The Role of Anti-Globalization Movement towards the World Trade

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Organization (WTO) Mechanism after the Tragedy of Seattle

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Abstract

This research tries to give a view on the role of the Anti-Globalization movement in giving influence and appears as one of the new forces in the international world to balance the power of global governance. In this paper, it illustrates how the Anti-Globalization movement has protested against WTO policies that made no justice available in trade which only benefited developed countries while developing countries were exploited.

The Anti-Globalization Movement succeeded in creating chaos within the internal WTO, creating much debate among WTO members. In the end the WTO carried out a decision-making process which resulted in a policy called the Trade Policy Review (TPR) which was subsequently implemented by WTO members and then the result was the Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM).

Keywords: Anti-Globalization Movement, WTO, TPR, TPRM

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Globalization is an era where transportation, communication, and information dissemination are more comfortable than before, and all become globalized because of the development of science and technology. According to Selo Sumarjan, globalization is the process of forming an organizational system and communication between people in the whole world that aims to follow particular systems and rules that are the same.¹ According to Edison A. Jamli et al., the definition of Globalization is a process that arises from an idea, which is then offered to be followed by other nations which will eventually reach a point of agreement and become a joint role model for nations that are in the whole world.²

Anti-globalization movement is the term that is used to mention several movements or organizations that have the against capitalism purpose of and globalization. The anti-globalization movement is categorized as the global civil society because of this movement contains groups of much international movement which gathered together for the same purpose. This movement philosophy builds upon their conviction that organizations, group of people or even individual can achieve economic, social, and personal purpose by not including the lousy impact related to capitalism. The anti-globalization movement mostly focuses on efficient economy and the norm of human decency against company competition and profits earned at any cost. The anti-globalization

¹ Pengertian Globalisasi Menurut Para Ahli, <u>https://www.academia.edu/34876008/Pengertian_Globalisasi_Menurut_Para_Ahli?auto=download</u> accessed on 12 February 2018
² Ibid

movement is the term used to describe international social movements' network in Seattle in late November and early December 1999 which received widespread attention from the media after they held a large-scale demonstration against the policies of the World Trade Organization (WTO). This movement was debated by various parties, including activists and scholars who debated whether this incident was a single social movement or represented a group of certain groups allied, a "movement of movements." It concerns constituencies that vary with various ideological orientations. The global movement mostly criticizes the policies of economic neoliberalism, or "globalization of companies," which directed have international trade and development since the end of the 20th century.³

Globalization is seen as the cause of real problems such as the increasingly unbalanced distance between rich countries and developing countries, the massive destruction of the environment, and the threatening of human dignity and prestige. Response from it is manifested in the antiglobalization movement which increases

³ Defining the Anti-Globalization Movement, http://democracyuprising.com/2007/04/01/antiglobalization-movement/ accessed on 15 October 2018

from year to year. Protests by the antiglobalization movement occurred as the cooperation between countries in the World Bank, the WTO, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other forms of regional and international cooperation took place. Protests have been held outside of meetings of institutions such as the WTO, IMF, World Bank, World Economic Forum, and Group of Eight (G8) heavy industrial countries. The World Social Forum is an annual meeting that has access to activist networks and strategies in transnational relations. The protesters have been campaigning against multinational companies such as significant bishops such as Monsanto and Nike, and have launched resistance to military intervention by US leaders in Iraq and Afghanistan.⁴

At the end of November 1999, a vital government meeting was held at the ministerial WTO to discuss matters relating to trade policy in Seattle. Seattle adheres to freedom of speech in the name of free trade. Massive demonstrations were inevitable. There were many contrast perspectives of industrialized countries and developing countries about the facts of current free trade and how this has affected them. It is caused by the failure of the WTO to solve many problems that occur in the world even though they have no resolution to the problem. Discrimination was carried out against developing countries, and even one delegation was banned and physically blocked from attending the meeting.

It is estimated that the mass of protesters presents at the protests in Seattle, ranging from 50,000 to 100,000. Demonstrators come from all around the world and not only come from developing countries, but even from developed countries were also involved. They consist of groups that have a focus on the field of human rights, scholars, environmental groups, religious leaders, labor rights activists, et cetera. They want fair trade without exploitation. The right-wing protection group also participated in debating the current free trade led by the company.⁵

Majority of protesters did not use violence in their actions. A small group began to become a trigger for riots and destruction in several public facilities, which caused the Seattle police and National Guards to declare an emergency. That led to curfew, arrests,

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Anup Shah (2001), WTO Protests in Seattle, 1999. http://www.globalissues.org/article/46/wto-protests-inseattle-1999. Accessed on 15 March 2019

spraying of pepper gas, and even rubber bullets at innocent and non-violent protesters. It is the focus of mainstream media coverage, which often describes all protesters as anarchist leftists or violent groups. Most of the media covering the property belong to the company, and many of them are part of the MNC who also take advantage of this free trade.

