its new face, arguments for political and peaceful solutions to social and economic issues were brought to the international arena by the PKK.

This was particularly apparent when Turkey tried to harmonize its socio-cultural, economic and state structure with the European Union under the criteria of Copenhagen of 1999. The PKK tried to exploit Turkey's effort to be a member of EU by announcing that the PKK was respectful of Turkey's territorial integrity; in addition, the PKK claimed that it could assist with the protection of cultural rights of Kurds with a federative structure in which southeastern region of Turkey would get an autonomous homeland.[148]Some of the PKK's resolutions in terms of political and legislative terms included abolition of capital punishment[149] as an alternative to its armed struggle. An uncharacteristic statement made by Abdullah Ocalan could be understood in this context: "The armed struggle was a mistake… We are going to find a peaceful solution through dialogue within the framework of a democratic republic [Turkish Republic]."[150] Moreover, the statements made by Ocalan at the beginning of his trial could be presented as evidence of this policy shift, from an armed struggle to a political one. He declared that he was a Turkish citizen who recognized the Turkish state and its punishment laws; in addition, he stated that his defense would be in accordance with political terms rather than the legal ones.[151]

The PKK broadcast political arguments aiming to put Turkey under EU pressure to gain some benefits in favor of its cause, since the PKK perceived that the "carrot" of EU membership could be leveraged against the Turkey, which was aiming at full membership. Hence, the PKK tried to be accepted as representative of the Kurds, aspire to a state within the Turkish border. Consequently, the PKK hoped to push Turkey

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[147] Chris Kutschera, "Abdullah Ocalan: The End of a Myth," *Middle East*, no. 298 (February 2000):, 12-13.

[148] Soner Cagaptay and Zeynep Eroglu, "The PKK, PJAK, and Iran: Implications for U.S.-Turkish Relations," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, Policy Watch No. 1244 (June 13, 2007).

[149] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[150] Kutschera, "Abdullah Ocalan: The End of a Myth," 14.

[151] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

into a position in which the Turkish state would be perceived as the exploiter and oppressor of the Kurds and the scapegoat of all the unfortunate things happened to the Kurds, especially poverty and the lasting feudal structure in the region. Unfortunately, some Western countries gave sympathy and support to the PKK and its cause, which created resentment against the Western community among the Turkish population.

Along with this new tactic, when the PKK was designated as a terrorist organization by the EU, it decided to change the organization's name in order to avoid any prosecution in Western European countries. First the PKK gave itself the name of KADEK (Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress)[152], then KONGRA-GEL (Kurdistan People's Congress).[153] The PKK/KONGRA-GEL declared another unilateral ceasefire in June 2004.[154] It is argued that the PKK's ceasefire declarations should be evaluated within a political framework rather than a military one, since by these declarations it was proposing that Turkey should pursue peaceful means, addressing the PKK as the only legitimate representative with whom Turkey can negotiate.[155]

In 2006, the PKK conducted two bloody attacks in Diyarbakir where most of its target audience lives. The first one happened on March 28[156], after the funerals of four terrorists killed by Turkish security forces. The PKK's mouthpiece, Roj Tv, asked local retailers not to open their shops as a sign of civil disobedience and to show the influence of the PKK over the local people. Although there was a widespread campaign about not opening the shops, 50 retailers disobeyed the PKK's call in Ofis, the downtown area of Diyarbakir. Eventually, the PKK terrorists retaliated by attacking these shops with Molotov cocktails. This incident could be perceived as a major decrease in support for the PKK's cause and its methods among the local population. Therefore, the PKK introduced another tactic, in which women and children were used in manipulated incidents, such as the Nevruz celebrations and the funerals. This had three intended

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[152] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 37. 46.

[153] Ibid.,viii.

[154] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[155] Roddy Scott, "The End of the Road?" *Middle East*, no. 294 (October 1999), 18.

[156] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

effects. The first was to promote conflict between the indigenous people and the Turkish state so that hatred between the Turkish state and the Turkish citizens with Kurdish origin could be created. The second was to create a parallel between the Palestine people's cause and the PKK's by presenting Turkey as a crude oppressor of the Kurds, to gather sufficient international support to put pressure on Turkey. Third, by using women and children, the PKK aimed to undermine the Turkish state by presenting the security officials as merciless despots, to increase its popularity within both local and international public. Likewise, some scholars argue that terrorist organizations use street fights and funerals to manipulate the target audience and provoke the adversary, namely the state, to respond harshly. This tends to create a recruitment pool by foment unrest among indigenous people against the target state, since "street fights…produced ex post facto justifications and rationalizations for violence."[157]

The second incident happened on September 13,[158] 2006 near a park in Diyarbakir. The PKK defused a remote controlled bomb near a public park and 11 people were killed, including a baby, and 17 were wounded. This attack could be perceived as a tactic to terrorize the target audience to mobilize in favor of the terrorist organization, just as the PKK did at its initial phase at the beginning of 1980s.

According to this new political struggle tactic, the Kurdish nationalists participated in the 2002 general elections with Democratic People's party (DEHAP) as a political wing of the PKK.[159] Even though this party got 6.22% of the total vote in 2002, their vote rate decreased in the 2004 municipal elections to 4.9%.[160] Even though there are about 10 to 15 million Kurds living in Turkey, the reasons why these Kurdish parties have not gathered more supporters are numerous. First, many Kurds have already migrated from southeastern Turkey to the western and southern regions of Turkey to mitigate the economic deprivation they experienced. As a result, they are intermingled with the society and do not perceive themselves as PKK supporters either economically

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[157] Porta, "Introduction: On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations," 14.

[158] USAK, "PKK (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan-Kurdistan Isci Partisi) Kronoloji (1978-2006)."

[159] Uslu, "Turkey's Kurdish Problem: Steps toward a Solution," 159.

