CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

While the word "globalization" has only started to be widely used since the late 1980s, but the phenomenon of globalization has been around for much longer time.[1] The characteristics of globalization can be found in the Silk Road, which not only served as a trade route that connected Asia with Middle East, Europe, and Africa but also became a place where exchange of culture, ideas, and technology could be occurred.[2] Globalization itself has broad definition, since it encompasses many trends, including international trade, telecommunications, multinational corporations, cultural exchanges, spread of ideas, flows of migration, etc. Thus, it made globalization can not be clearly defined, since the definition of globalization depends on the perspective that used to analyze it.[3] However, globalization can be simply defined as the process towards a single, interdependent, and integrated world.[3] Thus, the process of globalization could then be characterized by the increase of connectedness between actors in the international relations.

---

[1]Peter N. Stears, 2010, *Globalization in World History*, New York: Routledge, p.1.
[2]David Christian, "Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in World History", *Journal of World History*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Accessed from JSTOR on 19th February 2012, p.1.
[3]Joshua S. Goldstein, John C. Pevehouse, 2009, *International Relations: 8th Edition*, United States: Pearson-Longman, p.19.
[4]Alma Kadragic, 2006, *Globalization and Human Rights*, United States: Chelsea House Publishers, p.6.

The rapid advancement of ICT during the 20th century can be credited as one of the main reasons for the rapid progression of the globalization process that occurred during that era. The term ICT encompasses the technologies that used handle information and aid communication. It includes the telephony, broadcast media, IT (information technologies), and all types of audio and video processor and transmission.[5] ICT has helped the information to reach many people in relatively short time, thus made it the perfect medium for globalization. The functionality of ICT as medium of messages/ideas has proven able to influence even the policy of state. One of the examples is how the ICT (in this case, television) had successfully become one of the key factors that influenced United States government to withdraw their troops from Vietnam. In this case, we can see that despite the Vietnam War had fewer victims from the US side Compared to the World War II, but Vietnam War had larger opposition from the US citizen. Compared to World War II era, when the coverage of the war by the mainstream media was limited, and US successfully gained full support from its citizen for the US involvement in the World War II because during that time, with less of media US able to control the information and make the war propaganda succeed. However, as the ICT technology had developed and became more accessible to many people during the Vietnam War era, the coverage of the war, especially by the television stations had made the US citizen saw the real conditions in the battlefield, where many US troops were wounded and killed. The gruesome condition of the battlefield where there were many casualties from US side in

---

[5]Foldoc, "Information and Communication Technology", http://foldoc.org/Information+and+Communication+Technology, Accessed on February 17th 2012.

horrible situation of the battlefield where there were many casualties from US side in horrible condition and the fear of a never-ending war that seemed unwinnable for the US had made the opposition for the Vietnam War grew bigger. The anti-war movement also gained momentum due to the massive coverage from the mass media. This fact was illustrated by Allen Guttman as:

"More recently, especially after the Tet offensive of 1968 and subsequent battles within Saigon itself, dissenters have maintained that victory is simply impossible. Perhaps the most startling example of this tendency appeared in the New York Times, March 12, 1968: Mr. [Frank] McGee, one of the more respected figures in the N.B.C. news operation, did not make his remarks [to the effect that the war is all but lost] under the guise of a commentary, but rather as a conclusion to be drawn inescapably from the facts."[6]

Table 1.1 Gallup poll about the approval rate for Vietnam War

August 1965	52%	March 1968	41%
March 1966	59%	April 1968	40%
May 1966	49%	August 1968	35%
September 1966	48%	October 1968	37%
November 1966	51%	February 1969	39%
February 1967	52%	October 1969	32%
May 1967	50%	January 1970	33%
July 1967	48%	April 1970	34%
October 1967	44%	May 1970	36%
December 1967	48%	January 1971	31%
February 1968	42%	May 1971	28%

Source: Gallup[7]

---

[6]Allen Guttman, 1969, "Protest against the War in Vietnam", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 382, Accessed from JSTOR on February 10th 2012, p.60.
[7]William L. Lunch, Peter W. Sperlich, 1979, "American public opinion and the war in Vietnam", *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Accessed from JSTOR on February 10th 2012 p.25.

As it can be seen from the table, the approval rate for the Vietnam War had been steadily decreasing since the late 1960s; when the coverage of the Vietnam War were getting bigger. The figures shown in table 1.1 also lower when compared to the previous polling with the same question that asked in the World War II era.[8]

The large opposition of the Vietnam War that created by the influence from the media coverage of the war had shown the strong influence of public opinion towards the policy-making process of state. While in the Vietnam War case, the pressure towards the foreign policy mainly came from the public opinion of the citizen of the United States, now due to the increasingly globalized world, the pressure that came from foreign states and citizen also become more influential. This can be shown in the US' decision to transfer the control of Abu Ghraib prison to the Iraqi government and the planned closure of the Guantanamo Bay detention camp. In 2004, the US media were able to get ahold of photos that showed the torture and abuse of the prisoners in the Abu Ghraib prison.[9] In the same year, three British Muslims were released without any charge from Guantanamo Bay detention camp and three of them had claimed of being tortured, drugged, abused, and religiously persecuted during their time there.[10] As soon as those revelations were made public, it then created resentment toward the US government both domestically and internationally. The human right violations