The media described the protesters who intervened and were involved in global trade losing the point. As history has shown, progress has also been made thanks to various protests carried out against the public: the rights of women and children, the rights of civilians, war civil and revolution that occurred in Europe, in various regions of Latin America and several other countries. Colonized countries such as India, Timor Leste, and so on.⁶

The WTO is the only international organization that deals with the rules of trade between countries. The core of the WTO rules lies in the agreements in them that have been negotiated and signed by world trade countries involved as members of the WTO and ratified in their parliament. It aims to ensure that the trading process runs smoothly, predictably, and as freely as possible.⁷

The WTO has many roles including operating a global trade rule system, functioning as a forum for negotiating trade agreements, finding solutions to trade disputes between its members and providing support to the needs of developing countries. WTO member governments make all essential decisions: either by ministers (who usually meet at least every two years) or with their ambassadors or delegations (who meet regularly in Geneva).

In the past, WTO did not work as we see nowadays. The system that applied by WTO gives only benefits to the developed state. WTO did not make a fair trade for their members, so it made the prosperous state more productive while the poor state becomes worse than before. There was no transparency in the negotiation process between the states, so it caused many states could do illegal activities.

Some points demanded by the antiglobalization movement towards WTO in the "battle of Seattle tragedy" which are the reformation of WTO. There should be no

⁷ World Trade Organization,

https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/thewto_e.htm accessed on 30 October 2018

expansion of no negotiation towards "new issues," the immediate issuance of the public service of GATS, full transparency regarding offers and demands made during negotiation. The end of the flood of subsidized products from the First World to the developing country markets; greater rights for the governments to regulate theirs on the economy concerning labor, social, and environmental standards.

B. Research Question

Based on the background that has written above, the writer purposed a research sentence in the form of a question to describe and explain more about the issue by formulating the question: "What is the impact of anti-globalization movement toward the WTO mechanism after the battle of Seattle tragedy in 1999?"

C. Theoretical Framework

To make this research fulfilling the scientific methods and make the research process more accessible, the researcher will use theories or concepts that relevant to analyze the research objectively. In this research, the researcher will use David Easton's Political System and the Global Civil Society concept.

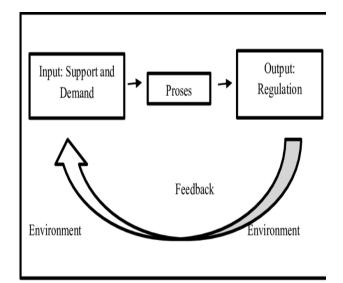
1. David Easton's Political System

David to build an empiricallyoriented political concept is done through several stages as can be his books. First, his book The Political System (1953) problem of general political science. Second, his book A Framework for Political Analysis (1965) essential provides concepts for the development of such a familiar concept. Third, his book on a systems analysis of political life (1965) seeks to explain these concepts in the hope that they can be empirically applied.⁸

David Easton's Political System Theory is based on several assumptions, which according to Easton attributes of the political system include: (1) identification behavior in the form of units and borders, (2) input and output, (3) differentiation in the system, and (4) integration within the system.⁹

⁸ Varma, S., (1992). Teori Politik Modern.Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.

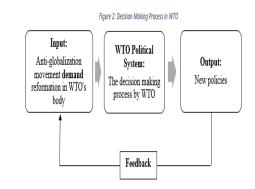
⁹ Chilcote, R. H., (1994). Theories Of Comparative Political Economy.Colorado: Westview Press.



https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Politica l-systems-theory-David-Easton_fig2_327244477

There are two types of inputs in the political system, namely inputs in the form of demands and inputs in the form of support. These two types of inputs will provide material for processing within the political system, and are also the energy needed for the survival of the political system. Without these two types of inputs, the Political

¹⁰ Mas'oed, M., & MacAndrews, C., (1987). Perbandingan Sistem Politik. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press. The system will not be able to perform its functions. Both types of inputs in the form of demands and support comes from the environment of the political system, namely the internal environment and the external environment.¹⁰



Based on the case battle of Seattle, the demands from the anti-globalization movement work as the input and the WTO as the institution that processes the protest to create the new policies based on the demands in order to create a stable situation in the internal of the WTO itself and the external.