[160] Ibid.

or ethnically. Second, since the tribal structure still exerts authority in the southeast, the tribal leaders make decisions on behalf of the clans, such as choosing to become partners with the state or not. Third, the leaders of these Kurdish parties are in conflict with one another over influence and territory. Finally, religious differences (Sunni vs. Alevi) and linguistic differences (Kurmanci vs. Zaza) create friction within the larger Kurdish community, which hinders establishment of a common and strong political movement.[161] Moreover, it should be noted that DEHAP did not sincerely address the region's real problems, such as feudal structure and solutions to perceived economic deprivation. In this instance DEHAP was perceived as an obstacle rather than a tool for economic prosperity, since it offered irrelevant solutions to unrealistic aims; as a Kurdish businessman stated, "The extreme politization (sic) advocated by DEHAP prevents the development of the entrepreneurial spirit a market economy requires."[162] As a consequence of DEHAP's failure, part of the Kurdish nationalist movement broke off to establish Movement for a Democratic Society in 2004, which would be replaced by the Democratic Society Party, DTP.[163]

The DTP, like DEHAP before it, was accused of being the mouthpiece of the PKK, and has drawn condemnation from some scholars since the leaders of this party have not created wise policies and solutions to address the actual problems of southeastern region's people.[164] Moreover, the cadres of the DTP continued to make the same mistakes of the previous parties by promoting utopian ideas and by presenting the region's socio-economic problems as peculiar to southeastern region, which in actuality they are not.[165] Especially after 2006, the PKK tried to project DTP as its political front, while it remained to represent the military front. In this context the DTP tried to play an active role in releasing captured Turkish soldiers, with the aim of presenting the DTP as an effective problem solver and as representative of all Kurds. Hence, an umbilical cord

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[161] Uslu, "Turkey's Kurdish Problem: Steps toward a Solution," 160-161.

[162] Ibid.,169.

[163] Ibid., 159.

[164] Soysal, "Guneydogu ve Devlet."

[165] Ibid.

between the DTP—the political side of the cause--and the PKK—the military side of the cause--has been fashioned after the model of the IRA-Sinn Fein case,[166] and has been trying to focus international public attention on the shift into "respectability" to gather support.

While the DTP behaves as a political wing of a military organization, it also challenges the Turkish state to undermine it and presents the PKK as representative of the Kurds. Because of this, Ahmet Turk, the leader of DTP, refuses to call the PKK terrorists.[167] Moreover, in the elections of 2007, the DTP nominated a prisoner, who was imprisoned nine moths before the elections for being a member of the PKK,[168] to become a deputy in the Turkish National Assembly. The alleged PKK member won the election and as a consequence, she is under protection of Turkish law as a deputy. Turkey, which has been accused of oppressing the Kurds and not having a "consolidated democracy," has allowed a prisoner to become a Member of Parliament. Therefore, this incident could be given as a good example to prove that democracy truly is consolidated in Turkey, and how the DTP has the audacity to support a prisoner to become a MP, who later accepted membership into the DTP. Even though the DTP's deputies in the Turkish Assembly are protected by Turkish law to speak freely on any topic discussed in the Assembly, they do not condemn the terrorist acts of the PKK, which is a threat to the Turkish state and which tries to split the society into two parts.

Generally, from the PKK's point of view, there has been a logical, historical flow illustrating their struggle. First, when the PKK was founded, its aim was to create an independent socialist, Marxist-Leninist Kurdish state in territory which could be created by gaining lands from Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq.[169] The PKK pursued separatist policies during this first phase. After Ocalan was captured in 1999, the PKK

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[166] Stratejik Analiz, "PKK Eylemleri Uzerine Bir Analiz," *Stratejik Analiz* (Ekim 2006), 93.

[167] Tulin Daloglu, "Kurdish Terror and the West," *Washington Times,* October 30, 2007, 17, at http://ebird.afis.mil/ebfiles/e20071030556976.html, accessed October 2007.

[168] Gungor Karakus, "Miting gibi Tahliye," *Sabah*, July 25, 2007, at http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2007/07/25/haber,2D56853439B348B194CD276ED7B2C8DC.html, accessed May 2008.

[169] Yavuz, *Kurt Sorununu Yeniden Dusunmek'ten Alti Cizili Satirlar.*

seemed to change its ideology and tactics, mainly from armed goals to political goals.[170] Then, Ocalan announced that he was in favor of keeping Turkey's borders intact, and that he sought democratic solutions within the framework of Turkish state. In addition, he advocated that the Turkish government should accept the Kurdish identity and change its political system to a federal one.[171]

On the other hand, it should be considered that even if the PKK's separatist argument has been transformed into a political one which focuses on Turkish-Kurdish differences, their new expression does not present a solid defined objective; it merely supports the idea of a federalist system in Turkey.[172] In addition, it is illustrated by a research that "an ethnically based federal state seems to be impossibility short of two-way massive population movements: the Kurds might have to leave the western part of the country, and the non-Kurds, mainly Turks, the eastern part. An independent Kurdish state in the east would create conditions for a similar tragedy, only more severe."[173] Moreover, it could be argued that while there are problems in Turkey in terms of democracy consolidation, law enforcement, and having a strong civil society, these problems are provoked grievances not just among Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin but also among all Turkish citizens.[174] Furthermore, Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, defines Turkish nationalism precisely as common values which connect people living within Turkish borders and based on culture and history, rather than on ethnicity.[175] Turkish officials note that Turks and Kurds have been living together and enjoying equal rights for many years, and point to evidences such as freedom for Kurdish self-expression and the usage of Kurdish language in publications to argue that there is not a really

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[170] Alkan, "Turkiye'nin Terorizmle Mucadelesi."

[171] Gunter, "Abdullah Ocalan: 'We Are Fighting Turks Everywhere'."

[172] Uslu, "Turkey's Kurdish Problem: Steps toward a Solution," 161.

[173] Servet Mutlu, "Ethnic Kurds in Turkey: A Demographic Study," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 4 (November 1996), 533.

[174] Serdar Cayci, "Terorle Mucadele ve Hukuk: Turkiye, ABD ve Avrupa Uygulamalari," *Stratejik Analiz* 6, no. 66 (Ekim 2005): 149, at http://www.asam.org.tr/temp/temp24.pdf, accessed December 2007.