---

[8]*Ibid*., p.23.
[9]"Abuse of Iraqi POWs by GIs Probed", http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/04/27/60II/main614063.shtml, Accessed on 3rd March 2012.
[10]"Tipton three complain of beatings", http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/3509750.stm, Accessed on 3rd March 2012.

scandal that happened in those prisons had forced the US' government to transfer the control of Abu Ghraib prison to the Iraqi government.[11] The closure of the Guantanamo Bay detention camp then became one of the key issues addressed in Barack Obama's presidential campaign in 2008.[12] The development of ICT has made it harder for states now to control the flow of information, and also has made ideas easier to be developed and spread. Thus, there are a lot of causes that getting bigger and more supported now. The public opinions that grow in the developed and democracy state now often forced states to take more proactive approach in dealing with the problem that occurred in other states, especially those related to the human rights. State could now try directly or indirectly influence other states' policy (due to globalization that has made the world more integrated).

The international pressure that shaped through the usage of ICT as medium of information can be seen in the Gaza War that happened in 2008, where Israel was forced to end its aggression on the Gaza strip in just 22 days, and without any decisive outcome for Israel. This case is quite notable because in the past, Israel's aggressions could occur for longer time or ended with decisive result for Israel.

---

[11]"Inmates transferred out of Abu Ghraib as coalition hands off control", 2006, http://www.boston.com/news/world/middleeast/articles/2006/09/03/inmates_transferred_out_of_abu_ghraib_as_coalition_hands_off_control/, Accessed on 3rd March 2012.

[12]"Obama: Gitmo Likely Won't Close in First 100 Days", http://abcnews.go.com/ThisWeek/Economy/story?id=6619291&page=1, Accessed on 3rd March 2012.

One of the main factors that supported the formation of international opposition of the Israel's invasion of Gaza strip is the role of ICT. The enormous and detailed news coverage of the war that able to reach many people from all over the world had made the opposition of the invasion grew bigger. The anti-Israel demonstrations in many cities all over the world, states and international Organizations were condemned Israel's invasion or voiced their concern for civilian casualties and pressured both Israel and Hamas to stop the hostility in Gaza and settle the conflict in a peaceful manner. In fact, it was even said that Israel were facing its worst diplomatic crisis in two decades.[14] Israel's reputation in the international community was damaged severely and the invasion had put Israel in a bad light.

In regards to the issues that described above, therefore the main research question of this thesis is:

> How does the international pressure influence the direction of the decision making process in Israel's government regarding the 2008 Gaza War?

From the main research question, there are several sub-research questions that derived from it:

---

[14]Ethan Bronner, "After Gaza, Israel Grapples With Crisis of Isolation", http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/19/world/middleeast/19israel.html?_r=2&hp|title=Israel, Accessed on February 23rd 2012.

1) What form of international pressure that able to influence the decision making process of Israel government?

2) What role did ICT engage in the development of the public opinion and international pressure in the 2008 Gaza War?

1.3 Research Objectives

Therefore, the research objectives of this thesis are:

To find out how the international public opinion influences the direction of the decision making process of foreign policy in Israel's government regarding the Gaza War 2008.

1) To describe the form of international pressure that able to influence the decision making process of Israel government.

2) To discover the role of ICT in the development of the public opinion and international pressure in the 2008 Gaza War.

1.4 Research Contributions

This research is composed in order to fulfill several contributions for the writer and reader of this thesis in accordance to the research problems and objectives of this thesis. Those contributions from this research are:

1) To provide the reader of this thesis a deep and comprehensive understanding concerning the influence of international pressure towards the decision making process of Israel as seen in the 2008 Gaza War, the form of international pressure that able to influence the decision making

process of Israel government, the role of ICT in the development of the public opinion and international pressure that directed toward the government of Israel during the Gaza war.

2) To give the reader of this thesis depiction about the growing influence of ICT toward the decision making process of state by becoming a medium of information and ideas that able to form international pressure that could pressure government of a state into changing the direction of its policy.

1.5 The Organization of Thesis

This thesis will be organized into five parts, which are:

Chapter I.   Introduction

The first chapter of this thesis depicts the background of this research, research problems, research objectives, contribution of this research, and the organization of this thesis.

Chapter II.   Analytical Framework

The second chapter of this thesis described concepts that relevant to the topic of this research. The key concepts that used are liberal perspective, decision making process, public opinion, international pressure, complex interdependence, non-traditional security threat, foreign policy, and ICT. This chapter also contains several literatures that related to this research and theoretical explanation.

Chapter III   Research Methodology

This chapter explained the scope of this research, research type and methodology, type and source of data that used in this research, method of data collecting, and data analysis technique.

Chapter IV   Results and Discussion

This chapter explained the data and analysis that used to answer the research problems of this thesis and would answer the research questions of this research.

Chapter V   Conclusion

The last chapter of this thesis summarizes the result of this research.