

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Today, China has risen to become one of the global major powers in the world. Great populations and mass rapid industrialization foster China's economic development. Moreover, China has established trade relations and cooperations in economic, social, and political with other countries, regional institutions and multilateral organizations for many years. One organization that establishes trade relation with China is European Union (EU).

European Union is an organization of European countries dedicated to increase economic integration and strengthening cooperations among its members. It was established on November 1, 1993. EU has 27 countries until 2007 as the members. The EU is not a single body organization. It contains three main constitutions which is called as “institutional triangle”¹:

- The Council of European Union. It represents the member states.
- The European Parliament. It represents the citizens.
- The European Commission. It is politically an independent body that upholds the collective European interest.

¹Pascal Fontaine. (2003). *Europe in 12 Lessons*. Brussel: European Commission Directorate-General for Press and Communication

Table 1. European Union Member Countries

No.	Country	No.	Country
1.	Austria	15.	Latvia
2.	Belgium	16.	Lithuania
3.	Bulgaria	17.	Luxembourg
4.	Czech Republic	18.	Malta
5.	Cyprus	19.	Netherlands
6.	Denmark	20.	Poland
7.	Estonia	21.	Portugal
8.	Finland	22.	Romania
9.	France	23.	Slovenia
10.	Germany	24.	Slovakia
11.	Greece	25.	Spain
12.	Hungary	26.	Sweden
13.	Ireland	27.	United Kingdom
14.	Italy		

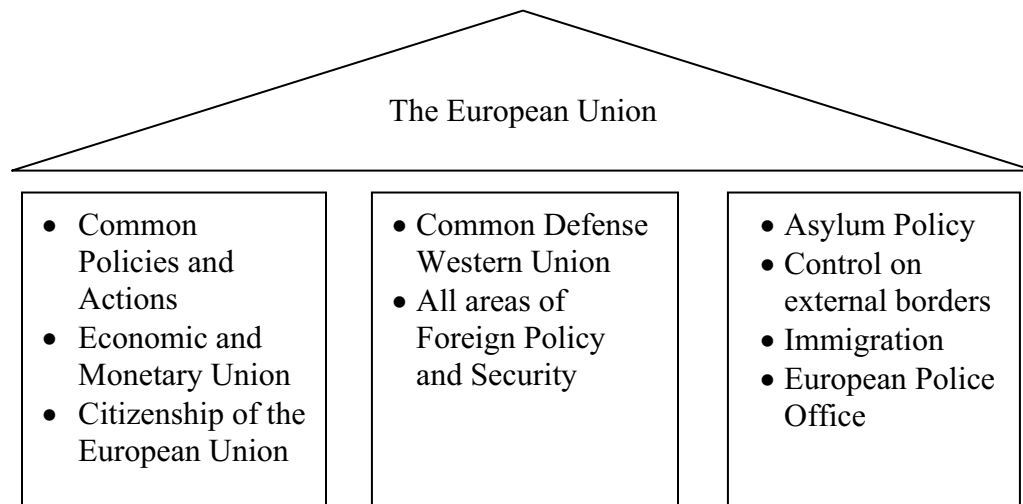
Source: EU at a glance: European Countries. Retrieved March 26, 2009.

http://europa.eu/abc/european_countries/index_en.htm

The EU policies in general, are the result of decision taken by “institutional triangle”, so EU only has one policy toward an issue. The Treaty of European Union

introduced a structure consisting of three pillars, namely The European Community (EC), Common Foreign and Security Policy, and Justice and Home Affairs. By joining EU, member states delegate some of their national sovereignty and national interest to institutions.

Figure 1: The Three Pillars Structure



Source: Ian, B., & Stephen, G. (2006). Politics in the European Union (Second Edition). New York: Oxford University Press Inc. p.233

External political relations are handled outside the European Community (EC) framework. They are governed by the second pillar of the EU, namely Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Although this is officially an intergovernmental pillar, the Commission has played an important role. The other institutions also play important role in CFSP to produce certain foreign policies toward some issues such as European

Council, the General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC), European Parliament, the General Secretariat, the High Representative, and A Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit. Besides, there are also the Committee of Parliament Representatives (COREPER), the Political and Security Committee (PSC) and CFSP Working Groups.