[175] Nur Bilge Criss, "Development in Managing Terrorism in Turkey," *Perceptions* 1, (December 1996–February 1997), 1, at http://www.sam.gov.tr/perceptions/Volume1/Dec1996-Feb1997/DEVELOPMENTINMANAGIINGTERRORISMINTURKEY.pdf, accessed December 2007.

injustice against the Kurdish population. Instead, the problems are caused by a combination of isolated elements, such as economic distress, social discontent, PKK terrorism and intervention from outside actors.[176]

In general, after becoming leaderless, the PKK hoped to put sufficient pressure on Turkey to force the state to compromise with it. In this cause, declaring cease fires, and changing names to obscure its bloody legacy, and promoting a Kurdish nationalist party within the Turkish political system emerged as the primary tactics used by the PKK. These so-called non-violent tactics were used to undermine Turkey and blame Turkey as if what happened to the Kurds historically is all Turkey's fault.

b.   *Turkey's Countermeasures*

Turkey has responded to the PKK's unilateral so-called ceasefire declarations with a no-negotiation approach, since the Turkish government would have been hard pressed, before its domestic audience, to defend a decision to negotiate with a terrorist organization.[177] The statement of Suleyman Demirel, then Prime Minister, is a good example of Turkish decision makers' perception about the PKK's so-called ceasefire attempts. He bluntly declared, "If Ocalan gives up killing, we won't reward him [with] a region of Turkey."[178] Moreover, Turkish government officials have been emphasizing the state's right to self-defense, where the state is the only power which has right to use violence over the people living in its territory. Hence, as Husamettin Cindoruk, then president of the National Assembly, stated, "There is no issue we cannot discuss if we all believe in the undivided unity of the country and if we are against violence, the state is against everybody who perpetrates violence and it has right to use violence against those perpetrators."[179]

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[176] David Kushner, "Self-Perception and Identity in Contemporary Turkey," *Journal of Contemporary History* 32, no. 2 (April 1997), 224-225.

[177] Scott, "The End of the Road?" 18.

[178] Kutschera, "Mad Dreams of Independence: The Kurds of Turkey and the PKK," 15.

[179] Watts, "Allies and Enemies: Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkish Politics, 1990-94," 647.

During these years, Turkey has actively pursued acculturation of the Kurds. "While the military conducted its own 'winning hearts and minds' campaign in eastern and southeastern Turkey, providing mobile health clinics and assisting schools in Kurdish-populated areas, the General Staff set up a civil cooperation bureau that liaised with the Turkish press and also utilized the Muslim clergy in spreading its antiterrorist messages. The Turkish military even set up and operated a local television station that broadcast in Kurdish. The arrest of PKK leaders was used by authorities to showcase the government's treatment of captured terrorists in an effort to encourage terrorists at large to turn themselves in to the authorities."[180]

On the other hand, it is crucial to understanding the PKK's dynamics to remember that not all the members of the PKK were Turkish citizens--there were Syrians and Iraqis, as well as other nationalities from the Middle East; in addition, there were many local people who "had been press-ganged into PKK bands; [who] were tricked or won over with promises of money, loot or adventure; [who] compromised themselves and felt they had to escape into the mountains…[who] were persuaded by PKK propaganda, as they attended courses of 'ideological training' in the Middle East or Western Europe."[181] As a countermeasure and a normalization tool, the Turkish authorities tried to pass some laws to ease terrorists' return into society.

For this cause, the Turkish National Assembly has passed some laws to mitigate the more negative effects of terrorism. The first one was a compensation law—No.5233-—which passed on July 14, 2004, and was ratified thirteen days later.[182] The intent of this law was to compensate for damages that resulted from both terrorism and counter-terrorism operations. Likewise, the Turkish state has ratified seven repentance laws between 1985 and 2000[183] to convince terrorists to drop their arms and to return to

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[180] Aktan and Koknar, "Turkey," 278.

[181] Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone*, 46.

[182] Cemil Kaya, "Avrupa Konseyi'ndeki Gelismeler Isiginda 5233 Sayili Teror ve Terorle Mucadeleden Dogan Zararlarin Kersilanmasi Hakkinda Kanun," at http://www.usakgundem.com/makale.php?id=295, accessed November 2007.

[183] Nur Batur, "Bence Sorunun en Kolay Yolu Af," *Hurriyet*, September 18, 2005, at http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2005/09/18/703751.asp, accessed December 2007.

the criminal justice system. Turkey passed the same law in 1999, after capturing Ocalan, in order to exploit the timing and situation.[184] This repentance law was aimed to counter the PKK's argument that the Turkish government is cruel and harsh.

Furthermore, the Turkish government initiated a new project to aid people in returning to villages that were evacuated because of security concerns. With this project, the Turkish government aimed to compensate for damages that the citizens suffered, by assuring the villagers they could return their homes in safety, and establishing infrastructures to improve their life conditions.[185]

Moreover, Turkey introduced a reform package to foster the cultural richness of the Turkish society, directing the state-operated Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) to broadcast in many languages, such as Bosnian, Arabic, Circassian, and the Kurdish dialects.[186][187]

Furthermore, the Turkish state promoted some local initiatives: "The governor of the province of Siirt (a city in southeastern Turkey) has initiated several micro-projects, including one to revive and restore cultivation of Siirt's famed pistachio nuts, and another to train local women to produce small handicrafts and kilims."[188]

Along with socio-economic measures, Turkey tried to destroy the PKK's camps, logistics lines, and infrastructures across the border of Iraq. In this respect, Turkey sought cooperation with the U.S. in eliminating the safe haven in northern Iraq, where to the PKK terrorist organization could hit inside Turkey and run back to Iraq. On the other hand, the U.S. was reluctant to take any firm action which might cause all the efforts the U.S. has made for preventing further violence in Iraq to be in vain. The

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[184] Aktan and Koknar, "Turkey," 273.

[185] Icisleri Bakanligi, "Yerinden Olmuş Kişiler Sorunu ile Köye Dönüş ve Rehabilitasyon Projesine Yönelik Tedbirler," at http://www.icisleri.gov.tr/_Icisleri/Web/Gozlem2.aspx?sayfaNo=722, accessed in December 2007.

[186] Asli Aral and Fuat Kozluklu, "TRT Farkli Dil ve Lehcelerde Yayina Basladi," *Voice of America* on 07/06/2004, at http://www.voanews.com/turkish/archive/2004-06/a-2004-06-07-2-1.cfm, accessed April 2008.

[187] Uslu, "Turkey's Kurdish Problem: Steps toward a Solution," 164.

[188] Patton, "Voices from Turkey's Southeast," 45.

