

THE 9th WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION MINISTERIAL MEETING AGREEMENT 2013 AND ITS IMPACT TO INDONESIA'S AGRICULTURE SECTOR

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Indonesia was the host of the big multinational forum called ministerial meeting which is supervised by WTO. Agriculture agreement is one of big achievement of international trade after the 12 years of failure. WTO already publish peace clause policy to be implemented for four years that bring develop country cannot interrupt what will developing country do in their agriculture subsidy policy, but in return in 2017 if there is no permanent solution, subsidy will be prohibited. Therefore this paper will analyze decisions that have been taken by Indonesia in the meeting and what actually face by Indonesia government, what is the challenges and how about the impact to Indonesia's agriculture sector, it will give benefit or not.

Keyword : *World Trade Organization (WTO), Ministerial Conference 9 (MC9), Liberalization, Agriculture policy, Agriculture subsidy, Bali Package, Peace Clause.*

INDTRODUCTION

International Trade in the currently is having a dramatic growth for the last few decade. This condition can be seen by viewing the negotiation that based in the mutual benefit or trade. There are institutions that providing the run of international trade regionally and internationally. The only international institution that controls the run of international trade is World Trade Organization (WTO), for almost 21

years WTO intervening world trade system. In the past 12 years the condition for WTO is quite different, lot of political leaders, people, Non-Governmental organization, lost his trust with the promises that has been said by WTO in the early establishment. Lot of people thinks that WTO is fail to give a fair trade for prosperity for people. That condition contributed substantially to the failure of the September 2003 Trade Ministerial Meeting in Cancun to reach agreement on how to proceed with the DDA (Doha Development Agenda). After that for 12 years DDA agreement never reach it agreement and make WTO lost it credibility, that condition is caused by : the framework discrepancy that will discuss, rejection from some state to some agendas that did not meet their interest, moreover opinion about how domestic support on the agriculture agreement is run that caused a split opinion between develop and developing state, it is become a prove that the agreement in the agriculture sector is have a serious impact to international trade.

It is known that when talking about food it talks about billions of people and millions of people who suffer and were dead caused by the lack of food. Moreover, the majority of the farmers especially in the developing countries still live below the poverty line. Agriculture is always be the old issue that always effecting the agreement in the ministerial meeting. As always developing states is concerning on the importance of domestic support concerning on it farmer condition that not ready yet to compete globally but in the other hand develop state is think that it can distort international market. In the WTO the implementation of domestic support is already stated in the basis of agriculture agreement called Agreement on Agriculture, in the agreement stated that develop state can give domestic support is about 5% from total national output and developing state is 10%.

Even lot of protester around the world demanding to stop WTO agenda but still the spirit of countries to make a fair trade especially in the agriculture sector never breakdown. In order to continue its struggle to liberalize agriculture sector

through the basis of DDA (Doha Development Agenda), agriculture sector is always brought to the ministerial meeting agenda. This condition is paid off, where finally there is an agreement that reach by countries called Bali Package.

Bali Package is an agreement that has been done it Nusa Dua, Bali. The meeting was held in Bali started the 3rd of December 2013 and was planned to finish on 6th December 2013. It bring three agreement that has been reach : The first is about *Trade Facilitation* which is generally talking about reaffirming and recalling the principle in Doha round about tariff and non-tariff barrier reduction and also transparency in multilateral trade. The Second is about *Agriculture* as well as cotton production which are important for developing also least developed countries. Than the is third talking about the *Least Developed Country development* issue which will help least developed country to make them easier to export their products to developed country.

In the Bali package forum, it was not absolutely running smoothly just like the other WTO ministerial meetings before and almost ended up with another failure. This forum needed to postpone for several days due to issues of food security proposed by India. India and the other developing countries had a different perspective from develop countries especially United States with its industrial interest about how much subsidy should be given. India with other 32 countries which had a demand to increase total subsidy for farmer from 10% according to Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) of WTO become 15% permanently without any exception and the it is rejected by 2/3 of WTO member like what Indonesia is predicted. United States and other developed states were reducing their demands by giving permission for developing countries to give 15% for only 4 years. Here other G33 member states including Indonesia agreed with the offer of developed countries, but only India still insisted with its decision. In the last minute, India tense finally reduced and agreed to a four-year peace clause, meaning that they would not challenge India's food security

measures before December 2017. In return, India has vowed to ensure that its policies.