The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) controls the efforts of EU member states to act in a unified way on foreign policies and security affairs. It has five fundamental objectives namely to safeguard the common values, fundamental interests, independence and integrity of the European Union; to strengthen the security of the European Union in all ways; to preserve peace and strengthen international security; to promote international cooperation; and to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.²

CFSP is governed by unanimity which involves all EU member states. However, it applies qualified majority voting for some issue which has no implication on military defense. The member states determine what kind of procedure will be used in deciding a policy. Besides, there are three policy instruments which are used by CFSP, namely joint actions, common positions and common strategies.

People's Republic of China established its diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community (EEC) on May 6, 1975. On May 2, 1978, a trade agreement EEC-China was signed and the Joint Committee was established. The first

² External Relations . Common Foreign and Security Policy. Retrieved December 12, 2008. http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/intro/index.htm.

meeting of the Joint Committee was held in Beijing and it made an agreement on textile trade. On May 21-23, 1985, China and EEC agreed to sign an agreement on trade and cooperation. However, on June 1989, European Community (EC) froze its relation with China and imposed a number of sanctions, including an arms embargo. In June 1992, the new bilateral political dialogue between EC and China was established.³

The Treaty on European Union came into force in November 1993. It created European Union (EU).⁴ In October 1993, EU opened a European Commission office in Hong Kong. On April 2, 1998, the first EU-China Summit was held in London. The EU had good bilateral relations with China, especially in economic relation. The EU is China's second largest trade partner, by which China becomes the EU's largest partner.⁵ Moreover, both China and EU stress that a stronger economic and trade ties between China and the EU are an important foundation for continuing development of their relations.

Together with the intensified economic and social cooperation, political relations are also developed rapidly. A Political dialogue on regional and international affairs between EU and China was established in 1994. In 1998, EU launched its long-term strategy for EU-China relations in a 1998 Communication "Building a Comprehensive partnership with China". The main aims of this communication were to engage China further in the international community, to support China's transition to an

³ EU-China Relations : Chronology. (2008). Retrieved November 10, 2008 from http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/china/docs/chronology_2008_en.pdf

⁴ Pascal Fontaine. (2003). *Europe in 12 Lessons*. Brussel: European Commission Directorate-General for Press and Communication.

⁵ European Commission External Relation: China. Retrieved October 8, 2008 from http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/china/index_en.htm

open society and to integrate China further into the global economy. EU offered China in assisting China's reform process, and improving human rights by its statement, ““The challenge for China now is to sustain economic growth and preserve social stability while creating an open society based on the rule of law. If Europe wishes to have a role in this process, it should continue to use all available channels to promote the cause of human rights in China in an active, sustained and constructive way.”⁶

Besides, EU supported China to join World Trade Center (WTO). The negotiation of an agreement on China's accession to the WTO has been at the top of the EU's trade agenda for the past two years. EU believes that WTO accession will have a substantial impact on economic reforms and development in China. After China's accession to the WTO, EU commits that dialogues will be used to resolve trade issues such as regulatory problems, investment barriers, and business environment for EU companies in China.

The most recent statement of EU policy towards China was set out in the Commission's Communication on EU-China in October 2006, namely “Closer partnership, growing responsibilities”. EU states that China becomes the world's fourth economy and third exporter in the world, while EU offers the largest market in the world. Thus, EU supported a closer strategic partnership and mutual responsibilities toward China. Both the EU and China stood to gain from trade and economic partnership.

⁶ The European Commission. (2000). Building a comprehensive partnership with China. Retrieved February 25, 2009. from <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52000DC0552:EN:NOT>

In the 2006 Commission's Communication, EU affirmed its support to China's transition towards a more open and plural society. The EU would continue to encourage full respect of fundamental rights and freedoms in all regions of China, such as freedom of speech, religion and association, the right to a fair trial and the protection of minorities such as Tibetans. EU kept to support on human rights dialogue and encouraged China to be an active and constructive partner in the Human Rights Council.⁷

Regarding the China's re-emergence as a global economic and political power, EU intensified its comprehensive engagement with China through its five pronged strategies, namely to support for China's transition towards a pluralist society, to promote sustainable development, to improve of trade and economic relations, to strengthen bilateral cooperation, and to foster regional and international cooperation. EU concerned to strengthen its bilateral relations with China on wide range of important issues from aviation and maritime transport to regional and macro-economic policy. EU also stated that both EU and China should work together to find multilateral solutions to emerging crises, and to combat terrorism and increase regional cooperation.

