

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Islamic States of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is a group that has a strict Islamic ideology which has purpose to purify Islam. This group involves two countries, Iraq and Syria as the main countries that created this group. There are some items that are strictly banned by ISIS such as music, arts and entertainment. The consumption and use of Western products, including chocolates and cosmetics also forbidden and all citizens must pray five times a day. Christians and Shias have to either leave or are made to pay *jizya*¹, while their property and houses are captured by ISIS². There is nothing wrong when some groups make such an organization, institution, or even called as a state, with a purpose to purify Islam in some region. ISIS is phenomenal and considered as a radical group by any parties. ISIS has spoken by the world and got many responses among Middle East countries, Western, and also Asia. Based on the history of the ISIS establishment, ISIS is the combination of two country, Iraq and Syria. These two countries have different story but same background in their establishment, which is against the government and its army.

Starting from Iraq, which has “scars” through the U.S in 2003 ago. The invention of the US to Iraq in 2003 aimed to found the mass weapons distraction in Saddam Hussein administration. But Iraqi considers it only aim to occupy the oil in

¹Shweta Desai, “Syrian Revolution how the Road from Democracy Ended in Caliphate”, India: KalphanaSukhta, 2015, p24.

² Ibid. p21

Iraq and destroyed the government of Saddam Hussein. It is proven that mass weapons destruction did not exist in Iraq. However, the U.S did not stop until there. The U.S built puppet government in Iraq which lead by Shia, whereas the majority people of Iraq 80% is Sunni. This puppet government harshen and cruelled to militants and the people of Iraq. Then the Iraqi struggles from the U.S occupation by creating the anti-government. One of the militant leaders in Iraq is Abu Mus'hab al-Zarqawi and Abu Umar Al-Baghdadi. There is also a militant leader whom replace Abu Umar Al-Baghdadi and also as the pioneer of Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi³.

Iraq and Syria relations started from the revolution in Syria in 2011 when the fighters from Syria who dominated Iraq came back to Syria to against the dictatorship of Bashar Al Assad administration. The militant in Syria created Jabhat al Nushra Front (JAN) as the government opposition and lead by Abu Muhammad Al-Joulani⁴. This group showed up publicly in January 2012 as a part of the larger Syrian opposition group and targeted government facilities and military establishment by attacking Syrian army⁵. In December 2012, the U.S considered this group as a terrorist organization. This phenomenon looked as the opportunity for Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi to strengthen its group. In 2013, Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi created Islamic States of Iraq and Syria which known as ISIS that include Islamist,

³Aaron Y Zelin, "Mengenai Lebih Jauh Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi", Washington Institute for Near East Policy. <http://www.bbc.com>

⁴Op.cit.

Joulani known as the part of ISI (Islamic State in Iraq) member and spread its ideology in Syria by creating JAN.

⁵ Ibid.

Kurds, moderate rebels, and ex JAN⁶. In the beginning of ISIS establishment, this group could occupy Raqqa and followed by some regions in February 2014, those are Deir ez Zor (one of the biggest cities in Syria) and also Mosul, the city in Iraq which has a larger area than United Kingdom⁷. ISIS is getting powerful by adding amount of foreign fighters that recruited from social media. The foreign fighters came along the region, even from Western countries as well⁸. However, ISIS is being arrogant and feel strong on its success in Syria. The condition is getting worse, proven by ISIS action. This group is attacking Syrian fighters (who do not join ISIS), JAN members and they considered as infidel because they are not part of ISIS. This action raises indignant reaction from Al Qaeda.

In the beginning of its establishment, Al Qaeda supported ISIS and considered it as the product of Al Qaeda which has the aims to expand ISIS idea globally⁹. ISIS' brutal actions made the leader of Al Qaeda, Ayman al Zawahiri disowned it in February 02, 2014¹⁰. Previously, neutral *Ulama* from various countries tried to reconcile it by establishing Islamic courts to adjudicate those who fault when clashes between fighters in Syria took place. All groups received that the Islamic courts should be establish as the reminder to Islamic group in Syria to always hold on Al-Quran, *Sunnah*, and *Hadist*, except ISIS by conducting varieties of reasons. By invoking verses from the Quran and declaring *takfir* (apostasy), ISIS

⁶ Ibid. p22.