Condition in the Bali meeting is clearly showing that Indonesia is supporting the run of agriculture liberalization. Actually since it membership in the WTO and it Agreement on Agriculture. Indonesia becomes dependent on agricultural import from other countries. There are several products that are still imported such as rice, corn, meat, chicken, salt, milk, onion and there are other products which are easily produced in Indonesia. Since Indonesia ratified and joined WTO to liberate its agricultural sectors, it caused a significant increment in agricultural sector import followed by significant decreasing of food subsidy in some commodities that led to a decreasing on farmer's revenue in the country. Even though, Indonesia is known as an agriculture country because of it majority of people is work as farmer, majority of it land is so fertile, but unfortunately they live below poverty line. Since Agreement on Agriculture Indonesia is already a market target from develop state in with is big population is become a big market for them. It is sign by the huge import of agriculture product to Indonesia. So, decision that has been made by Indonesia in the meeting is opposite with current condition of Indonesia agriculture sector. Lot of Indonesia people are only traditional and small farmers, and they are depending on it for their livelihoods. So, by ratifying the treaty it is like as selling it farmers into world market mechanism.

THEORY

World Capitalism /structuralism

World Capitalist System Theory / Structuralisms is world systems theory that view the prospects and conditions of country development is fundamentally shaped by economic processes and patterns of relationships between countries on a world scale. This theory emphasizes that it is futile to analyze or to form development by

focusing on the level of individual country where every state is rooted in a world system. The world system is basically started from the sixteenth century, where only located in part of the world, namely Europe and America that later extend over time that spans the whole world became the world economy and will always be the capitalist economy world. According to Immanuel Wallerstein world system is "world economy" which is integrated by the market, not by politics, where two or more regions are interdependent to fulfill their need such as food, oil, and protection and or two or more policies that compete to dominate without the emergence of a single center forever.

Immanuel Wallerstein Such a world economy-of which capitalism from the sixteenth century to the present has been (according to Wallerstein) the only long-lasting historical instance-is based upon a geographically differentiated division of labor, featuring three main zones which is divides the world capitalist economy: the Periphery area, Semi-periphery area, and the Core area.

Simply put, these three areas can be distinguished by the dominance in the area. Core is independent countries that dominate other countries. Semi peripheries are among the countries that are dominated by one (or more) countries, but these countries also dominate some other countries. Meanwhile, the Periphery is among the countries that are dominated by other countries without dominating other countries. Some traits are the indicators of a country categorized as the Periphery countries such as: having cheap labor, exporting raw materials, and producing agricultural products. The central government in this country is weak or controlled by other countries. Then characteristics of Semi-periphery countries such as: having an advanced economy and diverse, but not dominant in international trade. Semi-periphery countries on the one hand to fend off political pressure, especially in the Periphery on the other side against the Core countries so as to prevent a split. Meanwhile, the characteristics of Core countries are such as: Being active in promoting the accumulation of capital

internally through tax policy, purchasing power of the government, sponsoring research and development, financing the construction of infrastructure, and prioritizing social order to minimize the demands. Core countries also promote the accumulation of capital in the world economy. Core countries have the political power, economic and military to push the exchange rate that is not balanced.

Analyzing Indonesia Position in WTO System

There are two position that we can see with the condition of Indonesia in the meeting first is as a mandate of developing countries who joined the group G-33 with their proposal of public stock holding for food security, where issue of agriculture is very sensitive and very importance for the most of developing country, not exception for Indonesia national development. Indonesia majority of employment is in the agriculture sector held by 35 percent, or 39.7 million people. Unfortunately the performance of Indonesia's agriculture sector is not exactly good. It can be seen from the contribution of agriculture to GDP in the period 2004-2012 Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on average by 14 percent. The magnitude of this contribution is the third largest after the Manufacturing sector (27%) and trade, hotels and restaurants (15%). It should be indicator for Indonesia in determining it agriculture policy, especially food crops. As an example of the performance of food crops sector from 2004 to 2012 decreased from 50% to 48% of this decrease also occurred in other subsector as plantation. Another problem occurred when a whole total of Indonesia farmer household is decreasing significantly about 16 percent since agriculture census in 2003 until 2013, from 31.232,18 become 26.135,47. Moreover, farmers that have land below 5ha which also categorize as peasant is 14.622.396 or almost half of total famer household. But ironically the land owner above 10ha is increase significantly especially owner that have land more than 30ha that of course it is owned by huge company. There are a gap between farmer and peasant in Indonesia, big company who has a large farming field is increasing but still the

peasant is still the biggest contribution in Indonesia farmer household. So, that is why Indonesia should be think rationally about it domestic condition before think to make a decision.

Second, position that face by Indonesia is act as the actor who need to be neutral that be a connector between develop country and developing country because as we know Indonesia is act as a host country, so it will be hard to be in one side of party. But sovereignty should be not as a bargaining tool, act as a host country and led the ministerial meeting Indonesia actually can drive the run of the meeting based on the developing country interest. But in the last minute Indonesia is became pragmatist by choose to agree the WTO agreement, especially about food stockholding agreement. Just like trade ministry at that time “after did long negotiation. We ministry of WTO agreed to give a flexibility for developing country to implemented food stockholding program” said trade ministry at that time, Gita Wirjawan.

