

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Turkey is a major country in the Eurasian region and located between two continents, Asia and Europe. Ankara is the capital of Turkey, but the most well-known and biggest city in Turkey is Istanbul. Turkey is a nation that has ruled the Islamic civilization for almost a thousand years. Remnants of their current civilization can still be found in Anatolia, Central Asia, and European mainland and even to the land of Hindustan. According to historians, the Turkish ancestors came from Central Asia up to Siberia.

The homeland of the Turks ancestral is around the Altay Mountains. Now, they live in the area called Xiongnu which includes southern Russia, East Kyrgyzstan, East Kazakhstan, Mongolia, West Manchuria (China) and Xinjiang Uyghur (China). Then, the Turkey nations have been developing into Altay, Tatar, Ashika, Bulgar, Kazakh, Kipchak, Kirgiz, Azerbaijani, Dolga, Khazar, Oghuz, Yakuts, Pencheneg, Uzbek, Turkmen, and Uyghur.

Recently, the Moslems of Uyghur is back to become the discussion of the international community, particularly countries with a Moslem majority. Uyghur is the minority ethnic in Xinjiang, west China or can be called East Turkistan. This ethnic uses Uyghur language and Arabic to facilitate the understanding of the Qur'an because this tribe has converted to Islam. Besides those two languages, Uyghur also understands other languages such as Chinese, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek Russia and Turkey

because Uyghur lives adjacent to those regions. The majority of Uyghur are Sunni Moslems with Hanafi school of thought.



Figure 1. The China Map

## **A. BACKGROUND**

China's discrimination against Uyghur has long been done even hereditary. The discrimination of China towards the Moslems of Uyghur has been done since Han dynasty. During the World War II, the Uyghur ethnic wanted to break away from China by trying to join the Soviet Union. These efforts were not successful because the nationalist Beijing troops forced Uyghur back to survive in the sovereign territory of the PRC in 1949.

Since then, the Moslems of Uyghur are always seen as rebels by the China government. Moreover, China's economic policy that prioritizes the Han tribe makes the situation even worse.

Many forms of China's discrimination towards Uyghur ethnic happen. The prohibition of fasting for the Uyghur when Ramadan arrives is one of the discriminations. Not only that, the youth is prohibited to study the Qur'an, pray in the mosque, and have the Friday prayer. Friday prayer is limited to 20 minutes. Women who wear veil will be fined 5600 dollars, while the average annual income of Moslems in East Turkistan is only amounted to 1000 dollars.

In 1949, more than 4.5 million Uyghur were killed by the Chinese government in the context of ethnic cleaning. Al-Quran teacher got 10 years in prison, mosques were converted into bars, madrasah or schools were turned into a warehouse and religious figures were executed and some were sent to work in labor camps. Nuclear tests were often carried out by China in the region of East Turkistan. More than 200,000 Moslems of Uyghur died because of radiation. The number of babies born deformed increased because of the influence of nuclear radiation. The occurrence of cancer, strokes and other unknown diseases were also other effects of the nuclear tests.

In addition, Uyghur people found it complicated to make a passport. Unlike the Han ethnic who can easily go and comeback overseas, Uyghur people can't make passport easily. They have to deal with complicated procedure. It requires the submission of documents and many interviews to check their political ideology.

Hence, the resistance of the Moslems of Uyghur comes because of Chinese government injustices committed against them including the attack on January 2007. An estimated 18 people of Uyghur were shot to death with the accusation from China that they were joining an international terrorist network. In addition, almost 200 people died in another ethnic riot in Urumqi Xinjiang on July 2009.

It does not stop there, the riots in the Xinjiang region were caused by big migration of Han ethnic into Xinjiang. China was completely searching for scapegoats again. China accused the main actor of the violence was one of the Uyghur, where it referred to the figure of World Uyghur Congress (WUC), and assumed that the Uyghur was in cooperation with Al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations.

In fact, the root problem which actually happened in Xinjiang is a struggle for dominance between the original inhabitants in Xinjiang, the Moslems of Uyghur and Han ethnic who is the majority ethnic in China. Uyghur requested that the Xinjiang region becomes a region of special autonomy or separated areas of law which are generally applicable in China.