⁷ Ibid. p23.

⁸ Shweta Desai, op.cit., p21.

⁹ Fernando PM Tambunan, "Sejarah dan Ideologi ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Sham)". <http://academia.edu>

¹⁰ Op.cit. p24.

carried out public executions, crucifixions, amputations, and flogging, and refused to participate in the Islamic court mediation efforts as a means of justice. ISIS asked to return to Iraq by Al Qaeda but ISIS refused it. ISIS declared itself as Islamic state that is not the revolution of Syria or Iraq, but they both have mutual interest and together they want to build an Islamic state using extremist religious law. With this declaration, in June 2014, on the first day of Ramadhan¹¹, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi appointed as caliph by ISIS and its members¹². The declaration delivered in Mosul, Iraq by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi when he delivered the Ramadhan sermon¹³. This declaration strongly opposed by the *Ulama* because it was done unilaterally without consulted previously with *ahlul hali wal aqdi* (Devout *Ulama*).

ISIS brings the chaos condition in Syria. As reported lately, neighborhoods and some Western countries visited by many “guests” from Syria. ISIS, besides Syrian civil war, is also one of the triggers of Syrian refugees happened nowadays. Syrian fled to the country as refugees to other countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and some Western countries such as Germany, and Austria. It began in 2011, when Syria suffer from the dictatorship of Bashar Al Assad. Then, the condition is getting worse under the occupation of ISIS and there is no credible opposition capable of bringing an end to the chaos, the international community—whether in the Middle East or elsewhere—seems incapable of containing the violence and

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Aaron Y Zelin, op.cit. As the requirement to be caliph is he should be descent of Prophet Muhammad. Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi considered by Turki al-Binali, an ideologues from Bahrain as the descent of Prophet Muhammad.

¹³“What ISIS really wants”, on The Atlantic, March, 2015. <http://www.theatlantic.com>

destruction in Syria, let alone bring it to an end¹⁴. The responses of the world through ISIS are different one to another. Some countries are overt against this group, but some do not want to bother this problem.

Middle East and its countries, as the place where Iraq and Syria belong to, are considered as the most appropriate parties to take action over damages resulting by ISIS. Middle East, which is famous for various kinds of conflicts that occur there, respond and provide a wide range of reactions to the brutality caused by ISIS. Nevertheless, the countries in the Middle East have not built mutual strength, in response to the anxieties caused by ISIS. Egyptian who took action on their own to carry out the bombing in Libya to slowly disarm the power of ISIS¹⁵. This action was done by Egypt because 21 Christian Egyptians were brutally murdered by ISIS, following by the released of video how ISIS killed the 21 Egyptians.

Personal effects are perceived by Middle East countries. However, this thing has not been success to foster a cooperation with each other for refusing ISIS. There are signs that some of these countries are now ready to take some action on their own initiative. In fact, they have organizations such as the Arab Leagues and the Gulf Cooperation Council that could be used as a forum to attack this group. Al Arabiya's Khalaf Ahmad Al Habtoor voiced his opinion to respond ISIS, "Enough is enough! It's time that Arab armies acted independently without waiting for a green light from the West whose goals are far from transparent. This is our

¹⁴Kemal Kirişci, "Why 100,000s of Syrian refugees are fleeing to Europe", September 3, 2015. <http://www.brookings.edu>

¹⁵ Reuters, et.al, "Egypt Bombs ISIS Targets in Libya Following Video of Beheadings", February 16, 2015. <http://www.haaretz.com>

neighborhood. This is our fight and we must take actions into our own hands. GCC States and their allies, in particular Jordan and Egypt, have well-equipped, well-trained military forces and, together, they can destroy these threats to our existence once and for all. Once again, I must make a strong appeal to these leaders to recognize the dangers and the need for driving our own chariots into a battle that must be won at all costs".¹⁶

Habtoor also said, "Rather, it is because defeating terrorism intellectually and acquitting Islam of terror charges and the distortions of its nature that stem from this phenomenon will not be achieved without inclusive and comprehensive Arab and Muslim efforts. No one can fight this disease on our behalf. The West's war on terror will not eradicate this phenomenon, which has somehow become a lifeline for preachers of extremism and terrorism. The responsibility, first and foremost, rests with the Arab and Muslim worlds¹⁷". UAE along these days has concerned against ISIS by joining the US-led anti-ISIS and became the first Middle East country to join, followed by Bahrain¹⁸. The reason behind an involvement of UAE against ISIS is the purpose of this group to build a new Islamic caliphate is antithetical to the UAE's vision of government¹⁹.