Turkish people wanted to see the U.S. contribute enough effort to support the Turkish government in defeating the terrorists and then aid them in reversing the severe effects of terrorism. The Turkish people were saying that "if the U.S. government feels itself to have the right to intervene in Iraq in order to protect itself from terrorists then Turkey should be able to protect its people and its country from the threat and the actual activities of a terrorist organization like the PKK."[189] Hence, since the U.S. administration became reluctant to address the PKK terrorism effectively, the percentage of the Turks who have favorable opinion of the U.S. decreased, which was 9% in 2007, (it had been 43% in 2002).[190]

In Turkey, there was intense public pressure put on the Turkish government to take serious actions against the terrorists in northern Iraq, especially after violence erupted in 2004. In addition, Turkey feels uncomfortable that Massoud Barzani, who leads the Kurdish Democratic Party in northern Iraq, is providing the terrorists logistical support, food, weapons, ammunition and a sanctuary in northern Iraq.[191] A new initiative was started in August, 2007 by the Turkish government. Turkey invited Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki, along with Hosyar Zebari, Iraqi Foreign Minister, to sign a memorandum urging two countries to take firm actions against terrorist organizations, especially against the PKK. This memorandum is informative to both domestic and international audiences. First, the Turkish government shows its determination on the PKK issue and presents assurances to use diplomatic channels as a first option. Next, the Iraqi government shows that al-Maliki's government is still in office and accepted as a strong counterpart by a longstanding regional power like Turkey.[192] Moreover, the memorandum of understanding (MOU) declares unequivocally that the PKK is a terrorist organization. The MOU is an important development since it is the first written document signed by an Iraqi official after Saddam Hussein's regime; in addition, with the MOU,

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[189] "Terrorists Caught With U.S. Weapons, Turkish Ambassador Says," *Defense Daily International* 8, no. 28 (July 13, 2007) at http://www.proquest.com, accessed August 2007.

[190] Alcee L. Hastings, "Briefing on the 2007 Turkish Elections," Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, *Congressional Quarterly*, (July 26, 2007). (Is there a page number?)

[191] "Terrorists Caught With U.S. Weapons, Turkish Ambassador Says."

[192] "Irak Bulteni (20 Agustos 2007)," *Dispolitika Forumu*, Bogazici Universitesi-TUSIAD,.1, at http://www.dispolitikaforumu.org/component/option,com_frontpage/Itemid,1/, accessed September 2007.

Turkey legitimized military intervention against the PKK presence in northern Iraq.[193] Even though the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), led by Massoud Barzani (also leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)), vowed their opposition to the MOU, Iraqi foreign minister Hoshyar Zebari, a KDP member, stated that the KDP and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) supported the MOU.[194] On the bottom line, the MOU indicates that Turkish and Iraqi governments prefer to use diplomatic channels at top level to overcome the disputes about the PKK presence and its activities conducted on Turkish land from northern Iraq.

When Turkey decided that enough was enough, its tropps entered northern Iraq on February 21, 2008, while its Air Force bombed the PKK's camps.[195] After this first attack on the PKK's camps, 240 terrorists were killed; in addition, the PKK's air defense, communications, and housing facilities were damaged.[196] After this first incident, other strikes have been conducted by the Turkish Army and Air Force units against the PKK in northern Iraq so far.

While these military measures were being taken, the Turkish government declared a new socio-economic package to address the unemployment and economic poverty in southeastern Turkey. According to this program, the government will initiate a series of investments worth $12 billion to the region in order to convince the young and unemployed indigenous people not to join the PKK.[197] Moreover, with this program, the irrigation channels to bring water to the region's dry soils to nurture agriculture will be

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[193] Soner Cagaptay and H. Akin Unver, "Iraqi Kurds and the Turkish-Iraqi Memorandum against the PKK," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, at
http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2651, accessed August 2007.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Sabrina Tavernise and Richard A. Oppel, "After 8 days, Turkey Pulls Its Troops out of Iraq," *The New York Times,* March 1, 2008, at
http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/01/world/middleeast/01turkey.html?fta=y accessed May 2008.

[196] TSK Genel Kurmay Baskanligi, "Basin Aciklamasi," on February 29, 2008 at
http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_Basin_Aciklamalari/2008/BA_25.html, accessed May 2008.

[197] Sabrina Tavernise, "Turkey Set to Invest in Better Relations with Kurds," *The New York Times*, March 12, 2008, at
http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/12/world/europe/12turkey.html?_r=2&oref=slogin&oref=slogin, accessed May 2008.

finished. In addition, a new channel will broadcast only in Kurdish on TRT, state television network.[198] Hence, the normalization process, along with socio-economic programs, will continue to heal the indigenous people's alienation from the Turkish state.

In summary, within this time frame, the government of Turkey focused on non-military countermeasures, although it conducted several air and ground cross-border operations in northern Iraq when deemed necessary. These countermeasures included persuading people to return villages which had been evacuated to assure their security; passing repentance laws to ease PKK members' exit from the organization; enjoying cultural diversity within the framework of being a Turk described in the Turkish constitution; and last but not least, initiating new and comprehensive investments in the region to reduce the unemployment rate, including completion of the GAP as soon as possible. These programs should be considered the most effective to regain the heart and minds of alienated Turkish citizens with Kurdish origin.

When this time frame is evaluated, the following conclusions could be made. The Turkish no-negotiation counterterrorism position has apparently paid off so far. In this sense, destroying the PKK's camps both inside and outside the Turkish borders has proved its efficiency. Moreover, the reinvigorated normalization process should restore the trust between the Turkish state and all of its citizens again. On the other hand, the fact that the PKK has accomplished much to manipulate the Western European countries cannot be denied. The attempt to present the PKK's cause as justifiable in terms of self-determination has succeeded in drawing international attention to this region. This de-facto legitimation put intense pressure on Turkey concerning PKK terrorism. The PKK managed to label its terrorists as rebels, insurgents, militants-- "freedom fighters" of all sorts, but not as terrorists on an international level.[199]

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[198] Ergun Babahan, "Guneydogu Paketi," *Sabah*, March 13, 2008 at http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/03/13/haber,8877D883E3AB42EBAEB015944E621261.html, accessed May 2008.

[199] Please check these news sources on the PKK issue to see how they label the PKK terrorists. *The New York Times* at http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/23/world/middleeast/23turkey.html?scp=20&sq=&st=nyt ; *BBC* at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7382150.stm ; *CNN* at http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/europe/05/02/turkey.iraq/index.html?iref=newssearch ; *Reuters* at http://www.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSL0122059320080502 .

