

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

A. Background

In August 2007, a year before 2008 Beijing Olympics Games was held; the People Republic of China published to the world about the Olympics' slogan and mascot. On the other side, at the same time the Government of China had to face the boycotts actions that were done by several sides, they were former French presidential candidate Francois Bayrou, French President Nicolas Sarkozy, UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador Mia Farrow, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Former President of United States of America Bill Clinton, Former President of United States of America George W. Bush, President of United States of America Barack Obama, The Government of Austria, The Government of Hungary, Genocide Intervention Network Representative Ronan Farrow, The Washington Post editorial board, European Union Parliament, Reporters Without Border, Students for a Free Tibet as pro Tibet movement and so on.

Those sides above would boycott Beijing Olympics by forbidding each of its state's Olympics Committee not to participate in the Games before the problems were solved. While, Student for a Free Tibet (SFT) kept making protests and demonstrations before the Government of China stopped the violation toward Tibet. Since the boycott came from United State of America and some of developed countries in Europe, it had a big possibility other states would do the same thing, it was only a matter of time.

The thing that became a huge problem for the Government of China was the statement of those states above not to allow its Olympics teams to participate in Beijing Olympics. So far, the Beijing Olympics Games couldn't be held when the participation did not fulfill the minimum quota, such as if the two third of state's Olympics Committee did not attend the Games. Then, International Olympics Committee (IOC) would consider 2008 Beijing Olympics Committee had failed to host the Olympics Games. As the consequence, the Government of China would be penalized and forbidden to attend the Summer Olympics Games as well as Winter Olympics games for the following ten years.

The penalty would be a huge disaster for the Government of China. It would cause China a big lost, since China had quite a few skilled and professional athletes and was always in the best three positions among the other states. In addition, being a host of Olympics Games was one of the Government of China's aims to gain the international recognition about its social stability, economic progress and the healthy life of the Chinese people. So, instead of showing its good image and existence in the worldwide, the Government of China's image would go down sharply if it failed to host Beijing Olympics.

However, the side who against the Government of China believed that there were a number of things that should be fixed by the Government of China to become a qualified host for the Olympics Games. There were several problems that were faced by the Government of China, namely, domestic issue with Tibet, environment and health problem. The issue that raised the biggest attention from international society was Tibet case. Actually, it was only a domestic problem but lately it became

international topic when media blew it up. Furthermore, on that time, People Republic of China was being international target to be exposed because of its preparation toward the next Olympics Games. Later, the issue became bigger easily. This made people judged and blamed the Government of China. The worst, this also triggered people to join the opposition sides to boycott Beijing Olympics. Although the Government of China had been making attempt to pursue international society that actually Tibet's condition was not that awful and this was merely domestic political issue between Tibet and the Government of China and this case should not be linked with the sport event, Olympics Games, yet, people would prefer to believe what media said. This was what we called the power of media that could create people opinion and the Government of China had to do lots of hard work to spin people's opinion about China-Tibet conflict.

The boycott issue spread widely when there were several issues raised up in China. First about when Tibetans made anarchy protests toward the government of China in the beginning of 2008. This began when the Government of China jailed 50 to 60 monks who were Long March from Drepung to Potala as theirs protest. Regarding this long march, Government of China sent its military to capture the monks in order to avoid the unexpected things. Since then, polices were everywhere in Lhasa both inside and outside every temple.

This captured raised a number of demonstrations that were done by Tibetans. They claimed that Government of China was not fair. Demonstration were everywhere in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet. The Government of China tried to close down every access for journalists to report these repressive demonstrations.

