GLOBALIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON DEMOCRACY

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Abstract

The process of globalization is a one-way order and one face. But it is an ambivalent order to the ambiguous direction, the kindness and friendliness of globalization with the ugliness and evil of globalization. In this ambiguity understanding, the effects of globalization on the democracy journey will also depend on what angle we look. Two different angles will result to the different view of democratization. The two angles are not necessarily to be opposed to, moreover seen as the right versus wrong. Both are realities, which means we must understand and see with the wisely view angle. Because the globalization debates on democracy, whether it is good or bad is the same length as the history of the human existence on the earth.

Keywords : Globalization, Democracy

1. INTRODUCTION

As a form of social change process, globalization has brought the implication for the whole existing order. This implication will be felt by all peoples and countries both modern and developing countries. In addition, this implication appears in various fields, such as economic, social, cultural, law and politic. For that reason, every person and every nation must realize to accept the changes. Illustratively, Ohmae (2002: xiii) describes the globalization as "money genie comes out of the bottle", which is realized very well that whoever would not be able to tell him to go back. As a social change, globalization and its implication has led to a double value, for those who are ready and believe that in the process of globalization there is a hope. Therefore the globalization is seen as an opportunity. But for some others, globalization is seen as another form of new colonialism of powerful groups to the weak.

This can be seen from the attitude and suspicion on the ability of reaching the success from the globalization for many countries in the world, especially the third country that make the make the existence of an "ambivalent" towards globalization among the fortunes of complex problems of the nation. Therefore the globalization is also interpreted as a neo-liberalization and neo-colonization of the modern countries against developing countries or from the West against the East nation. Is it really like that?

In addition, globalization is also a process of cultural change (thinking and behavior system) that gives the effect of upholding the sovereignty of a nation and a democracy that is run. "Global players" power of multinational companies and transnational corporations that are increasingly giving the powerful grip to the world community's economy becomes a major factor in the dynamics of democracy done by a country.

Therefore, this article will describe in general about the globalization and its impact on the implementation of democracy, and then will present also how the dynamics of democracy in Indonesia in historical review to the present era.

1. Globalization and Democracy

From many definitions in understanding the globalization expressed by the experts, one of them is described by Kotter (1995: 42), who states *"globalization is the product of many forces, some of which are political (no major was since 1945), some of which are technological (faster and cheaper transportation and communication), and some of which are economic (nature firms seeking growth outside their national boundaries"*.

In line with the above expression stated by Kotter, Darsono (2002) revealed the existence of three factors driving the globalization, they are: 1. The strength of the international capitalist or a multinational corporation (MNC) that capable to operate around the world, 2. The development of science and technology (Science and Technology), particularly in the field of telecommunication and 3. The support from the developing countries government (DC) toward the expansion of the international capitalists in their country.

The existence of a number of factors that encourages the increased acceleration of globalization is stated by John Micklethwatt and Adrian Woodldridge in their book entitled Future Perfect (2000: 29) "The Three Engines of Globalization". The three engines of globalization are technology, capital markets and management through the progress of industrial technology, transportation and especially the information or communication (TV, mobile phones, computers, internet, e-mail) that increase rapidly and continuously updated. It is very clear today that the increasing number of sites on the internet has made easier to obtain information and conduct economic activities. Various data or information is available from around the world. One example is in the U.S. invasion of Iraq. It was obviously seen that the existence of technological advances ranging from the sophisticated military weapons to the internet battle sites and television stations (CNN vs. Al Jaazirah). Promotion of industries, goods and services are also very complete in the internet. So, buying something in one country can be done through the internet. This has made the world seem smaller, "world village". Each person is likened to be everywhere without having to go everywhere. This condition is called by Mickletwait and Wooldridge (2000: 32) as "The Death of Distance".

The second engine of globalization is capital market. If we listen and pay attention at certain hours on every TV and radio stations, they talk about economic exchange, ranging from currency exchange rate indices, stock prices and other related trade, then we can see how speed of the capital movement as well as the increasing number of capital with a very fatal consequence. By using one touch of a button, it is able to move trillions of dollars from one place to another. Seeing the experience of developing countries, the big influence of world capital market is very large and it is not only on economy, but also on the political system and government, for instance, South Korea, Indonesia and others. Therefore, it is very natural to have the pro and contra about the desire to escape from the IMF. According to George Soros that the money markets lately has been acting like a big ball that hit one country to another, acting like a pendulum (Mickletwait and Wooldridge, 2005:55)

The third engine of globalization is management. Management method which continues to grow will not only able to raise the company or organization, but also able to make the organization survive the dangers of the crisis. The more progress of the company, the more tendencies to make an investment as well as to open the company branches in various places of region or country while the permanent headquarter company is still in the city or country of origin of the company. Current management method is very concern with how to operate the business units as efficient as possible.

