

## CHAPTER I

### A. PROBLEM BACKGROUND

The term of imperialism comes from the word "Imperare" which means a controlled state of other countries in the interest of the domestic country to achieve prosperity and welfare. From the concept of imperialism then emerged the term "Imperator" which is a term for people who rule over territory controlled by them. Imperialism performed by the countries that have made progress in various fields of life especially the field of armaments and military forces are strong. This is easier for these countries to conquer nation's targeted imperialism. In the history, imperialism stage is divided into two kinds of imperialism, ancient and modern imperialism.

Classic or ancient imperialism was first pioneered by the Spanish and Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Formerly classical imperialism emerged because of the influence from European states system which is mercantilism. Mercantilism in general can be interpreted as an economic political policy of the imperialist countries whose goal is collect as much wealth as possible. They believe that by collecting the abundant wealth will create more prosperity, glory and the power will also extend.<sup>1</sup> The spirit of mercantilism has provided tremendous motive for imperialist countries to compete in gaining wealth and power that is by doing a massive expansion in other regions that have rich of

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<sup>1</sup> <http://mustaqimzone.wordpress.com/2010/02/18/>

natural resources. In addition, imperialism is also influenced by religious fanaticism and missionary spirit so that in the process of imperialist countries in addition to seeking wealth and glory religion also spread the Christian religion in areas that have been conquered. The practice of classical imperialism identical with violence by using a strong military forces is was a direct attack and seize their target areas. Classical imperialism that occurs at that time is so identical with the colonization of life in the territories controlled by the real dominant actor were imperialist countries.

In the early 19th century the Industrial Revolution began in Britain that marked the end of classical imperialism. The influence of the industrial revolution has spawned a new concept of modern imperialism in replacing the classical imperialism. Basically the industrial revolution shows the process of rapid change in the economic field, of agrariana economy (agriculture) leading industrial economies that use power-mechanical power instead of manual tools relying on hand skills so as to increase the production of goods.<sup>2</sup> Industrial revolution in England affected the condition of infrastructure in a country marked by the emergence of new discoveries in the field of industrial machinery such as steam engines and looms are also tool of transportation and communication. The findings have lead the emergence of large factories and manufacturing industries that resulted in the emergence of an additional requirement of new raw materials

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.syiham.co.cc/2010/02>

and the marketing of industrial products. Large-scale industry that occurred at that time has caused the emerging of neo or modern imperialism concept.

Modern imperialism has developed changes in concept and practice patterns. Modern imperialism with more concerns on economic needs of a country to fulfill the interests of industry; obtaining new raw materials and industrial products marketing venues. This is implemented by economic expansion mean to a target area to be addressed. Modern Imperialism offers a more soft strategy and efficient in running the practice to fulfill the needs of the new motive. The changes that occurred in the development of imperialism are also influenced because by several changes in the structure of the world. The impact of first and Second World War has brought adverse effects with the emergence of the economic collapse made colonies countries have a process weakness. But the impact of war is precisely the reverse process to bring the countries that colonized the emergence of national revival. This condition happened made by the countries that colonized to liberate themselves from the clutches of colonial countries. Because of these factors made the elimination of imperialism process is growing stronger beside the bad image it evokes. The end of the period of colonization after the Second World War has brought a new impact to the development of ex-colony countries to determine their own destiny by becoming an independent nation. Many ex-colony countries that free have weakened the power of the colonial countries to continue to defend the colony. The conditions were then made modern imperialism is no longer identical with the use of military force to fulfill the economic needs of the imperialist countries.

The presence of international organizations since the 19th century has made important contributions in the implementation of modern imperialism practice. Vienna conference held in 1815 has become the starting point of the concept of international organizations emergence. Vienna conference discussed about the rules in conducting relations between countries, especially diplomacy for the sake of maintaining peace in Europe at that time. The conference as a starting point of public awareness in the world to cooperate in a more regulated and build a good relationship for the sake of the common welfare. International organizations, which first appeared is the League of Nations which was formed by the impact of the First World War that brings trauma for the world community.<sup>3</sup>

At this time the League of Nations exists to ensure peace and international security. But in 1939 the League of Nations ability to maintain peace began doubted, marked with the number of members who resigned after the Second World War. In the end the League of Nations was replaced by an international organization which is United Nations that was established on October 24, 1945. The success of the United Nations in maintaining world peace and security has attracted the interest of the international community. This happened after the end of the Second World War has opened a new opportunities for other organizations to develop in various aspects. The emergence of these organizations has contributed greatly to the mechanisms used in modern imperialism. The influence of international organizations has made the conquering of ex-colonial by the imperialist countries more easliy without fear of direct confrontation.

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<sup>3</sup> [http://journalightment.blogspot.com/2010\\_09\\_01\\_archive.html](http://journalightment.blogspot.com/2010_09_01_archive.html).