Eventually, even though Turkey implemented wise policies to prevent alienation, the PKK accomplished its goal of receiving sanctuary from Western European countries by presenting themselves as pursuers of peaceful solutions, and by presenting Turkey as oppressor of the Kurds.

C.   CONCLUSION

In this chapter, Turkey's counter terrorism strategies and the PKK's tactics were examined within three time frames in order to answer the sub-question of this chapter: "Why have Turkish national counter terrorism strategies not put an end to PKK terrorism in thirty years?" To find explanations, the PKK's tactics and the responses by the Turkish officials were discussed. During first time frame, in which the PKK was founded, this terrorist organization used endogenous people and the Turkish state's affiliates to foment unrest among the local people. Moreover, Ocalan himself tried to provoke local people's feelings of hatred and antagonism against Turkey to acquire more recruits. In addition, the PKK used cruel and forcible tactics to increase the cost of entrance into the organization and to deny exit from it.

During the second time frame, the PKK managed to attract the international audience attention to its cause, from which got support as a result. In addition, some factions in the Turkish security forces were corrupted as a consequence of long-lasting terrorism. Therefore the PKK did not hesitate to exploit these factions' illicit operations, along with difficulties in differentiating the civilians from the terrorists.

In the third time frame, as the PKK tried to present itself as a political party rather than a terrorist group, immense pressures from some Western European countries were applied to Turkey to compromise with terrorists. Even though it cannot be denied that Turkey tries to implement socio-economic policies to mitigate the negative ramifications of terrorism and to prevent the Kurds being alienated from Turkish society, as long as Turkey does not penetrate the feudal structure in the region, which prevents endogenous people benefiting from economic stimulus in the region, the PKK will exploit this structure to recruit more people in order to survive.

It is argued that the only end that the PKK can reach is to create two societies within one country — two societies who hate one another — rather than establishing a utopian two-founder state.[200] Likewise, it is argued that the PKK has been trying to force Turkey to pursue reactionary policies rather than proactive ones so that Turkey has been forced to stay away from the core cause of the problem, and which has hindered Turkish decision makers from addressing the root causes of the problems.[201] So, if terrorism is perpetrated by terrorist organizations to spread hatred and fear among disaffected members of society, its goal is to manipulate the adversary to overreact, causing further polarization and promoting recruitment.[202] In this sense, it could be argued that Turkey's countermeasures helped the PKK create a large recruitment pool within Turkey. As Abdullah Ocalan stated in the beginning of 1990s, "If Jezireh (Cizre, a border town in southeastern Turkey) is ours today, it is half thanks to our efforts. But the other half, Turkey presented to us on a silver platter."[203]

In conclusion, the PKK managed to falsify some facts, such as denying that Turkey evacuated some small villages and hamlets to assure their security. Then, the PKK manipulated these incidents to present Turkey as an oppressor. On the other hand, it should be remembered that Turkey perceived PKK terrorism primarily as a security problem, since the PKK's aim was to establish an independent state on Marxist-Leninist ideology. Therefore, that the government of Turkey projected only its military force to solve this issue. In this case, it could be argued that the PKK managed to force its adversary, namely the Turkish state, to overreact and become vulnerable to a whole series of manipulations. As a result, the PKK enjoyed an expanded recruitment pool created by mistakes made by the Turkish officials, which, consequently, has allowed the PKK to last for thirty years so far.

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[200] Stratejik Analiz, "PKK Eylemleri Uzerine Bir Analiz," 94.

[201] Ibid., 91.

[202] Kongar, "Terorle Mucadele."

[203] Kutschera, "Mad Dreams of Independence: The Kurds of Turkey and the PKK," 14.

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IV.   CONCLUSION

A.   MAIN ARGUMENT

As observed from the Chapter II study of domestic conditions in the late 1970s, the conflicts between the leftist and rightist groups created a shaky political structure in Turkey, which made it vulnerable to terrorism. Along with the socio-economic grievances caused by rapid industrialization and urbanization, along with exploiting the eastern region's feudal structure, PKK terrorism found room to emerge. In addition, Turkey's response to PKK terrorism was relatively harsh because it was perceived as a security problem, the same policy followed by West Germany, the United States and other countries during in the Cold War era; and as a matter of fact, terrorist organizations were used as a tool both to balance counterparts and to cause instability in those countries, as well, in the context of the Cold War.

Terrorist organizations "use violence to signal their strength and resolve in an effort to produce concessions from their enemy and obedience and support from their followers."[204] It was this aspect of terrorism that the PKK exploited for its cause. In theory, there are some advantages to organizations when they use violence. One argument is the Diamond Model, developed by Gordon McCormick, which could explain how the PKK exploited Turkey's countermeasures and responses. "The Diamond Model establishes a comprehensive framework for interactions between the host-nation government, the insurgents, the local populace, and international actors or sponsors."[205] According to this model, the target population is at the center of gravity; in addition, while the terrorist group tries to influence the target audience, the state focuses merely on destroying terrorist organization.[206] This fact is presented as the reason why the states are

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[204] Andrew Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 78.

[205] Wilson, "Anatomy of a Successful COIN Operation: OEF-Philippines and the Indirect Approach," 4.

[206] Ibid.

vulnerable to terrorism. Therefore, this model recommends that states focus on peoples--the center of gravity--and their needs and security.[207] PKK actions showed that it knew this.

> Ocalan's first target was not the Turkish military, but rather nonviolent Kurdish civil rights groups…it targeted the educated and modern. PKK terrorists executed school teachers for being public servants. PKK gangs burned medical clinics and murdered their staff. Health care collapsed…the PKK destroyed critical infrastructure to drive a wedge between the state and the local population. Before ending in 1997, the PKK campaign claimed thirty thousand lives--the majority ethnic Kurds killed by the PKK itself.[208]

In this sense, it could be argued that while the PKK tried to mobilize and get the support of indigenous people, Turkey perceived the organization as the only problem to be dealt with. The PKK and its attacks were considered as the actions of bandits in the first phase of Turkish decision-making. Therefore, it might have been assumed that without much effort this terrorism wave could be eliminated. Eventually, when the Turkish officials realized that they should focus on indigenous people, along with the organization, the PKK had already been drawing from its recruitment pool for years. This theory may help explain why PKK terrorism has lasted 30 years.