Recently, many countries have concerned about the riot that occurred in Tibet Autonomous Region. Tibet is one of five autonomous areas in China at the provincial level in which it has its main local inhabitants, namely Tibetans, but there are other ethnicities living in Tibet, such as Han and Hui. The regional ethnic autonomy of Tibet

⁷ The European Commission. (2006). "Closer Partner, Growing Responsibilities". Retrieved February 25, 2009. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52006DC0631:EN:NOT>

has been implemented since 1965, so Tibet is under the leadership of Central government of China in administration of the state and foreign affairs⁸.

The Tibet's riot began with many protesters coming down to the street to celebrate the 49th anniversary of the failed 1959 Tibetan uprising against China's government rule. The protesters demanded the release of other monks detained since last fall. The riots happened on March 10, 2008 and then on March 14, the protest turned violent. The protesters burned many things and looted.

The riots happened in some districts of Tibet, such as in the province of Gansu, the police broke up a protest of hundreds of monks. On March 10, 2008, several hundred monks demonstrated against Chinese policy in the Tibet capital city, Lhasa. In several monasteries of Drepung, Sera and Ganden, hundreds of monks held peaceful rallies, but Chinese police used tear gas to break up the protesters and arrested some of them. In Sichuan province, more than a thousand monks who demonstrate Chinese government and there are about 200 Tibetan protesters who burn a police station.

The Chinese government blames the Tibet's spiritual leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner, the Dalai Lama and its supporters as the actor behind the riots. They are suspected to equip and finance the supporter of the riots. However, the Tibetans government that based on Dharamsala, India quickly rejects any claims from Chinese government. He says that China is trying to blame it on Tibetans in exile. Dalai Lama, the Tibetan spiritual and political leader states that he does not support any attempts of

⁸ Regional Ethnic Autonomy in Tibet. Retrieved October 6, 2008 from <http://www.heinonline.org/HOL/PDF?handle=hein.journals/chnint3&collection=journals&id=625&print=18&ext=.pdf> >

separatist movement that demanding independent of Tibet, he only asks Chinese government to give greater autonomy for Tibet.

Meanwhile, China became the host of Olympic Games 2008 that was held in August 2008. Many countries threatened to boycott the Beijing Olympic Games as the response of China's violation on Tibet's unrest. The president of France, Nicholas Sarkozy signaled that he might not attend the opening ceremony in August unless the Chinese authorities exercised restraint in dealing with the Tibetan independence movement and discussed with the Dalai Lama.⁹

On the other hand, some other European countries, such as Britain, Denmark, Cyprus and Germany also rejected any attempt of boycott the Beijing Olympic Games.¹⁰ Finally, EU Sports Commissioner Jan Figel told that European Union decided to condemn violence rather than boycott the Olympic Games. This decision was made after a meeting of the bloc's 27 sports ministers and members of the International Olympic Committee are held.¹¹

A. Research Question

This paper will carry out a question as follows “What are the considerations behind the European Union policy to condemn Tibet riots on March 10, 2008?”

⁹ The Timesonline. (2008, March 26). Sarkozy threatens boycott of Beijing Olympic Games opening ceremony. Retrieved on November 15, 2008 from <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article3620417.ece>.

¹⁰ Xinhua.(2008, March 24). Germany against boycott of Olympic Games. Retrieved on November 15, 2008 from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-03/29/content_7877680.htm.

¹¹ Reuters. (2008, March 17). EU rejects calls to boycott China Olympics. Retrieved on November 15, 2008 from http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=174.

B. Theoretical Framework

1. The Rational Actor Model

Graham T. Allison explained the following rational actor model, namely:

- a) Governments are treated as the primary actor.
- b) The government examines a set of goals, evaluates them according to their utility then picks the one that has the highest “payoff”¹²

In this model, Allison proposes that the basic unit of analysis is governmental action as a choice. The national government that takes the action is regarded as a unitary decision based on rationality. Here, rationality signifies, “consistent, value-maximizing choice with specified constraints. Allison also proposes that the action taken by the national government is a “solution to the problems”.

Allison mentions that the rational actor is considered to represent the efforts to combine the action with the rational consideration. Then he also mentions that the rational actor of the decision makers is the actor who is able to explain in detail what their aims and goals are. He is also able to explain the goals from the available alternatives and identify the consequence which may be emerged from every choice or decision before he makes the decision.¹³

Every international actor will act rationally. Rationality does not carry any connotations of normative behavior. So, behaving rationally does not necessarily mean

¹² Graham T. Allison, and Phillip Zelikow (1999). *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis, 2ed.* Longman. Retrieved November 16, 2008

¹³ Graham T.Allison. (1971). *Essence of Decision.* Little Brown, p. 38

that one behaves morally or ethically. Rational behavior is a purposeful behavior. An actor is behaving rationally if his choices are designed to achieve outcomes consistent with his goals. This is called instrumental rationality and is another way of saying that actors are able to relate means to ends, and they choose the means that help them obtain the ends they like most.¹⁴

The rational actor model treats foreign policy choices as products of the following idealized sequence. A rational decision maker takes into account the foreign policy goals of the nation and determines which ones take the priority over others. Then, she identifies and analyzes the various options available. The decision maker is choosing the option that yields the highest payoff, so she is maximizing utility.