If Indonesia as the head of G-33 and also host country of 9th WTO ministerial meeting did not agree the proposal, so it is not possible the deadlock of Doha Development Agenda remain continue, but in other side food security and sovereignty in Indonesia will guarantee. Indonesia position rather to agree and priorities the succeed of Bali conference is because the long term option that Indonesia still want to continue its role in world capitalism as a semi-periphery country and seems slowly want to show it credibility become periphery country in world economy through the development of industrial sector rather than agriculture sector. Because one issue of agriculture remains in deadlock its mean another issue such as Trade Facilitation (TF), and Least Developed Countries (LDCs) is also cancelled. Indonesia seems tempted about the concept of Trade Facilitation (TF), and also market access. As we know that Indonesia is still have a problem in determining market for it processed goods or raw goods that caused by the small market access

that had by Indonesia. It give disadvantage for Indonesia product because cannot enter the chance to compete in foreign market caused by the lot of barriers need to face. As we know that world system nowadays is already taken by the system of world capitalism in every aspect that cased the interdependency between countries so nowadays it is hard for one country to stand by him. It also a reason why Indonesia agreed Bali package, even the Indonesia food security and sovereignty still guarantee for developing country because they are allowed to give agriculture subsidy but the problem is only for 2017.

Decision that had been taken by Indonesia is by changing its position is because here Indonesia is already dependence and believe in capitalism world where WTO is international trade organization who support world capitalism through trade by supporting the free flow of goods and services which also need a support of members to achieve its goals. Here Indonesia do not want to lose it power and influence in international politic as well as international economic, where for 10 years in the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration Indonesia is very active in international level. With it proposal of held the ministerial meeting in the Bali it is also show that Indonesia is one of country that always active to support world development.

Understanding further position of Indonesia, in the capitalism world Indonesia is categorized as periphery country. This can be seen by the current condition of Indonesia where it still easily pressured by Core country. Periphery country have a weak government which is fragile with political and economic pressure by foreign country especially core country and that category is matched with the Indonesia current condition. If we see from Indonesia export development it can categorize as Semi-Periphery country but it still far from the early development as semi-periphery country. If we see form the export side the commodity is started to exporting good processed rather than raw goods. But still the major export commodity is still

dominated by the raw goods. Even though Indonesia is still categorized as a Periphery country but there is an ambition to be a Periphery country seen from the export that has been done by Indonesia, and also seen by the condition of Indonesia agriculture which is seem to be declining. Therefore, Indonesia that is why Indonesia cannot just release the offer from developed state where Indonesia very needed other Bali agreement such as trade facilitation that will help local industries to find it foreign market where Indonesia is in the era of industrialization but still have a problem in exporting it product because of the non-tarrif barrier that implemented by another countries.

The Impact of the Loss of Government Subsidies to Domestic Agriculture Sector

Based on Indonesia's agriculture policy, Indonesia give three subsidy such as, fertilizer subsidy, seed subsidy, and rice price subsidy. Subsidy policy that has been given by Indonesia government is very needed for Indonesia food security. Providing subsidies for fertilizer and seed it is necessary to support national food security by the 6 right principles which are: type, quantity, price, place, time, and quality. So it can help farmers to get fertilizers at affordable prices that in the future hopefully able to increase farmers' income, guarantee a stable selling price is also very important for farmers because of the nature conditions and fluctuations in agricultural price. Therefore, farmer does not suffer any loss from that.

But here need to underline that Indonesia agriculture subsidies are still very weak where a further study is needed to make a comprehensive policy, so there will be no miss in subsidy distribution. Therefore, agriculture subsidy distribution will be right and maximum. Even there are still various obstacles that face in the subsidy distribution but it should not be removed because Indonesia farmer still need that. Especially for the rice price stabilization price, after the messy condition in the seed and fertilizer subsidy farmer need a stable selling price so there are not got any loss. Subsidy distribution is need by developing country because agriculture is the main

economic sector and very sensitive that concerning several of party. Even super power state such as United States which rapidly spread the ideology of liberalization also give an agriculture subsidy so they can be competitive when facing global.

For example if there is no any fertilizer subsidy the worse scenario is farmer will use a chemical fertilizer that very bad in the long term use. But if farmer still forced by government to using a non-subsidy organic fertilizer they will lose compete with imported product. Price stability and on time harvesting time is actually what farmer needed, so that is actually what government should concerning about. Beside that the development of agricultural technology, infrastructure also need to be concern because it will supported the farmer productivity. Now Indonesia is not ready to do full agriculture liberalization and if it is forced to follow market scheme so it is possible there will be a huge decreasing in total farmer in Indonesia, agricultural land also the productivity itself which is in the future that will caused a scarcity of food and the increasing of food price later in the future government doesn't have a choice to open import door as big as possible to fulfill national demand.