Another argument is the one presented in Ivan Arreguin-Toft's article "How the Weak Win Wars."[209] In this article, it is argued that since terrorist organizations use asymmetric tools--indirect attacks such as bombings--to defeat their enemies, usually nation-states. Under these conditions, the states are destined to lose this kind of war, especially when they are goaded into wrong responses.[210] In this instance, the states have two options: either choosing to losing the war and give into non-crucial political demands of terrorists, or becoming a barbarian state, since terrorism uses asymmetric tools which

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[207] Wilson, "Anatomy of a Successful COIN Operation: OEF-Philippines and the Indirect Approach," 4.

[208] Michael Rubin, "Turkey's Terror Problem Is Ours," *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*, (January 4, 2008) at http://www.aei.org/publications/filter.all.pubID.27316/pub_detail.asp, accessed May 2008.

[209] Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars," *International Security* 26, no. 1 (Summer 2001).

[210] Ibid., 95.

force states to operate in a gray area where legality and illegality are mixed.[211] Eventually, this dilemma will increase the terrorist organizations' capacity to recruit. In this respect, it is not surprising that Turkey has been accused of violating human rights and individual freedoms while conducting counterterrorism measures and the PKK was quick to show Turkey as either an oppressive or a weak state. Indeed, Ocalan's own words reveal how he exploited Turkish state's mistakes. He stated, "I use Turkish stupidity to build a Kurdish movement. This is very important. Turkey's harsh, ignorant treatment of the Kurds has helped give birth to a greater sense of Kurdish nationalism. I use Turkish mistakes to build up my power."[212]

In this respect, as long as states which have been penetrated by a terrorist organization perceive terrorism as a threat to their security and existence, the initial response to that organization will be military. Especially when the states perceive that their most crucial interests are under threat, namely security, then response to terrorism will be more severe.[213] Hence, even though the terrorist organization perpetrated terrorism for the sake of political ends, since the states could not consider it within the political context, it would be hard to convince these parties to play political games in the same arena.

When Turkish countermeasures and PKK tactics were examined in Chapter III, it was argued that PKK terrorism was perpetrated on innocent people to spread hatred and fear in the society and achieve its goals, causing the adversary to overreact, increasing polarization, and promoting recruitment could be achieved. In this sense, it could be argued that Turkey's countermeasures helped the PKK create a large recruitment pool within Turkey. Moreover, it could be argued that the PKK managed to force its adversary, namely the Turkish state, to overreact and get easily manipulated. Eventually, the PKK enjoyed the recruitment pool created by some mistakes made by the Turkish officials, which consequently, caused the PKK to last thirty years so far.

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[211] Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars." 96.

[212] Gunter, "Abdullah Ocalan: 'We Are Fighting Turks Everywhere'."

[213] Kydd and Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," 60.

It is a fact that terrorist organizations require recruitment and popular support to survive in the long term;[214] to achieve this goal; it is terrorist organization's objective to alienate the target audience from the adversary state through spreading fear and hatred within the target society. It is argued in this thesis that this is what happened in the case of Turkey and the PKK. Moreover, it is argued by scholars that terrorism is the voice of the discontented, who lack alternative political channels to vow their dissatisfaction, in shaky or unconsolidated democracies.[215] When Turkey became mired in difficult growing pains in the late 1970s, it became feasible for terrorist organizations to manipulate these dynamics in their favor--to sustain popular support to survive.

In response to the shocking tactics of terrorism, adversary states overreact and make mistakes;[216] then, terrorists exploit the states' reactions for their political ends, for recruitment and for accumulating popular support. In essence, it is argued "terrorism works…because it causes governments and individuals to respond in ways that aid the terrorists' cause."[217]

The last aspect of terrorism, which is manipulated by the PKK, is described by Amin Maalouf, a scholar who works on identity. According to him, "the single biggest contributor to identity-based violence is 'humiliation'." When a group feels threatened, marginalized or humiliated, the identity that was nominal before becomes the dominant defining characteristic. "Humiliation," he argues, "is the most reliable indicator of the rise of fanaticism."[218] In this sense, an interview with a former member of the PKK reveals how this humiliation phenomenon can deeply affect real life. He remembers being interrupted and warned by a telephone operator while talking with his mother in Kurdish.[219] This policy of restrictions on using the Kurdish language provoked strong

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[214] Joao Ricardo Faria and Daniel G. Arce M., "Terror Support and Recruitment," 1 at http://www.aeaweb.org/annual_mtg_papers/2005/0109_1300_0403.pdf, accessed April 2008.

[215] Faria and Arce M., "Terror Support and Recruitment," 8.

[216] Beril Dedeoglu, "Terorizm ve Terorizmle Mucadelenin Paradoksal Olgulari," *Avrasya Dosyasi* 12, no. 3 (2006): 14, at http://www.asam.org.tr/temp/temp385.pdf, accessed December 2007.

[217] Kydd and Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," 50.

[218] Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity*.

[219] Bejan Matur, "Dagin Ardina Bakmak," *Zaman*, (March 13, 2008) at http://www.zaman.com.tr/dizi.do?dizino=32, accessed May 2008.

feelings among the people whose native language is Kurdish. Since these restraints were perceived as humiliation aimed at all Kurds, even though they do not believe in the cause of the PKK, they might have felt that they should support them as a reaction and a response. Likewise, some claims against the Kurdish heritage which label Kurds as "Mountain Turks"[220] might have caused an ignition among the Kurds, who perceived this argument as a humiliation and reason to struggle to retain their identity Some Kurds responded to this development by emphasizing their ethnicity and by exaggerating their differences from Turks. In that context, this thesis offers some recommendations to Turkish decision-makers for ending PKK terrorism.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

There are certain factors that Turkey should emphasize. First, it is a point of history that at the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the national constitution denied any discrimination against any religion or group of people: "With regards to citizenship, everyone in Turkey is called Turk without discrimination on the basis of religion or race."[221] The reason why the name "Turk" was chosen may be explained in Coskun Kirca's words, former deputy and a member of the Parliament's constitutional committee. He stated, "Ever since setting foot on this blessed soil in 1071 the Turkish Nation put the stamp of the Turk on this homeland…"[222] to demonstrate the unity of the people living in Anatolia under the name of "Turk."