In addition, it is said that the engine of globalization is like the "Terminator" movie that the machine can not tolerate to human weakness (Micklethwait and Wooldrige, 2005: 56)

Almost similar to what is expressed by John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, Kenichi Ohmae in his book "The End of Nation State" (1995:3-7) stated that there are four "I" which make

the acceleration of a world become borderless, namely investment, industry, information and individual. Capital market in most modern countries has excessive money for investment. The problem of investment opportunities is often not located precisely in the same geographic region. As a result, the capital market that has developed the various mechanisms to transfer them across the national borders. For example, nearly 10% of U.S. pension funds are invested in Asia. Orientation of industry is also globalized because the strategy of multinational enterprises has been conditioned to serve the wants and needs of the market anywhere. For example, an Australian firm, Japan and United States have entered the territory of Indonesia, India and others. Information technology allows the companies to work in various places of hemisphere without having to build the entire business system in the country they have entered. As a result, the consumer tastes "individual" provide access to the entry of a variety of production from other countries. Consumers want the best and the cheapest products, no matter where the products come from.

Globalization is also believed by the critics of globalization, has three dimensions, they are the ideology, the capitalism and the free market economy, which are becoming the object sold by the modern country to the developing country.. In a historical review, we remember that the ideology of globalism was born in 1776 by Adam Smith. His thesis states that a nation should not interfere in the activity of the economy. Economic activity will be determined by the "invisible-hand" that is often interpreted as "magic hands" of market forces. This ideology is a mirror of bourgeois society at that time and being developed in Europe. So, this is a reflection of bourgeois society at that times that emerging in Europe. So, this is a consciousness of bourgeois class that role the money as the capital. In this development, this ideology has resulted the colonialism of a nation to another nation or colonialism ideology. The World War I and World War II are the results of this colonization process. Principally, both wars are a war among the colonial states in getting the colony which has a wealth of natural resources, like Africa, Asia and Latin America.

2. THE IMPACT OF GOBALIZATION ON DEMOCRACY IMPLEMENTATION

The concept of globalization which has two faces is also perceived the same when it is associated with the process of democracy in a country. Globalization which is characterized by a variety of acceleration in the field of science and technology has become a medium for the acceleration of the democratization process. In its implementation it is often seen cynically by some groups of people; so that globalization, previously seen as an era of openness and internationalization become a medium for cultivate the spirit and tribalism.

Even further than that, there is a very extreme view, and supported by a very deep study showing that the globalization is not more than a form of new colonialism. One of the book that is quite sharply criticizes globalization is written by Joseph E. Stiglitz (2003) entitled The Failure of Globalization and International Financial Institutions which has led the author of this book as the winner of 2001 Nobel Prize in Economics.

Stiglitz, as a former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors during the US President Clinton and at the same time as the Senior Vice President and Chairman of the World Bank Economic Team has explained clearly about the number of irregularities in the formulation of world economic policy that based more on the ideology and political interests (Stiglitz , 2003:3-4). For all his very controversial articles, he should be willing to be dismissed from his all positions. Another fact is revealed by Wibowo (2003) showing that a number of world crises is triggered by many policies that are "not economical" and tend to be politically done by a number of economic actors of the world.

One of the example is happened in 1992 in which the British currency was distraught because of the currency trading played by George Soros. On that day or commonly known as "Black Wednesday", Soros had sold Pound Sterling as much as 10 billion U.S. dollars. In order to maintain it, Bank of England was forced to issue their back up dollars of more than 15 million dollars,

however it could not help the situation, then Britain admitted defeat, so they come out of the exchange rate system. For this kind of activity, Soros got a profit of 950 million dollars.

The same fact is also done by Soros to Mexico and also Asia Currency (including Indonesia) in 1997. We can see here how certain groups can dictate the world with their financial capabilities. Moreover, the fact shows that this private group currently has over two thirds of the value of money circulating in the world today (Wibowo, 2003).

The questions in this imbalance mechanism are: is democracy possible to be built ideally? And does the existing democracy process clean from all these things?

Again, we see how America and its allies invaded Iraq, even it is wrapped with the democracy packaging, but the enforcement interest of an ideology to other ideology is clearly seen. Through a caricature that the author quotes from a home page on the internet at http / / www.Minfully.org.jonik.com provides an illustration of democracy being peddled by the U.S. is full with other interests which are often far from the spirit of democracy itself.

It is very likely that as the imperfection result of this globalization has led to many challenges. Mansour Faqih (2002) says that there are a number of challenges that could appear in this globalization process. First, the challenge of cultural and religious groups who consider the globalization as a negative influence or a virus that will cause the erosion of cultural values such as humanity and religion. Second, the challenge will arise also from new social movement or a group of people who consider globalization as a new neo-colonialism. One of them can be seen from the birth of the anti-debt coalition movement, etc. Third, the challenge will come from environmental groups and the green movement. Because these groups see globalization becomes an interest in certain groups in taking profit from the destruction of nature and the environment.

So, the relevance and how the influence of globalization on real democracy should be appreciated critically. This means that in the globalization, there is a value involved and strengthen the process of democratization within a country is the truth that can not be refuted. For example, the spirit of transparency, openness, good governance, development-based public participation (democracy), even up to the concept of civil society and human rights which is considered as a characteristic of democratization is a clear example of the impact of globalization.