2. Global Civil Society Concept

The Global Civil Society (GCS) has been present as one of the aspects of globalization in the international world. Mary Kaldor has defined that, "global civil society is about civilizing or democratizing globalization,

Figure 1.1: David Easton's Decision Making Proses Chart

about the processes by which groups, movements, and individuals can demand the rule of global law, global justice, and global empowerment." Kaldor, Anheier, and Glasius have also been defined that GCS energizes and reacts to globalization. It seems to be reflected in a sharp and positive correlation between globalization groups and GCS groups. They have provided definitions of GCS as a form of ideas, values, networks, and individuals that are mainly located outside the family institutional scope, markets, and countries, and outside the boundaries of society, politics, and the national economy.¹¹

The definition of civil society is a community group that is not incorporated into the government system. It is a place where individual companies and organizations make larger groups that share common interests. They become global civil society because their groups consist of many international movements that gather together for the same goals to be achieved. Global civil society organizations can include nongovernmental organizations (INGOs). charitable institutions, intellectuals, social movements, trade unions, labor movements, environmentally conscious groups, and

¹¹ H. Kaldor, Anheier, and M. Glasius (2003). "Global Civil Society," Sage Publications, London. activists in various fields. Private companies and political parties can also be considered global civil society, but they are more often as providers of financial support with specific aims and objectives to achieve their interests. The appearance of global civil society organizations has become increasingly unstoppable in international affairs. This group has a role in making international law, setting the agenda, changing international policies, and becoming a diplomatic actor.

Furthermore, on some important global issues, they are always involved in their implementation and monitoring. They monitor some issues, ranging from trade issues to development and poverty reduction, from peace to the environment, from democratic governance to human rights, and from security to information dissemination to the public. International relations cannot be achieved without taking into account the actions to be taken by global civil society organizations.

D. Research Methodology

This research is formulated in two methodologies: method of data collecting and method of explanative research. The method of data collecting is conducted through the library research and also through the media; printed and electronic media, internet, articles or journals, and some reference books.

The other method is the method of explanative research; research which studies the connectivity of cause and effect between two phenomena or more. The explanative research is used to decide whether the connection of the cause and effect is true or false. Referring to the research question, what is the impact of the anti-globalization movement toward the WTO policies after the battle of Seattle tragedy in 1999.

THEIMPACTOFANTI-GLOBALIZATIONMOVEMENTTOWARD THE WTO POLICIES

The tragedy of Seattle has given a significant impact on the WTO, especially for their political system and also the decision-making process. After the big demonstration held by the anti-globalization movement has created the chaos inside the WTO itself. The WTO's new agenda is also of considerable interest, with the rule-based trading system enforced, the transfer of attention beyond traditional protectionist devices such as quotas and tariffs to a far more full and increasingly controversial set of state laws and regulations that could potentially be interpreted as restrictions on trade carried out

by the institution. Finally, with the expanding WTO new mandate, attention is focused on the lack of international protection for human labor, children. rights, women and environmental protection, and other social problems. Therefore, in the November 1999 protest held at night against the WTO millennial round in Seattle, the action framework had more transnational collective diagnostic parameters that would help guide for almost two years a series of geographically massive and diverse antiglobalization protests ranging from focus.

The protests that took place in Seattle did not oppose economic, cultural and technological globalization, but opposed a rule-based system where the WTO currently dominates mainly focusing on promoting investment and trade liberalization, while remaining silent on issues of human rights, labor, consumers, environment. Klein argues, "The protesters want rules for a global economic system that will consider such concerns and new global institutions that match the focus for economic growth taking into account the social and environmental consequences of trade and investment promotion." Deeper, Klein redefined the contour of the diagnostic framework against

neoliberalism, while looking for parameters that allow for the prognostic framework.¹²

A. The Negotiation Process in WTO

Two years later, when trade ministers met again in the more secluded environment of Doha, Qatar, they were able to walk out with an agreed framework in hand. The Doha meeting launched a "Development Round" of trade negotiations and inaugurated China as a member of the WTO. WTO members have a joint commitment to make the Doha Trade Round a round of development. Thus, The WTO must discuss changes in the direction and placement of what they need and small producers who interested are and marginalized in the negotiation process. Possible changes can occur if the WTO agenda gives a lot of policy space to provide accurate analysis of the weakest parties concerns, in this way developing countries can protect the vital economic sector because they have that right, as long as they think it is right. Agreement and trade conditions must be directed to agreeing on cultural, social, political, and environmental rights internationally if trade wants to give a real contribution to achieving sustainable

development and take into account the social conditions and the production environment.