So, in order to minimize future impact of the subsidy elimination Indonesia government has homework in order to protect its agricultural market. This becomes homework for the next presidential administration that is Jokowi administration to develop Indonesia agriculture sector. In order to be a Semi-Periphery country it does not mean that state needs to marginalize agriculture sector mirrored from India condition. India is Semi-Periphery country but its agriculture is the main issue for the government concern.

In order to be Semi-Periphery country, Indonesia need to do import substitution using Immanuel Wallerstein. Based on the world system theory a state is not just supporting actor in international relation, but it has major role in state development through becoming a facilitator for their domestic market. So the policy impact after the agreement has been implemented is in the 2014 in the Joko Widodo

administration government released the program called “*NAWACITA*” which becomes a priority agenda for Joko Widodo administration. Agriculture is one of the important thing in the Joko Widodo administration.

There are strategies done by Indonesia government after the implementation of Bali package peace clause. The strategy is in order to prepare domestic agriculture sector to be strengthened before meeting deadline of peace clause. There are three strategies that has been done by Indonesia government based on the “*NAWACITA*” or Joko Widodo agenda in order to develop Indonesia, in agriculture sector to make food sovereignty.

First, strategy is by implementing import substitution and stop the import surge of agriculture commodities that make loss of domestic market. Then, second strategy is by implementing the strategy of investment. Joko Widodo believes that with investment, it can accelerate the development of national economic, especially agriculture sector. The third is through strengthening domestic agriculture sector and in this case through huge domestic support distributed to the farmer. The amount of the distribution is huge rather than in the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era and the amount is larger than the amount of energy subsidy. However, this is the first time that Indonesia ever gives a huge subsidy to agriculture sector. This is indicating that Indonesia tries to be Semi-Periphery country and tries to achieve its food sovereignty.

One of the impacts after the implementation of Bali package is to the Indonesia agriculture policy. In 2014 Bali package is implemented by WTO general council and in Indonesia there is a new presidential inauguration. The new president Joko Widodo has a big homework in order to protect domestic agriculture from the Threat of peace clause. Agenda promised by Joko Widodo administration clearly gives the intention of lifting up classes from Periphery country become Semi-Periphery country.

CONCLUSION

Indonesia position shifting in the negotiations is caused by several factors firstly is, at the meeting Indonesia have a two work as a host country who led the run of the meeting and also a leader of G-33 country who insisted about their public stockholding for food security proposal. Moreover with the pressure of international community give Indonesia a big responsibility to succeed 9th WTO ministerial meeting to end up WTO 12 years of failure.

Second is, it's been a long time Indonesia already entering the world of capitalism where interdependence is a thing that cannot be avoid. According to the theory of capitalism Indonesia can categorize still as a Periphery country where the government is still weak by the political and economic force by another country especially from the core country, have cheap labor, export raw materials, and producing agricultural products. Another category is from the export-import condition, Periphery countries tend to export agriculture or raw goods. According to this position Indonesia is still dependence with another countries especially United State. So that is why in the last minute Indonesia tend to shift it position. More over even Indonesia is suitable when categorize as Periphery country but Indonesia position tend to increase into Semi-Periphery country because slowly but sure Indonesia started to export producers goods such as Electricity, Cloth, Footwear and more. As we know in that Bali package not only conation about agriculture sector but also a trade facilitation and also easiness for LDC to gain market and export their product. This is another reason why Indonesia tend to shift it position as we know Indonesia is also an exporter who need a market and also need a trade facilitation which will support it product.

There are only two options in for Indonesia to get advantage from the meeting for it food security. First is Indonesia at least for these 4 years should be give subsidy as much as possible and giving aid to agriculture technology, knowledge, infrastructure,

and human resources. And second is while Indonesia fixing its domestic agriculture sector Indonesia needs to gain bargaining power in the next 2017 by having a multilateral negotiation with countries that have the same objective as Indonesia. Because in Bali, Indonesia already achieved its objective by succeeding in the run of the meeting and also by delaying the permanent solution of the agriculture agreement, therefore in the next meeting Indonesia should be the one who finds and promotes a solution toward the agriculture agreement.

If Indonesia does not do that, it is not possible there will be a catastrophic situation in Indonesia's agriculture sector. Now Indonesia's agriculture sector is in the worst condition, it is compounded with international conditions that force an idea of liberalization that will force the domestic market to compete with the international market because the basis of the capitalism system is rivalry, whether they are ready or not. Threats to harming Indonesia's food security and sovereignty are certain.

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