¹⁶"Joint Arab Response to ISIS demanded", by Middle East Policy Council. <http://www.mepc.org>
Khalaf Al Habtoor is Chairman of the Al Habtoor Group with the mission to improve the lives of people in need within the UAE.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸ "UAE Pulls out of US-led anti-ISIS Coalition after Death of Jordanian Pilot", by Al Akhbar English, February 4, 2015. <http://english.al-akhbar.com>

¹⁹ Alissa Fromkin, "Part Three: UAE Foreign Policy in Iraq & Syria", March 5, 2015. <http://www.iar-gwu.org>

The responses among people and countries through the rise of ISIS are different from one to another. Some people easily claim that the most threatened country as a result of the rise of ISIS is Saudi Arabia. Like Pir-Muhammad Mollazehi said on his interview with Iran review, ISIS wants to attack this country with the aims of Shia society²⁰. Then, ISIS had already announced that it would carry out terrorist operations in Saudi Arabia²¹. Saudi Arabia and its governance did not really take an action to respond the terror of ISIS, however this country was slightly disturbed. The anxiety feeling of Saudi Arabia made this country took action by started building a 600-mile fence aimed at keeping militants out. Saudi Arabia was embarrassed to admit its fear of ISIS, but it could not hide it to the world. Proven, they have prompted Riyadh to re-energize its relationship with the U.S, since their relations was in mistrust issue because Saudi Arabia was upset when the White House decided not to bomb Syria, the ally of the kingdom's biggest rival, Iran²².

Sheepish action undertaken by Saudi Arabia to express its fear of ISIS responded differently by Turkey. This country choose to use “wishy washy” action against ISIS. For almost two years, Turkish troops sat idly on the country's shared border with Syria as Islamic militants increased their territory and fought on the frontier. The pro-Kurdish Peoples' Democratic Party also gave a comment, saying the government did not really want to fight ISIS and accusing it of turning a blind

²⁰ The interview with Pir-Muhammad Mollazehi , the expert on *Indian Subcontinent & Middle East Issues*. <http://www.iranreview.org>

²¹ Ibid.

²²Jonathan Broder, “Fearing ISIS, Saudi Arabia Turns Back to Washington”, January 13, 2015. <http://www.newsweek.com>

eye to jihadist recruitment in Turkey²³. But the reason of maintaining the case is a threat to national security, the Turkish parliament voted in October 2, 2014 to allow its military to join the fight against ISIS²⁴. It also does not immediately bring the Turkey on aggressive action to fight against ISIS. Surprisingly, on Friday morning of July 24, 2015, F-16 air forces of Turkish struck ISIS positions inside Syria. It was a quick and significant change in the country's actions toward the militants²⁵. This action was also as a signed that Turkey already joined on the U.S-led anti-ISIS coalition in military intervention²⁶. Presidential Spokesman of Turkey, Ibrahim Kalin said that, "To interpret our border security measures as 'Turkey is going to war'... A country has a natural right to protect its borders"²⁷. The changes of Turkey action on responding through ISIS considered as sudden and shocking action for the world. Whether Turkey is patient with the presence of Syria militants in its border, or Turkey just wait for the moment to surprise ISIS and the world.

Parts of the world that is meddling in the "world peace affairs" is Western countries. Two Western countries which never get in peace or always oppose one in another, Russia and the U.S, this time have the same opinion to fight ISIS, but both countries have different strategy and action. While Russia prefers to fight against ISIS by gaining relations with Iraq and Syria government, the U.S, stay still

²³Patrick Goodenough, "Turkey Voted for Military Action to Go After Assad, Not ISIS, Opposition Says", October 3, 2014. <http://cnsnews.com>

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Rebecca Collard, "Why Turkey has Finally Declared War on ISIS", July 24, 2015. <http://www.time.com>

²⁶"Turkey carries out first air strikes as part of anti-ISIS US coalition", by The Guardian. <http://www.theguardian.com>

²⁷ Sinem Cengiz in Al-Arabiya News. <http://www.english.alarabiya.net>

with its style by aggressively attacks to ISIS wherever they are, especially in Iraq, Syria, and their neighbors.

