

CHAPTER I

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 purpose of against capitalism 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 movement is the term used to describe international social movements' network in Seattle in late

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

² *Ibid*

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 have directed 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 anti-globalization movement which increases from year to year. Protests by the anti-globalization 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

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

⁴ *Ibid*

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, 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

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

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

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ World Trade Organization,
https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/thewto_e.htm accessed on 30 October 2018

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 anti-globalization movement towards WTO in the "battle of Seattle tragedy" which are the reformation of WTO. There should be no 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 empirically-oriented political concept is done through several stages as can be his books. First, his book *The Political System* (1953) problem of general political

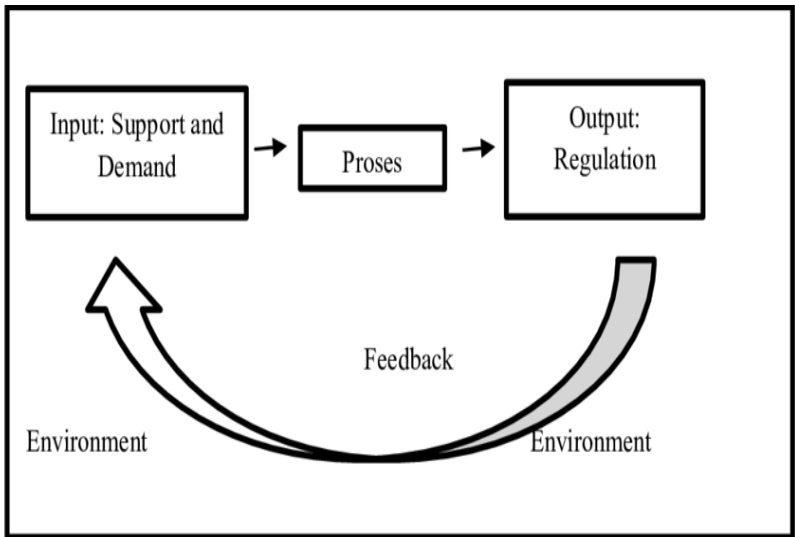
science. Second, his book *A Framework for Political Analysis* (1965) provides essential concepts for the development of such a familiar concept. Third, his book on a systems analysis of political life (1965) seeks to explain these concepts in the hope that they can be empirically applied.⁸

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.

Figure 1.1: David Easton's Political System



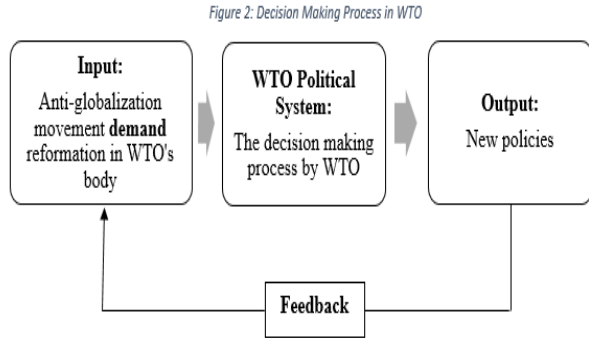
https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Political-systems-theory-David-Easton_fig2_327244477

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

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

¹⁰ Mas'oed, M., & MacAndrews, C., (1987). Perbandingan Sistem Politik. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.

Figure 1 2: Decision Making Process in WTO



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, 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 non-governmental organizations (INGOs), charitable institutions, intellectuals, social movements, trade unions, labor movements, environmentally conscious groups, and 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. Hypothesis

The impact of anti-globalization movement toward the WTO mechanism after the battle of Seattle tragedy in 1999 are to increase the transparency and understanding of countries'

¹¹ H. Kaldor, Anheier, and M. Glasius (2003). "Global Civil Society," Sage Publications, London.

trade policies and practices, through regular monitoring; to improve the quality of public and intergovernmental debate on the issues; to enable a multilateral assessment of the effects of policies on the world trading system.

E. 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.

F. Research Period

This research will emphasize the event after the battle of Seattle tragedy from 1999 until 2017

G. Research Purpose

1. As a condition to get a bachelor's degree at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
2. As a form of knowledge acquisition of Researcher after taking education in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

H. Benefits of Research

To add insight to researchers related to the topic of this research as well as reference material and references for research in the same field in the future.

I. Outline

This thesis consists of 4 chapters, and the explanation of each chapter will be elaborated in detail through subchapters. The case is elaborated thoroughly in chapter I like the case of attempting to write a coherent and systematic paper. The writing system of the research is as follows:

CHAPTER I describe the background to the problem, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purposes of research, research methodology, the scope of research, and organization of writing.

CHAPTER II will explain about the history of the WTO, how their political system works, and how they stabilize the chaotic situation.

CHAPTER III will explain more about the anti-globalization movement history and their role.

CHAPTER IV will explain about the impact of anti-globalization toward the WTO's policies.

CHAPTER V will contain the conclusions of all the explanation that has been presented in the previous chapters.