Based on Kompas, journalists were pushed to go out from Lhasa and prohibited to enter places where polices handled the demonstrations because the condition in Tibet was totally dreadful and it even worse than anyone could imagine.¹

After that, some radical actions happed in Lhasa, such as Tibetans robbed and burnt some stores and houses that were owned by other races except Tibetans. It was called anti-China protest. The one who were not Tibetans were attacked. A witness said that, he saw monk burnt police's posts that were close to the temple.² Demonstrators attacked stores and private vehicles of Hans ethnic (China's majority ethnic). Based on BBC report, Tibetans only attacked, robbed and burnt Hans' stores, private vehicles and houses, because Han ethnic was the biggest ethnic in China. Tibetans attacked them as one of their protests to the Government of China. Protest got wider to the outside of Tibet. Tibetans and monks gathered in Labrang Gansu temple march 15th, 2008. It was about 5.000 people. They wanted to kick out Han ethnic. Another protest was in Sinchuan where monks and polices attacked each other, March 16, 2008.³

Secondly, it was about bad environment and health issue. International Olympics Committee (IOC) and World Health Organization (WHO) warned the Government of China about its bad air pollution. At current levels, air pollution was 2 to 3 times higher than levels deemed safe by the World Health Organization.⁴ The IOC's medical commission analyzed the air quality data recorded by the Beijing

¹“China AncamWartawan yang Liput Tibet” *Kompas*, Wednesday, March 19th, 2008

²*Tibet Protests Turn Violent*, March 14th, 2008 (accessed on April 19th, 2009); available from http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/64E0E84F-1A67-4EFD-A5E0_F3D554C0A6DF.htm

³*Pergolakan di Tibet 2008* (accessed on April 19th, 2009); available from http://wikipedia.org/wiki/Pergolakan_di_Tibet_2008

⁴Shai, Oster. *Will Beijing's Air Cast Pall Over Olympics?*, February 7th, 2007 (accessed on September 3rd, 2008); available from http://google.com/The_Wall_Street_Journal

Environment Protection Bureau in August then the commission found that outdoor endurance events might create some risks.⁵ The air pollution coupled with heat and humidity made it became impossible for the athletes to show their outstanding performances in endurance sports. The outdoor endurance events with high intensity of physical effort should be stopped after an hour because it might pose some risks physically, for example sore throat, headache, dehydration and others.

Next, the Government of China's burden became double when there were urgent health problem about poor tap water supply. The tap water was contaminated when the water was distributed throughout the city. A high ranking Beijing official had stated that tap water in the city should be avoided. Beijing was lack of major fresh water sources elsewhere and even so many locals drink bottled water instead of that from the tap.

Then again, there was one more problem that had to be solved immediately by the Government of China. It was about the safety of food products manufactured in China. Particularly, athletes who ate meat that was raised in China could contain enough steroids and it caused the athletes got steroid positively.

Those were the opposition side afraid of. A number of anarchy protests, bad air pollution, tap water system and food safety that made many sides were eager to boycott Beijing Olympics by not to participate that greatest international sport event before all of the problems were solved. Each of state's Olympics Committee preferred to prevent their athletes from those dangerous situations.

⁵Wibowo, I. *Mencari Mr Li*, February 6th, 2008 (accessed on October 16th, 2008); available from <http://www.kompas.com/internasional/mencarimrli>.

It is expected that this research could explain the Government of China strategies to solve all of its problems, both internal and external problems, and also to prevent the boycott actions that were done by several sides in order to succeed the 2008 Beijing Olympics Games.

B. Research Question

What kind of strategies that the Government of China used to handle boycott actions toward 2008 Beijing Olympics Games?

C. Theoretical Framework

To answer the research question above, the writer used four concepts, namely Foreign Policy Concept, National Interest Concept, Diplomacy Concept and Global Structural Adjustment Concept. These four concepts are best describing and analyzing this case and in the end will answer the question.

A foreign policy is a set of goals outlining how the country will interact with other countries economically, politically, socially and militarily. According to Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, the definition of foreign policy is a strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of a state vis a vis other states or international entities aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interest.⁶ A specific foreign policy is done by a state as an initiative or as a reaction toward initiative that is done by other states. Foreign policy involves a dynamic process of applying relatively fixed interpretation of national interest to the highly fluctuating situational factors of the international environment to develop a course of

⁶Plano, Jack and Roy Olton. *The International Relations Dictionary*. Cleo Press Ltd: England, 1982. Page 127

action. It is followed by efforts to achieve diplomatic implementation of the policy guidelines. Major steps in the foreign policy concept are translating national interest considerations into specific goals and objectives, determining the international and domestic situational factors related to the policy goals, analyzing the states capabilities for achieving the desired result, developing a plan or a strategy for utilizing the state's capabilities to deal with the variables in pursuit of the goals, undertaking the requisite actions and reviewing and evaluating progress made toward the achievement of the desired results periodically.