Russia with its non-aggressiveness build the cooperation with Syria, Iraq, and Iran to help and cooperate each other in collecting information about this group²⁸. Col. Steve Warren as an Operation Inherent Resolve spokesman in Baghdad said, "We recognize that Iraq has an interest in sharing information on ISIS with other governments in the region who are also fighting ISIS. We do not support the presence of Syrian government officials who are part of a regime that has brutalized its own citizens."²⁹

While the U.S prefers to use a method that shows its strength to the world, which conducted military intervention in the territory controlled by ISIS. Moreover, The U.S also build the power in Middle East countries by persuading them to join in the U.S-led anti-ISIS coalition. However the U.S does not deny that it is still working to cooperate with the Iraqi government as the support against ISIS³⁰. On September 10, President Obama announced, "America will lead a broad coalition to roll back this terrorist threat. Our objective is clear: We will degrade, and ultimately destroy, ISIS through a comprehensive and sustained counterterrorism strategy."³¹

²⁸"Iraq announces ISIS deal with Russia, Syria, and Iran", by CBS News, September 27, 2015. <http://www.cbsnews.com>

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰Op.cit.

³¹"An Overview of ISIS Threat and U.S Response", September 25, 2014 in Bipartisan Policy Center <http://www.bipartisanpolicy.org>

ISIS does not only give an impact in the Middle East, but it also begin to spread its ideology to parts of Western countries which resulting refugees from Syria to dock in Europe. The world now feels uncomfortable, responses and actions are taken to combat ISIS, but they not have succeeded to overthrow to make ISIS collapse. Countries in the world have also made various efforts, such as Turkey, as a neighbor of Syria. Two years kept in silence by seeing what ISIS did and this country seems does not want to interfere in the fight against ISIS. But ultimately, ISIS action now is intolerable, then in mid-2015 Turkey carried out attacks in Syria and decided to join the U.S-led anti-ISIS coalition.

It is speculated that Turkey have changed its mind because of the U.S interference. When Kobane, the city in Syria already occupied by ISIS, the U.S urges Turkey to join the military intervention, with a strong statement from Jen Psaki, a spokesman for the US State Department said that Turkey is the country with the most potential to attack ISIS because it is in the best position to contribute in the area including the holding of military operations³². But Turkey remains in its stand. The sudden change of Turkey to finally do military intervention to ISIS brings curiosity for the writer to examine further why Turkey chose to join the U.S-led anti-ISIS coalition and do military intervention. The title of this study is **“The Collaborations between Turkey and the U.S in the Establishment of “ISIS Free Zone” in Turkish-Syrian Borders”**. This undergraduate thesis is as the

³² “AS Desak Turki Selamatkan Kobani dari Serbuan ISIS” on Kompas, October 10, 2014. <http://www.kompas.com>

completion of tasks and as a graduation requirement of undergraduate student in Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta.

B. Research Question

Why did Turkey changes its action to fight against ISIS by military intervention and join in the U.S-led anti-ISIS coalition to establish ISIS-Free Zone in Turkish-Syrian borders?

C. Theoretical Framework

Theoretical basis is a description that explains the variables and relationships based on the concept or definition of each. Theory plays an important role in a study because of the elements in the theory explain social phenomena or natural phenomena to be analyzed on this study.

The changes of action of Turkey to treats ISIS in Syria is something mystify, so that the writer formulates a research question to limit the explanation and analysis that will be elaborated in this study. To help the writer answers a research question, the writer uses foreign policy theory and securitization theory as tools for analyzing on Turkey “wishy washy” action to ISIS in Syria. Foreign policy theory has a model in it, which is rational model that will be used by analyze the decision making process of Turkey’s government in chapter III. While securitization theory is a theory that can help the writer to elaborate the hypothesis in chapter IV.

Foreign policy theory regulates the decision making process of a country in political, economic, and social. A country places itself as a central actor. It also works on the policies that a country made to apply its behavior to other countries.