Developed countries always protect and provide enormous subsidies to their agricultural sector and then throw their production surplus to the world market. These policies contribute significantly to excess production and low product prices, leaving millions of small farmers and their families in poverty and destroying the food security of developing countries. The WTO moves based on the consensus principle; perhaps, such expansion can be blocked by developing countries. Developed countries expressed their willingness to implement a strict prohibition against the usage of these rights as protectionism and to negotiate details about the application and enforcement of the law. Developing countries expressly reject the discussion of this issue. The antiglobalization movement demands about agriculture in the WTO provisions can be related to the right of each country to sovereignty over food security through effective local, national, and regional policies that must be recognized.

The concerns of developing countries are real, and not entirely without reason.

¹² Klein, Naomi. 2000. No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies. Picador.

They feared economically stable countries, especially the United States and the European Union, despite protesting their goodwill, under political pressure from trade unions and industry, find a surefire way to use labor rights. At the time of the Battle in Seattle, the United States had 300 dumping duties, quotas for textiles and other products, plus "voluntary" export restrictions by exporting countries.¹³ European Union countries have significant trade-distortion subsidies on agricultural products, and they insist on maintaining.¹⁴ Doubt also raises the question of whether these economically stable countries, in fact, entirely subject to the principles of WTO.¹⁵ Consensus rules do not provide certainty that developed countries will refrain from putting pressure on additional labor, the environment, and human rights. Developing countries will have no choice but to approve pressure. Consensus will be more shaped than reality.

Such fear is a barrier for developing countries to reach a bilateral agreement on the rights of labor. However, WTO can make the standard apply the same for all by requiring developed countries to make import requirements based on adherence to the rights of core workers to apply these requirements the imports should be equal to all countries no matter whether they are members of the WTO or not. Thus, each country will be protected from the race to the bottom. However, developing countries still doubt that developed countries will apply standards fairly.¹⁶

The WTO requires its current observe the members to appropriate protection of intellectual property rights established from foreign and domestic work and to provide adequate law enforcement procedures to enable effective action against all acts that violate the provisions. It will require the role of member countries, especially developing countries, to make national standards and law enforcement practices more significant. Thus The WTO has established international intellectual rights that must be obeyed and enforced by its members; trade sanctions will be imposed on

¹³ Robert E. Scott & Thea M. Lee, The Costs of Trade Protection Reconsidered: U.S. Steel, Textiles, and Apparel, in U.S. TRADE POLICY AND GLOBAL GROWTH 108, supra; JAMES BOVARD, THE FAIR TRADE FRAUD (1991).

¹⁴ The Real Losers, ECONOMIST, 11th December 1999, at 15.

¹⁵ Joseph Kahn, Clinton Imposes Tariffs on Steel Imports That Exceed Quota, N.Y. TIMES, 12th February 2000, at C2.

¹⁶ Lance Compa, Labor Rights and Labor Standards in International Trade, 25 LAW & POL'Y INT'L Bus. 165,167 (1993).

members who are considered to be failing to comply with and enforce these rights.

Regulations on developing country capital investment are limited by the WTO and subsidy payments to reach trade promotions and investments. To describe sovereignty in a country has been reached, the WTO will take action on complaints by the European Union. Also, it orders the United States to change its tax code to close loopholes of exploitation by U.S. transnational corporations. Then, tax breaks, according to the WTO panel, amount to subsidies that violate the World Trade Agreement, when anti-globalization protested that developing countries should not be obliged to pay attention to the core rights of workers to enjoy the benefits of free access to the world market and that such conditions would violate their sovereignty.