All the elements feel that they need to promote the democratic values in their space and public discourse. Each element is already having a strong support to build this democratization. Because a global world order today is built in order to put forward the values of this democratization. For example, how labor around the world feel for the same fate as the victim of groups of capital owners. All this happened because there is globalization. This means that whoever and wherever individuals and community groups live currently, they feel not hesitate to take the reference of value outside the boundaries of the area where they are. Globalization has provided an "openness" of cultural references that are not necessarily bounded to the local values only.

In addition, consciously or unconsciously, many spirits of democratization in its national order are awakened by the pressure of globalization. Today, an opposition leader in a country can not be easily eliminated using the persecution or repressively by the ruler of the country. This is not because of more awareness to appreciate the differences, but often because of the pressure triggered by a global world.

3. DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA IN GLOBALIZATION ERA

Long road of democratization in Indonesia in this globalization era can not be separated from the perspective that developing this idea. The ambivalence of globalization is also reflected in the process of democratization in Indonesia.

New Era Government which is started from 1967 with the concept of REPELITA (Five Years Development Plan) directly or indirectly is the impact of the globalization of economic development at that time. The spirit of development in Indonesia at that time was more oriented on increasing

economic growth through investment, and foreign investment and conglomerates can not be separated from the spirit of modernization at the time, which is substantive triggered from the success of Marshall Plan in Europe.

At that time, the economic growth is assumed by the designers of the Indonesian economy, most of whom are graduates of the U.S., particularly the Berkeley University, will be able to build the cake of development, which is expected in the next turn could lead to "trickle down-effect". If a factory is built in an area, it is believed there will be growths and their derivatives businesses. And it is also believed that it will cause a trickle down effect continuously.

In reality, the imitated concept which is derived from the success in European countries is not entirely true, although, also it is not entirely wrong. Practically, the development cake which has been enlarged can only be enjoyed by a small portion of community groups. And we can not forget the fact that at that time every single dollar coming into Indonesia is followed by the release of eight U.S. dollars. This means that aggregately we are really tricked by any investor who enter Indonesia Similarly when the reforms have emerged in the mid of 1997, the spirit of transparency, anti corruption, collusion and nepotism and a number of democratization slogans began rolling. Good governance, human rights and civil society become the issues that are very familiar with our experts thought at the time and probably until today. It means, consciously or unconsciously, globalization has drugged us with new slogans. And it seems, we agreed that only all these magic words will make us out from the oppression, underdevelopment and other anti democracy behavior. The question is whether all these things are able to deliver us on the better democratic process?. And in fact, we should be honest and brave to say that

It “has not” happened yet.

Today, our democracy has been regarded developed by many parties, one of them is seen from a number of indicators, such as the existence of local autonomy, direct presidential elections, the establishment of many parties and including the courage to amend the Constitution, which was previously considered highly unlikely. Other indicator is the current of Indonesian people are very keen to sound many new slogans in a variety of life. Human rights, civil society, clean government, clean bureaucracy and other jargons seem to be a reality that already exist and happen. But whether all the facts could be a guarantee of success of running democracy? Since another side of this running and developing democracy still has a lot of holes that increasingly getting out of the control.

One of the examples can be seen from the spirit of regional autonomy that has raised the higher cost and burden of the people. The spirit of autonomy should closer to the public service as well as gives the authority to the local governments to take care of themselves better. In its implementation this spirit has turned out to a new tyranny at the local level. Although there is no accurate data to show this, it is estimated that the fund allocated for the personnel expenditure by all regions in Indonesia now is above 75% at average and its leak has been increasing for about 10 to 15% compared to the New Era Government. If it is calculated, we can say that the people's money back in public sector interest at this time is not more than 20%. Does it show an extraordinary number? And is it a characteristic of a good democracy?

There is something interesting in social change discourse in Indonesia which the author calls as the anomaly-law. Whatever the voiced concept in a discourse, its implementation often precisely follows the anomaly-law in which there is one point that makes all back in the initial conditions. So, whatever the conception offered, at first, seems to move towards a better direction, but at some point, the direction of movement back to the previous direction, and it could be a crisis which the occurrence is much higher than the previous.

4. CONCLUSION

Globalization process and its long road is a new order that is considered by many parties as a hope and a future as well as an answer to humanity and the world. Globalization which is assisted by the support of information and communication technologies has been transformed into one which is considered the best choice and solution of several problems in the world today. Globalization has offered a number of packages in a variety of discourses of life, including democracy.

Democracy in the globalization frame is a democracy that leads to the global interests. Human rights, civil society and some other slogan seem to be a magic word to answer a number of the existing anti democracy behaviors.

However, there is also a number of interests behind all the benefits offered in globalization. Is that true the globalization for the entire nation? Or it is just a new control tool of the ruling group to stay in power?

The question is not to be answered; because the nature of ambiguity in the development of globalization and its relationship to democracy is debatable and has the same length as the human history on this earth.

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