In this respect, it should be emphasized the fact that the Turkish constitution identifies every one as a Turk who binds himself to the state with the citizenship compact, so that no matter who you are, Kurd, Greek, Armenian, Arab, or Turk, you will be called a Turk.[223] Likewise, the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 perceives only the non-Muslim groups living in Turkey as minorities.[224] In this sense, the Kurds are considered

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[220] Michael M. Gunter, "The Continuing Kurdish Problem in Turkey after Ocalan's Capture," *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 5 (October 2000): 853.

[221] Watts, "Allies and Enemies: Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkish Politics, 1990-94," 632.

[222] Ibid., 640.

[223] Kongar, "Terorle Mucadele."

[224] Kushner, "Self-Perception and Identity in Contemporary Turkey," 224.

within the framework of Turkish millet, which is described by Ataturk as "The Turkish people who established the Turkish Republic is called as the Turkish millet"[225] In addition, Ataturk described Turkish nationalism as " 'Ne Mutlu Turkum Diyene!' best translated as 'Happy is whoever says I am a Turk' — not whoever is a Turk. To be a Turk meant to live within the boundaries of the republic and thereby be its citizen. Thus, the word 'Turk' defined a new national community into which individuals, irrespective of ethnicity, would be able to integrate."[226]

Moreover, according to the Turkish officials:

Kurds have always been in partnership with Turks, have enjoyed equal rights in the state, and consequently there has not been any real Kurdish problem. The Kurdish uprising is seen as the expression of economic and social discontent, the action of a small terrorist group, the outcome of subversion from the outside, or all of these combined. The solution, therefore, is to be found in suppressing the rebels, accelerating economic and social development, and consolidating democracy in the country as a whole.[227]

Furthermore, both Ataturk in the Grand National Assembly, and Ismet Inonu during the Lausanne conference referred the brotherhood of the Kurds and the Turks by defining Turkey as the "homeland of Kurds and Turks."[228] So, it could be argued that during establishment of new Turkish Republic and then after the proclamation of independence, a great effort was made to diminish the differences between being a Turk and being a Kurd in legal terms, no matter what a citizen's sub-identity might be, as long as that citizen binds himself to the state with constitutional citizenship.

Moreover, Turkish officials should convince the democracy activists who blame Turkey for not respecting human rights and democratic norms but whose actions threaten

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[225] Hilmi Ozkok, "Genelkurmay Baskani Orgeneral Sayin Hilmi Ozkok'un Harp Akademileri Komutanligindaki Yillik Degerlendirme Konusmasi," April 20, 2005 at http://www.turksae.com/sql_file/1124446924Genelkurmay_baskani_OrGen_Hilmi_Ozkok.pdf, accessed April 2008.

[226] Cornell, "The Kurdish Question in Turkish Politics," 34.

[227] Kushner, "Self-Perception and Identity in Contemporary Turkey," 224.

[228] George S. Harris, "Ethnic Conflict and the Kurds," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, (September 1977), 115.

rights and freedoms that, as former Prime Minister Tansu Ciller stated, "If the indivisible unity of the state and nation are being maligned in the name of freedom…this cannot be called democracy."[229]

Some scholars argue that Turkey should also emphasize that there is a distinction between recognizing the problem as either a "Kurdish problem," which refers to discrimination against the Kurds by the Turks within the borders of the Turkish state, or a "Kurdish nationalism problem," which refers to ethnic Kurdish nationalism driven by utopian Kurdish cadres within Turkey or abroad. This would expose the motivation of those behind the terrorism framework.[230] It could be argued that during the struggle with the PKK, praising Turkish nationalism as described within Ataturk's doctrines is condemned in the name of respecting democracy, whereas ethnic Kurdish nationalism is promoted immensely in the name of respecting democracy, too. This situation was well described by Bulent Ecevit, former Prime Minister:

> My nationalism is a nationalism that regards equally those who come from different origins but become one in Turkey. That is, it is Ataturk's understanding of nationalism. But there are some in Turkey who think of themselves as 'leftists' who consider nationalism incompatible with leftism…Actually, according to this way of thinking by the 'leftist intellectuals,' Turks are the only people [in Turkey] who don't have the right to be nationalists.[231]

So, recognizing the problem, along with labeling it with correct terms could help Turkey to adjust its response to this issue. Moreover, emphasizing the fact that majority of the Turkish Kurds do not support the PKK's cause could aid Turkey in accumulating international support to fight the PKK. A poll conducted in the cities of east and southeastern of Turkey in November, 2007 supports the Turkish officials' argument, reporting that 52.1% people in the region recognize the PKK as a terrorist organization.[232]

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[229] Watts, "Allies and Enemies: Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkish Politics, 1990-94," 648.

[230] Stratejik Analiz, "PKK Eylemleri Uzerine Bir Analiz," 91.

[231] Watts, "Allies and Enemies: Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkish Politics, 1990-94," 645.

[232] Helin Demir, "PKK'ya Anket Tokati," *Altin Haber*, (November 20, 2007) at http://www.altinhaber.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=610&Itemid=53, accessed May 2008.

In addition, the following testimonies given by indigenous people show that Turkey is on the right track both to win the hearts and minds of these people and to protect the distinction of Kurdish history and culture. The first quote is from the head of the chamber of commerce in Diyarbakir, a major city in southeast of Turkey: "They [the PKK] harm the Kurdish people more than anybody else with this violence."[233] The second comes from a civil servant in Mardin, a city in southeastern of Turkey, who asks, "What are their [the PKK's] objectives--a better life for Kurds in Turkey or the improvement of their leader's prison environment?"[234] Likewise, a 33-year-old computer shop owner in Kiziltepe, a town next to Mardin, questions the PKK's sincerity: "We started to doubt their sincerity…In twenty-five years of struggle, so little has been achieved. People came to the conclusion that they did more harm than good."[235] In addition, to illustrate the extent of transformation of local people from sympathizers to opponents of the PKK, the statements of their representatives should be considered. Sezgin Tanrikulu, head of the Diyarbakir Bar Association and one of the individuals, along with 91 regional business groups, NGOs, and intellectuals in the region who signed a declaration asking the PKK to disarm, stated that "The violence was seen as a legitimate way to seek for equality, [but] no longer is."[236] Another indigenous man contended that, "We used to think that Kurds [should] have their own land…But as we grew more conscious, we realize[d] it was a false ambition."[237]

Furthermore, it is argued that terrorism is perpetrated by terrorist organizations to spread hatred and fear among society, manipulating their adversaries into overreacting, and polarizing populations so that promoting recruitment could be achieved by terrorist organizations.[238] As a remedy, it is argued that mitigating the effects of terrorism is best achieved by preventing fear from being dominant in society, by preventing hatred from polarizing people groups into open conflict, and by dealing with any international actor

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[233] Tavernise, "As Kurds' Status Improves, Support For Militants Erodes in Turkey."