Ex-colonial countries or third world countries those are still new in the construction and development of various aspects of life in the country. This condition as the weak point in the expansion has done by the imperialist countries. These countries have been implementing the practice of neo-imperialism for more than 50 years, where the third world countries as the ex-colony are not aware have been colonized in the various fields of life particularly in economic field. The role of international organizations is strengthening the modern imperialism against third world countries.

Third world countries are forced to obey under the rules made by Government-developed countries through international organizations as the mediator. Developed countries use the pretext of international interest to launch their plan to exploit the resources owned by third world countries.

International organizations present to ensure the practice of covert imperialism is running smoothly. International organizations have binding authority and dominance in deciding the policies that benefit developed countries. For example the existence of the WTO as an international organization has the power to give a sanction on third world countries that do not obey to the policies of free trade. The emergences of WTO, IMF and World Bank have an important role in the process of modern imperialism. Where the three international organizations binding on third world countries with foreign debt and aid

agreements such as LoI (Letter of Intent), which contains the principles of liberalization, privatization and deregulation.<sup>4</sup>

Beside the economic imperialism using the WTO, IMF and World Bank, health imperialism also become a problem that must be faced by third-world countries. It is characterized by the Emergence of avian flu vaccine Commercialization by WHO case. Whereas previously the WHO is an international health organization that has consistently provided many contributions to the health problems which threaten the world. One of the contributions made by WHO are the achievements in eradicating smallpox that caused Millions of deaths and much suffering for Centuries. WHO has developed the program in overcome the disease. WHO has sent staff-officers to various countries to manage the vaccine program on a large scale, as a result has been successfully eliminated smallpox in 1977.<sup>5</sup> Since then WHO divert attention to other diseases such as polio and leprosy after small pox successfully eradicated.

WHO's mission in its development has gone further than just the treatment of physical illness. Purpose held by WHO for this is to achieve the highest level of health for all people in the world, where health is defined as "the welfare of complete physical, mental and social". After years of WHO continuously looking for ways to achieve these humanitarian objectives. One is the promotion of health programs and disease prevention throughout the world. In addition, WHO has entered into collaboration with colleagues in the field of health research to collect

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<sup>4</sup> <http://revolutionermoeda.blogspot.com/2008/07/imf-wto-wbimperialist.html>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/smallpox/en/>

data needs and health conditions globally, especially in third world countries. One of the newest initiatives is a global strategy on diet, physical activity and health. WHO also conducted a more recent project which campaigns to reduce tobacco use worldwide<sup>6</sup> and research on the influence of electromagnetic fields around mobile phones on health.<sup>7</sup> There is also a campaign to encourage people to live with a healthy diet and frequent consumption of fruits also vegetables, which contain nutrients to enhance immunity. The campaigns were conducted by the WHO to protect health.

Glorious achievements that have been done by the WHO as an international health organization began suspicious after the resistance from Siti Fadilah Supari. Siti Fadilah began to doubt the orientation of the WHO for this when confronted with cases of avian flu vaccine commercialization. Siti Fadilah criticized the WHO's virus-sharing mechanism policy in his book "Saatnya Dunia Berubah." In his book Siti Fadilah accuse there is injustice in GISN (global influenza surveillance network) as a form of WHO's virus-sharing mechanism. During this time, GISN judged by Siti Fadilah only as a tool for covered colonialism by developed country.

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<sup>6</sup> <http://www.who.int/tobacco/en/>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.who.int/peh-emf/en/>

## **B. RESEARCH QUESTION**

Based on the problem, the research question formulated as “How is the process of imperialism in the health field through WHO toward third world countries run?”

## **C. PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH**

1. To identify the process of how neo imperialism work.
2. To apply the Theories and concepts of International Relations directly to explain the case study that happens in the world.

## **D. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **IMPERIALISM CONCEPT**

The word of imperialism came from the latin word “Imperare” which means is ordering. The right to order called “Imperium”. The person that have the right to order called imperator.

According to Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, Imperialism is the political system with the aim to occupied another state in gaining authority and big profit<sup>8</sup>. Besides that based on free dictionary Imperialism is the policy of extending a nation’s authority by territorial acquisition or by the establishment of economic and political hegemony over nations<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, edisi kedua, penerbit Dept. PDK-Balai Pustaka, th. 1995

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/imperialism>



Johan Galtung divided the steps of imperialism become two, they are like<sup>10</sup>:

1. The once famous for its colonization of the western nation against other nation. Ancient imperialism which they brought was always associated with the motto 3G (Glory, Gospel, and the Gold). That was a period identical to the life of colonization. Also in the colonial period there were special features in the presence of the dominant actors that are real. The implications of that physical presence implicated toward the form of imperialism, which uses a frontal assault trend to conquer a particular area.
2. The trend now is more developed using a 'hands on' organization that has a wide network. The organization formed a large union that has branches everywhere. For example, international organizations or transnational companies spread in certain countries. The existence of extensive networks impact on strengthening the organization's position against the other party. An actor in the organization no longer requires a physical presence. Between actors or 'people behind the scenes' organization may be different. This is the period in which the term neo-colonialism developed.