Yet, those processes above seldom proceed logically and chronologically. Several steps in the process often may be carried on simultaneously. Then fundamental issues may be reopened when conditions change or setbacks occur. The policy process is continuous when because the situational factors are in constant flux. Foreign policy has assumed a major role in the decision processes are carried on by most states. In general, the more powerful states devote far greater efforts and recourses to the development and implementation of foreign policy than the middle or small powers.

From the definition above, it can be concluded that foreign policy can be described as a single situation and the actions of a state to accomplish a limited objective. Foreign policies are designed to help and protect a country's national interests, national security, ideological goals, and economic prosperity. This can occur as a result of peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through exploitation. A state must pursue a number of policies, identify many goals, map out various strategies, evaluate different kind of capabilities, and initiate and evaluate specific

decisions and actions. Some parallel of coordination must be maintained among policies. So, all planning and actions will run within the broad framework of national interest guidelines.

The second concept used is national interest as something protected by foreign policy. Based on Plano and Olton, national interest means the fundamental objective and ultimate determinant that guides the decision makers of a state in making foreign policy.⁷ The national interest of a state is typically a highly generalized conception of those elements that constitute the states' most vital needs. These include self preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well being. Because no single interest dominates the policy making functions of a government, the concept might more accurately be referred to, in the plural, as national interests. When a state bases its foreign policy only on the core of national interest with little or no concern for universal moral principles, it can be described as pursuing a realistic in contradiction to an idealistic policy. The concept of national interest usually remains the most constant factor and serves as a guidepost for decision makers in policy process.

From the definition above, national interest can be concluded as states' goals and ambitions on the economic, military or cultural side. This concept is an important one in international relations. National interest is used also in seeking support for a particular course of action, especially in foreign policy. It draws as a sort of foreign policy to indicate what is best for the nation in its relations with other states.

⁷ *Ibid*, page 128

The next used concept is diplomacy. According The Oxford English Dictionary, the definition of diplomacy is as international relations management through negotiation.⁸ The relations are managed by the ambassadors as the state representative; as the art of the diplomat. And according to the Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary, diplomacy is the political skill and the art of negotiation, especially of treaties between states.⁹ Then Ivo D. Duchaeck provides a similar meaning but it is more complete. He defines diplomacy as an implementation of state's foreign policy practice through negotiation with other states.

Plano and Olton define diplomacy is the practice of conducting relations between states through official representatives. Diplomacy may involve the entire foreign relations process, policy formulation are the same.¹⁰ In the narrower and more traditional sense, diplomacy involves means and mechanics whereas foreign policy implies ends of objectives. In more restricted understanding, diplomacy includes the operational techniques whereby a state pursues its interest beyond its jurisdiction. Sometimes important issues involve head of Government within higher level of diplomacy. Every kind of diplomacy contributes to international relations systems which is a universal politic to solve international matters peacefully.

From all the definitions above, it can be concluded that diplomacy is a process of conducting activities with other states with skill in order to bring about a good relationship. The activities conducted here are done to gain states' interest. One of its methods is negotiation. Negotiation is also an art of conducting relationships with

⁸ Roy, S. L. *Diplomasi*. PT Raja Grafindo Persada. Jakarta. 1984. Page 2

⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁰Plano, Jack and Roy Olton. *The International Relations Dictionary*. Cleo Press Ltd: England, 1982. Page 213

other states without conflict. Diplomacy is also carrying out relations between states through official representatives.

Diplomacy can be divided into two, namely formal and informal diplomacy. Formal diplomacy is known as the diplomatic efforts based on written and implemented procedures, like negotiations, conferences, mediations, arbitration done by official representatives under the name of government. Meanwhile informal diplomacy is known as diplomatic efforts done through different actors. In informal diplomacy, diplomats may work to recruit some figures that might be able to give informal access to a country. Basically the difference between formal and informal diplomacy is the actors and the figures. Within formal diplomacy, the figures have done the diplomatic efforts under the name of government and have direct connection with the government while in informal diplomacy the figures doing the diplomatic efforts do not have direct connection or sometimes do not have any connection at all. Informal diplomacy can also be done through lobbying by the representatives appointed by the government.