While, foreign policy has a model to create a decision-making, namely as rational model. Based on Graham T. Allison, rational model used by the government in a country as an action to maximize the attainment of country's objective by listing the alternatives for achieving the country's goals and choose the best of it³³. In the process of rational model, decision-making process usually made by many actors, mainly the leader of a country. Realist concept in international relations theory is connected to rational model of decision-making of foreign policy, in which it has national interest concept, a country roles as a main actor and it acts rationally in foreign policy³⁴.

Securitization in international relations is the other theory that will be used in this study. Securitization which is created by Ole Wæver and developed by Barry Buzan, which concept of security is not only about military and defense, but securitization is also an extreme version of politicization that enables the use of extraordinary means in the name of security³⁵. Security should instead be seen as a speech act, where the central issue is not whether threats are real or not, but the way of certain issue can be socially constructed as a threat³⁶. In other word, securitization does not take place after the fact, instead, it plays a large part in constructing and defining what the facts are, for example widening the non-military aspect.

³³ Tulasi R. Kafle, "Making a Difference: Allison's Three Models of Foreign Policy Analysis", University of Nicosia, 2011.

³⁴ Julia Karbo, "The Analysis of Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective", 2012, by Adde M. Wirasenjaya in study of Indonesian Foreign Policy, 2015.

³⁵ Rens Van Munster, "Securitization", June 26, 2012. <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>

³⁶ Ibid.

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the rational model of foreign policy can help the writer to analyze the reasonable reason that taken by Turkey, with regard to its cooperation with the U.S to build "ISIS Free-Zone" at the Turkish-Syrian borders. The second theory helps writer to analyze further why Turkey changed its mind from "calm" to aggressively respond to ISIS in Syria. Whether it is purely a security matter, or there are other things to be achieved by Turkey.

D. Hypothesis

The reasons behind Turkey decision to join the U.S-led Anti-ISIS and establish "ISIS Free-Zone" in Turkish-Syrian borders because:

First, Turkey attacks ISIS in Syria to terminate this group of becoming more widespread and increasingly destroy its country. By joining the U.S in its intervention action, Turkey will feel safe from the "accusation of guilt" over the attacks launched in Syria, because the U.S is a superpower country which ready to protect its coalition for the human rights reason.

Second, Turkey wants to re-position its power in Middle East. Turkey is a neighbor of Syria, it has important role to against ISIS because its border contact directly with Syrian border and also as a way for ISIS members to come to Syria. By securitization theory of Barry Buzan, Turkey indirectly showing up its effort to re-position its power in the Middle East because of its important role to attack ISIS.

E. Research Methods

In this thesis, the authors chose the qualitative research methods obtained through secondary data, such as literature, books, journals, clippings and college textbooks. Then the author also tried to provide it with the data from electronic forms such as e-books and some data from the internet and other literature sources that are relevant to this study.

F. Research Purposes

The aim of this thesis is to know the reason behind the change of the Turkish action against ISIS and answer the curiosity of the writer, why Turkey chose to join the US-led anti-ISIS coalition by establishing the anti-ISIS Free Zone in Turkish-Syrian borders. This thesis also has purpose to fulfill the requirement of undergraduate degree in International relations major of faculty of Social Science in University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

G. The Scope of Research

The writer will use the scope of research as the tool of limitation on this study. The scope of this research is Turkey's action to respond ISIS, start from ISIS appearance in 2011 until the present time. The writer will talk about some information relating Turkey's action to respond ISIS, such as its relations with Syria, the U.S and other countries who involve on intervention to ISIS.

H. Section

There are some sections to elaborate in this thesis, which are:

Chapter I. This chapter is about the introduction of the study which consist of background, research question, theory, research purposes, methods, hypothesis, and the scope of the research.

While chapter II explains about the condition of Turkey-Syria relations before and after ISIS arises, include the condition among Middle East countries and every parties that involve to fight against ISIS.

Chapter III elaborates the policies and decision-making process that made by Turkey as the responses for ISIS uprising.

Chapter IV elaborates further by using the analysis of theory of securitization by Barry Buzan and the opinion in the perspective of the writer.

While chapter V contains on closing and conclusion, which contains an overall summary of the research that has been presented in previous chapters.