Differences in ethnicity, culture, history, and language with Han tribe make the clash between the groups happen frequently. In terms of religious belief, Uyghur are more like its neighboring countries (Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan) in which the majority is Moslem. With the current high rate of Han's migration into the Xinjiang as a result of the progress of Beijing, it potentially endangers the existence of Uyghur.

The things mentioned above would not be accepted by any country in the world because it is certainly contrary to human rights. There is no exception for Turkey. Other countries that see it will not accept it, moreover by Turkey which has cultural and religious similarity with the Uyghur. That makes Turkey not only silent to see what the China has done to the Moslems of Uyghur because of what happened to the Uyghur is a form of injustice against a nation that will certainly not be accepted by the origin government of the Uyghur ethnic. Certainly ethnic Uyghur will be aggrieved. The suffer experienced by the Moslems of Uyghur brings a sense of solidarity from Turkey and also the concerns of other Islamic countries in the world to pursue its completion.

## **B. RESEARCH QUESTION**

Based on the above background, the writer decides the main problem that can be the research object is:

What is the response of Turkey towards China discriminative policy against Uyghur people?

## **C. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

To answer the question of study, the author uses a theoretical approach to analyze foreign policy and diplomacy. However, foreign policy will be discussed firstly. Foreign policy is a form of wisdom or action taken in relation to the situation or actors that are outside the boundaries of the

State.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the foreign policy of Turkey is an action taken by Turkish with regard to the situation or actors beyond borders. In this case, the action taken by Turkey in regard to China discrimination against ethnic of Uyghur.

Foreign policy consists of two perspectives, namely the perspective of strategy and process but here I will discuss only the term of strategy perspective. Inside the strategy perspective, there is a strategic rationality model in which the behavior of the foreign policy decision-makers is rationality. It is that the selection of a strategy based on cost-benefit considerations in achieving a clear goal. As defined by Lovell (1970), strategy is any predesigned set of moves, or series of decisions in a competitive situation where the outcome is not characterized purely by chance. In formulating a strategy, then there comes the following assumptions:

1. Foreign policy conduct of a nation-state is definitely directed to achieve one or several international destinations. Any action taken must have intentions as a step toward achieving that goal.
2. The decision-makers are always trying to maximize the gain for its state-nation. This is done by examining various alternative actions, and each is assessed based on analysis of costs and outcomes. The alternative action taken tends to fulfill the criteria of efficiency.

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<sup>1</sup>Mohtar Mas'ood, 1989, *Studi Hubungan Internasional Tingkat Analisis dan Teorisasi*, Yogyakarta, PAU-SS-UGM. Page 87.

3. In an interdependent world, the decision-makers must take into account the objectives and strategies of other state-nations.

As said by Lovell (1970), foreign policy analysis implements a strategic perspective to interpret the phenomenon of foreign policy, especially in understanding a design or planning that is made consciously by the decision makers to achieve the objectives contested by many of the other state-nations.<sup>2</sup>

In this case, more pressure the assumptions of number 2 explaining that the decision makers try to get the maximal thing for its state-nation by choosing some efficient alternative actions based on the analysis of costs and outcomes. Its assumption means that a state would try to get the maximal income with minimum cost. Moreover, before doing something, a state will think about what action which will get many incomes with little cost.

It will be analyzed how Turkey's response to the discrimination done by China towards the Uyghur. Certainly, there are some alternative choices of action that would be chosen by Turkey. Is Turkey going to fight against China or trying to resolve by peaceful means?

Essentially, the theory above means that there are several alternative actions that can be taken by Turkey against China based on the ability of the country and the attitude of other enemies. Therefore, the theory describes

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Page 90-91.

how the relationship built between the two countries is based on a projection of state power (Turkey) as well as the strategy of the enemy (China). The stronger a country is, the more action it will take.