The last used concept is Global Structural Adjustment. According to the Rizal Sukma, it is part of a rise and fall of great powers process or cycle that happened because of a changing or shifting within relative distribution of power between great powers. During this process, structural adjustment is lying on transition condition. At this moment in time, power shift emerges as a result this transition which can create significant and fundamental implications within global politics for the future.¹¹

¹¹ Sukma, Rizal. *Dinamika Politik Global, Keamanan Internasional dan Peran Indonesia*, January 30th, 2007 (accessed on July 14th, 2009); available from <http://www.deplu.go.id/download/dinamika.pdf>

Base on the definition above, it can be concluded that global structural adjustment means adapting or settling the things to be more acceptable. In this case, it can be as a term used to describe policy changes. This policy changes are condition for obtaining the goals by setting or deploying things that are requested to be adjusted. Usually, it happens when more powerful side obliges the less powerful side to adjust things just like what he wants or else there will be a consequence which may loss the less powerful side.

The application of these concepts above to close down boycott action toward Beijing Olympics was that the Government of China required a good strategy to face the sides who against China. There were two things that might be done by the Government of China, namely avoided boycott then gained its interest through succeed the Olympics Games. The obstacle was China's government had to solve a number of problems effectively within less than a year and China also had to face powerful states such as United State of America, French, Austria, Hungary and some of famous political actors.

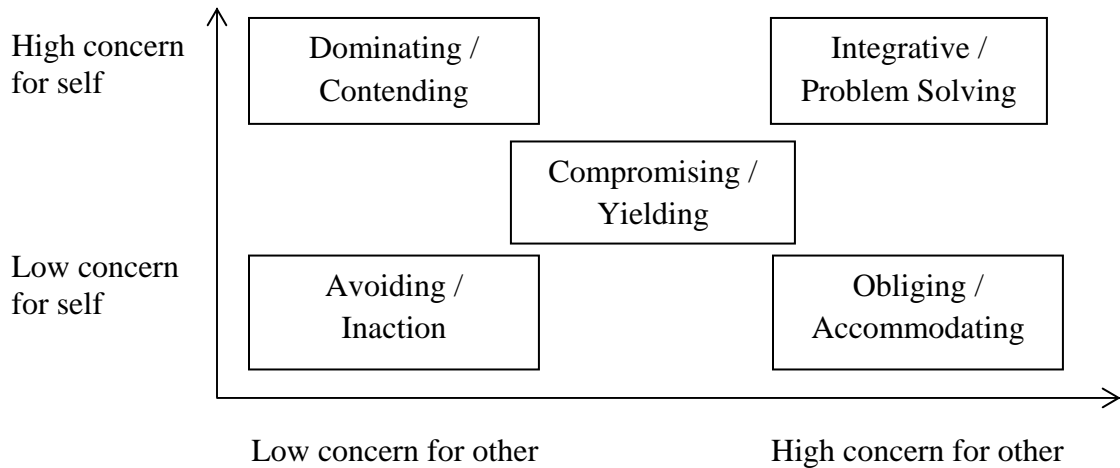
In this case, the Government of China had to convince the international people that all of problems in China would be handled before August 2008, so the Olympics Games could be held well. The Government of China guaranteed the safety and there would be no harms toward athletes, coaches, states Olympics committees and tourists during the Games. The things that had to be solved by the Government of China were domestic problem with Tibet, bad air pollution and health problem. These might be handled at the same time before the Games began. This was not easy and China's Government had to do lots of hard work to make it came true.

The hardest thing that was faced by the Government of China was the force from dominant states. Actually, the problem between Tibet was merely China's domestic problem, but it became bigger because of intervention from the outside. The United States of America used media to blow up Tibet's case and let people make their own opinion about this case based on what media said. On the other hand, USA also took advantages from this situation to humiliate China and put down China's image because China was its biggest competitor in industrial world. When China's image went down, peoples' demands toward China's imported goods were decrease and this was a big chance for USA to promote its goods since they had been competing for years. That was the thing that expected by USA based on the economic factor. Meanwhile, from the political side, USA as a powerful and dominant state could force China to do what it wanted. USA really was showing its self as a super power state.