The decision maker decides one policy based on rational choices that give the most beneficial effect. He also should consider its national interest and the goal of its nation. He needs to explain the options related to strategic goals of its nation then he chooses the best choice. All information should be gathered to consider the rational option.¹⁵

Allison proposed several basic components of the rational choice as follows:

1. Goals and objectives. National security and national interests are the principle categories in which strategic goals are conceived.

¹⁴ Branislav L. Slantchev. (2005). Introduction to International Relations, Lecture 3: The Rational Actor Model. Retrieved November 10, 2008. < polisci.ucsd.edu/~bslantch/courses/ps12/03-rational-decision-making.pdf>.

¹⁵ Mochtar Masoed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi*. Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial.

2. Option. Various sources of action relevant to a strategic problem provide the spectrum of options.
3. Consequences. Enactment of each alternatives source of action will produce a series of consequences. The relevant consequences constitute benefits and costs in term of strategic goals and objectives.
4. Choice. Rational choice is value maximizing. The rational agent selects the alternatives choice consequences rank highest in terms of the goals and objectives.

In brief, rational actor model accentuates the best choice of action taken among alternatives sets of consequences cost and benefit.¹⁶ Under the Rational Actor Model, the writer argues that there are two alternatives for European Union policy toward Tibet's riot. The European Union as a rational actor will choose the rational option that yields payoff. The policy that would be taken will regard to objectives.

Firstly, EU will boycott Olympic Games. The EU members have different opinions on boycotting issue, such as French President, Nicholas Sarkozy suggests boycotting, while Germany and Britain opposed boycott. However, EU will only do the option that give good impact to both sides. Olympic Games is about sport and it can be separated to political matter. Secondly, EU will only condemn the Tibet riots and not to boycott Beijing Olympic Games. This option will yield the highest payoff because it will not give great impact to EU-China bilateral relationship. EU does not want to break its trade cooperation with China by boycotting Olympic Games. For China, Beijing Olympic Games is an international event to enhance its prestige to many countries in the

¹⁶ Op.cit.

world. China will seek to portray the Games as Beijing's coming-out party, showcasing its rapid economic growth and prosperity.¹⁷

C. Hypothesis

The European Union decided to condemn the China's response toward Tibet's riot rather than did boycott on Olympic Games 2008. It is assumed that there are some considerations behind EU response toward Tibet's riot on March 2008, namely:

1. The EU assumes that boycott will be a lost opportunity to carry out its claim as human rights defender.
2. The EU regards that boycott will cause social cost.
3. The EU argues that condemnation is a better way to maintain EU-China trade relations.

D. Research Method

This is a library research. Thus, the data will be obtained from books, encyclopedia, magazines, newspapers and journals. In addition, the internet media will be valuable resources used in order to obtain data, reports, surveys, because updated information related to the topic is only available through the internet media. From these sources, the research will be elaborated and analyzed.

¹⁷ Victor D. Cha, (Summer 2008). "Beijing's Olympic-Seized Catch -22." *The Washington Quarterly*. Retrieved November 15, 2008 from http://www.twq.com/08summer/docs/08summer_cha.pdf.

E. Writing System

The outline of this thesis is as described as followed:

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

CHAPTER II discusses how EU foreign policy decision making is proceeded by European Union.

CHAPTER III gives explanation about European Union policy toward People's Republic of China. Besides, it gives explanation about EU-China relations on trade cooperation until Tibet riots on March 10, 2008 happened.

CHAPTER IV discusses about the consideration behind European Union policy toward Tibet riots on March 10, 2008. It also describes about the rational choice which is chosen by European Union. By using the relevant data, it discusses that EU decided to condemn the China as the response toward Tibet riots, because condemnation is a good way to show its concern toward riot. Besides, boycott is politically ineffective and it will harm both bilateral relation and athletes. It also would be a lost opportunity to promote human rights in China.

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