According to Galtung, Imperialism could be described simply in the relation between the center and periphery. When discussing the relation or interaction then it could not be separated with the interest as the basic principle.

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<sup>10</sup> Amir Effendi Siregar (ed), Arus pemikiran Ekonomi Politik: Esai-Esai Terpilih (Yogyakarta : Tiara Wacana, 1991) hal 131-192 taken from <http://rui-kakka.blogfriendster.com/2008/09/imperialisme>

The interaction that happened could be neutral, positive and negative. If the relation is negative then conflict could not be avoided. The emerging of interest conflict also caused the goal of conflict. The goal of conflict is more viewed in how the certain party control another party to win the interest. This principle absolutely caused the emerging of dominant and sub dominant party. In the Galtung writing the dominant party is center, meanwhile the sub dominant party is periphery. Those kinds of interaction is resulting the existence a mechanism inside imperialism.

There are two mechanisms offered by Galtung, namely.

1. The principle of vertical interaction. In the pattern of this relationship, there is something that "exchange" as a good or service. The interaction is usually based on the principle of complementarities. For example, trade agreements on exchange of rice and aircraft. Both are doing 'exchanges' because of the limited goods. But actually, these two items have different content values or not equal. Relationships that tend to be asymmetrical in result produces the party which has more profit and the suffer party. The principle of this vertical relationship and supports the concept of imperialism.

To study whether the interaction is symmetric or asymmetric on equal or unequal term two factors arising from the interaction have to be examined:

- a. The value-exchange between the actors-inter actors effects

b. The effect inside the actors-intra actor's effect.

In economic relations the first is most common analyzed, not only by liberal but also by Marxist economist. The inter-actor flow can be observed as flows of materials, capitals and financials goods and services. Imperialistic practices, from the perspective of capitalistic logic, are typically about exploiting the uneven geographical conditions under which capital accumulation occurs and also taking advantage that inevitably arise out of spatial exchange relations through unfair and unequal exchange, spatially articulated monopoly powers, extortionate practices attached to restricted capital flows and the extraction of monopoly rents. The interaction is asymmetric or symmetric if the inter-actor flow both of them compared in the term who benefit most.

2. The principle of feudal interaction. This pattern is the opposite of the principle in the above relation. This principle is a factor in maintaining and reinforcing existing inequalities. There are four guiding principles that define this relationship, among others: the interaction between the center and periphery took place vertically, and there is no interaction between the periphery and the periphery. Also there is no multilateral interaction involving all of its activities, and interactions of the outside world 'monopolized' by the central. Feudal relationship as the center effort in order to make the periphery has an absolute dependence on center. If

addiction is not maximum, then set the center of the political dividing that the center has full authority over the edge without any resistance effort.

In Imperialism stages described by Galtung, the WHO could be included as a form of neo-imperialism that uses the hands of the organization. It is based on the characteristics of the WHO as an international organization engaged in global health that has had almost two hundred members who have spreaded branches in each country. WHO have high authority binding on its members with a wide network that owned. Based on the legal position made WHO has enough space to overpass the sovereignty of each country. With this speciality of WHO can significantly reduce the involvement of government intervention to take a stand against the policies made. In the case of avian influenza, WHO with authority has intimidated the third world countries to obedience the GISN mechanism.

GISN is the mechanism of virus sharing has established since 1952 which aims at monitoring, collecting and examine the influenza virus that cause seasonal flu outbreaks in each of its member countries. In each country, GISN mechanisms that are suffering from seasonal flu viruses are required to provide samples voluntarily for benefit of health research to WHO collaborating centers (WHO CC) and then forwarded to GISN. Samples that have been sent are still a wild virus then processed using a patented technology so that it becomes a seed virus. This Seed virus then become as the reference to consider a vaccine recommendations in order to overcome seasonal flu outbreak. When an outbreak of avian flu happened, WHO also use the GISN as the virus sharing mechanism to

handle these issues. But in the process of virus sharing mechanism there appear an injustice for the countries as the avian flu victim. This is the case that causes Siti Fadilah Supari to doubt the role of WHO as the world health organization over the years.