In this case, China was less powerful and less dominant state compared to USA. Besides, there were also French, Hungary and Austria who had same opinion with USA. As what it can be seen, these states who against China were developed and dominant states and there would be high possibility other states would follow these states to against China. Regarding this situation, the Government of China had to do a diplomacy action, namely negotiation toward those dominant states. This negotiation aimed to pursue those states not to boycott Beijing Olympics. What the Government of China afraid of was that other states were provoked then refused to participate in Olympics Games. China's Government had done a formal diplomacy by sending its official representative and also using their embassy in those states to

negotiate with each of those states representatives. The dominant states decision was clear and highly unlikely would change. That would be no participation before the problems were solved, especially Tibet’s case.

Picture 1.1:
Five Strategies in Negotiating



Source: Dean G. Pruitt on his paper “Consumer Conflict Management Strategies in Everyday Service Encounter”; advances on consumer research (volume 33) / 279¹²

According to the picture above, there were five strategies, namely integrative, dominating, compromising, obliging and avoiding. Since, China was less dominant state and also having less bargaining position; the compromising strategy was the most possible option for China’s Government. In this case, China had to satisfy the stronger sides by adjusting the situation in its state based on what those dominant states requested. It started from solved its domestic conflict with Tibet, approved several new bills to deploy new regulations that would be implemented in Beijing in order to decrease the emission level, hired expert technicians to fix the tap water

¹² Pruitt, Dean G. Consumer Conflict Management Strategies in Everyday Service Encounter, Advances in consumer research (volume 33) / 279 (accessed on July 14th, 2009); available from http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/v33/naacr_v33_26.pdf

system and provided a number of medical expertise to control the food safety during the Olympics Games.

It was impossible for China's Government to use integrative strategy because in this case what the demand of China could not be accepted by those dominant states before China's Government implemented the things that were requested by them. The same thing also happened if China's Government used contending strategy. It was because China was not as powerful as them and China would lose against them. Besides, those dominant states might be having quite a few followers to help and support them. Meanwhile, both obliging and avoiding strategies were also impossible to be done. In obliging strategies, it was impossible for China's Government to force those dominant states to participate in Beijing Olympics and support China because China lack of power and bargaining position compared them. The last, avoiding strategy was the most impossible to done. The meaning of this strategy was no actions were taken toward the boycott case. If China's Government used this one, Beijing Olympics would be failed because the two third quotas were not fulfilled. It was the same meaning that China committed to do suicide. Therefore, the most possible strategy to be done was only compromising strategy.

While having a huge support from USA and some of other dominant states, Dalai Lama, Tibet's government principle, Tibet's society and some pro Tibetans activist force the Government of China to free Tibet from its intervention toward Tibet's economic and culture side. Concerning this situation, the Government of China agreed to negotiate with Dalai Lama in order to solve this long domestic conflict. Then once again the Government of China used compromising strategy to

accommodate what Tibetans ask for. Thus, China specified special autonomy in Tibet; “Regional Ethnic Autonomy”.¹³ This autonomy would protect both Tibetans culture and economic conditions. China also built railways from Beijing to Lhasa, capital city of Tibet, in order to make the trade system between those two cities easier and faster. Furthermore, this autonomy would also keep Tibet’s ethnic were preserved, such as religion, traditional language, culture, historical places and etc.

D. Hypotheses

The Government of China attempted to handle the boycott actions through compromising or yielding strategy by solving both internal and external problems.

E. Method of Research and Data Analysis

This thesis is using descriptive method which describes and explains the problem based on data and information. Data collections are collected through library research that is related to content analysis and expertise concepts that are published in the articles, textbooks, journals, Beijing 2008 Olympics official website and other resources.

F. The Range of Research

The research is limited within 2007-2008 in order to make the analysis easier.

¹³Susanti, F. R, *Internasional*, March 27th, 2008 (accessed on December 12th, 2008); available from <http://www.pelita.or.id/baca.phpid=48158.mht>