[234] Ibid.

[235] Ibid.,

[236] Ibid.

[237] Ibid.

[238] Kongar, "Terorle Mucadele."

which supports terrorist organizations.[239] To emphasize the last point, it should be remembered that it is almost impossible for a terrorist organization to survive without external support, so it is virtually certain that Kurdish separatists have acquired armament and military equipment with outsiders' aid.[240] Therefore, trying to cope with external actors who support this terrorist organization could be considered as one of the more important recommendations.

In order to mitigate the ramifications of economic deprivation, the formation of a special institution is endorsed by some scholars. According to this point of view, this institution should be under the administration of the Prime Minister's office to pursue effective programs such as lowering the birthrate targeted regions and denial of migration from poor areas to wealthier cosmopolitan areas. Further ideas include raising the level of education and effective health service; decreasing the unemployment level by subsidizing local small business entrepreneurs; implementing anti-feudal land reform to provide the peasants with their own land to cultivate; and lastly, expediting the project of Southeastern Anatolia, GAP.[241] As a part of this recommendation, it is crucial that "the government must take measures to ensure that development benefits the entire population and not just the tribal leaders who own most of the land and industry. Development efforts that enrich only aghas, leaders of tribes, and their client networks but not the Kurdish population as a whole could provide a spark for a social explosion."[242]

Showing a strong determination to fight terrorism could be considered a viable strategy, since it does increase the cost of terrorism rather than reward terrorists. In support, Michael Rubin, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, praised Turkey in its struggle with terrorism. In particular, he noted the government's commitment to bring to an end to PKK terrorism by hunting down terrorists at the Iranian border, where the members of the PKK had escaped after having conducted actions

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[239] Kongar, "Terorle Mucadele."

[240] Harris, "Ethnic Conflict and the Kurds." 124.

[241] Coskun Can Aktan, "Bolgelerarasi Dengesizlik Sorununun Cozumlenmeside Devletin Rolu Ne Olmalidir?" at http://www.canaktan.org/canaktan_personal/canaktan-arastirmalari/devlet-reformu/aktan-bolgesel-dengesizlik-sorunu.pdf, accessed April 2008.

[242] Cornell, "The Kurdish Question in Turkish Politics," 45.

within Turkey in July 1999.[243] He claims that Turkey's counteraction paid off by forcing Iran to stop its support of the PKK, whereas the Coalition Provisional Authority, CPA, made concessions to insurgents in Iraq, which only invited more violence in return.[244] Moreover, he argues that "[i]n the war against terrorism, appeasement always fails. Concessions in the face of terrorism will bring not gratitude, but terror. We should not replicate examples of failure, but rather models of success."[245] Likewise, Robert Pape argues that concessions usually trigger further violence, since the terrorist organizations' decision makers perceive concessions as proving their tactic's effectiveness.[246] Accordingly, Turkey's no-appeasement responses to the PKK's suicide campaigns both in 1996 and 1999 resulted in no change on target's (Turkish government's) behavior; conversely, the PKK ended up decapitated.[247] Hence, it could be derived from the empirical evidences of Pape's article that Turkey's commitment to fight terrorism and no-concession strategy has paid off so far.

Turkey should broadcast the position that the PKK is far away from representing the Kurds living in Turkey by presenting empirical evidences of how they killed the Kurds. For instance, the PKK killed twelve Turkish citizens in a village by accusing the villagers of voting for the governing party in 2007.[248] Likewise, the documented facts by Amnesty International might be presented as evidences of the PKK's deliberate and arbitrary killings of Kurds and their families. Amnesty International argued that "in the 1980s the PKK frequently engaged in the killing of whole families. Many women and children were caught in the cross-fire and killed in the course of the armed clashes when the PKK attacked the village guards…"[249]

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[243] Michael Rubin, "Failed Model, Coalition Concessions will not Bring Peace," *National Review Online* (April 28, 2004) at http://www.aei.org/include/pub_print.asp?pubID=20374, accessed April 2008.

[244] Ibid.

[245] Ibid.

[246] Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," 356.

[247] Ibid., 348-356.

[248] Behic Kilic, "PKK'nin Kurt Katliami," *Tercuman*, (October 8, 2007) at http://www.tercuman.com.tr/v1/yazaryazi.asp?id=87&yazitar=08.10.2007&yaziid=26268, accessed May 2008.

[249] Amnesty International, "Turkey, Death sentence after unfair trial: The case of Abdullah Ocalan," 5.

As a psychological countermeasure, denying the PKK from acquiring more members and exploiting internal conflicts to create factions and division in the PKK could be considered as the most effective ones.[250]

To effectively combat terrorism, it is crucial to understand why and under what conditions it arises in the first place. Crenshaw observes that

> Terrorism is an attractive strategy for groups for varied ideological persuasions who challenge the state's authority. Groups who want to dramatize a cause, demoralize the government, gain popular support, provoke regime violence, inspire followers, or dominate a wider resistance movement, who are weak vis-à-vis the regime, and who are impatient to act, often find terrorism a reasonable choice. This is especially when the conditions are favorable. Providing opportunities and making terrorism a convenient and economical option, with immediate and visible payoff.[251]

It must be remembered that terrorism is a complex phenomenon, so that countering it and denying recruitment along with any sort of support, both internally and externally, takes competence, professionalism, self-assurance, and patience.

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[250] Ali Can Dalkilic, "Terore Karsi Psikolojik operasyonlar," *International Strategic Research Forum* 2, no. 1 (January, 2008): 69.

[251] Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism" in Charles W. Kegley Jr. ed., *The New Global Terrorism* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002), 98-99.

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