Referring to Galtung, the mechanism of virus sharing undertaken by the WHO there is feudal interaction pattern between the WHO and the victim countries are mostly from third world countries. With the full authority of its member's ownership, the WHO resulted in the monopoly of avian flu virus samples. When samples of the avian flu virus had reached the hands of the WHO, there was a unilateral ownership of the virus samples. In the case of commercialization of the vaccine strain of avian influenza with Indonesia, according to WHO recommendations, Siti Fadilah Supari transferred the avian flu virus samples for research purposes to the nearest health collaboration (WHO Collaborating Centre) in accordance to the material transfer document in line with WHO guidelines for the exchange of influenza viruses in 2005. In WHO guidance document for the exchange of the virus it contains the obligation for countries to send samples of patients with the virus that attacks their country to the WHO collaborating center for examination and preparation of vaccine characteristics. Shipping at the time also was made on the basis of the belief that the WHO will be responsible for preventing misuse of the specimens in accordance with the contents of the document. At that time Indonesia has also been stated in a press conference that the data sample of the Indonesian strain of avian flu virus is public property (public goods) that can be accessed by any party. But in practice the

management of WHO's virus did not consistently perform the exchange of viruses according to the rules set forth. Countries patient avian influenza virus cannot access more information about the fate of virus samples that have been sent. Countries sending the samples of the virus were just told to wait for confirmation of diagnosis of virus samples without knowing what will happen next. Virus, gene sequence and part of the sequences belonging to Indonesia and from countries other avian flu victim turned out to be used by third parties in the form of presentations, publications, patents and commercialization of manufacture without direct confirmation to the sender of the avian flu virus samples. An example is the Indonesian strain of avian flu vaccine made by CSL of Australia's private companies who get the virus samples from WHO's Australian branch.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore the patterns of interaction between the WHO and the countries of avian flu patients who are feudal were later changed to be asymmetric when the vaccine virus samples were made by pharmaceutical companies. In the mechanism of virus sharing there is an imbalance of the exchange rate between virus samples with the price of vaccines. Vaccines that have been manufactured by pharmaceutical companies were sold back to those victim countries with a limited number of stock and imbalanced prices. The price is completely determined by the manufacturer of the vaccine virus which is all located in industrialized countries such as America, Japan and the European Union. They set a very high price unable to be reached by the victim countries that send the virus

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<sup>11</sup> DR. Dr. Siti Fadilah Supari, Sp.JP (K), *Saatnya Dunia Berubah* (Jakarta: PT. Sulaksana Watinsa Indonesia 2008) hal 33-36

samples for free. Asymmetrical relationship interaction patterns bring the parties more benefits in this case namely the developed countries compared with infected countries.

Referring to the second pattern of interaction that is not balanced relationship above is the primary indication of imperialist practices in the health sector that is exploitation and monopoly of virus samples taken by WHO through the mechanism GISN and commercialization of vaccines made by developed countries.

## **E. HYPOTHESIS**

The imperialism process in health field through the hands of World Health Organization toward the third world happened as follows:

1. WHO Global Surveillance Network (GISN) collects avian influenza virus sample in accordance with the IHR 2005 to WHO CC.
2. Unilateral ownership of the avian influenza virus sample that have been transfer to WHO CC.
3. The limitation access of the virus sample and in transparency in diagnostic information process.
4. Sold the vaccine that manufactured by pharmacy companies located in developed state coordinated by WHO.
5. The pharmacy companies decide over the price of avian influenza vaccine with expensive price.

## **F. METHOD OF RESEARCH**

Library Research will be applied in the way of data collection, explaining the problems as well as analyzing the hypothesis. All the information that supports this research uses the secondary data, books, newspapers, journals, internet, and other literature sources.

## **G. RANGE OF RESEARCH**

Focusing more on the topic research, the writer limits the time, of research being conducted. The writer is going to explain the cases of commercialization of avian flu by WHO from 2006 until 2009.

## **H. SYSTEM OF WRITING**

In the system of writing this undergraduate thesis, writer divides into some chapters and the chapters are then divided into some sub-chapters, such as:

### **Chapter 1: Preface**

This chapter consists of the background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purposes of research, scope of research, method of research and data analysis, and system of writing. Chapter 1 is started by background of the problem and followed by research question. To answer the research question, theoretical framework is explained afterward and it can be derive



from a hypothesis. After that it is followed by purpose of the research, method of research, data analysis and the system of writing.

## **Chapter II: GLOBAL INFLUENZA SURVEILANCE NETWORK**

This chapter will be explained about the Global Influenza Surveillance Network generally. The GISN virus sharing mechanism implementation of H5N1 cases in Indonesia. Beside that it will explained about the ideal of virus sharing mechanism that should be implemented by WHO GISN.

## **Chapter III: The Role of WHO over Avian Influenza Trading Vaccine**

This chapter wil explained the missmanagement that happened in the virus sharing mechanism of avian influenza as the indicator of imperialistic process over third world country.

## **Chapter IV: Conclusion**