Furthermore, this case used the theory of diplomacy. Diplomacy is derived from the Greek word ‘*diploin*’ which means ‘folded’ and in English ‘*diplomas*’ means ‘fold document’ (Inoguchi, 1989 in Kurizaki, 2011:6).<sup>3</sup>

According to Nicholson (1942) in Roy (1991), all passports through the streets belonged to the state and letters printed on the metal plate double, folded and sewn together in a unique way. Letter metal street is called ‘*diplomas*’. This word evolved not only to documents from the metal, especially regarding agreements with foreign nations outside Roman. Due to the increasing number of agreements, it was necessary to hire someone trained for indexing, explaining and maintaining it. Official papers related to the country's international relations are known in medieval times as *diplomaticus* or *diplomatique*. Anyone associated with the letters said to be belonging *res diplomatique* or diplomatic business. Since then, over time the word ‘diplomacy’ linked to international relations and anyone who participated is regarded as a diplomat.

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<sup>3</sup>Ruth Mery Lucyana S, *Praktik Diplomasi di Era Yunani Kuno*, September 2015, [http://ruth-mery-lucyana-fisip14.web.unair.ac.id/artikel\\_detail-143596-SOH%20202%20%20Sejarah%20Diplomasi%20di%20Era%20Yunani%20Kuno.html](http://ruth-mery-lucyana-fisip14.web.unair.ac.id/artikel_detail-143596-SOH%20202%20%20Sejarah%20Diplomasi%20di%20Era%20Yunani%20Kuno.html) accessed on 21 March 2016, 06.28 WIB.



Satow (1957) states that diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to conduct official relations between the governments of independent states.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, Harold Nicholson, one of the reviewers and diplomacy practitioners, in the book *Diplomacy* by S.L. Roy (1991) asserts that the word diplomacy showed some matters of foreign policy, negotiations, the mechanism in implementing the negotiations, a branch office abroad, and the last interpretation is the present of abstract quality including the skill in implementation of international negotiation. Panikkar (1956) in his book “The Principles and Practice of Diplomacy” states that diplomacy in relation to international politics is the art of promoting the interests of a country in relation to other countries. In line with Panikkar’s statement, Syarliin in Roy (1991) defines diplomacy as the art and science of negotiation state representative, while Duchacekargue states that diplomacy is usually defined as the practice of the implementation of the foreign policy of a country by means of negotiations with other countries.<sup>5</sup>

It is difficult to define the exact meaning of diplomacy because there are many definitions of diplomacy. In addition to the above definitions, according to Roy (1991) diplomacy is also comprised of an assortment such as commercial diplomacy, democratic diplomacy, totaliter diplomacy, diplomacy through conference, secret diplomacy, preventive diplomacy, resources diplomacy. Meanwhile, *Deplu RI* (2004) states that there are

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<sup>4</sup>Ernest Satow, 2011, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, British, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>5</sup> S.L. Roy, 1991, *Diplomasi*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.

many forms of diplomacy which develop practically, such as covert diplomacy, machiavelli diplomacy, gunboat diplomacy, ping-pong diplomacy, humanitarian diplomacy, encounter diplomacy, culture diplomacy. Besides, there are dollar diplomacy, gun diplomacy, offensive diplomacy, and public diplomacy.

It means that diplomacy is an appropriate way that will be chosen by Turkey to negotiate with China in order to stop the discrimination against Uyghur because diplomacy was aimed to do the agreement to persuade China to stop its discriminative policy towards Uyghur ethnic.

As we all know, Turkey is a country that is smaller than China. Therefore, to avoid conflict and war, in order to achieve its goal to fight discrimination of ethnic Uyghur from China, Turkey needs support from the public. The public would not be silent if the Chinese do things that are not fit. Public consists of many countries, if the Chinese do bad things, they will ask the United Nations to crack down China. Uyghur are also the citizens of China who have the right to be protected as citizens even if they are the minority.

It can clearly be seen that the Chinese ethnic is a nation that is also spread in many other countries and they became a minority. However, there is no injustice done by countries who became the residence of the Chinese minority. If the Chinese ethnic are treated not well like Uyghur, certainly

China will not accept it. Thus, they should think again before discriminate against minorities.