B. Trade Policy Review

One of the least positive experiences, the experience of vulnerable countries in the WTO is the trade policy review process (TPR). The WTO review of the trading system is intended as a transparency training. The mechanism of the TPR is intended to be more similar to the consultation of Article VIII of the IMF. However, during the Uruguay Round members did not want to give the level of authority to the WTO.¹⁷

So far, the three WTO Forum Island (FIC) member countries have carried out at least one TPR. All gave favorable responses about TPR as a transparency exercise. Information presented by the WTO allows local officials to understand the reality of the domestic trade environment better. Ironically, local trade officials who have difficulties often do not know the details of the domestic trade environment. The Trade Policy Review Document is thus an essential contribution to a deeper understanding of the business environment in small, vulnerable countries (SVS).

However, there is another side of the TPR that is slightly more problematic because it has a normative message that there is an ideal 'best practice' trade policy model in which WTO members are assessed. This model of best practice is implicit and has never been stated because for political reasons, fully WTO members cannot accept it. However, there is no doubt that it exists

¹⁷ Dr. Roman Grynberg. Towards a post-Seattle Agenda for the Small Vulnerable States. Forum Secretariat. Fiji Islands

and is not surprising a free market. Although the WTO Secretariat stated that it exists to support gradual and negotiated liberalization and not free trade at any cost. When WTO members had faced the WTO Secretariat, who are looking for explicit statements about what this best practice model is, like the case last year when PNG through TPR, there was only a refusal that it existed. However, the text of the TPR document, both in the case of PNG and the Solomon Islands shows a policy response based on free trade. That some countries, for example, Taiwan and Korea, have dramatically deviated from the agreed free trade approach and experienced rapid and prolonged economic growth while others such as Hong Kong, not deviating from such models while also experiencing rapid growth do not seem to cause any measure of circumspection.

The policy objective of switching from exporting a small amount of unprocessed raw material is very much held, and not a few goals of bipartisan policy in both countries. The WTO argues that "downstream processing is an undesirable economic goal" because it means the departure from the production of nonprocessed products where Melanesian countries are seen as having comparative advantages. The WTO's view is that resource-rich islands must remain the search for optimal resources and unprocessed export forest products and marine products, leave production and processing to these countries with comparative advantage. It is hard to imagine a policy recipe that is more concerning for Pacific island policymakers. Instead of advising the need to limit the costs imposed on people with downstream processing, the WTO's position is more doctrinal and is widely seen as preserving the comparative advantage of the area inherited from the colonial period.

The Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM) is a mechanism that permanently applies to all Members in rotation and involves peer group assessments of each Member's trade policies and practices and impacts on the functioning of the multilateral trading system (MTS). It is not the same as the dispute resolution mechanism; TPRM is not intended to evaluate the compliance of Members individually with specific rules. The reviews that have been carried out have given the possibility of other countries to understand the trading policies and practices of the Members with one another, have provided feedback at the same time to the Members who are being reviewed. On the other hand, they have encouraged the creation of internal evaluations of trade

policies at Members, especially in developing countries and less developed countries (LDCs). The reviews frequencies depend heavily on the Member's part of world trade in goods and services and are based on two documents. The Secretariat independently prepares written reports and policy statements to the Members reviewed.

The supervision of national trade policies is a fundamentally significant activity to carry out and has taken place during the working period of the WTO. Amid this work, TPRM was created. The TPRM main objectives as set out in Appendix 3 of the WTO Establishment Agreement that have several purpose such as:¹⁸ functioning of other multilateral trading systems by achieving greater transparency and understanding of Member trading policies and practices, contributing to increasing compliance by all Members concerning regulations, disciplines, and commitments under the Multilateral made Trade Agreement and, if applicable, Plurilateral Trade Agreements, and enabling mutual appreciation and evaluation of a full range of policies Member trade and practices individually and their impact on the

¹⁸ Introduction to Trade Policy Review in the WTO. WTO E-Learning Copyright. functioning of the multilateral trading system.

The review focuses on trade policies and practices carried out by Members. On the other hand. members' economic and developmental needs are more comprehensive; their policies and goals must be well considered by them and prepared to face the external environment. Extensive reviews of structural policies and macroeconomic have efforts to regulate trade and trade-related policies in broader policy arrangements, thus contributing to a better assessment of the impact on the functioning of the multilateral trading system.