To response these problems, Turkey tries to do diplomacy effort because it feels that it is a state which is smaller compared to China. Moreover, if Turkey involved in this problem, it doesn't want take the high risk like war or conflict. But, Turkey find the best way with minimum risk, it is through diplomacy with China. So that diplomacy is one effective alternative actions for small countries like Turkey to achieve the desired objectives without conflict from both sides. In other words, diplomacy is one of the soft powers applied by Turkey towards China.

#### **D. HYPOTHESIS**

The discrimination of China against Uyghur ethnic is something that cannot be accepted by Turkey. In responding to this case, Turkey does the diplomacy to persuade China to treat Uyghur people well like other ethnics in China because Uyghur are also the citizens of China.

#### **E. RESEARCH PURPOSE**

This research is aimed:

1. To find more about who Uyghur people are and their relations with Turkey.

2. To find more about the discrimination done by China towards Uighur people.
3. To analyze how Turkey responds toward China discriminative policy against Uyghur people.

## **F. RESEARCH METHOD**

This thesis will use the descriptive methodology. It is defined by Sugiyono (2003: 11) as the research that is done to know the independent variable value, one variable or more without making a comparison or connection with other variables.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the descriptive methodology used is the descriptive-qualitative methodology. Descriptive qualitative method is a part of qualitative research. This method can be defined as descriptive research and tends to use inductive analysis approach. The aim of this method is to collect detailed information, identify problems, make comparisons or evaluations as well as uncover the facts, phenomena, variables and circumstances that occurred when the research was conducted.

Qualitative research method is a method that cannot be measured using numbers, statistics, or matters relating to the exact, but it is a research which is formed by the words, scheme, and pictures (Sugiyono, 2003: 14).<sup>7</sup> This research is using secondary accumulation method. Secondary method is a technique which is chosen by researcher to find the reference through

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<sup>6</sup>Sugiyono, 2003. *Metode Penelitian Bisnis*. Bandung. Pusat Bahasa Depdiknas.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. Page 14.

literature study, journal, e-book, magazine, newspaper, and books. According to Arikunto (2006: 158), documentation is finding and collecting the data about the thing which is formed through notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, notations, agendas, and etc.<sup>8</sup> Whereas, the other informations are from the computer, internet or electronic media relevant with the above analysis.

In this case, a qualitative descriptive method is used to explain how the response of the Turkey towards discriminative policy of China against Uyghur people.

#### **G. RESEARCH FRAME**

This study concentrates on the relationship between Turkey, Uyghur and China where China did other forms of discrimination and injustice towards the Uyghur, the minority ethnic in Xinjiang, west China.

To facilitate the research, data are collected in order to remain relevant to the issues, the discussion was started in 1949 to 2015, but it did not limit events at any other times as long as they are relevant to the research.

#### **H. WRITING SYSTEM**

Writing system consists of 5 chapters and sub topics:

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<sup>8</sup>Suharsimi Arikunto, 2006. *Metodologi Penelitian*. Yogyakarta: Bina Aksara.

- Chapter I: The content of this chapter is the introduction part consisting of the background, research question, theory, hypothesis, research purpose, research method, research frame, and writing systematic.
- Chapter II: This chapter about the relations between Turkey and Uyghur ethnic. It contains two parts, first the Turkey tribes distribution and second about Uyghur and Xinjiang. Uyghur and Xinjiang will be divided into some sub chapters, Uyghur ethnic and about Xinjiang.
- Chapter III: The author will explain China's discriminative policy towards the Uyghur. It will be divided into three sub chapters. The first is about the Xinjiang issues, second is about the causal factor of the conflict divided again into four factors, structural factor, political factor, economic factor, socio-cultural factor, and the last sub chapter is about the forms of China discrimination toward the Moslems of Uyghur.
- Chapter IV: The content of this chapter is about the response from Turkey about China's discriminative policy against the ethnic of Uyghur. This chapter will be divided into two sub chapters, Turkish domestic public action stance against the persecution of Uyghur ethnic and diplomacy as the

instrument of Turkey foreign policy and through United Nation.

Chapter V: This is the last chapter. It is the conclusion of the thesis. It means that this chapter explains the conclusion of the whole material of this thesis functioned as the closing of this thesis.