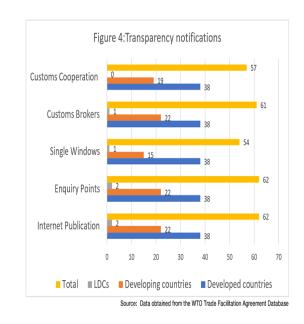
The TPRM review highlights how individual trading entities comply with the relevant principles of WTO which are about transparency of trade policies, nondiscrimination in the treatment of trading partners, the level of stability and predictability of trade policies, protection patterns and the extent to which tariffs are only used as a measure of protection in the trade of goods, restrictions used in trade in services, records of compliance with the multilateral trading system, and participation in dispute resolution. 19

A review of the Trade Policy is carried out where periodic reviews will be carried out on the Member States. The level of Member review is related to its weight in the multilateral trading system, as defined by the Member's trade in goods and services. On this basis, the review is carried out in one of three different cycles of the Member such as the four biggest traders — the European Union, the United States, Japan and China (the "Quad") — are examined once every two years, the next 16 countries with a lesser share in world trade are reviewed every four years, and the rest of the Membership (most developing country Members and economies in transition) are reviewed every six years, with the possibility of a more extended interim period for the least-developed country (LDC) Members.²⁰

C. The Result of TPRM

TPRM is a tool that serves to develop trade policies in developing WTO Members and LDC Members. Members can face specific difficulties in adapting domestic policies under the rules of multilateral trade. Trade policy reviews will significantly help them to carry out their assessment processes, including checking their multilateral trade system participation and their involvement with the WTO. Members who are in the active process of trade policy reform also have valuable opportunities to present the process and results. Besides, the preparation of reviews and discussions during the review can help them to encourage the formation of more substantial trade policies in the direction expected in the WTO Agreement and contribute to the integration of more significant Members into MTS.

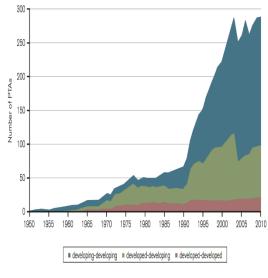
Figure 4.1: Transparency Notifications Chart



As a result, the Trade Policy Review Board has conducted 485 reviews over the past 30 years, which included 155 of 164 WTO members. The United States, Australia and Morocco are the first three members to submit to this peer review and transparency process, and they distributed the TPR report on November 16, 1989.²¹

The United States ranks first as a WTO member who has been the subject of most trade policy reviews with 14 times since the WTO was first established, the European Union and Japan were ranked second with the same 13 times. On the other hand new members such as Samoa, who joined the organization in 2012 and underwent a review of its first WTO trade policy on 10 and 12 April 2019, to coincide with the 30th anniversary of TPRM.²²





Source: WTO Secretariat.

The picture above shows the increasingly important role of trade between developing countries (South-South trade) after WTO. vis-a-vis trade between developed and developing countries (North-South trade). In the late 1970s, North-South agreements accounted for more than half of all agreements. They accounted for about a quarter in 2010. At present, the majority of preferential trade agreements are between developing countries.²³

TPRM creates a balance within the internal WTO because, with this, developing

²¹ WTO's Trade Policy Review Mechanism turns 30, <u>https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news19_e/tpr_12apr1</u>
9_e.htm accessed on June 2019

²²Ibid

²³ Trade and Globalization, <u>https://ourworldindata.org/trade-and-globalization</u> accessed on 22 June 2019

countries do not need to worry about getting pressure from developed countries related to the multilateral trade process and the trade policies they make. The WTO also carries out strict supervision of the implementation of this TPRM by periodically checking each of its members to minimize the occurrence of trade conflicts between members. With TPRM, this creates an international trade environment that is healthier, more stable, transparent, and mutually beneficial for those who carry out multilateral trade.

CONCLUSION

tragedy has played Seattle an essential role as a milestone in the establishment of the anti-globalization movement. The anti-globalization movement was born out of injustice that occurred in the world, especially after the cold war and became the opposite of globalization and world capitalization. The anti-globalization movement consists of several movements that have the same goal, namely to create justice for all countries in the world, developed and developing countries or developing countries.

The WTO free trade policy, which is considered to provide losses to many developing countries and developing countries, triggered this movement, which then carried out massive protests to refuse the WTO free trade policy. As a result of this action, there was chaos within the WTO, which caused the WTO to become unstable. In order to resolve the turmoil within the WTO, the WTO finally decided to hold several congresses, after this referred to as Doha rounds. At the meeting, a review of free trade policies was formed, which was then referred to as the Trade Policy Review (TPR).

This TPR has create stable situation in the internal of WTO and create conduciveness to the free trade of the world that is fair and transparent for all WTO members following the demands of the antiglobalization movement on the Seattle tragedy.

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